

Government Conspiracy Against All Our Rights

Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar Convicted Outrage!

The government's victory in the Lynne Stewart trial is, as Stewart herself told supporters outside New York City's federal courthouse on February 10, "a wakeup call" and "the beginning of a longer struggle." All three defendants—leftist attorney Lynne Stewart, her translator Mohamed Yousry and paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar—were convicted on all counts in a frame-up trial. Stewart and Yousry face decades behind bars on charges of conspiracy to provide material support to terrorism and conspiring to defraud the U.S. government. Abdel Sattar could face life impris-

onment on the more serious charge of conspiracy to "kill and kidnap persons in a foreign country." The defendants plan to appeal.

Even the government admitted that not a single act of violence arose from this alleged terror conspiracy. All Lynne Stewart did was publicize a statement by her client, the blind Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman—who is imprisoned for life on conspiracy charges stemming from the 1993 World Trade Center bombing—against a ceasefire between the Islamic Group and the Mubarak dictatorship in Egypt. The political implications of this

conviction threaten all of us. The verdict gives the government a green light to prosecute lawyers for the alleged crimes of their clients, thereby shooting the basic right to counsel to hell. As a February 10 statement by the National Lawyers Guild protesting the conviction states, "The government is hoping that lawyers will now think twice before representing clients with unpopular views or related to unpopular causes."

Of what use to a defendant is an intimidated lawyer who kowtows to the state? And if nobody can get a

continued on page 9



February 10: Lynne Stewart with her husband, Ralph Poynter, tells press conference following her conviction, "I will fight on."

Break with the Democrats— For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Bush to America: No Pensions, No Jobs, No Rights

In this era of spin control, Bush's speechwriters turn to the classic rule of thumb: list a person's most shameful and repulsive traits and turn them into virtues. Thus, in his inaugural address, George W. Bush proclaimed that all have "rights, and dignity, and matchless value," that "oppression is always wrong," and that "America will not pretend that jailed dissidents prefer their chains...or that any human being aspires to live at the mercy of bullies." The hundreds imprisoned without a shred of due process since the September 11 attacks, the victims of torture at Abu Ghraib and elsewhere, the Iraqis slaughtered in the service of "liberation," and those who dissent, now defined de jure as terrorists, are supposed to have no quarrel—they are made in the "image of the Maker of Heaven and earth," and "the Author of Liberty." Interspersed in



New York City: Thousands of janitors and custodians in SEIU rally for health care, September 2004.

the address by Bush-the-rehired is a recruiting pitch for "our youngest citizens...to serve in a cause larger than your wants." Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition.

"Ownership" and a "more prosperous and just and equal" society are promised,

but what is projected is that future generations of working people will see the pittance currently available to them from Social Security slashed, their years of toil extended and health care increasingly unaffordable. Under these proposals, the journey in store for most of the

aged and infirm would be from dog food to the dumpster.

At a January 11 forum in Washington, D.C., Bush declared: "African-American males die sooner than other males do, which means the [Social Security] system is inherently unfair to a certain group of people." The fact that black men have a lower life expectancy than others powerfully illustrates the entrenched and vicious racial oppression of black people. But for Bush, this is a virtue to be cynically extolled to promote a Social Security "reform" scheme that would gut retirement benefits for all working people. This blatant racism barely elicited a response—such is today's reactionary social climate where black people's exclusion from a decent life is to be accepted as a given for all time.

There has been much hand-wringing over Bush's re-election. There is much to worry about. Bush seems to really believe he can conquer the world, a "vision" usually addressed by the appropriate psychopharmacological agents. And although the cloying incense of religion has been

continued on page 10



Shipping Booms, Longshoremen Die

SAN FRANCISCO—With a boom underway in Pacific Rim shipping and the output per hour of U.S. workers increasing at the fastest pace in 50 years, two veteran California longshoremen were killed in separate accidents in a five-day period at the end of January. Port of L.A. hatch boss Matt Petrasich, 63, was crushed to death on the top of a container at the Evergreen terminal on January 31, and 56-year-old Robert Padgett dropped more than 30 feet to his death on January 26 when a walkway, high above a cargo ship's deck, collapsed in the Bay Area Port of Redwood City.

Meanwhile, the maritime bosses' mouthpiece, the *Journal of Commerce* (25 January), bemoans the cost of personal injury claims filed by workers bloodied and maimed on the waterfront. Two members of the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) were killed in July in South Carolina—one under a 20-ton shipping container and another under three 1,000-pound rolls of paper that fell from a forklift. A straddle carrier crushed an ILA checker in New Jersey in late November. Another Los Angeles Harbor port worker died

January 26 when a Burlington Northern and Santa Fe cargo train rolled over him and severed his leg.

Waterfront workers are confronting the cruel fact that their lives are cheap in the view of shipping and stevedoring companies. This is the brutal reality of the relationship between the working class and the ruling class under capitalism: workers sell their labor to survive; capitalists, who own the means of production, extract their profits from workers' labor.

The rapidly rising revenues of shippers are the backdrop to the mounting corpses of longshoremen. The Port of Oakland handled its highest volume of shipments ever in 2004, due mainly to expanding trade with Asia. In the Port of Long Beach, December 2004 imports via container ship were up a total of 28.3 percent over December 2003, as U.S. imports overall for November 2004 rose 26.3 percent over November 2003. Under capitalism, this expanding international trade signifies deadly speedup, overtime and exhaustion for dock workers. A 4.1 percent increase in worker productivity in 2004 indicates the same is true for working conditions throughout the U.S.

How much the capitalists seize in profit from the wealth produced by workers is determined by the struggle between labor and capital. The capitalists push for low wages, harsh working conditions and the longest possible workday while the workers' tendency is to press in the opposite direction. Following Petrasich's death in Los Angeles, the West Coast International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 13 and the employers agreed to close the Evergreen terminal for 24 hours. But at Redwood City in the San Francisco Bay Area, ILWU Local 10 leaders didn't even do that much. High rates of on-the-job injury persist despite the "progressive" rhetoric of the ILWU officials. And divisions within the workforce contribute to that, with the least experienced workers doing a lot of the most dangerous work. What is needed is for the union to vigorously enforce safety standards and procedures.

In 2003, the ILWU tops signaled maritime employers that they would face no union action for endangering dock workers. In the Port of Oakland on 7 April 2003, in an attack planned jointly with port bosses, police rampaged against antiwar protesters and longshoremen. Among the over 50 people injured were nine longshoremen, including an ILWU crane operator whose hand was badly mangled by police fire. The Local 10 leadership should have called a port shutdown, interrupting the flow of enormous profits the U.S. capitalists reap

from Pacific Rim trade and thereby striking a powerful blow in defense of longshoremen and against the war in Iraq.

Safety provides a direct measure of a union's strength. When the union is weak, the capitalists will force workers to labor under dangerous conditions. On the waterfront, with 20-ton containers and 1,000-pound rolls of paper being moved about, a lack of safety means workers die. In West Coast terminal yards alone, eight union workers were run over by container-handling cranes and killed in 2003, according to ILWU president James Spinosa.

Fatalities in the U.S. run especially high among Mexican-born workers, who often lack union representation and take the most hazardous jobs with the least safety training and equipment. In 2002, Mexican-born workers were about **80 percent more likely to die on the job** than U.S.-born workers.

Immigrant and all workers urgently need unions as organs of proletarian self-defense to fight against the general tendency of capitalism—which would otherwise reduce them, in Karl Marx's words, "to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation" (*Value, Price and Profit* [1865]). Such self-defense can win only temporary victories, however, as long as society remains organized for profit, in the hands of the capitalists. When workers take state power in their own hands, then worker safety, not profit, will govern the conditions in which industry operates. ■

Religion, Reaction and Education



TROTSKY

One index of the reactionary social and political climate is the encroachment of religion—which should be a private matter—on civil society. The displacement of science by superstition, of rational discourse by fire and brimstone, serves the purpose of preparing further the rollback of gains wrested through struggle by workers, black people and women. Perhaps most insidious is the effort to inculcate fear, ignorance and docility in the next generation of workers by bringing religion back into public schools,

displacing Darwin with biblical tales of creation. Lenin outlined the approach of the revolutionary Soviet workers state to education and religion.

In respect of the policy on religion the task of the (R.C.P. [Russian Communist Party]) dictatorship of the proletariat must not be confined to decreeing the separation of the church from the state and the school from the church, that is, to measures promised by bourgeois democrats but never fully carried out anywhere in the world because of the many and varied connections actually existing between capital and religious propaganda. The proletarian dictatorship must completely destroy the connection between the exploiting classes—the landowners and capitalists—and the organization of religious propaganda as something which keeps the masses in ignorance. The proletarian dictatorship must consistently effect the real emancipation of the working people from religious prejudices, doing so by means of propaganda and by raising the political consciousness of the masses but carefully avoiding anything that may hurt the feelings of the religious section of the population and serve to increase religious fanaticism.

In the sphere of public education, the object of the R.C.P. is to complete the work that began with the October Revolution in 1917 to convert the school from an instrument of the class rule of the bourgeoisie into an instrument for the overthrow of that rule and for the complete abolition of the division of society into classes.

In the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., in the period in which conditions are being prepared for the full realization of communism, the school must be the vehicle, not merely of the general principles of communism but also of the ideological, organizational and educational influence of the proletariat on the semi-proletarian and non-proletarian sections of the working people, in order to train a generation that is fully capable of building communism.

—V.I. Lenin, "Draft Programme of the R.C.P.(B.)" (1919)



LENIN

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Ten Years of "Democracy"—Still a Racist Hellhole South Africa: Down With Neo-Apartheid Capitalism!

Saturday, February 19, 3 p.m.
L.A. Public Library—Cahuenga Branch
4591 Santa Monica Blvd. (One block east of
Vermont/Santa Monica Red Line Station)

For more information: (213) 380-8239
e-mail sfsycla@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Harriet Jacobs: A Black Woman's Fight to Smash Slavery

Speaker: Carla Wilson, Spartacist League Central Committee

Saturday, February 26, 3 p.m.
YWCA, 1515 Webster Street, Oakland
(at 15th St. close to 12th St. BART station)

For more information: (510) 839-0851
e-mail slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

BAY AREA

Greensboro Massacre 1979: We Will Not Forget!

Saturday, February 26, 5 p.m.
First Parish Church, 3 Church St.
Harvard Square, Cambridge

For more information: (617) 666-9453
e-mail bostonsyc@yahoo.com

BOSTON

WORKERS VANGUARD

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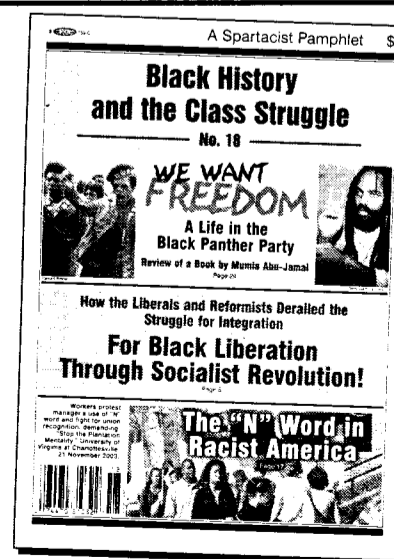
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Black Troops and the Struggle to Destroy Slavery

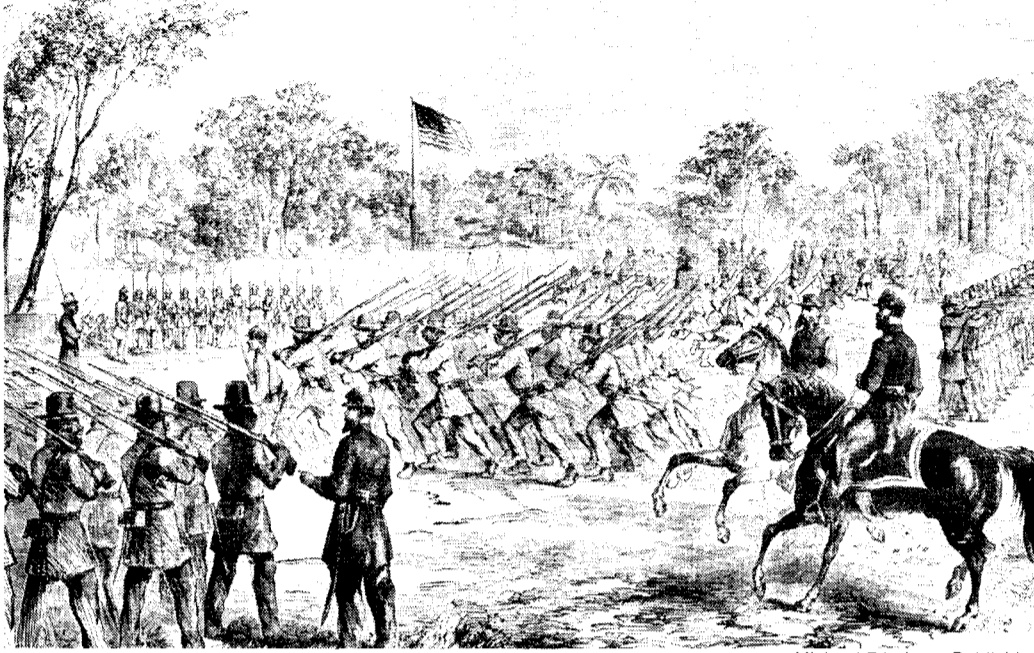
26 January 2005

To the Editors of *Workers Vanguard*:

Please note that the Massachusetts 54th was not the first black regiment to be mustered into service or fight in the Civil War, as we state in *WV* No. 833 ["Black Disenfranchisement and American 'Democracy,'" 1 October 2004]. The 54th's heroic conduct at Fort Wagner in July 1863 was indeed a lightning bolt that galvanized Northern sentiment in support of black soldiers, and paved the way for the hundreds of thousands of black troops to follow. However, the honor of being the "first" goes to the First South Carolina Volunteers, led by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the abolitionist and comrade of John Brown (see Higginson's *Army Life in a Black Regiment*, Appendix B "The First Black Soldiers," and *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 7, "Black Troops in Battle Against Slavery"). The First and Second South Carolina Volunteers had been involved in operations in the Department of the South for several months by the time the 54th arrived.

