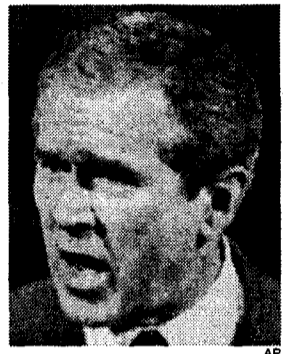




U.S. Imperialism: Deadly Enemy of World's Working People



Crowley/NY Times



AP



AP



U.S. Air Force

Left: Passenger train destroyed by U.S./NATO bombing in 1999 air war which devastated Serbia. Black Hawk helicopters (right), part of massive U.S. military aid to Colombia initiated by Clinton in name of "war on drugs." President-elect Bush looks to step up support for murderous repression in Latin America.

No Illusions in the Democrats— Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Immediately following the U.S. Supreme Court decision giving him the election, Republican president-elect George W. Bush intoned that his administration would seek "reconciliation and unity" and would represent Americans "of every race and every background." Along these lines, Bush's first cabinet appointment was retired black general Colin Powell, key architect of the 1991 Persian Gulf slaughter of Iraq under Bush Sr., as secretary of state.

But the real character of the administration was demonstrated by the subsequent nomination of a rogues' gallery of right-wing fanatics—from Donald Rumsfeld as "defense" secretary, who almost makes Vietnam War criminal Henry Kissinger look like a '60s peacenik, to interior secretary-designate Gale Norton, a militant anti-environmentalist whose mission appears to be to tear open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for Big Oil. Personifying the administration's reactionary racist cast is the proposed attorney general, John Ashcroft, a Bible-thumping anti-abortion and anti-gay bigot and devotee of the Confederacy, who in a 1998 interview with *Southern Partisan* praised the magazine for "defending Southern patriots" like Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson and Jefferson Davis.

Pointing to Bush's provocative appointments and screaming that the Republicans "stole" the election, black Democrats like Jesse Jackson, and left-

liberal and radical notables like Noam Chomsky, Barbara Ehrenreich and Frances Fox Piven are building for "counter-inaugural" protests on January 20 in Washington, D.C., Tallahassee, Florida and other cities. Actively organizing for these pro-Democratic Party rallies are a host of reformist left groups such as the International Socialist Organization and Workers World Party, whose International Action Center declared on December 13 that the goal of the D.C. protest "is to let Bush know from the beginning that he does not have a mandate to continue his pro-rich, anti-poor policies on a national level."

But except for the legal right to abortion, the main demands of the anti-Bush protests could just as well have been directed at the Clinton-Gore White House. The call issued by Chomsky & Co. declares its opposition to "the further expansion of prisons and repressive crime laws." The number of young black men and also women in prison today, mainly on drug charges, is far greater than it was eight years ago when Clinton was inaugurated, replacing Bush Sr. Yet Jesse Jackson and other black bourgeois politicians were for years among the biggest boosters of the racist "war on drugs," although recently muting this line while condemning the "prison-industrial com-

plex." As Marxists, we call for the *decriminalization of drugs* as well as prostitution and other "crimes without victims."

The protest call also condemns "the use of the death penalty." Here there really is no difference between the leadership of the Republicans and the Democrats. In 1992, Clinton interrupted his campaign in order to go back to Arkansas to personally oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man. And in the recent campaign, Gore reaffirmed his support for the death penalty, racist legal lynching which is rooted in the heritage of black chattel slavery.

Significantly, the organizers of the "counter-inaugural" affair have focused on domestic issues—repression against black people, abortion rights—and have little quarrel with current American foreign policy. They are not calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops, supposedly serving as "peacekeepers," in the Balkans. They are not calling for an end to Washington's military aid to Zionist Israel, now brutally intensifying the murderous repression of the Palestinian Arab people. They are not even raising their usual reformist, pacifistic demand to cut the Pentagon budget in order to increase social spending.

It is not at all surprising that these

protests have little or nothing to say about U.S. imperialist militarism abroad. In recent years, it has been liber-

als and many so-called leftists who have been the foremost advocates of "human rights" imperialism. From Somalia to Kosovo, they demanded and supported U.S. military intervention in the name of "humanitarian" concerns. Anti-"globalization" protests in Seattle and Washington, D.C. called on the U.S. government to protect the poor people of "Third World" countries from the predations of "transnational" corporations.

In reality, the American imperialist state—the Pentagon, the CIA—is the main political agency for Wall Street banks and Fortune 500 corporations in exploiting and oppressing the rest of the world. Moreover, every major war fought by U.S. imperialism in the past century was launched under Democratic presidents in the name of liberal ideals. The Democrats can mobilize far wider support for such wars, particularly among workers and the black population, than the Republicans, who are viewed as the party of "big business" and white racism.

In building the anti-Bush protests, the liberals and fake socialists are playing on anger among black people who feel that they were robbed of their right to vote, and not only in Florida, where thousands were intimidated from voting and others had their ballots invalidated. But

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Young Spartacus

Defend Abortion Rights! Free Abortion on Demand!

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No Faith in Capitalist "Justice"

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!



WV Photo

The following are excerpts from Spartacist League spokesman Ed Kartsen's presentation at the Partisan Defense Committee's annual Holiday Appeal benefit for class-war prisoners in New York City on 2 December 2000.

Four years after the 1927 execution of anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, a legal case would bring to national and international attention the anti-black racism which is at the core of capitalist rule in America. Nine young black men in

Alabama were accused of raping two young white women. They were called the Scottsboro Boys.

These young men were put on trial and convicted repeatedly in spite of the fact that there was no crime committed, that there was no evidence of a crime. One of the alleged rape victims even recanted her testimony and confirmed that there was no rape.