On another point, while I was reviewing *Black History* No. 7, I happened upon a small inaccuracy in a quote we use about Higginson (p. 7). It's in reference to "total war" and the burning of Darien, Georgia by black troops under the command of Colonel Montgomery, which Colonel Shaw protested. We quote Dudley Taylor Cornish's *The Sable Arm, Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865*: "Higginson, the romantic, had raised money to send Sharps rifles to Kansas in the fifties. Montgomery, the realist, had used them." That is not quite true. Higginson was not Shaw, and I don't think that he was much of a romantic about how to smash the slave system. Remember, this is the man who organized the attempted rescue of the fugitive slave Anthony Burns in Boston in 1854, during which Higginson was beaten and a U.S. marshal was killed, and then he practically dared the government to arrest him, which they declined to do.

Higginson did in fact raise money for supplies and arms to send to Bleeding Kansas, but he also went to Kansas himself. Apparently he was not involved in any of the fighting, but he did pull guard duty. So on the specific point that Higginson was too "romantic" to engage in "total war," Cornish is wrong. In his



First South Carolina Volunteers, first black regiment of the Civil War, depicted at their encampment in 1862.

Army Life in a Black Regiment (Collier Books, 1952), Higginson is hardly as harsh a critic of Montgomery's actions as was Shaw. He writes: "In Colonel Montgomery's hands these upriver raids reached the dignity of a fine art. His conceptions of foraging were rather more Western and liberal than mine, and on these excursions he fully indemnified himself for any undue abstinence demanded of him when in camp" (p. 120). Although, on the torching of parts of Jacksonville by white troops, he saw it is "an act...most deeply to be regretted." I'd be interested in finding out how his views changed by the end of the war, as I'm sure they did. He speaks favorably of Sherman's March to the Sea later on in the book. Higginson was quite an interesting guy. He ended up in the Anti-Imperialist League before he died in 1906.

Comradely,
Brian

WV replies:

The Civil War—which we call "the second American revolution"—was the shaping event of American history. It grew out of the conflict between two economic systems—the industrial capitalism of the North vs. the slave-based agricultural plantation system of the South. From the founding of the American republic, the Northern bourgeoisie had attempted to evade a definitive clash over slavery

through a series of "compromises," and even when the Southern slavocracy went into open rebellion, Lincoln and the federal government hesitated to emancipate the slaves. But in order to win the war, Lincoln was led inexorably to the Emancipation Proclamation and then to the arming of free blacks and former slaves. Arms in hand, 180,000 black Union soldiers fought for their own liberation and the destruction of the hideous slave system, and played a powerful role in turning the tide of the war.

The primary role of politics in the Civil War was clearly demonstrated by the conflict between the moderate Republicans like Lincoln and the Radical Republicans such as Frederick Douglass over emancipation, the recruitment of black troops and the carrying out of "total war" on the Confederacy. In 1861, Lincoln assigned the abolitionist major general Frémont the task of putting together an army in the slave state of Missouri. In order to combat pro-slave guerrilla forces, Frémont instituted martial law and issued an emancipation proclamation. Fearing that this action would cause the slaveowners in the border states to join the Confederacy, Lincoln publicly ordered Frémont to modify his emancipation edict and soon thereafter relieved him of his command. This provoked controversy, as more Republicans began to agree with Frémont that the aim of the war should be to put an end to slavery.

In May, 1862, General David Hunter began enlisting black soldiers in the occupied areas of South Carolina. Lincoln, again following a policy of appeasement, ordered the disbanding of the First South Carolina Volunteers, but by July, 1862, the Militia Act was passed, authorizing the use of freed slaves in the army; hence the First South Carolina Volunteers became, as Brian correctly states, the first black regiment of the Civil War. As part of the policy of appeasing slaveholders in the border states of the Union, however, Lincoln resisted unleashing what Frederick Douglass called "the Black Phalanx" against the Confederacy, and so refused to officially organize black soldiers into the Union Army until the formation of the Massachusetts 54th the following year.

A Civil War Against Slavery

The year 1862 was a turning point in the Civil War as it became apparent that a

swift Union triumph over the South was not going to occur. Lincoln's policy of appeasing the slaveholders increasingly came into conflict with the military and political reality of conducting the war. As Frederick Douglass put it, "To fight against slavery, is but a half-hearted business." Union reverses in the spring of 1862, particularly Stonewall Jackson's Valley Campaign, which successfully blocked Union reinforcements in Virginia, made it evident that halfhearted warfare could never bring the South into submission. Two even more significant reversals for the North were the Union defeat at the Second Battle of Bull Run, and the Peninsula Campaign, where General George McClellan retreated after winning all but one of the battles fought at the climax of the campaign.

By September of 1862, after the Union won a victory against the South at Antietam, which forced the Confederates to retreat back across the Potomac, Lincoln finally issued a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. This marked a qualitative leap in Lincoln's understanding that defeat of the Confederacy required the abolition of slavery. In the spring of 1863, the War Department organized the Bureau of Colored Troops. The bureau began a massive army recruitment program aimed at free blacks in the



Robert A. Bell Post Memorial Massachusetts 54th veterans before Boston's Colonel Robert Gould Shaw Memorial in 1897.

North and emancipated slaves in Union-held Southern territory. These black soldiers, bearing arms and the Emancipation Proclamation, exerted a magnetic pull on their black brothers.

All the new regiments of U.S. Colored Troops were led by white officers, recruited from existing army units. The formation of the Massachusetts 54th as an official Army regiment, organized under abolitionist colonel Robert Gould Shaw, resulted from insistent demands by radical abolitionists such as Douglass. Douglass made recruitment appeals for the Massachusetts 54th and two of his own sons signed up and put their lives on the line to fight against slavery. It was widely understood, not least by the men of the

continued on page 11



Union general Sherman's troops rip up railroad in Atlanta before setting out on march to the sea.

Japanese Trotskyists Say: Down With Japanese Provocations Against China, North Korea!

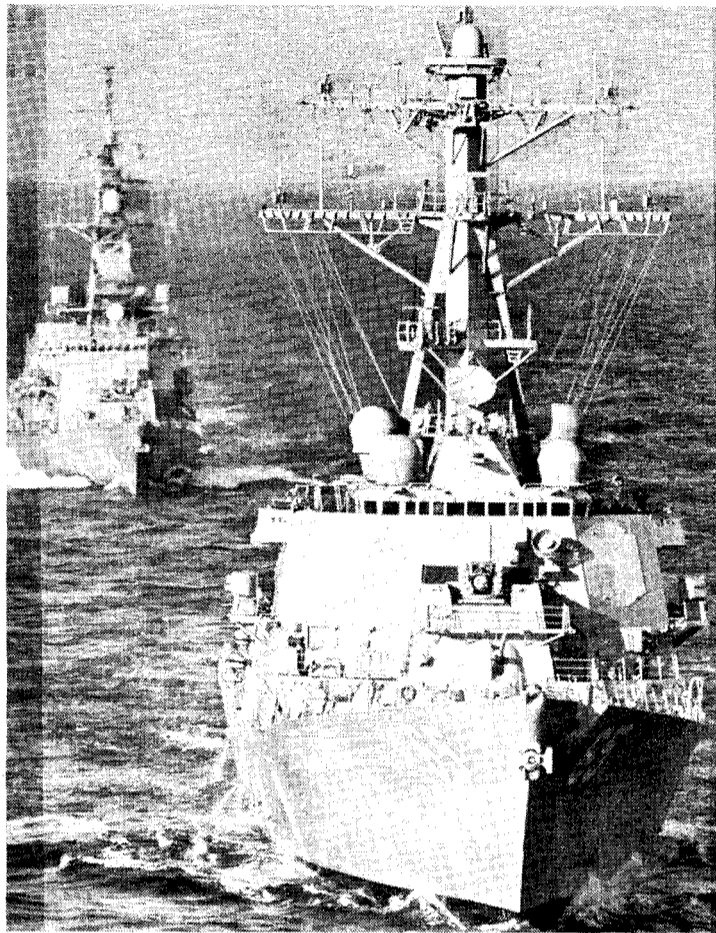
We print below a translation of an article published as a Spartacist supplement (4 February 2005) by the Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League. Following North Korea's announcement last week that it has nuclear weapons, Washington revealed longstanding plans to further tighten its starvation embargo against North Korea. We demand: All U.S. troops out of Korea! Down with the sanctions!

スパルタシスト

The Japanese and U.S. imperialists are playing a dangerous game in East Asia. Using the excuse of a Chinese military threat and instability on the Korean peninsula, Tokyo and Washington are in the process of strengthening their security agreements, repositioning their military and placing a ballistic missile system in the region. A recent deadly cat-and-mouse chase on the high seas, threats of sanctions against North Korea and worse, combined with Japan's newly released "National Defense Program Guideline for FY2005 and After" are dangerous provocations against both the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states and the workers and toilers of the entire region.

As Marxists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of China and North Korea—and Vietnam and Cuba—against the increasingly bellicose Japanese capitalist rulers. The social revolutions in China and North Korea were historic defeats for imperialism and victories for the working class in Asia and around the world. Though deformed from their inception by the rule of a parasitic, nationalist, Stalinist bureaucratic caste, these revolutions overthrew capitalist property relations and imperialist subjugation. This resulted in the construction of collectivized economies which meant enormous social progress for workers, women and peasants, such as the right to a job, housing, education, childcare, social insurance and medical care.

The core of the economies in China and North Korea remain collectivized. We oppose capitalist penetration into the deformed workers states because it further undermines the collectivized economies. The Stalinist bureaucrats in Beijing have increasingly opened the country to imperialism, paving the way for capitalist restoration. This simultaneously prepares the ground for a new revolutionary explo-



Morton U.S. Navy

U.S. and Japanese destroyers on joint maneuvers in December 2004 in Western Pacific Ocean.

sion—not a social revolution which would overturn the economic foundations of society as in 1949, but a political revolution that is premised on the defense of the collectivized economy and which would oust the ruling bureaucracy and place political power in the hands of worker, soldier and peasant soviets.

The same program holds true for North Korea where a nepotistic, cultist Stalinist regime rules. While extremely impoverished, the collectivized economy enabled the North Korean masses to receive most basic daily necessities for free. While education, childcare and medical care continue to be free, the 2002 "market reforms" have substantially raised the price of basic foodstuffs, housing and transportation. North Koreans are now expected to buy much of their food on the open market as opposed to receiving it from the state. As the UN World Food Program stated, "Life is much harder for many North Koreans." We call for proletarian political revolution to oust the sellout Stalinist bureaucratic castes, the main internal obstacle to defending the gains of the social revolutions, and we fight to extend proletarian rule to the advanced capitalist countries, with Japan as key.

Japanese Imperialism: Deadly Threat to Workers in Asia

For ten days in mid November 2004, the Japanese military and U.S. forces stationed in Japan conducted major joint military exercises. "Exercise Keen Sword 2005," at military installations throughout the country. The purpose of these exercises was to "increase the defensive readiness of Japanese and American forces in the air, land and at sea" and practice "suppression of enemy air defenses, surveillance and reconnaissance, safe passage" (*Strategy Page*, 18 January).

In reality, these provocative "defensive readiness" exercises began a month earlier. Acting as if the Pacific Ocean and adjacent seas are their own personal lakes, U.S. armed forces and the Japanese navy and coast guard monitored the entire

30-day voyage of a Chinese Han-class nuclear-powered submarine. From the time the sub left its base in Qingdao in northeast China, as it circled Guam and during its return to China, surveillance satellites, warships and patrol aircraft tracked its every move. On its return, even before the submarine had entered waters in the East China Sea that are claimed by Japan, the Self-Defense Forces had been tracking the vessel with P3C anti-submarine patrol aircraft for several days. The two-hour incursion unleashed Japan's anti-submarine network which has the largest density in the East Asia region, equipped with over 100 high-function patrol planes and numerous anti-submarine warships. The navy was placed on high alert for the second time since the end of World War II, triggering a two-day chase with Japanese destroyers and aircraft in hot pursuit. The first instance was in 1999 at the start of the imperialist war against Serbia when the coast guard dropped 12 bombs while chasing a North Korean ship.

The new defense guidelines represent a strengthening of the Japan-U.S. military alliance, an anti-Communist alliance initially directed against the former Soviet Union and today targeting China and North Korea. In addition to its own missile defense system bought in 2003 at the cost of 700 billion yen (\$6.5 billion), Japan has entered into a ballistic missile defense system agreement with the U.S. To sell technology to the U.S. imperialists, the government has selectively ended its ban on arms exports. Japan's Aegis destroyers will be upgraded, the capabilities of its Patriot missiles will be enhanced. To supplement the guidelines, additional plans have been drawn up to "defend" the hundreds of islands between Kyushu [one of the four main islands of Japan] and Taiwan against a "Chinese invasion of Japan." To this end, the number of Japanese soldiers on Okinawa will be increased to full brigade status, F-15 fighters will be stationed there, and a rapid deployment force will be created.

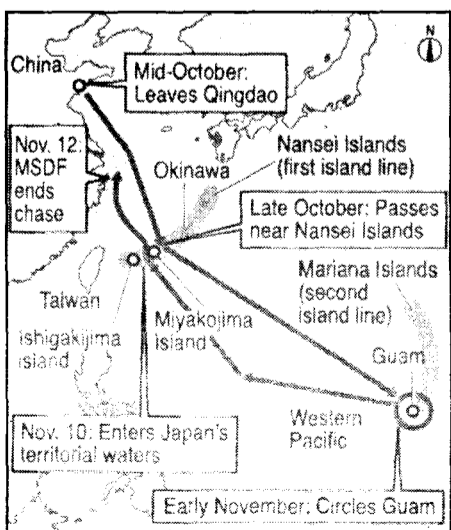
Sounding as if Japan was some kind of

Third World country, the reformist Communist Party, the third-campist Kakumaru and the United-Secretariat affiliated Kakehashi group oppose the new defense guidelines because they claim the Self-Defense Forces will be "subservient" to and "become one with" the American military. This position alibis the appetites of the Japanese bourgeoisie which is just as committed as its American counterpart to overturning the gains of the Chinese and North Korean social revolutions and brutally exploiting the workers and toilers of Asia. Despite its "lost decade" [the 1990s when Japan's economy suffered a decline], Japan is still the second most powerful imperialist country on the planet. In 2003, cabinet members called for a policy of pre-emptive strikes against North Korea, and several leading politicians have stated that Japan could and would go nuclear. In fact, Japan's inventory of 55 tons of separated plutonium is enough to manufacture 10,000 nuclear warheads.

While the guidelines call for a "close cooperative relationship between Japan and the United States," their purpose is to create a leaner, meaner military machine whose reach is now to extend to "the region spreading from the Middle East to East Asia." For now, the ruling class has decided to strengthen its alliance with the world's top cop in order to serve its own interests. With memories of the slaughter of tens of millions by Japan's imperial army during the Pacific War still very much alive, it is only through its alliance with Washington that Japanese imperialism has been able to deploy its already highly advanced military overseas. Japanese military out of West Timor, the Golan Heights, the Indian Ocean and Iraq! We call to smash the counterrevolutionary alliance between Japanese and U.S. imperialism through workers revolution on both sides of the Pacific!

Reformist Left in Service of Counterrevolution

As part of the unrelenting pressure against Pyongyang, legislation that would stop money transfers to North Korea and ban port calls by North Korean ships has already been enacted. Currently, the Japanese government is considering imposing economic sanctions against North Korea, which would be an act of war. It is also drafting legislation similar to that passed



Asahi Shimbun

U.S./Japanese forces monitored 30-day voyage of Chinese Han-class nuclear-powered submarine, November 2004.



Spartacist Japan

SGJ supporters at 1996 protest against U.S.-Japan military alliance carry signs reading: "For the Right of Nuclear and Military Testing for Chinese Workers State!" and "Not One Man, Not One Yen to Imperialist Japanese Military!"

in the U.S. to aid defectors. As acting Liberal Democratic Party secretary-general Shinzo Abe said, "By supporting defectors from North Korea, we will be encouraging a regime change" (*Asahi Shimbun*, 13 January). This position dovetails with that of the Kakehashi group. While opposing sanctions, they write that what is needed is "stronger international criticism against the Kim Jong Il dictatorial regime, and aid to the North Korean workers and masses who are starving, including the 'defectors' and victims of human rights violations" (*Kakehashi*, 20 December 2004).

The highly staged defections from North Korea are heavily funded (reportedly costing 200,000 yen [\$2,000] per defector) and organized by anti-communists like the Korean American pastor Douglas Shin, whose goal is to bring about the collapse of the regime in the North by encouraging a wide-scale exodus to the South, and who has "plans to infiltrate North Korea with tiny radios tuned to [the CIA's] Radio Free Asia" (*Chosun Journal*, 24 October 2004). In Japan there is the "Rescue the North Korean People! Urgent Action Network" whose prominent members include Lee Young-hwa. In Lee's book, *North Korea: The Night of Secret Meetings*, he writes of his trip to the North in the early 1990s. He details his attempts to promote capitalist counterrevolution in North Korea along the lines of that which occurred in the former Soviet Union and East Europe: "I thought there would be interest in the collapse of the socialist sphere. So, I talked about the collapse and the reality.... I noted that there is no perspective for North Korea without democratization and economic opening." The counterrevolutionary destruction of the former USSR and East Europe has meant massive pauperization of millions of working people. Such historic defeats must not happen in China, North Korea, Cuba or Vietnam. The only way forward for the Korean working masses is through revolutionary reunification of the Korean peninsula. This means workers socialist revolution in the South and proletarian political revolution in the North.

It is in the direct and immediate interests of working people in Japan to defend the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. If the working class does not understand the historic significance of the gains of the Chinese and North Korean revolutions, such as the collectivized economy, they will never understand the importance of making a revolution against their "own" bourgeoisie. The biggest obstacle for workers to achieve this understanding is the reformist left, in particular the mass bourgeois-workers parties such as the Communist Party, that serve as transmission belts for bourgeois ideology into the working class. Just as the leadership of the Communist Party-led Zenroren [trade-union federation] refuses to mobilize the unions against privatization and other attacks by the Japanese capitalists and government, these parties refuse to defend the workers states against Japanese imperialism. The social-patriotic Communist Party criticized the government for not quickly identifying the submarine which "criminally invaded Japanese territorial waters," and demanded that "the Chinese side quickly display the attitude of responsibility" (*Akahata*, 13 November 2004).

Our unconditional defense also includes the right of China and North Korea to possess and test their nuclear arsenals as part of maintaining a necessary deterrent against imperialist nuclear blackmail. Most left organizations oppose the right of these states to have nuclear weapons, which means they want these states to be relatively defenseless against the nuclear-armed imperialist madmen whom they claim to oppose. In the 10 February 2003 issue of *Zenshin*, Chukaku wrote: "From the perspective of the people we must absolutely oppose North Korea's development of nuclear weapons." The 18 November 2002 issue of Kakumaru's paper *Kaiho* polemicized against "degen-

erate Trotskyists who defend the Kim Jong Il regime against unscrupulous attack by imperialism." They go on to write that: "Kim Jong Il's nuclear weapons and their meaning are anti-people."

Under their infamous slogan "Down with Imperialism! Down with Stalinism!", the third-campist Chukaku and Kakumaru attempt to give a theoretical cover to their program of capitulation to anti-communist bourgeois public opinion and the renunciation of a proletarian revolutionary perspective. Since their inception, both organizations have pushed the lie that imperialist countries—for example, Japan, which carried out the rape of Nanjing [in 1937]; America, which dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and Germany, which carried out the Holocaust—are equally enemies of the world's working class as those countries that overthrew capitalism and instituted collectivized economies. This was made explicit in the document for the Chukaku's sixth conference when they wrote: "There is no other way to stop the process of a third world war than overthrowing imperialism and the remaining Stalinist [states]" (*Zenshin*, 12 August 2002). In the 1 January issue of their paper, Chukaku has had to finally acknowledge that "China and the Chinese economy have not been transformed into capitalism." But nowhere do they state that the elimination of capitalist property relations is important for the world's proletariat, much less a gain that must be defended. As Trotsky wrote in 1940, on the eve of



Getty

Japan sent troops to Iraq, demonstrating renewed imperialist military ambitions.

the second imperialist world war, against those who refused to defend the Soviet Union: "It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressures of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend the old positions will never conquer new ones" ("Balance Sheet on the Finland Events").

Japanese Pirates: Hands Off All Chinese Ships!

It is essential that China be able to break through the two crescent-shaped island chains controlled by Tokyo and Washington that largely obstruct its access to the Pacific. As Liu Yijian, a staff member at the Chinese Naval Command School commented, "Many exits from the nearby seas to the external oceans are shut off by the chain of islands, where China cannot avoid foreign restraint of its navy's movement into the open seas and faces the major possibility that its exits will be shut off by the enemy" (*Tokyo Foresight*, 16 September-20 October 2000). The first chain Liu is referring to is composed of islands that are like stepping stones, running through the four main islands of Japan to the Ryukyus, Taiwan and the Philippines. The second chain stretches from Tokyo Bay, running through the Izu and Ogasawara [Bonin] Island chains to the Marianas and Guam, to Palau island. Defend China's unrestricted passage to the Pacific Ocean!

It is with utter hypocrisy that the Japanese government claimed that its "territorial waters" were violated when the Chinese submarine entered waters around Ishigaki-jima in the Sakishima Island chain. In 2001, the Japanese coast guard

sank a North Korean ship *in Chinese waters*, murdering the entire crew, and then grotesquely toured the bullet-ridden ship throughout the country. The only reason Japan can lay claim to some of the waters in the East China Sea is that Tokyo colonized and annexed the islands in this area on its way to becoming an imperialist power in the late 19th century. The once culturally and economically rich Ryukyu Kingdom—today known as Okinawa and the poorest of the 47 prefectures—and surrounding islands were formally incorporated into Japan in 1879. The first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 had two strategic goals: to acquire the Liaotung Peninsula and thereby the Korean peninsula, and to grab Formosa (Taiwan) as a base from which to control the sealanes of the China trade and the southern approaches to Japan. Shortly before the end of the war, a marker was erected on

the rock islands that are now known as the Senkakus (Diaoyus [Chinese name]), which comprise a mere 2.4 square miles, declaring them Japanese territory. With the May 1895 Treaty of Shimonseki, Japan brutally grabbed control of Taiwan. During World War II, Japan used Taiwan as a staging area for assaults on southern China, the Philippines and Southeast Asia. During World War II, the Fourth International, founded by Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, stood for the revolutionary defeat of all the imperialist nations. Simultaneously, it fought for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and championed the self-determination of all the colonies against their subjugation by the "Axis" and "Allied" imperialists alike. The Fourth International stood for the political independence of the proletariat from its "own" ruling class in the advanced and the oppressed countries.

Then and now, Taiwan is of vital strategic value to the Japanese and U.S. imperialists. As an Autumn 2001 article in the U.S. *Naval War College Review* stated, "Japanese geography and sea power, therefore, collectively pose an inherent obstacle to Chinese expansion into the Pacific as long as Taiwan remains free of mainland control." Ominously, the Taiwanese parliament is set to purchase a massive arms package from the U.S. which would include submarines, an anti-missile system and anti-submarine aircraft. This should make the [fake-Trotskyist] United Secretariat very happy. At a November 2001 Kakehashi meeting in Tokyo, a representative from the Hong Kong Pioneer group [supporters of the United Secretariat] stated that they would defend capitalist Taiwan in a war with China. As for the

Bush at "demilitarized zone" separating North and South Korea. All U.S. troops out of Korea!



Kakehashi group, which had been debating for six years whether or not China is a workers state: after "discussions with our Pioneer comrades," they decided that "sometime in the 1990s" China became capitalist. By labeling China capitalist, the social-democratic Kakehashi group can justify supporting imperialist-backed, anti-Communist forces in China in the name of promoting "democracy," just as it sided with capitalist restorationist forces in the former Soviet Union and East Europe.

Taiwan is ethnically, linguistically and historically Chinese. We are opposed to the Chinese plan of reunification embodied in "one country, two systems." We call for the revolutionary reunification of China: That means a workers socialist revolution in Taiwan to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie and a proletarian political revolution on the mainland.