In 1937, charges against four of them were dropped. The remaining five strug-

gled with life in the hellholes of Alabama prisons. The nightmare for these young black men didn't end until 1950, when the last one got out of Alabama and away from the sadistic prison guards and rat-infested cells.

Racism and anti-communism are the true doctrines of the rule of American capitalist "democracy." In the 1960s and '70s, the FBI's Counter-Intelligence Program, COINTELPRO, targeted radical organizations for disruption and victimization. In the case of the Black Panther Party (BPP), this program was carried out with the intent of exterminating the Panther leadership. There were 233 secret COINTELPRO operations against the BPP. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover pledged at the time: "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries."

Mumia Abu-Jamal, who has been a courageous and eloquent voice speaking out against the injustices of the racist rulers, was placed on the FBI's "security index" of subversives in 1970, when he was minister of information of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party. After being framed up on false charges of killing a cop, Mumia was convicted not on the basis of evidence but on the basis of his political beliefs. The prosecutor urged that he be sentenced to death for his uttering the simple truth, as a member of the Black Panthers, that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

As in the Scottsboro case, the facts that prove his innocence have had no effect on the courts and the racist capitalist state, which see him as the personification of the threat of what the slaveholders called servile insurrection. Those who call for a "new trial" for Mumia, like the International Socialist Organization, promote faith in the same courts that repeatedly sent the Scottsboro Boys back to prison. They push the lie that the courts will provide Mumia with a fair trial.

We reject this sniveling capitulation to

the myth that racist capitalism can provide justice for Mumia in particular or for black people in general. It is the power of the multiracial working class that must be mobilized as the decisive force in the struggle to free Mumia! We demand the immediate freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal and all the class-war prisoners!

Those who advocate faith in the capitalist courts are helping to cover up the fact that these courts and the whole capitalist government are racist through and through. The cops that shot at Amadou Diallo 41 times were acquitted because the racist rulers thought that they were simply doing their job. This government uses its cops and courts to maintain a boot on the neck of black people, labor and all of those oppressed by capitalism.

The racist union-busting of the American ruling class in the U.S. is the domestic side of its imperialist policies abroad. It provides the military hardware for the bloody slaughter of Palestinians by the Zionist state. It strangles Iraq with a blockade that has killed over a million children. It has targeted China for capitalist restoration and the crushing of the Chinese working class. Its economic rivalries threaten world war and the destruction of civilization.

Class-conscious workers organized into an international revolutionary party are the only force that can stop the imperialist machinery of death abroad and at home. This is the only force that can stay the hand of the racist legal lynchers who intend to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal. This is the only force that can put an end to over a century of bloody imperialist destruction, genocide, brutality and racism. Organized into a revolutionary workers party, this force will conquer power in the final conflict and open the way for the construction of socialism.

Let us take this occasion to strengthen our determination and resolution to stand with the class-war prisoners and carry the fight for the liberation of society forward. Build a revolutionary workers party! Fight for a socialist future! ■



TROTSKY

Proletarian State Power Versus Bourgeois Democracy

The rampant discrimination against black voters in the recent U.S. elections has caused deep anger in the black population. While we communists are the staunchest defenders of the democratic rights workers and oppressed minorities have secured under capitalism, we understand that bourgeois (parliamentary) democracy disguises the reality of the domination of the exploiters over the exploited, which in the U.S. is also defined by the bru-



LENIN

tal segregation of black people at the bottom of society. Our goal, as stated in a document written by Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin for the founding of the Communist International, is a proletarian revolution which expropriates the capitalist class and establishes a government of democratically elected workers councils (soviets), a transition to a world communist society in which there will be no classes and no state.

In explaining the class nature of bourgeois civilization, bourgeois democracy, and the bourgeois parliamentary system, all socialists have expressed the idea formulated with the greatest scientific precision by Marx and Engels, namely, that the most democratic bourgeois republic is no more than a machine for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie, for the suppression of the working people by a handful of capitalists. There is not a single revolutionary, not a single Marxist among those now shouting against dictatorship and for democracy who has not sworn and vowed to the workers that he accepts this basic truth of socialism. But now, when the revolutionary proletariat is in a fighting mood and taking action to destroy this machine of oppression and to establish proletarian dictatorship, these traitors to socialism claim that the bourgeoisie have granted the working people "pure democracy," have abandoned resistance, and are prepared to yield to the majority of the working people. They assert that in a democratic republic there is not and never has been any such thing as a state machine for the oppression of labor by capital....

Only the soviet organization of the state can really effect the immediate breakup and total destruction of the old, i.e., bourgeois, bureaucratic and judicial machinery, which has been, and has inevitably had to be, retained under capitalism even in the most democratic republics, and which is, in actual fact, the greatest obstacle to the practical implementation of democracy for the workers and the working people generally. The Paris Commune took the first epoch-making step along this path. The soviet system has taken the second.

Destruction of state power is the aim set by all socialists, including Marx above all. Genuine democracy, i.e., liberty and equality, is unrealizable unless this aim is achieved. But its practical achievement is possible only through soviet, or proletarian democracy, for by enlisting the mass organizations of the working people in constant and unflinching participation in the administration of the state, it immediately begins to prepare the complete withering away of any state.

—V.I. Lenin, "Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (March 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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

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

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

The closing date for news in this issue is January 16.

No. 750

19 January 2001

Spartacist Forums

Defend the Palestinian People!

No UN Imperialist Intervention!

For Workers Revolution Against Zionist and Arab Capitalist Regimes!

Trotskyist League Forum

Wednesday, January 31, 6:30 p.m.

University of British Columbia, Room 330, Buchanan B

VANCOUVER

For more information: (604) 687-0353

Democrats Are No Friends of Women's Rights Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Defend Abortion Rights! Free Abortion on Demand!