In an attempt to prevent China's ability to search for new sources of oil, the Japanese imperialists are trying to bully China by claiming that large swaths of the Pacific Ocean lie within its exclusive economic zone. A case in point are the Okinotori Islands, which stand no more than six and a half inches above water and have been capped with titanium alloy to prevent further erosion. Around these rocks, Japan claims an exclusive economic zone over a vast area of the Pacific Ocean. Shintaro Ishihara, the racist, anti-woman and anti-communist governor of Tokyo, has called for Japan to take military action to repel Chinese scientific ships in the seas around the Okinotori Islands. Another example is the Chunxiao natural gas field in the East China Sea, which even the Japanese bourgeoisie admits lies *within China's exclusive economic zone*. China's attempts to develop this field for much needed gas and oil have been continually threatened by the Japanese navy and coast guard. Defend China's right to access natural resources!

For Proletarian Internationalism

To some it may appear that there is inconsistency within the ruling class on how best to achieve capitalist counterrevolution in China and North Korea. While the navy chases down Chinese submarines and [Prime Minister Junichiro] Koizumi prays to the spirits of war criminals at Yasukuni shrine, the *zaibatsu* [family

continued on page 11

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 58 ENGLISH EDITION SPRING 2004

Fourth ICL International Conference, Autumn 2003

The Fight for Revolutionary Continuity in the Post-Soviet World

PAGE 2

Forty Years of Spartacist

"Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International"

PAGE 14

The Origins of Japanese Communism, Debate over "Two-Stage Revolution" and the American Occupation

The Meiji Restoration: A Bourgeois Non-Democratic Revolution

Appendix: Historical Documents

• Manifesto by the Preparatory Committee for the Japanese Communist Party, 1921

• Program of the Communist Party of Japan (1922)

• Report on Differences at the Special Congress of the Japanese Communist Party, 1929

PAGE 27

Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Woman, Anti-Sex: U.S./UN Crusade Against "Sex Trafficking"

PAGE 42

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We print below the second part of an educational given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at the Twelfth National Conference of the SL/U.S. held last summer. Part One appeared in WV No. 840 (21 January).

Buonarroti and Hegel on the French Revolution

In 1843, commenting on the increasingly repressive policies of the Prussian state, Marx wrote in a letter to a colleague, Arnold Ruge:

"The mantle of liberalism has been discarded and the most disgusting despotism in all its nakedness is disclosed to the eyes of the whole world.

"That, too, is a revelation, although one of the opposite kind. It is a truth, which, at least, teaches us to recognise the emptiness of our patriotism and the abnormality of our state system, and makes us hide our faces in shame. You look at me with a smile and ask: What is gained by that? No revolution is made out of shame. I reply: Shame is already revolution of a kind; shame is actually the victory of the French Revolution over the German patriotism that defeated it in 1813."

The French Revolution was the Russian question of the day. One's attitude toward the French Revolution and its various phases centrally defined one's political outlook and program. If you opposed the French Revolution *in toto* from the beginning, you were a monarchical reactionary. If you supported the early moderate period of the revolution—expressed in the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, which explicitly included the right of private property deemed "sacred and inviolate"—then you were a liberal. If you supported the Jacobin regime of Robespierre, you were a radical democrat. And if you supported Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals, you were a communist.

In our *Enlightenment* pamphlet, I said one could think of two roads leading from the French Revolution to the Marx of the Communist League and *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, a rightward road and a leftward road. The rightward road ran from the Napoleonic occupation of western Germany through Hegel to the left Hegelians. The leftward road ran from Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals through Buonarroti and Auguste Blanqui to the German worker-communists of the League of the Just in the 1830s and 1840s.

In keeping with this approach, one can say that Marx had two political godfathers, a liberal political godfather, Hegel, and a Jacobin communist political godfather, Buonarroti. Both had been members of the *defeated* progressive party. Buonarroti had been a left-wing Jacobin, part of Robespierre's personal circle. Hegel had been one of the few prominent German liberal intellectuals who supported the Napoleonic occupation throughout as historically progressive. He called Napoleon the "world spirit on horseback." If you understand that image, then you can understand Hegel. In 1813, Hegel advised his students *not* to join the German volunteer corps fighting the French army in the so-called "wars of liberation."

In the long period of reaction following Napoleon's decisive defeat at Waterloo in 1815, both Buonarroti and Hegel

How Marx Became a Marxist

PART TWO

BY Joseph Seymour



Young Spartacus graphic: drawing of Marx by H. Ehrlich

thought long and hard about the causes of the defeat of the French Revolution. Why had Robespierre been overthrown? Why had Napoleon been defeated? More fundamentally, why had the ideals of the French Revolution expressed in the slogan, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" not been realized in the Europe of the day?

Buonarroti and Hegel arrived at fundamentally different answers and corresponding programmatic conclusions. Buonarroti operated with a Rousseauian worldview. Hegel rejected the concept of natural law and natural right in favor of a dialectical—though not materialist—conception of historical development.

To use a term and concept with which we're all familiar, Buonarroti maintained that the French Revolution was "betrayed." Robespierre was overthrown by a group of Jacobin leaders who had become morally corrupted by access to the wealth which their newfound political power and influence gave them. He maintained and truly believed that had Robespierre continued to rule France, he would gradually have introduced communism in the Babouvist sense.

What then was to be done? To use another term and concept with which we're all familiar, Buonarroti maintained that the crisis of humanity had been reduced to the crisis of "revolutionary leadership." He and his successor Auguste Blanqui sought to construct an organization of morally stalwart revolutionaries which at a suitable moment would launch an insurrection to establish a revolutionary dictatorship on the Jaco-

bin model. This regime would install a communist system based on the egalitarian distribution of the means of consumption, which would in fairly short order bring about the moral regeneration of the citizens of the new "red republic."

Doubtless everyone in this room has relatives and friends who say that communism is contrary to human nature. But the main body of communists in early 19th century Europe believed just the opposite, that it was private property which was unnatural. Communism was that form of social organization which corresponded to man's instinctual empathy with the fellow members of his species.

Hegel rejected that concept, both its programmatic conclusion and theoretical premise. He maintained that society was not governed by man's supposedly instinctual nature. Men's consciousness changed qualitatively over the course of history as it expressed the progressive development of what he called the "absolute spirit." The ideals of the French Revolution could not be realized because European civilization had not attained a sufficient level of spiritual maturity.

What did Hegel mean by "spirit"? Not an easy question to answer. I've read a couple of dozen books and articles on this subject and have gotten several different and mutually exclusive explanations. In the early 1840s, Ludwig Feuerbach exercised a strong influence on Marx and also Engels. At this time he summarized his own intellectual evolution in this way: First, I believed in God. Then I believed in reason (that's when he was a more or less orthodox Hegelian). Now, I believe in man. All of us understand what it means to believe in God, doubtless some of you from bitter personal experience. And you can understand what Feuerbach meant when he said he now believed in man. If you recognize the illusory character of an all-powerful supernatural deity, then you can believe that man is the master of his own fate.

But what does it mean to believe in reason instead of and in between believing in God and in man? Reason is not an all-powerful entity; it's an *activity*. Men reason, they think in order to pursue their needs and interests. But for Hegel,

it was the other way around. Man in the natural, biological sense existed to serve the needs and interests of reason. Men were the necessary agents to actualize the progressive development and self-consciousness of the absolute spirit.

But let's try to set aside the semi-mystical, metaphysical component of Hegel's philosophy. What was he saying in real-world terms about Europe in the era of the French Revolution? He was saying that the leaders of the French Revolution like Robespierre had failed because they tried to wipe out in one stroke the cultural inheritance of millennia of European civilization—the Christian religion, respect for monarchical authority. At another level, Hegel maintained that no government, including a revolutionary government, could eliminate individual egoism—material self-interest. He held that the role of the state was to represent the general interests of the community by mediating between the conflicting material interests of individuals and groups, for example, between employers and workers.

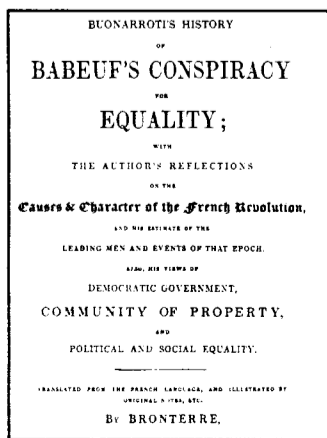
Hegel maintained that social progress had to be organic and gradual—in his case, very gradual. Thus he wrote in his major work on political philosophy that political change should be such that "the advance from one state of affairs to another is tranquil in appearance and unnoticed. In this way a constitution changes over a long period of time into something quite different from what it was originally" (*The Philosophy of Right* [1821]).

As Marx developed historical or dialectical materialism, he incorporated Hegel's understanding that one could not reconstruct the world anew according to some ideal model. He likewise agreed with Hegel that Europe during the French Revolution and in subsequent decades was not sufficiently developed to realize the principles of "liberty, equality and fraternity." But he came to understand that underlying what Hegel called the "spiritual immaturity of European civilization" was its material or economic immaturity.

In one of Marx's last major writings he stated: "Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development which this determines" (*Critique of the Gotha Programme* [1875]). This statement encapsulates the fundamental difference between Marxism and both the Rousseauian concept of natural law and the Hegelian concept of the autonomous and transcendent development of consciousness or culture. How Marx arrived at this understanding is the subject of the next session.

Many, many years ago I did a multi-part series of educationals under the general heading of "Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition." One reason

continued on page 8



Jacobin communist Philippe Buonarroti's writings influenced the young Marx.



painting by J. L. David

Hegel's "world spirit on horseback." Napoleon inspired intellectuals across Europe in the 1800s.

Campus...

(continued from page 12)

professors critical of American and Israeli policies in the Near East, is a case in point. Campus Watch's Daniel Pipes is part of the Project for the New American Century, which has included Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and his lieutenant Paul Wolfowitz. But, as the recent campaign of defamation and harassment of Professor Joseph Massad at Columbia University shows, the pro-Zionist Democrats have been no less vicious.

Columbia is today the front line of this Zionist blitzkrieg. There, a squalid, scurrilous little film, *Columbia Unbecoming*, launched charges that professors in the Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures (MEALAC) department had engaged in "academic intimidation" of pro-Israel students. The arch-Zionist *New York Sun* and the gutter-press *Daily News* embarked on a vicious campaign against the targeted professors, most notably Massad. New York City Democratic Congressman Anthony Weiner called for Massad's firing. Toeing the line, Columbia president Lee Bollinger has formed a committee that is "investigating" the charges. The New York City Council has already announced that it will demand another investigation if Columbia's "comes up dry" (*New York Sun*, 12 November 2004).

In a statement responding to the bogus charges laid out in *Columbia Unbecoming*, Massad, a regular recipient of death threats, wrote: "I chose under the duress of coercion and intimidation not to teach my course this year. *It is my academic freedom that has been circumscribed. But not only mine.*" Indeed, Professor Massad's case calls for militant united-front protest of students and workers to demand that the Columbia administration keep its hands off all the victimized professors and MEALAC. This is the perspective for which the SYC fought at Columbia. We oppose any and all snooping "investigations" of departments and faculty targeted by the Zionists and rightists. We also insisted, in a leaflet widely distributed (see "Down With Zionist Witchhunt on Campus!" WV No. 837, 26 November 2004) that "Key to defeating



May 2001 Chicago protest against Horowitz.

the witchhunt against Columbia professors and MEALAC is forthrightly taking up the defense of the Palestinian people." And we warned against, as we have before, any illusions that the union-busting Bollinger administration could be relied upon to defend free speech.

There was every reason for that warning, not least the track record of the ISO as a reformist pressure group allergic to revolutionaries who tell the truth about the society in which we live, and the necessary struggle to fundamentally change it, i.e., a workers revolution. For example, when the Columbia College Conservative Club staged a racist "affirmative action bake sale" on campus last February—a calculated insult to black and other minority students at Columbia, challenging their very right to attend—the campus seethed in anger. A series of protests erupted, in which the Spartacus Youth Club actively participated, including by initiating two protests of our own. But the leadership of the Columbia University Concerned Students of Color (CUCSC), with the ISO's support, dissipated the protests in favor of demands that the Columbia University administration take a more active role in "protecting" students against racism.

Among the demands supported by the ISO et al. was one for "disciplinary actions and policies to prevent and handle transgressions against marginalized student populations." At the time, we warned, "One could well imagine legions of rabid Zionists, as has happened on other campuses, running to the administration with

cries of 'anti-Semitism' to encourage a crackdown on any pro-Palestinian protest" ("Campus Right-Wingers Target Black Students," WV No. 821, 5 March 2004).

That is in fact what happened to Massad and the MEALAC department. True to form, the ISO's reaction to the Massad case illustrated an abiding faith in the campus administration as a potential force for justice. At a December press conference at Columbia, ISO supporter Monique Dols declared, "At a time when Arab dissenters are disappearing into deportation centers, President Bollinger should be doing a lot more than holding a symposium on civil liberties [which had occurred at Columbia earlier in the semester]—he should be protecting them." Dols took a similar tone in the pages of *Socialist Worker* (3 December 2004): "Rather than continue to play an active role in the witch-hunt of international students and the silencing of dissent, the Columbia University administration should take a stand against the attacks on its own professors." These remarks came at a time when the Columbia administration had already announced its intent to "investigate" the allegations purveyed by *Columbia Unbecoming* and moreover had been cooperating with the Feds' "war on terror" harassment of and spying on immigrant students for years!