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Tuesday January 23, 7:30 p.m.

Hamilton Hall, Room 609, Columbia University

NEW YORK

For more information: (212) 267-1025

ISO Peddles Illusions in Capitalist "Democracy"

For the International Socialist Organization (ISO), 2000 was the Year of the Donkey. It began with the ISO changing the main demand of its Campaign to End the Death Penalty from the call for abolition to the slogan "Moratorium Now!" in an effort to appeal to Democratic Party politicians like Illinois Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr. Then these reformists threw themselves wholeheartedly into support for bourgeois Green Party candidate Ralph Nader, lyingly portraying his campaign as a break from the capitalist Democrats. Nader's rhetoric about "corporate greed" and "alternative" politics was designed to refurbish the image of the capitalist electoral system and to pressure the Democratic Party to adopt a more "progressive" stance.

But the Nader campaign blew up in the ISO's face when the vote totals came in and the liberals they cater to began screaming that Nader had thrown the election to the Republican Bush. Anxiously, the ISO changed tack to come out more openly in support of the Democrats. Under the headline "Governor Death Tries to Steal the White House—What a Fraud!" the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (10 November 2000) breathlessly recounted how it "held up its deadline to 5 a.m. Wednesday, and then 5 a.m. Thursday, and we still didn't know whether George W. Bush would keep a tiny edge of 1,655 votes in Florida." As *Socialist Worker* (24 November 2000) proclaimed, "We need to fight for real democracy," the ISO became some of the best builders of the nationwide pro-Gore "count every vote" rallies. In San Francisco on November 11, one of several ISO speakers began by asking the crowd not to throw anything at him because he had voted for Nader, and ISOers joined in chants of "Gore got more!"

From campaigning for Nader to its calls for "real democracy" in the direct service of the Democrats, the ISO has



WV Photo

ISO joins pro-Gore rally in Chicago's Daley Plaza, November 11.

revolution, led by a vanguard workers party, that creates a workers state and expropriates the bourgeoisie as a class.

Seeking to pressure the capitalist state is precisely the program of the ISO, Workers World Party and other reformist left groups which are joining with Democratic Party liberals in building the January 20 "counter-inaugural" protests against Bush in Washington, D.C. and elsewhere. With slogans like "Free the black vote!" the reformists seek to tap into the just outrage among black people over the racist barriers they faced in trying to exercise their right to vote last

the Democratic Party in the South—the Dixiecrats—their sheriffs and KKK lynch mob terrorists. While the liberal black leadership represented by Martin Luther King Jr. sought to contain these struggles within the framework of bourgeois politics, particularly by tying the movement to the federal government under Democratic presidents Kennedy and Johnson, the Spartacist League intervened to win militants away from the dead ends of Democratic Party liberalism and black nationalism. We raised the call for a South-wide Freedom Labor Party as an expression of the political independence of the working class and the need to mobilize the labor movement to fight for black emancipation.

The politics of Democratic Party "lesser evilism" pushed by the trade-union tops, the liberal black bourgeois politicians and the reformist left perpetuate the racist hell that American society is for black people and all the oppressed. The Democratic Clinton White House oversaw the end of "welfare as we know it" and other attacks on the black poor; the massive speedup on death row and the unprecedented growth of incarceration to over 2,000,000 people, overwhelmingly black and Hispanic; the imperialist war against Serbia and repeated bombing raids against Iraq.

As defenders of the democratic rights which working people and oppressed minorities have won through struggle, we are not indifferent to the fact that, despite Gore receiving a small majority in the popular vote, Bush got the presidency based on a Supreme Court diktat and his majority in the Electoral College. We favor direct popular election of the president just as we favor proportional representation: political parties should be represented in Congress in relation to their strength among voters. But such democratic reforms would not change by one iota the class character of the American state as a capitalist dictatorship.

For the social-democratic ISO, however, "democracy" is the be-all and end-

all of their program. A *Socialist Worker* (8 December 2000) article titled "An Alternative to Their Undemocratic System" notes that "even if the system worked properly, the U.S. electoral process has nothing to do with the democratic motto of 'one person, one vote,'" declaring, "Ultimately, socialists stand for a system that will ensure real democracy—by running society through workers' councils." Noting that workers councils have historically arisen in the course of class struggle, the ISO writes, "These councils can grow over naturally into governing bodies that make decisions about society."

What the ISO completely leaves out of this scenario is the need for the working class to *seize state power*. The only society ever ruled by workers councils was Soviet Russia, and that required a social revolution which destroyed the power of the capitalist ruling class, expropriated its property and ruthlessly suppressed attempts to restore the capitalist order. *The ABC of Communism*, written by Bolsheviks Nikolai Bukharin and Evgeny Preobrazhensky in 1919, forthrightly states:

"The Soviet Power openly proclaims its class character. It makes no attempt to conceal that it is a class power, that the Soviet State is the dictatorship of the poor.... The Soviet Power, therefore, not only proclaims its class character, but does not hesitate to deprive of electoral rights and to exclude from the instruments of power the representatives of those classes which are hostile to the proletariat and to the peasantry."

The workers state that emerged from the October Revolution was the most democratic society on the face of the planet for the working class and poor peasants, and a *dictatorship* over the capitalists and landlords.

Hostile imperialist encirclement and the failure of revolution to spread beyond backward Russia to the advanced capitalist world led to the consolidation of a parasitic, nationalist bureaucracy led by Stalin which usurped power through a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. As Trotskyists, we gave unconditional military defense to the Soviet degenerated workers state until its destruction in 1991-92 while fighting for proletarian political revolution to restore soviet democracy and defend the gains of October. In contrast, the ISO, driven by its obeisance to bourgeois democracy, hailed anti-Communist Polish Solidarność, Boris Yeltsin's capitalist-restorationist forces and every other counterrevolutionary movement backed by Western imperialism against the Soviet Union.

Even while doing donkey work for the Democrats, *Socialist Worker* (8 December 2000) lectures about "the need for the working class to play an independent and leading role in the struggle." What chutzpah! The ISO's prating about "real democracy" reinforces the very illusions that have tied the American working class to the capitalist class and its parties, especially the Democrats. The necessary precondition for any struggle against the capitalist system is the complete independence of the working class from all parties and agencies of the capitalist class. It is the task of Marxists to combat illusions in the Democratic Party "lesser evil" which are the main obstacle to the struggle to forge a workers party, the necessary instrument to lead the fight for socialist revolution. ■



Mitchell/Chicago Defender

Eyes on the prize: ISOers Alice Kim (right), head of Chicago Campaign to End the Death Penalty, and Keeanga Taylor embraced by Democratic Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr.

been perpetrating its own fraud. Bourgeois democracy is nothing but the dictatorship of the tiny class of capitalists over the exploited and oppressed. As V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, wrote in *State and Revolution* (1918): "To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—that is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics."

Stripped of its democratic trappings, the capitalist state is an instrument of organized force and violence, consisting at its core of the police, army, courts and prisons, for maintaining capitalist property and profits. The capitalist state cannot be reformed or pressured into serving the interests of the working class but must be swept away through a socialist

November. Among all the attempts to manipulate the Florida vote, black people were particularly targeted: stopped by police roadblocks or otherwise prevented from entering polling stations, denied a ballot because they had served jail sentences even if they had a voter registration card. In many black precincts in Chicago, as many as one in six ballots were tossed out. This is *business as usual* in racist America, where millions of black men—139,000 in Florida alone—are denied suffrage due to felony convictions, many of them resulting from the racist, bipartisan "war on drugs."

The disenfranchisement of black voters in the elections is a bitter pill to swallow for black people, who are deeply conscious that it took the massive civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s to win the right to vote and other democratic rights. Those rights were gained *against*

Young Spartacus

Defend Abortion Rights! Free Abortion on Demand!



January 22 will mark the twenty-eighth anniversary of the Supreme Court's 1973 decision in *Roe v. Wade* which legalized abortion nationwide. Marxists regard the level of equality of women in a society as a measure of the advancement of that society; as abortion is one of the most explosive issues in the struggle for women's equality, it is a bitter indictment of capitalist America that today we see restrictions on the right to abortion on every front. The increasing curtailments of the right to abortion reflect the policies of both the capitalist parties. Of course, to the extent that there was any differentiation at all between the Republicans and Democrats in the last elections, it was over abortion, and accordingly, many people believe that the claims of some Democratic politicians to support a woman's "right to choose" provide some assurance that this right, originally won as a result of massive social struggle, will be upheld by a sector of the ruling class.

But the "pro-choice" Democratic politicians stay far away from the reality of access to abortion. As with any democratic right in this deeply class-divided society, the "right to choose" is severely

Democrats Are No Friends of Women's Rights

slaughtered courageous doctors and abortion clinic workers. And the aggressive crusade of the anti-woman bigots who seek to have their own religious opinions enforced as repressive laws has had a real effect on popular consciousness, so that even some youth who see themselves as "progressive" question the "morality" of abortion.

While the Democrats cynically pose as defenders of women's rights, the de facto *suppression* of the right to abortion has continued unabated even while a "pro-choice" Democrat has occupied the White House. This is evidenced by the rise in anti-abortion intimidation and terror, the diminishing number of qualified doctors and the tangle of state laws enacted to undercut the right to abortion. An indication of just how attenuated

Casey permitted the states to "regulate" abortion such that in 1999 alone, 70 bills restricting abortion were enacted in 34 states. Such laws span a range from "conscience clauses" allowing health care workers to refuse to participate in abortions, to parental consent requirements for minors seeking abortions, bans on late-term abortions and mandatory waiting periods.

Women in the U.S. have spent 12 years waiting for the government approval of the safe and effective non-surgical abortion method, the RU 486 pill. Last September's approval of the drug, mifepristone, held out the promise that women could inexpensively get an early abortion as privately as possible and without having to run a gauntlet of rabid "right to lifers" outside an abortion clinic. However, with the existing restrictions on abortion and the added restrictions that came with the Food and Drug Administration's approval of RU 486, it is unlikely that this will make early abortion any cheaper, or significantly more widely available. The drug will not be available at pharmacies, only through doctors who sign up with the supplier, and at first will cost about \$300, according to the doctors who ran the clinical trials of the drug. The FDA requires that any doctor who provides the drug be able to provide a surgical abortion or have an agreement with another doctor or clinic that can provide an abortion—already a huge restriction given the dearth of abortion providers. In addition, there are several states with laws that apply to all forms of abortion, surgical or not, such as requirements that the doctor be licensed as an abortion provider and that their facilities meet the requirements applying to surgical suites.

Deadly "god squad" bigots have already vowed to wield their terror against doctors prescribing RU 486, as a statement from the president of the Texas-based anti-abortion group Life Dynamics shows: "Physicians who perform chemical abortions will be identified, labeled, exposed, stigmatized, ostracized and in every way treated exactly the same as conventional abortionists" (*Wall Street Journal*, 13 November 2000). Already a

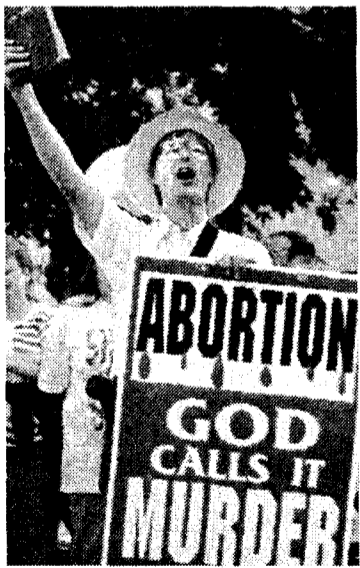
Washington, D.C.: Abortion clinic defense against "right to life" terrorists, January 1992.