And the hits just keep on coming. On February 7, Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz, a rabid Zionist who recently and infamously championed the use of torture as part of the "war on terror," was sponsored on campus by Columbia Stu-

dents for Israel: Columbia Law School's Israel advocacy club; Columbians for Academic Freedom and others. Dershowitz urged students to cooperate with the committee "investigating" allegations against MEALAC and Massad, denounced critics of Israel as "encourag[ing] the terrorists," and threw in his defense of "regulated" torture (*Columbia Spectator*, 8 February).

Dershowitz also used the "anti-Zionism means anti-Semitism" slander typically used by Zionists. In the statement defending himself against the charges in *Columbia Unbecoming*, Massad eloquently refuted this assertion:

"Unlike the pro-Israel groups, I do not think that Israeli actions are 'Jewish' actions or that they reflect the will of the Jewish people worldwide! All those pro-Israeli propagandists who want to reduce the Jewish people to the State of Israel are the anti-Semites who want to eliminate the existing pluralism among Jews.



Corbis-Bettmann

Scarred back of slave. Apologetics for slavery are Horowitz's stock-in-trade.

The majority of Israel's supporters in the United States are, in fact, not Jews but Christian fundamentalist anti-Semites who seek to convert Jews.... Therefore, it is not anti-Semitism that offends pro-Israel groups; what offends them is anti-Israel criticism."

Equating anti-Zionism with "anti-Semitism" has the effect of cheapening anti-Semitism, which is a very real phenomenon needing to be fought both in the West and the Islamic world. In fact, the Zionists have always reserved special venom for Jewish historians who defend Palestinian rights like Joel Beinin and Norman Finkelstein.

As revolutionary Trotskyists, we seek to win students and youth to a Marxist worldview, to *taking a side* with the exploited and oppressed against capitalist imperialism. Against the Zionists and all variants of Arab nationalism, we understand that the only solution to the problem of Israel/Palestine, where two peoples have valid, conflicting claims to a small territory, lies through the joint class struggle of Hebrew and Palestinian Arab workers, connected to class struggle throughout the region. In the first instance, this means that workers and their allies throughout the world must *defend the Palestinian people against Zionist aggression and demand: All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories!* A just solution is not possible under capitalism. The only road to peace in the Near East lies through socialist revolution. This requires not only a revolutionary struggle against the Zionist butchers and the collection of dictators, corpulent imperialist puppets, mullahs and monarchs who rule the remainder of the region, but also against the paymaster of oppression in the Near East—the American bourgeoisie at whose teat the likes of Daniel Pipes suckle. *U.S. out of Iraq now! Hands off the world!*

"Culture Wars" on Campus

The focus on area studies, Middle East studies in particular, is not accidental. After World War II, U.S. government-funded area studies programs were

continued on page 8

"Academic Freedom" Horowitz Style

Communists Expelled from SFSU Event

We reprint below a letter submitted by the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club to the Golden Gate [X]press, the San Francisco State University newspaper, which was printed on 10 February.

To the editor of *Golden Gate [X]press*:

In an outrageous incident, four members of the Spartacus Youth Club/Spartacist League were ejected from a forum given by racist ideologue David Horowitz on Thursday, February 3rd. When Horowitz rants that opponents of the occupation of Iraq are a "fifth column" or the "enemy within," it's clear he is calling to squash dissent. After Horowitz completed his rambling, racist speech and opened the floor for questions, we attempted to refute his ideas. But the very idea of anyone commenting on his speech sent him into sheer hysteria. He threatened to pack up and leave if one of our female comrades, a student at San Francisco State, made her comment. Instead, at Horowitz's behest, she and other members of our organization—all brown-skinned individuals—were promptly removed by the administration. Four police officers took their names and issued a seven-day ban from campus to two non-

student comrades of ours. This outrage exposed Horowitz's campaign for "academic freedom" as the exact opposite. Several students who attended the event voiced their solidarity with us and offered themselves as witnesses. We protest the expulsion of our comrades from the room and the administration's seven-day ban.

Had our comrade been able to make her comment, it would have simply amounted to these three sentences: "David Horowitz thinks that black people are lucky their ancestors were kidnapped and brought here to be slaves. Horowitz's campaign is part of an effort by the far right to roll things back to the McCarthyite 1950s, when communists, leftists and even liberals were witchhunted off the campuses while black students were excluded altogether. What Horowitz & Co. mean by 'academic freedom' is that the left and minorities are not allowed to get out their views." But Horowitz wouldn't let her get a word in, proving our entire point. The Spartacus Youth Club seeks to win students to the side of the working class. We fight for a socialist revolution to get rid of this capitalist system that breeds racism and war.

That's what Horowitz can't stand.

But it's not just us that Horowitz and his fellow neoconservatives are trying to shut down. There's a national witch-hunt attempting to silence and drive out those on the campuses who oppose the Iraq occupation and defend the Palestinians. That's what the Zionist campaign against Joseph Massad, professor of Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures at Columbia University, is all about. And just last semester on this campus, the College Republicans, echoed in Horowitz's online rag *Front-Page Magazine*, falsely labeled as "terrorists" four female students from predominantly Muslim countries. When these women refuted this deadly slander, they were ordered by the administration to apologize. The Spartacus Youth Club stands in defense of Professor Massad and the four women at San Francisco State. How far the right-wing witchhunt will go depends on how much labor, leftists and minorities are willing to stand up and voice their opinions. We will not be intimidated. Down with the police and administration attack on the right of free speech on campus—hands off all protesters, no administration reprisals!

Campus...

(continued from page 7)

established primarily to provide the U.S. imperialists with expertise on strategic regions in the Cold War. Following the September 11 attacks, the U.S. government developed a heightened interest in Middle East studies as part of the "war on terror." The Zionists and their allies in both the Democratic and Republican Parties, who object to *any* criticism of Israel in any public forum, have sought to drive out professors critical of Israeli and U.S. policy.

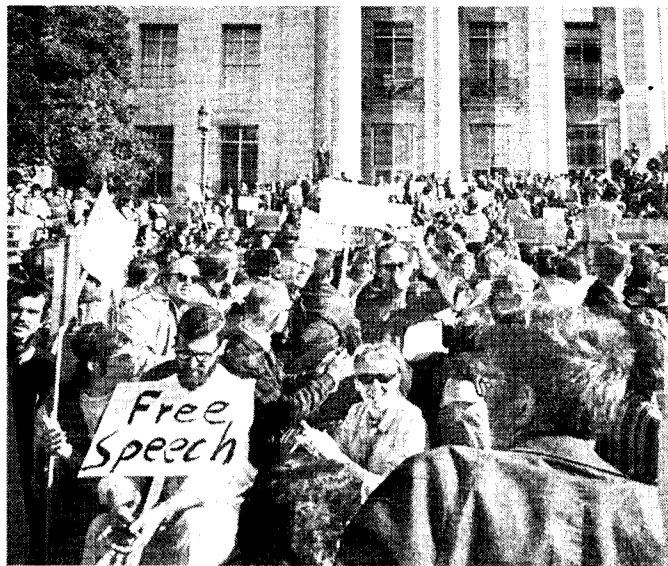
It is in this context that the ominous International Studies in Higher Education Act of 2003, or House Resolution (H.R.) 3077, has reared its ugly head. With the support of several Zionist organizations, notably the Anti-Defamation League and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, it passed the House unanimously and awaits a vote in the Senate. If passed, it would, among other things, lead to the establishment of a government "advisory board" including representatives of national security agencies to oversee federally funded university programs, Middle East studies in particular. Columbia's professor Rashid Khalidi warned: "If implemented as its proponents intend, it would impose the pseudo-sciences of terrorology and the demonization of Islam and Muslims as integral parts of teaching and research about the Middle East" (*In These Times* Web site, 11 December 2003). **Down with HR 3077!**

The attacks on area studies like Middle East studies are but the sharp end of a larger wedge. With the far right in the lead, the ruling class wants big-time roll-back: from abortion rights to the teaching of evolution in schools, from affirmative action to union rights. While their howls about "rampaging radicalism" on the university campuses are, unfortunately, a bad joke, the fact remains that they have not successfully established seamless ideological dominance. Therefore, those leftist faculty members who continue to work and teach are now particularly under the gun.

And the effects of the witchhunts on their targets can be devastating. The case of Oneida Meranto, a Navajo professor at the Metropolitan State College of Denver, is particularly telling. Two right-wing students who complained of her supposed "liberal bias" filed grievances against Dr. Meranto in the fall of 2003. In the meantime, one of the students, Nick Bahl,



Civil rights struggles, as in Birmingham, Alabama in 1963 (above), inspired Berkeley Free Speech Movement (right).



Helen Nestor

wrote an article denouncing Meranto in *FrontPage Magazine*. The other student, George Gordon Culpepper Jr., testified against Meranto before the Colorado Senate during deliberations on the "Academic Bill of Rights." Culpepper subsequently became an intern in the office of the bill's sponsor. Then the death threats against Dr. Meranto began rolling in, laced with revolting racist and sexist epithets, including, "Shoot this commie bitch." (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 26 November 2004). Though the university ruled the grievances to be without merit, two vicious right-wingers with a vendetta still managed to make Meranto's life a living hell.

Longtime American Indian activist and University of Colorado ethnic studies professor Ward Churchill is, at the time of this writing, the most recent target of a high-level onslaught. Churchill is well known in leftist circles for the history of the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO program he co-authored with Jim Vander Wall, *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against Domestic Dissent*, his writings on the U.S. government's genocidal treatment of Native Americans and his exposés of the UN sanctions against Iraq that resulted in well over a million deaths.

When Churchill was slated to speak at Hamilton College in upstate New York on February 3, some students and faculty protested his appearing, based on an essay he had written titled, "Some People Push Back": On the Justice of Roosting Chickens." Just after the September 11 attacks, Churchill wrote an angry liberal response to the crimes of U.S. imperialism, especially the murderous sanctions against Iraq. In this, he implied that Americans in general, due to their indifference to the suffering the U.S. government was causing abroad, were all guilty to an extent of these crimes. Thus, Churchill argues that the attack on the World Trade Center was a counterstroke in a war between the First and Third Worlds. In the course of this, Churchill referred to the "technocrats" in the World Trade Center as "little Eichmanns."

As Marxists, we find Churchill's interpretation of the attack on the World Trade Center—a *criminal act* that resulted in massive loss of innocent life and a godsend to the imperialist rulers—a grotesque version of liberal collective guilt.

Churchill's outlook divides the world into good peoples and bad peoples rather than into opposing classes. Those who carried out that attack embraced the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors. Unlike the World Trade Center, the Pentagon is the command and administrative center of the U.S. imperialist military, and as a military installation the possibility of getting hit comes with the territory. That recognition does not make the attack an "anti-imperialist" act, nor does it change the fact that terrorism almost always gets innocent people—in this case, the passengers on the plane as well as the maintenance workers, janitors and secretaries at the Pentagon. Nevertheless, we vigorously oppose the persecution of Professor Churchill for his unpopular views. The witchhunters, transparently, have seized on his World Trade Center statement in order to censor him, as payback for his long-time activism and exposure of the crimes of U.S. imperialism at home and abroad.

Thus, Churchill's appearance at Hamilton was canceled due to a flurry of death threats. He has already stepped down as the head of ethnic studies at the University of Colorado, and the state's right-wing governor, Bill Owens, as well as Colorado Senate president Joan Fitzgerald have called for his resignation. On campus, the board of regents has met to consider Churchill's future at the university. **An injury to one is an injury to all! Defend Ward Churchill!**

The very movements that returned leftists to campus and got significant numbers of black people into the universities, like the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley and the New Left, were themselves born of the tumultuous struggles of the time—notably the civil rights movement and the anti-Vietnam War movement. Likewise, the attempts to overturn these gains are part of a push by the emboldened right-wing rulers against *all* of the advances of previous struggles against oppression, repression and stultifying conformity.

Universities are repositories of knowledge, and, as Karl Marx remarked, ignorance never did anyone any good. Broader social struggles often find their reflection in student activism, which is by its very nature transitory (and by no means

always leftist). Like any institution under capitalism, the universities are run to benefit the capitalists, in the first place by training the administrative, technical and cultural personnel the capitalist system needs. This can range from the benign (high school math teachers, say) to the deeply malignant (State Department cadres, researchers for the military-industrial complex, ROTC, CIA operatives, strikebreaking "industrial relations" experts). At the same time, universities serve to provide scientific, cultural and technical knowledge needed by those who will be ideologists and spokesmen for all classes in society.