Web site named the "RU-486 Registry" has been set up, promising to list doctors who prescribe the drug and in some cases even the names of their children and the schools they attend. This is akin to existing "right to life" Web sites which provide what are essentially hit lists of abortion providers, with the names ominously crossed off when a doctor is killed. In the days following the FDA approval, anti-abortion legislators introduced an act further restricting RU 486, and Bush has already stated his support for a Congressional move to limit the use of the drug.

Another sinister wedge in the campaign against abortion rights is a series of legal measures serving to "protect the rights of the unborn." In the fall of 1999 the "Unborn Victims of Violence Act" was passed by the House of Representatives which would amend the federal criminal code to create a separate and special offense if the death or bodily injury of an "unborn child" is caused while committing a federal crime. The anti-abortion bigots who would be happy to see women die butchered in back-alley abortions are claiming that this bill serves to defend pregnant women from violent attack. In fact it is aimed at establishing the concept of "fetal rights" as a basis for the eventual repeal of abortion rights and the prosecution of women for their conduct during pregnancy.

Such prosecution is already occurring. According to the *New York Times* article "Should a Fetus's Well-Being Override a Mother's Rights?" (9 September 2000), some 200 women in 30 states have been prosecuted based on legal theories of "fetal abuse." This includes a woman in Georgia being charged with murder for the death of her premature baby because she had tested positive for cocaine—she had also received no prenatal care. In October of last year, an important case against the city of Charleston, South Carolina was brought to the Supreme Court on behalf of a group of mostly black women whose urine was secretly tested for drug use by hospital staff in an obstetrics clinic in 1989. The positive test results were turned over to local police and prosecutors and several women were literally dragged bleeding from their hospital beds and arrested immediately after the births of their children.

These attacks on women under the guise of "protecting the fetus" are justified with the theory that the fetus is a



U.S. News & World Report



Reuters

Anti-abortion bigots have carried out deadly attacks on abortion clinics; an injured nurse rescued from bombed clinic in Birmingham, Alabama, 1998.

conditioned particularly for poor, minority and working-class women by the diminishing number of doctors and clinics providing abortions and the ability to pay the extravagant cost. At the same time, in this deeply religious and puritanical country the American capitalist class wages reactionary ideological campaigns aimed at socially regimenting the population. These campaigns embolden the kinds of "right to life" terrorists who have

access to abortion became under the Clinton presidency is the fact that 86 percent of U.S. counties overall and 95 percent of non-metropolitan counties lack an abortion provider. The impact of anti-abortion violence finds its measure in the 14 percent drop between 1992 and 1996 in the number of doctors who perform abortions (Alan Guttmacher Institute Web site, 2000). The 1992 Supreme Court ruling in *Planned Parenthood v.*

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

human with a "soul" present from conception. The Catholic church invented this idea of the fetus as a human being endowed with a soul (though Augustine established that the male fetus acquires a soul 40 days earlier than the female), and its position on whether abortion is murder or not vacillated over the centuries. As materialists, we do not consider humans as separate from the rest of the animal kingdom and thus do not believe that the "soul" exists.

Democrats: No Defenders of Women's Rights!

It is in the context of widespread attacks on women's rights that Al Gore was able to pose as Clinton's heir apparent as a defender of abortion rights in his campaign for the imperial presidency against George W. Bush last year. Indeed, the only significant difference between these two defenders of capitalist exploitation, imperialist war and racist oppression was Gore's defense of the "right to choose." Feminist and abortion rights advocacy groups, including the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL) and Planned Parenthood, poured millions of dollars into the bourgeois electoral campaign on behalf of Gore and other Democrats around the country. This included aiming to win over "Republican and Independent women" who support abortion rights but were either unaware of Bush's staunchly "pro-life" positions or skeptical that he would actually pursue these if elected. It is this layer of mostly white, middle-class women—who have no problem with the mainstream, racist American status quo, but who are alienated by the anti-woman campaigns of the religious bigots—that led bourgeois politicians to begin posturing as "pro-choice" in the late '80s. It was understood that elections could be won on this basis, and this was largely the case in Clinton's 1992 election victory.

Precisely because politicians have figured out that smearing abortion as "murder" doesn't go over too well with many middle-class women, Bush largely underplayed his anti-abortion positions in the election campaign. As the *New York Times* (27 October 2000) noted, "Mr. Bush has done a masterful job of neutralizing, if not burying, an issue that has tormented past Republican nominees, who are often torn between the party's anti-abortion base and the independent suburban voters who decide elections." Despite Bush's posturing in the lead-up to the elections, there is little doubt that his presidency will represent a real threat to the right to abortion. Thus he supported a constitutional amendment that would outlaw abortion except in cases of rape, incest or endangerment of the life of a pregnant woman. Bush's nomination of Tommy Thompson, anti-abortion governor of Wisconsin and the architect of the most draconian "welfare reform" program in the country, to the position of secretary of health and human services is quite sinister. And the racist and virulently anti-abortion John Ashcroft, if made attorney general, could lead a drive to overturn *Roe v. Wade*.

The liberals and feminists who worked overtime to get Gore elected would have you believe that the only hope for defending abortion rights is to place faith in the likes of Clinton, Gore and the Democratic Party. What exemplifies Clinton and Gore's regard for women's rights is not their tepid "pro-choice" rhetoric at election time, but what they *did* as president and vice president over eight years—literally starving millions of women and children through their racist drive to "end welfare as we know it," their assault on Medicaid which has made any sort of health care even more inaccessible to poor and working women and their implementation of a host of anti-abortion measures including renewing the decision to deny federal funds for abortions except in cases of rape, incest or life endangerment.