As part of our work on universities, seeking to win "class traitors" to a lifetime of service to the cause of international workers revolution, we fight for the maximum access to and democracy within the groves of academe and to obstruct the university from being direct instruments of class rule and class discrimination. Thus we call for open admissions and no tuition along with a paid living stipend. Education, *quality* education, is a democratic right and should be readily available to all, not merely to the fewer and fewer who can pay for it—or whose parents can pay for it. The elite private schools should be *nationalized*—and Columbia should be open to Harlem residents and Harvard to those of Roxbury! For the universities to genuinely serve the needs of those who study there, **the campus administrations should be abolished**—for student, worker, teacher control! To impede the universities from being direct agents of U.S. imperialism we call for an end to ROTC and all forms of military research.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs, the youth/student auxiliaries of the Marxist Spartacist League, seek to develop young radicals into communist militants, through socialist education and struggle, and to organize and link them, through the vanguard party, to the working class. Our goal is nothing less than the destruction of this rotten capitalist society through the seizure of state power by the working class. While many partial battles loom, it is only the revolutionary transformation of society that will put an end to the racist, witchhunting, war-mongering offensive. Join us in the struggle against world filth and for a socialist future! ■

SYC Classes

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York University Student Centre
Room 311C

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CHICAGO

Tuesday, March 1, 7 p.m.

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Socialist Revolution!**

University of Chicago
Cobb Hall, Rm 202, 5811 S. Ellis Ave.
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or e-mail: spartacist@iname.com

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University of British Columbia
Student Union Bldg., Room 211
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Marx...

(continued from page 6)

was because I thought the Hegelian contribution to Marxism had been overvalued, especially by bourgeois academics, and the influence on Marx and Engels of contemporary plebeian and proletarian radicalism—red republicanism—had been undervalued.

So I'd like to conclude this session with the wisdom of Philippe Buonarroti, a great and noble-minded man. For decades, usually under conditions of severe repression, he sought to form and lead revolutionary communist organiza-

tions. On one occasion he made a list of the personal qualities he looked for in recruits:

"Devotion to the principles of the order and willingness to sacrifice to them personal interests and pleasure."

"Courage, that is to say, scorn of danger, of work and hardship."

"Reflection, gravity, prudence." It's a dangerous world out there, so be careful.

"Patience and perseverance."

"Scorn for wealth, position, men, and power..."

"Inviolable respect for the word, the promise, and the vow." Say what you mean and mean what you say.

"Willingness to overlook personal

wrongs." In other words, don't be subjective, don't be cliquist.

"Moderation in the use of intoxicating liquors." Well, that's really a matter of personal taste.

"The habit of speaking little and to the point." This will make local meetings a lot shorter, comrades.

"No wish to make an impression, to shine, and to impose oneself." In other words, don't try to be a star.

"Caution in gambling, in love, in anger, and in the opening of one's heart." That really is a matter of personal style.

And finally: "Exquisite sensibility concerning the wrongs that weigh on humanity." With that we can all agree. ■

Stewart...

(continued from page 1)

lawyer to zealously defend him from prosecution, then fundamental liberties, from the right to a trial and an attorney, to even the right of free speech and assembly, are choked. In the racist, anti-immigrant post-September 11 climate, Mohamed Yousry and Abdel Sattar, both American citizens, were pre-judged guilty by reason of being Arab.

The world's biggest terrorist is the U.S. government, and its Democratic and Republican party rulers and spy agencies are the ones who should be tried by their victims as the animators and co-conspirators of the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* ilk. They armed, financed and trained these holy warriors to kill Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan and helped supply competing factions, including Osama bin Laden's "training camps" (now dubbed "terrorist universities" by Washington), with war matériel. When Soviet president Gorbachev sold out to the West and withdrew the Red Army from Afghanistan in 1989, the U.S. stopped pumping billions to their "freedom fighters," who then turned on their "infidel" creator. A government agent was at the center of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, and bin Laden was behind the criminal attack that killed thousands on September 11, 2001, when the Pentagon was also hit. The U.S. government prose-

Professor Mohamed Yousry with daughter, outside December 3 academic freedom conference. The American Association of University Professors condemned his firing by CUNY after his indictment in Stewart case.



Lisa Quiñones

Abu-Jamal wrote: "The horrific treatment of Iraqis at Abu Ghraib has its dark precedents in the prisons and police stations across America." Indeed, the convicted torturer, Sergeant Graner, was a guard at SCI-Greene where Mumia, a former Black Panther and MOVE supporter, is jailed for a crime he did not commit. The conviction of Lynne Stewart, if not fought and overturned, promises more Abu Ghraibs here and abroad.

In the Lynne Stewart trial, the prosecutors said repeatedly that they thought they had "locked up" Abdel Rahman and "thrown away the key." They accused Lynne Stewart of committing a "jailbreak" by communicating her client's views to Reuters news service. That this open communication of one man's opinion to one of the most established news agencies on the planet is construed as a "conspiracy" to provide "material support to terrorism" gives one a measure of how deep down in the dungeons the Justice

who was framed up effectively as a "terrorist" for his political views—"material support to terrorism"? How about buying his books? What about signing a petition on behalf of Irish nationalist IRA or Basque ETA prisoners?

Historically, conspiracy law (which comes from the Latin *conspirare*—to breathe together) has been used to nail anyone the government wants to silence yet can't charge with a single demonstrable criminal act. "To breathe together," to speak of how to defend oneself against the state and the ruling class is in itself the "crime." Organizing against slavery was "conspiratorial"; labor unions used to be illegal conspiracies in this country...and might well be judged so again if they don't get off their knees to fight the union-busting, anti-immigrant "war on terror" and legislation like the USA-Patriot Act. Every right that working people and minorities have has been wrested through struggle, and it's only through struggle that those gains can be held on to and advanced.

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

The irregularities in this seven-month trial could fill several very large tomes. The judge allowed highly inflammatory and utterly irrelevant "evidence" to be presented by the prosecution. Everyone admitted that the charges had nothing to do with the September 11 attacks. But in the very week of the anniversary, the prosecution was allowed to screen a videotape for the jury of Osama bin Laden speaking. As Lynne Stewart said, "When you put Osama bin Laden in a courtroom and ask the jury to ignore it, that's asking a lot." Likewise the kidnappings of foreigners in the Philippines and murder of tourists in Luxor, Egypt were outrageously introduced into court, because these acts were claimed to be the work of people inspired by Sheik Abdel Rahman, yet having nothing at all to do with the defendants!

A suspicious story carrying the distinct whiff of prosecution dirty tricks was aired on ABC TV news, linking the murder of an Egyptian Coptic Christian family in Jersey City to the Lynne Stewart trial. The story was broadcast and Lynne Stewart's picture was beamed into millions of television sets across the New York metropolitan area, and rebroadcast for days, smearing her and her co-defendants by association with this heinous crime, despite the fact that the Justice Department stated there was no connection between Stewart and the slaying. Although several jurors saw the broadcast or read articles about it, defense motions for a mistrial were denied, and no investigation was launched into the source of this calumny.

The prosecution repeated ad nauseam—literally **55 times** in the first two hours of rebuttal against Ahmed Abdel Sattar—that Abdel Sattar (and by implication his co-defendants) conspired to "kill the Jewish people." Yet those are not Abdel Sattar's words and they don't appear in the more than **90,000** wiretaps on his phone, and Abdel Sattar testified that these are not his views. This outrageous pandering to anti-Arab prejudice set the stage for murderous threats against Lynne Stewart issued by the fascist, racist goons of the Jewish Defense Organization (JDO). On February 8, the JDO taped a threatening flyer to the door of Lynne Stewart's home at 2 o'clock in the morning. That same flyer, announcing "Operation Crush Terror" was posted around the courthouse. A JDO recorded



Ronald Reagan meeting with reactionary Afghan mujahedin at White House, 1983. U.S. imperialists armed and financed Islamic fundamentalist terrorists against Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

cuted Sheik Abdel Rahman in part to cover its own bloody tracks.

After September 11, George Bush told the world, "You're either with us or with the terrorists" in an unlimited "war on terror" against innumerable unnamed enemies with imaginary weapons of mass destruction allegedly located among all too real civilian populations. As a government-appointed attorney for an Islamic fundamentalist cleric, Lynne Stewart was a prime target on the domestic front of the "war on terror." But let's be clear: black people and the working class are the ultimate target. Why? Because the politically conscious mobilization of workers and black people, in a class-divided society where the color line and the legacy of slavery prop up capitalist rule, is the combination to unlock the gate to revolutionary social change and progress.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the SL, seek to organize the tremendous social power of the working class to fight in defense of all victims of capitalist injustice, and in so doing, advance the struggle for a society where those who labor rule. Just as the prosecution of Lynne Stewart has ominous implications, so too does powerful protest against it have broader portent. The American labor movement has every interest in fighting against this conviction. All defenders of democratic rights and civil liberties should be mobilized behind the power of the multiracial working class. Put otherwise, her fight is ours and yours.

Mr. Gonzales's Gulag

The torture scandals in Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo, with photographic evidence of "liberation" American-style, horrified the world. Death row political prisoner and award-winning journalist Mumia

Department seeks to lock up its opponents. We recall Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's early comment when the lid blew off Abu Ghraib: the pictures were illegal, he said. His concern was public exposure of the evidence, not the torture.

In a television and radio interview the morning after the conviction, Lynne Stewart and her attorney Michael Tigar were asked about the violation of privileged attorney-client communication, how Stewart's meetings with her client were secretly videotaped. They also spoke of the chilling effect of "Special Administrative Measures" (SAMs)—enacted to muzzle Sheik Abdel Rahman—which deprive prisoners of basic rights and privileges, limiting their access to mail, phone calls and even visits by their attorneys. Michael Tigar noted that such measures are now being imposed on lawyers representing detainees to limit their ability to function:

"The only way that we will ever get to the bottom of the American concentration camp abuses at Gitmo and Abu Ghraib is that if the lawyers for these prisoners are permitted to tell their stories to the world. If the government can shut off that communication, which they have attempted to do over and over and over again, these activities will continue in secret, blessed as they are by the highest officials of government in a country which has for the first time in its history given a cabinet job to a fellow who says that the Geneva Convention is obsolete and that the torture memo doesn't mean anything."

—Democracy Now! Web site (11 February)

The Stewart trial verdict comes in the context of increased attacks by the Bush White House—and the Democrats—on civil liberties. Sitting in power is a dangerously demented regime that wants to brand every protest against its policies de facto "terrorism." What next? Is publishing a column by Mumia Abu-Jamal—

phone message announced Stewart's home address and called for her to "be put out of business legally and effectively." It boasted that the JDO had already spread their message to the jury. The prosecution argued that the JDO death threat was an expression of "free speech."

Two days later the jury returned a unanimous guilty verdict. But as Stewart said, "Three of the women on the jury wept during the entire rendition of the verdict. Why were they weeping if they thought they had done justice?" One juror was so inaudible when polled as to her agreement with the verdict that the judge made her repeat herself **four** times. A measure of what a cynical political frame-up this was, is that after winning their conviction, the prosecution did not demand that Lynne Stewart or Mohamed Yousry be remanded to custody. They walked out of the courthouse with the public where they belong.

Lynne Stewart has been disbarred (automatic with a felony conviction) and noted that it is "my greatest sense of loss that I will be cut off from this profession that I love and that I feel that I have served, and I have served people who had no voice." Yousry, a highly regarded adjunct professor of Near East history at York College, was immediately severed from CUNY by the craven administration upon his arrest in 2002. His prosecution was a particularly vindictive act by the Feds who, prior to his indictment, offered him \$1.5 million (plus cost-of-living increases) to fink for the FBI. He turned them down, and as he had nothing to "fink," this Justice Department-approved translator was convicted of...translating. The government's damning "evidence" against him was photographs of books stacked floor to ceiling in his home library. Ahmed Abdel Sattar is a supporter of Abdel Rahman and a postal worker who perhaps inflated his importance through phone calls with supporters of the sheik in Egypt and Afghanistan. A huge phone bill is hardly evidence of conspiracy to murder.

We're Marxists, not naive liberals who place their faith in the capitalist courts. We know dirty tricks and frame-ups are the stock in trade of the "justice" system. There are contradictions between the formal guarantees of freedom and the reality of capitalist state repression. While we strongly believe in the importance of using every legal means available to defend democratic rights, we place all our confidence in the class struggle, not the courts. The courts are not neutral. They are an integral part of the capitalist state, which masks the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with eyewash about equality before the law in a society where those who own the means of production make the laws to rule over those whose labor they exploit.

The verdict is a sign of these deeply reactionary times, and it is important to soberly assess this. But broader social struggle can in itself be a significant turn in the tide. We urge our readers to join protest actions and come to the sentencing hearing on July 15. Send donations to the Lynne Stewart Defense Committee, 350 Broadway, Suite 700, New York, NY 10013. **Overturn the convictions! Fight the frame-up!** ■

Partisan Defense Committee
CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Number 31, 50¢ Summer 2003

BRIEF OF AMICI CURIAE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE ON BEHALF OF JOSE PADILLA AND GRANTING HIS WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS

in the UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS

JOSE PADILLA, Diana R. Newman, et al. v. Next Friends of Jose Padilla, et al.