The feminists' and liberals' support

to the Democratic Party has meant that these and other attacks on women's rights have been met with little to no protest while the Democrats have held office. In the wake of the heinous murder of Dr. Barnett Slepian in 1998, the feminists of organizations such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) got busy long enough to stump for various "pro-choice," pro-death penalty Democratic Party politicians at a couple of token rallies. Of course they sought to defuse any impulse toward mass social protest or militant clinic defense actions. For the feminists, having the Democrats in power means that not rocking the boat is of utmost importance, and small matter that the vile and murderous anti-abortion bigots are emboldened when their attacks are not met with significant protest.

It was unusual that Hollywood, which normally steers clear of such "controversial" issues, recently produced a poignant film adaptation of John Irving's novel *The Cider House Rules*. The story portrays a courageous doctor performing abortions in Maine in the 1940s and is a powerful defense of the right to abortion, driving home the point that the absence of this right literally condemns women to death. However, the depiction of Dr. Larch in idyllic Maine when abortion was illegal

state and openly advertises his services including performing late-term abortions. A forthright defender of abortion, he defiantly draped a huge American flag outside his newly opened clinic in the town of Ocala, where the previous abortion clinic was burned to the ground in 1989. He is currently charged with lying under oath and extortion after he sued the town of Ocala for failing to protect his clinic from anti-abortion harassment. Facing up to 30 years in prison, the loss of his medical license and a massive fine, what was construed as "extortion" by the authorities was his verbal statement that he would bankrupt the county during negotiations with city officials as part of his lawsuit. Like him, Dr. LeRoy Carhart of Nebraska refuses to be cowed by anti-abortion forces that purchased the building that houses his clinic and are now seeking to evict him. Having successfully challenged a state ban on late-term abortions last year, he states: "They figured if they couldn't make abortion illegal through the courts, they would run me out of town.... It's just a fight that's worth fighting is how I put it" (*New York Times*, 7 November 2000).

Abortion is a politically explosive issue because it raises the question of the equality of women. This simple and safe med-

ical first trimester abortion was \$316, with the charge jumping to \$618 at 16 weeks of gestation and \$1,109 at 20 weeks. In addition to restrictions on the use of federal funds for abortion, currently 32 states restrict state funding for abortions under Medicaid to cases of rape, incest or life endangerment and an additional two states restrict funding to cases of life endangerment only. The call for free abortion on demand cannot be isolated from the fight for decent living conditions, free health care and childcare. Nor can it be separated from the fight against the state, the family and religious institutions which keep the working class shackled to capitalist exploitation, the source of all manifestations of oppression.

Women's Liberation: Marxism vs. Feminism

The deep-seated oppression of women is rooted in the institution of the family which arose alongside the advent of private property as a mechanism for passing property on from one generation to the next—the monogamous wife ensures the paternity of the heirs. This is what Friedrich Engels termed the "world historical defeat of the female sex" in his groundbreaking book, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884). For the capitalist class the family is of value in ensuring its own "legitimate" heirs, but why is it then supposed to be normative for the working class, which has no property to transmit? The institution of the family serves as a bedrock of social conservatism which the bourgeoisie uses to ensure the habit of obedience to authority. Together with religion, the family serves to instill a morality which proscribes anything that deviates from the family ideal—from premarital to gay sex. Women and men are thus fearful and docile and children obedient and often guilt-ridden—and this vulnerability and regard for "morality" is very useful to the capitalists in beating back any struggle against their system. Anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry stem from the strong sexual stereotypes that are required according to the traditional division of labor in the family.

As Marxists we seek to replace the functions of the family which cannot be abolished—that of the care and feeding of the working class and raising the next generation. In order to remove the burdens associated with child rearing, we seek to establish communal facilities for housework and provide free, 24-hour childcare. This is in line with the measures the Bolsheviks enacted in the interest of the liberation of women after the 1917 Russian Revolution. Only in this way can women be freed to fully participate in social and political life and the basis for anti-woman bigotry be destroyed. This will also remove the economic need and stifling moralism that force couples to get together or stay together. However, these rational measures cannot be put into place without a socialist revolution that does away with the capitalist system of production for the profit of a tiny minority and replaces it with a collectivized and planned economy. Only such an economy can provide the material basis required for this reorganization of society.

The Marxist understanding of women's oppression as rooted materially in class society is diametrically opposed to the outlook of feminism, which is fundamentally a variant of bourgeois ideology, positing the main social division as one of sex and not class. Feminists see women's oppression as a set of bad ideas and policies stemming from male supremacy, not as something integral to class-divided society. While some feminists recognize class inequality, it is no coincidence that they generally look to the capitalist state and its rulers to secure rights for women, because they really believe that women's oppression can be eradicated within the

continued on page 6



Petrograd, March 1917: Women at demonstration in support of workers soviets (councils) raise banner demanding eight-hour workday. Demonstrations by women workers sparked 1917 Russian Revolution.

in the 1940s stands in stark contrast to what the life of an abortion doctor looks like today, in the age of legalized abortion. Providing abortions is literally a life-threatening occupation in this country, and those who continue to perform them are endowed with extraordinary courage and ideological conviction. A clinic director in Boulder, Colorado, Dr. Warren Hern, states: "I walk out of my office and the first thing I do is look at the parking garage that the hospital built two doors away and see if there is a sniper on the roof. I basically expect to be shot any day" (*San Jose Mercury News*, 10 November 1998). Among the necessary equipment in a typical abortion clinic are bulletproof glass and vests, pistols and clinic staff armed with baseball bats, stun guns and pepper spray.