Class-Struggle Defense Notes
No. 31, Summer 2003
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Bush...

(continued from page 1)

used before to mask the putrefaction of carnage and social decay, there is something almost uniquely vile about being subjected to not-quite-literate sermons by a combat-dodging rich kid who views protest as treason. Minus the grandiosity, however, Bush's proposals are a variation of the depredations that have been visited on working and poor people for the past three decades under both Democratic and Republican regimes.

The pillaging and degradation of working people during this period have been nothing short of breathtaking. The share of total wages garnered by the lower 90 percent of the population has fallen by 13 percent. Meanwhile, the real income of the top .01 percent quadrupled.

With the deindustrialization of the nation, good jobs—those that pay something approximating a living wage—are few. Such hiring as has gone on in this, the up-phase of an economic recovery, has mostly been into McJobs in the retail, service and wholesale industries. Since Bush took office, more than 2.6 million manufacturing jobs have been lost. The labor participation rate (which includes those working and actively seeking employment) has been in a long decline and has now reached the lowest level since 1988. 65.8 percent of the working age population. Meanwhile, people 55 and



Seniors rally in Bismarck, North Dakota on February 3 against Bush's plans to loot Social Security.

sold them out. The current trade-union bureaucracy is an obstacle to waging militant class struggle because it is tied to the capitalist system and subservient to its state apparatus. Its support to the Democratic Party is in direct counterposition to independent class struggle.

It is precisely because the Democrats are the other party of the ruling class that they have had nothing of substance to say to America's working and poor people in general and only the meekest response to Bush's agenda. Around the inauguration many Democrats praised Bush's triumph in pulling off the sham elections in Iraq. Indeed, in their quest to regain power over the government, they are now trying to compete with the Republicans in "family value"-speak, as

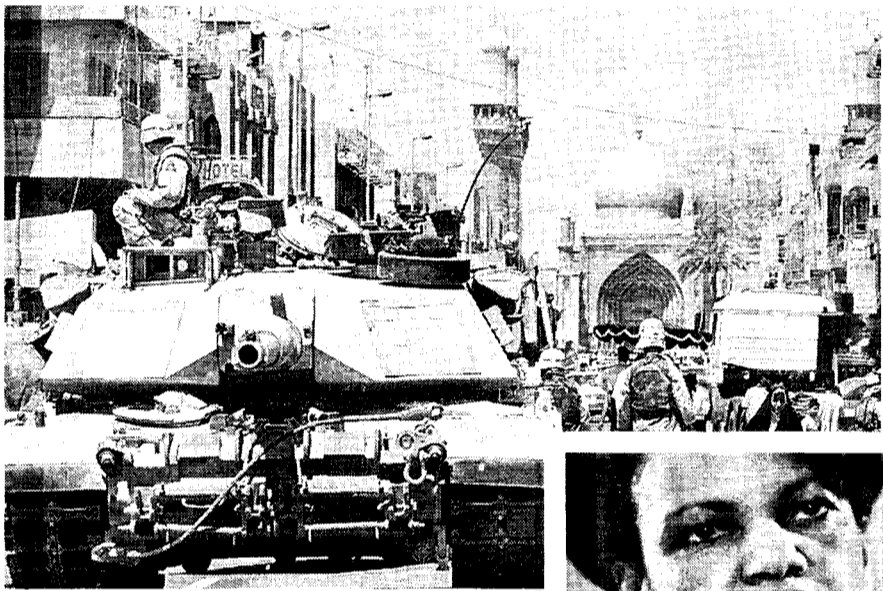
raising the retirement age or by price indexing or both. Little wonder then that, in his "State of the Union" address, Bush was able to favorably cite these Democrats in promoting his plan to privatize Social Security. For both parties, the essential problem is that ordinary people are living too long.

Since the September 11 attacks, the Democrats have sought to outdo the Republicans on the "war on terror," whose real purpose is to increase the repressive powers of the state and attack democratic rights. While some Democrats expressed reservations about the Iraq war, they overwhelmingly voted for the USA-Patriot Act. Now that the popularity of the war and occupation, which are of no intrinsic value to America's imperialist rulers, has waned, many Democrats are pumping for a withdrawal in the short run with no diminution in their fervor for the "war on terror."

The strengthening of the repressive mechanisms of the bourgeois state, and the dismantling of benefits won in past social struggles, represent the American imperialist rulers' drive to plunder the working class and will not be fundamentally challenged by either of its political parties. In brief, imperialist war—the quest for profits and power abroad—is inextricably connected to the drive to increase profits and power at home, although the populace cannot be subjected to the same promiscuous slaughter that is visited on the foreign "enemy."

But Bush's agenda is hardly a done deal. There is considerable resistance to many of his current proposals as well as accruing discontents among those who have witnessed the slow transformation of the "American dream" into a nightmare over the past decades. In fact, his proposed budget cutbacks, although vicious, are, in financial terms, not of great scale. And should the partial privatization of Social Security be enacted, actual benefit reductions will not begin for years. But the magnitude of the degradation in the quality of life for most Americans over the past three decades cannot be denied.

In British playwright John Osborne's *Look Back in Anger* (written in 1956), the protagonist, Jimmy Potter, observes,



Amid exposés of torture and other American atrocities in Iraq, new secretary of state Condoleezza Rice seeks to extend U.S. imperialism's tentacles over the globe.



Jim Winslet

older—most of them forced back to work after retirement—have become the fastest-growing portion of the workforce, comprising 14.3 percent of the workforce in 2002.

These developments reflect the normal dynamic of the capitalist system in the absence of significant labor struggle. As described by Marx, that dynamic is the accrual of profits and wealth by the owners of the means of production at one pole and the increasing misery and degradation of the producers of that wealth, labor, at the other pole.

For Class War, Not Massacre of Workers Rights!

For this reason, the only effective way for the working class to defend its interests is through class-struggle means—strikes, labor protests, plant occupations. But the trade-union tops have by and large abandoned effective means of class struggle. When pressed by the workers to strike, they have enforced the restraints of bourgeois legislation, like the Taft-Hartley Act, designed to vitiate the workers' ability to shut down production, hurt the capitalists' flow of profits and beat back the scabs. If forced to strike, usually these types have quickly thrown in the towel, often signing such egregious giveback contracts as to call into question the value of ever walking a picket line. A recent example of this was the UFCW grocery workers strike in late 2003-04 over the burning issues of health care and pensions. Despite the determined militancy of the workers, the UFCW leadership

witnessed by Hillary Clinton's recently revealed religiosity and her attempts at finding "common ground" with the right-wing, anti-abortion bigots.

Reflecting the real concerns of sectors of the ruling class over mushrooming deficit spending, the Democrats have, since the reign of Ronald Reagan, increasingly tried to cast themselves as the defenders of fiscal responsibility. It should be remembered that it was Bill Clinton who savaged welfare and, with it, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, this when the economy was booming and government deficits were vanishing. It was also under Clinton that the prison system population soared, today reaching over two million.

Attacks on social programs, like welfare, which was justified through racist demonizing of black women, are detrimental to all workers, underlining the need for all working people to oppose them. As a November 2004 article in *Monthly Review* by Janine Fitzgerald pointed out, "The real winners of welfare reform are the companies seeking to hire low-wage workers. Not only does welfare reform create a mass of poor women desperate to find work and feed their children, it disciplines all low-wage workers. Desperate men and women who do not receive welfare know that if they complain or demand better wages, they can be replaced by even more desperate welfare mothers."

For years, many Democrats have put forward their own schemes for "reforming" Social Security, either by further

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Each year there is a seemingly inexorable rise in tuition and fees in both public and private colleges and universities, along with mounting budget cuts. For public, four-year colleges, the percentage of tuition costs covered by Pell Grants fell from 98 percent to 57 percent between 1986 and 1998. Under Bush's current budget proposals, Pell Grants will be increased at most by a scant \$500 over the next five years while Perkins Loans, which provide as much as \$4,000 a year for undergraduate students in financial need, will be abolished. Educated and idle minds provide little of service to the continuation of capitalist rule.

For a Workers Party!

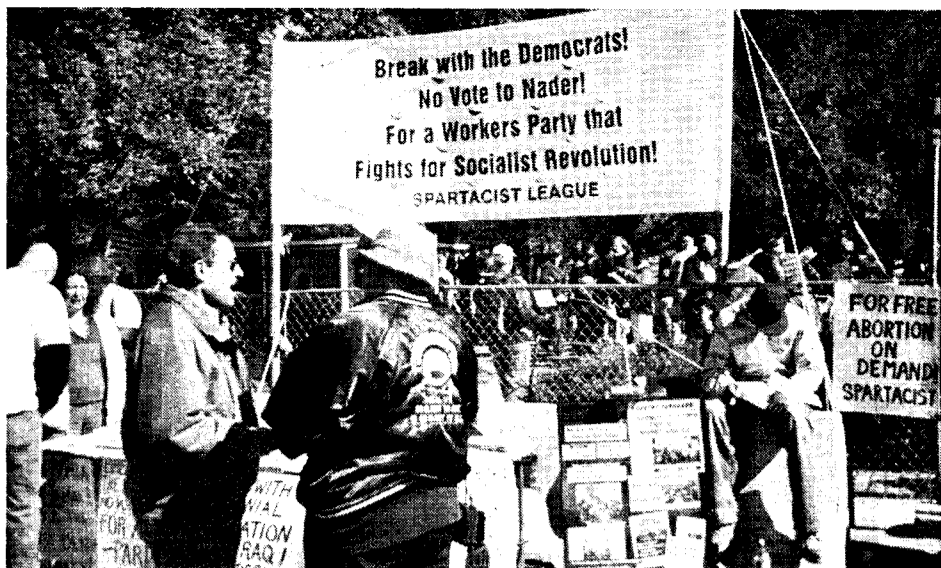
The social and economic oppression of black people, at first in the form of chattel slavery and, since the defeat of Reconstruction in the aftermath of the Civil War, in the form of race-color caste oppression, is a cornerstone of American capitalism. It reinforces backward consciousness within the working class, providing a wedge against concerted class action in opposition to capitalist rule, while establishing a minimum base for wages and social benefits. As Karl Marx expressed it almost 150 years ago, "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." It is no accident that the three main periods of social struggle in America—the Civil War, the working-class battles in the 1930s and civil-rights and anti-Vietnam War struggles of the 1950s and '60s—have all necessarily challenged black racial oppression. It is for this reason that the American socialist revolution will come to fruition only if the struggle

against all exploitation and oppression is linked to the cause of black freedom.

In the Cold War against the USSR following World War II, anti-Communist national chauvinism was whipped up by the American ruling class, enabling them to re-ensconce a pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy by purging the reds who were key in building the mass industrial unions in the '30s, from the trade-union movement. Perhaps the most eloquent and dialectical explanation for both the quiescence and the defeats of the working class, as well as for its victories, was given by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky in his 1940 piece, "The Class, the Party, and the Leadership":

"There is an ancient epigram from the evolutionist and liberal conception of history: Every people gets the government it deserves. History, however, shows that one and the same people may in the course of a comparatively brief epoch get very different governments...and furthermore that the order of these governments doesn't at all proceed in one and the same direction: from despotism to freedom as was imagined by the liberal evolutionists. The secret is that a people is comprised of hostile classes, and the classes themselves are comprised of different and in part antagonistic layers that fall under different leadership: furthermore every people falls under the influence of other peoples who are likewise comprised of classes. Governments do not express the systematically growing 'maturity' of a 'people' but are the product of the struggle between different classes and the different layers within one and the same class, and finally, the action of external forces—alliances, conflicts, wars, and so on....

"The very same dialectical approach is necessary in dealing with the question of the leadership of a class. Imitating the liberals, our sages tacitly accept the



WV Photo

October 2004: Spartacists at "Million Worker March" in Washington, D.C. call to break with the Democrats, build workers party.

axiom that every class gets the leadership it deserves. In reality leadership is not at all a mere 'reflection' of a class or the product of its own free creativeness. A leadership is shaped in the process of clashes between the different classes or the friction between the different layers within a given class."

The contradictions of capitalism inevitably produce class struggle. The question is, what leadership will the proletariat have. It is necessary to forge a class-struggle leadership in the unions that fights not only for immediate economic demands, but on broader social issues. Defense of immigrant rights against the government's "war on terror," defense of abortion and gay rights, freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolishing the

racist death penalty—these are some of the causes that a class-struggle leadership would take up, mobilizing the massive power of the working class on the side of all the oppressed. It is in the crucible of such struggles that the cadres will be assembled to forge the internationalist revolutionary party that can lead the overturn of America's bloodsoaked capitalist imperialist system and form a workers government. This would provide the crucial beginning to the creation of a world socialist order that will end for all time the exploitation and oppression of man by man. The central purpose of the International Communist League at this juncture is to assemble and educate, in the school of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, the cadres who will build such a party. ■

Black History...