The terrorist "right to life" forces that murder, bomb, intimidate and harass are the extralegal arm of the "moral" crusades orchestrated by the ruling class. As opposed to the liberals and feminists who call on the cops and courts, to defend abortion clinics under the 1994 Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, we understand that such laws do less than nothing to stop the mobs besieging clinics and can be, and have been, used against clinic defenders, picketing strikers and leftist protesters. We call for mass mobilizations to defend the clinics, backed up by the social power of labor in defense of women's rights.

Just last year, Clinton's Justice Department took over a local case in Florida against Dr. James Pendergraft, a black doctor who runs five clinics around the

ical procedure provides women with some control over whether or not to have children. For this reason it is viewed as a threat to the institution of the family which is a crucial prop for the system of capitalist exploitation. The Spartacus Youth Clubs and Spartacist League uphold the right to abortion as a necessary measure for women's health and well-being. We reject the fundamental acceptance of the religious bigots' premise that abortion is immoral which is implicit in statements by even "pro-choice" politicians, such as Clinton and Gore's opining that abortion should be "rare" or Nader's concern for "preventing the necessity of abortion." Under capitalism, working-class and poor women are daily denied the right to basic health care, access to contraception and the means to adequately feed, house and educate their children. It is this system and its rulers which condemn an estimated 78,000 women to die yearly worldwide as the result of back-alley abortions, which represent 13 percent of pregnancy-related deaths (Alan Guttmacher Institute Web site, 2000). Approximately 20 million of the 46 million abortions performed annually occur in countries with highly restrictive abortion laws—for wealthy women it is merely a question of paying for a safe abortion; for the masses of working-class and poor women, it means risking their lives.

In order for safe and legal abortion to become a reality for working-class, minority and immigrant women, we call for *free abortion on demand*. In the United States, with its for-profit health care system, as of 1997 the average cost of a nonhospi-

Abortion...

(continued from page 5)

framework of capitalism. The main goal for feminists is formal equality under the law and political representation for women, seeking to equalize the position of upper-class women within the existing society.

While sexual oppression cuts across class lines, as does racial oppression, it is futile to look to the women who represent the ruling class as some kind of ally in the fight for women's liberation, precisely because their *class* interests are primary. Their class interests cannot be served without the existence of the family as a prop for capitalism. It is generally the case that if feminists today consider their working-class "sisters" at all, they feel liberal guilt. In fact they feel more of an affinity for a "sister" like Hillary Clinton. As Marxists, we fight for the equality of women, but unlike the feminists we understand that even the most minimal gains for working people, women and minorities have been achieved only as a result of social struggle, not through the ballot box, and certainly not through lobbying Congress or arguing before the Supreme Court. We also understand that these gains remain entirely reversible so long as the capitalist system remains in place.

As criminal as it is that the feminists and liberals rely on the capitalist Democratic Party to defend women's rights, at least this is consistent with their bourgeois and petty-bourgeois class outlook. However, an organization that purports to have a working-class outlook and even claims to be revolutionary, the International Socialist Organization (ISO), fundamentally shares the same program as the feminists. In supporting the candidacy of capitalist Green Party politician Ralph Nader in the elections last year, the ISO was compelled to polemicize against NOW and assorted feminists for their criticism of Nader's statement to Katha Pollitt of the *Nation* that abortion is "a settled issue" and that "We're not going back to the back alley again. Pro-choicers are too strong." Surely the feminists' main reason for going after Nader was not that his position differed fundamentally from the Democrats', which it didn't, but their fear that Nader would sap votes from their preferred candidate Gore. However, the ISO took the bait and, as the loyal supporters that they were to Nader, made a whole series of apologies for Nader's dangerous remarks while advising him to "place more emphasis on fighting against explicitly sexual and racial oppression" (*Socialist Worker*, 29 September 2000). The ISO tried to make Nader palatable to blacks and women, asserting that "Nader, in other words, believes in the power of broad-based movements to win social change" (*Socialist Worker*, 29 September 2000). The ISO merely provided a left-sounding cover to an openly capitalist politician whose candidacy was nothing more than an attempt to pressure the Democratic Party. So if the feminists were doing

"dirty work for Gore" as the ISO claimed, then they themselves were up to their necks in the same muck, albeit under a different guise. When it became apparent in November that Nader had in fact potentially cost Gore the election, the ISO had no compunction about dropping all their left-sounding criticisms of Gore and the Democrats in order to do penance by joining in pro-Gore rallies, chanting "Gore got more!"

In an October 13 *Socialist Worker* article titled "Will Gore Protect the Right to Choose?" the ISO went to some lengths to convince those who, unlike Nader, cared about the issue of abortion, that "voting for Al Gore won't guarantee a woman's right to choose." But the article shares the feminists' reformist premise that the ultimate solution can be achieved within the framework of capitalism. The concluding paragraph states: "The real power to defend our rights or win changes in society



Paul Keating
Carter speaking in Buffalo church in 1976; Democrat Carter brought religious right to mainstream politics after Vietnam War.

lies not in voting for a Democrat but in building a movement that can put pressure on the politicians—Republican or Democrat—elected legislators or unelected judges, to do what we want." But all the pressure in the world will not make capitalism able to provide women's liberation, an end to racial oppression or "real democracy" without having to smash capitalism!