(continued from page 3)

54th themselves, that the success or failure of the initially highly controversial policy of allowing armed blacks to play an official combat role would be measured by the conduct of these soldiers.

In May and June 1863, black and white Union regiments fought together for the first time in major battles at Port Hudson and Milliken's Bend on the Mississippi River. These battles were publicized in the North, and many white officers expressed surprise at how fiercely the black troops fought. But popular racist stereotypes of happy passive slaves, incapable of discipline and heavy combat, weren't significantly challenged until the heroic attack by the black troops of the Massachusetts 54th on Fort Wagner, which hit the North like a lightning bolt. This was certainly the first military action of the Civil War where the magnificent comportment of black soldiers in combat became popularly known, and it opened the way for the acceptance of black troops in heavy combat.

As Brian notes, in our review of the movie *Glory* in *Black History* No. 7 we used a quote from Cornish's *The Sable Arm* that characterized Higginson as a "romantic," thus reducing the differences over the conduct of the war to those of New England romantics vs. Western realists. Although Higginson and Shaw did not much like slash-and-burn tactics at this point in the war, they had no principled opposition. Shaw wrote in his letter to his wife about Darien: "If it were the order of our government to overrun the South with fire and sword, I might look at it in a different light: for then we should be carrying out what had been decided upon as a necessary policy."

"Total war" had become official policy in the crucial Virginia theater in September 1864, when General Ulysses S. Grant instructed General Philip H. Sheridan to lay waste to the Shenandoah Valley so thoroughly that "crows flying over it for the balance of the season will have to carry their own provender." The policy was best exemplified by General Tecumseh Sherman's campaign. Colonel Higginson in his book *Army Life in a Black Regiment* wrote: "All now admit that the fate of the Confederacy was decided by Sher-

man's march to the sea." This march to the sea was designed to divide the Confederacy in two. It devastated the South economically and demoralized it by demonstrating the Union's military might. Notwithstanding the distortions of Confederate-eulogizing movies like *Gone With the Wind*, "total war" did not entail terrorizing or killing civilians. The Civil War was fought mainly between armies.

Conservatives and Democrats found the idea of black ex-slaves bearing arms unthinkable, to say nothing of their prejudice against the notion of black officers. Discrimination against black troops even in official Union Army regiments was rife. Black troops were paid only the wage of laborers. General Sherman himself was a racist who refused to have black troops in his army until forced to by pressure from above in 1865. This fact points to the need to understand the Civil War as a battle of *opposing class forces* in which the power of events overtook individual subjective intentions, proclivities and limitations, and compelled a frontal assault on the whole system of slavery.

Finish the Civil War!

The Civil War and its aftermath continue to shape this country to this day. The smashing of the slavocracy ushered in the period of Radical Reconstruction in the South, when, with the ex-Confederate states under Union Army occupation, black people got access to education and black men got voting rights, and many black soldiers who fought against slavery played leading roles in Reconstruction governments. But with the "Compromise of 1877" and the withdrawal of Union troops, black people were left defenseless against nightriding Klan terrorists, their white hoods symbolizing the ghost of the Confederacy.

To complete the unfulfilled promise of black freedom requires a fight to *finish the Civil War* with a third American revolution—a socialist revolution against the capitalist system of institutionalized racial oppression that divides the working class and forcibly segregates black people at the bottom of society. The heroic role played by the black troops of the First South Carolina Volunteers, the Massachusetts 54th, and the radical abolitionists stands as an inspiration for the struggle ahead. ■

Japan...

(continued from page 5)

controlled banking and industrial combines] are furious. Following the visit to China by German chancellor Schröder and large economic delegations in November, the head of Keizai Doyukai (Association of Corporate Executives) called on Koizumi to refrain from visiting Yasukuni shrine. The growing two-way trade with China, set at ¥8 trillion (\$79 billion) for the first six months of 2004, is fueling the Japanese jobless "economic recovery," and the bourgeoisie does not want anything to get in the way of its increased profits.

While there may be tactical differences within the bourgeoisie, in the lead-up to the 60th anniversary of the end of WWII, the Japanese ruling class is united in throwing off the constraints of the "defeated nation" syndrome. To accomplish this, domestically the ruling class needs to impose a policy of economic austerity, whip up nationalist poison and reinforce the oppressive apparatus needed for the maintenance of capitalist law and order. While targeting the workers states overseas, the new defense guidelines strengthen the state's arsenal of repression against the workers movement at home. To augment the emergency war legislation which targets unions in the transport industry, these new guidelines call for the establishment of special anti-guerrilla units, intelligence gathering operations are to be strengthened, and cooperation among the

military, the police and coast guard is to be heightened.

"Peace in Northeast Asia" will never be realized as long as Japanese imperialism exists. There is much anger among the working people of this country and a real desire to fight against economic recession, discrimination, increased state repression and war. An important example is the refusal of the Sasebo longshoremen to load war matériel onto a Self-Defense Force warship bound for the Indian Ocean in 2001. As we wrote at the time, "This type of class-struggle action by members of Zenkowan (All Japan Dockworkers Union) has more potential to thwart Japanese imperialism's military ambitions and plans for increased domestic repression than all of the dozens of 'antiwar' demonstrations held recently across the country" ("Japanese Longshoremen Refuse to Load Warships," 7 December 2001).

This anger and militancy must be directed toward building a real workers party which will coordinate the struggles against war, against racism and chauvinism, against sexism and against unemployment. A Trotskyist party would link the fight for workers revolution in Japan with the Chinese and North Korean workers struggle against their corrupt Stalinist bureaucracies and with the class struggles of the militant Philippine and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers. Only through a socialist revolution in imperialist Japan will the basis be laid for the development of a socialist Asia. ■

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Right-Wing Thought Police Assault Free Speech on Campus

Young Spartacus

You read them in major newspapers. You see them on cable news. Their essays span a thousand Internet blogs. Always, the complaint is the same: they are persecuted, hounded by remorseless "elites" bent on world domination. Are these the complaints of an oppressed minority group? Embattled workers? The unemployed? Leftist protesters? No, these bleats come from the mouths of smug think tankers and hacks with intimate ties to some of the most influential policy-makers in government today. In this Orwellian campaign, the expression of views in the university that run contrary to those ruling the country equals a lack of "academic freedom." Under the spurious banner of "academic freedom," student groups are harassed, professors threatened with being purged, whole departments "investigated" for the current version of "un-American activities" reminiscent of the McCarthyite anti-red witchhunting of the 1950s, when Communists, leftists and even liberals were driven off campus and black students were largely excluded.

The current campaign to purge the campuses is not simply a vicious ideological assault. It supports and is supported by the power of the American capitalist government. Intelligence agencies have long had a sufficient presence on American campuses for CIA spokesman Sharon Foster to boast in 1988 that the agency had enough professors secretly on its payroll "to staff a large university" (*CounterPunch*, 26 January). Since September 2001, this has clearly accelerated. A case in point is the Pat Roberts Intelligence Scholars Program (PRISP), named after its Senatorial sponsor. Designed for graduate students interested in working in intelligence, the PRISP program keeps its recipients secret. Professor David Price of St. Martins College, who publicized the case, has stated that, "These PRISP students are also secretly compiling dossiers on their professors and fellow students" (*CounterPunch*, 26 January).

Snooping, harassment, purges: these attacks are part of an overall assault on and qualitative diminution of democratic rights that has intensified with the U.S. capitalists' bipartisan "war on terror." Arab students, black students, women students, gays, leftists and all those opposed to imperialist slaughter and domestic repression have a stake in fighting back. And the campaign being waged by the likes of David Horowitz, Ann Coulter and the bourgeois media, including its under-crust tabloid variety, should also be opposed by the organized working class, which has the objective interest and social power to do so.

The attempted castration of intellectual dissent is an attack on *all* opposition to the ruling-class agenda. Today it is particularly aimed at those who oppose the bloody occupation of Iraq and voice outrage at the genocidal "collective punishment" of the Palestinian people by Israel's Zionist rulers. Middle East studies departments, including distinguished scholars, are among the prime targets of campus witchhunts. But the same forces that would like to see campuses inhabited solely by white frat boys in khakis also

want to see a union-free workforce that they can more brutally exploit. They seek a docile, regimented society, all the better to send the sons and daughters of the working people to serve as cannon fodder in U.S. imperialism's wars abroad while ripping up even the most minimal gains of previous class and social struggles at home. And, in this country where the bed-

rosive effect of their retrograde ideas. Seeking to shut down right-wing ideologues when they speak on campus will only play into their hands by making it appear that the left has no answer to their demagoguery.

The campus right-wingers showed their fangs against political opponents at San Francisco State University (SFSU) in



Right-wing rogues' gallery. Clockwise from upper left: Donald Rumsfeld, Joseph McCarthy (center), David Horowitz, Daniel Pipes and Paul Wolfowitz. McCarthyite witchhunters like Horowitz and Pipes are linked to Bush regime.

rock of the capitalist system is the racist oppression of black people, the would-be McCarthys are racist to the core.

Horowitz: Racist Apologist for Slavery

Unsurprisingly, former leftist-turned-right-wing ideologue and self-appointed Grand Inquisitor David Horowitz is up to his eyeballs in all of this. Horowitz is high in the councils of the Republican Party. His diatribes run in major newspapers. His neoconservative think tank, the Center for the Study of Popular Culture, rakes in millions of dollars, his daily online *FrontPage Magazine* is a standard-bearer for the very right-wingers running the country at present.

In 2001, Horowitz ran an ad in around 50 campus newspapers across the country that contained nauseating apologies for slavery and spat on the gains of black struggle (see "Racism and Witchhunts on Campus," *WV* No. 756, 13 April 2001). Now, he is touting a grossly misnamed "Academic Bill of Rights." The bill, among other things, empowers "duly constituted authorities" to snoop into hiring and tenure decisions on college campuses, attempting to provide a basis for a purge of the left from campuses. The Georgia State Senate passed the measure, and it is up for consideration in several other states.

As Horowitz pushes his agenda in the halls of state legislatures and on the Internet, he and his ilk are pursuing a sustained and vicious campaign on the campuses. Thus, some 150 chapters of the Horowitz-inspired Students for Academic Freedom have joined with various conservative clubs, College Republican groups and the like in harassing left-wing professors and staging racist provocations. Marxists understand that it is necessary to *refute* the lies of right-wing propagandists and combat the cor-

rosive effect of their retrograde ideas. Seeking to shut down right-wing ideologues when they speak on campus will only play into their hands by making it appear that the left has no answer to their demagoguery. The campus right-wingers showed their fangs against political opponents at San Francisco State University (SFSU) in the fall of 2004. When heated arguments between four female students from predominantly Muslim countries and the College Republicans degenerated into the Republicans screaming that the women were "terrorists" amid vile racist epithets, various campus groups held an impromptu demonstration in defense of the women. Horowitz's *FrontPage Magazine* pilloried the women in scurrilous articles while the College Republicans concocted phony tales of the women's "terrorist" activities, leading to government surveillance. Meanwhile, SFSU president Robert Corrigan has demanded that *both* groups apologize or face academic penalties under "hate speech" regulations championed by liberals. Our comrades at SFSU issued a January 21 leaflet, printed in the last issue of *WV*, which explained: "These are McCarthyite strategists: both their cam-

paigns and their racist lies must be exposed" and demanded: *No administration reprisals! Down with the right-wing witchhunt!*

Our position is in marked contrast to ostensibly socialist groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO). At SFSU, where the four students were threatened with campus discipline, Students Against War (which includes ISO members) issued a petition with the demand that "there be no punitive action against these four women or any organization they belong to." But the core of the petition is a call on Corrigan to act as a regulator of political speech on campus. Such regulations would be used as they always are—in the first instance, to go after the left and minority students. Quoting a line from a 2002 letter by Corrigan that read "hate speech is not free speech," the petition stated that "signatories of this petition would agree with the president's sentiment." Such language renders the petition unsupportable. And this came *after* he threatened reprisals against the immigrant students for expressing their political views.

Lest there be any doubt about the supposed "neutrality" of the campus administration, when a comrade of the SFSU SYC tried to make a comment during the Q&A period at Horowitz's recent forum at SFSU, grotesquely billed as a talk on "academic freedom," campus security was called in to silence any dissenting views, removing four SYC supporters. As we noted in a letter to the *Golden Gate [X]press* (see page 7): "How far the right-wing witchhunt will go depends on how much labor, leftists and minorities are willing to stand up and voice their opinions. We will not be intimidated." *Down with the police and administration attack on the right to free speech on campus!*

Apologists for Israeli State Terror on the Warpath

The Zionists act as extra-governmental auxiliaries for the imperialists on campus and are an integral part of the racist, witchhunting cabal. The principal instigators of these assaults on campus dissent are closely linked to the Bush administration. Campus Watch, which snoops on

continued on page 7



Right: SYC defends victims of Zionist witchhunt at Columbia press conference, December 2004. Above: Prof. Joseph Massad.



Akira Hakuta/Columbia Spectator