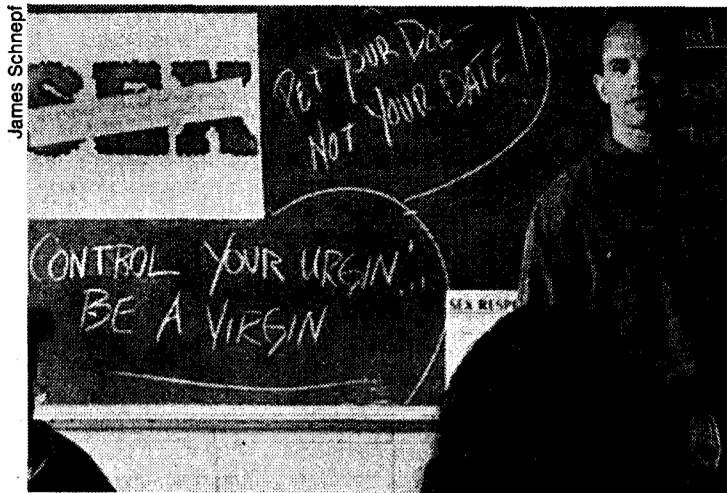
The ISO fosters the conception common among political youth that whatever happens in society is because of the guys at the top. In contrast, the SYC understands that power in society resides in the working class, which creates the wealth, and that the limited and reversible reforms benefiting workers and the oppressed under capitalism come about because the ruling class fears the spectre of revolution. The fight for women's rights must be generalized and broadened into the struggle to smash the capitalist system as a whole. The vacillation on the

Blacks, Gays, Jews, Minorities - Nazis Want to Destroy Us & Ours
STOP THEM!
7 Committee Against the Nazis



WV Photo
Spartacist-initiated mobilization in Chicago, June 1982, brought out 3,000 to stop Nazi provocation against Gay Pride march.

Federally funded "abstinence before marriage" programs in public schools preach anti-sex moralism and deny education on birth control and disease prevention.



part of the bourgeoisie on various issues (such as the right to abortion, which has a significant reservoir of support among the population) is part of the nature of the capitalist system, allowing the ruling class to expand and contract democratic rights depending on what is necessary to maintain the stability of capitalist rule. To posit that anything less than the overturn of the capitalist system can be ultimately satisfactory to the needs and wants of working people and the oppressed is the reformist lie retailed by all manner of militant liberals like the ISO.

Reforms Under Capitalism Always Reversible

A useful case study in the nature of reforms under capitalism is the history of how abortion rights came about in the first place and the ways they have come under attack ever since. For all the brouhaha over Supreme Court appointments meaning the overturn of abortion rights, it is revealing that it was not the political composition of the Supreme Court—whose chief justice was a Nixon appointee—which led to the legalization of abortion. The decision in *Roe v. Wade* was the product of a brief period when the capitalists chose to make certain reforms in the face of the explosive social struggles beginning with the civil rights movement in the mid-1950s and continuing into the 1960s and 1970s with the anti-Vietnam War movement. This period marked the end of the "American Century," when the U.S. had been at the pinnacle of its imperialist domination of the world and height of economic prosperity following World War II. American power was significantly weakened as a result of the defeat of the U.S. by the heroic workers and peasants of Vietnam. During this time, hundreds of thousands of radicalized youth took to the streets in the struggle for black rights and in opposition to the dirty imperialist war in Vietnam. The spectre of massive social unrest represented by a semi-mutinuous army and an entire generation of youth alienated from society led the capitalist ruling class to make two moves in 1973—they abolished the draft and legalized abortion nationwide. But this period was short-lived.

The ruling class realized it had to bring the population into line. A shift to the right followed in the mid-1970s, much of it spearheaded by the Democratic Party administration of "born again" Christian Jimmy Carter. Abroad, Carter renewed U.S. imperialism's Cold War drive aimed at the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, this time disguised as a crusade for "human rights." Domestically, a series of socially reactionary bipartisan policies were aimed at overcoming what came to be known as the "Vietnam syndrome"—the widespread disaffection of the population and its mistrust of the government. It was seen as necessary to re-instill an unquestioning acceptance of god, family and, most importantly, the willingness to die for one's country. This was the ideological cover given to a campaign which served to abrogate a whole series of democratic rights domestically, from attacks on measures to desegregate schools to attacks on striking

workers, the witchhunting of gay schoolteachers and the restoration of the death penalty by the Supreme Court in 1976. It was in this context that a Democrat-controlled Congress passed the Hyde Amendment of 1976, which banned federal funding of abortions for poor women. It was as a result of this right-wing shift by *both* the Democrats and Republicans that the fundamentalist Christian right was brought to political ascendancy and became part of the mainstream in the White House.

Today the impact of these reactionary forces is evidenced in the teaching of creationism, school prayer, the censorship of pornography and erotic art, and the witchhunting of "pedophiles," including people whose only "crime" is to download a picture off the Internet! A measure of the reactionary influence of religious superstition in this country was depicted in a recent *New York Times* article (28 November 2000) about the rise of exorcisms both in the Catholic church and among Protestants. It quoted an evangelist preacher as having a goal that "no one should ever be more than a day's drive from a city where you can find an exorcist"—if only such were the case for women finding abortions! While Clinton as president backed off from the extreme anti-gay, anti-woman and "family values" religious bigotry of the White House under Reagan and Bush Sr., he repeatedly capitulated to the far right wing—from the "don't ask don't tell" sham which has led to even wider persecution of gays in the military to supporting bans on late-term abortion with an exception for life endangerment. While he presented it in a more rational package, he fundamentally shared the same interests as the extreme right wing—to shore up the institution of the family and the authority of religious ideology in a population viewed as insufficiently compliant with the aims of U.S. imperialism.

Youth in particular bear the brunt of the anti-sex crusades that the ruling class drums up in this especially religious country. The campaign against the "sin" of premarital sex was bolstered by the

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

NEW YORK

The Russian Revolution—How the Working Class Took Power
Tuesday, February 6, 7:30 p.m.
Columbia U., Hamilton Hall, Rm. 609
For Information: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

Anglo Chauvinism and Canadian Capitalism: Why Marxists Advocate Quebec Independence
Wednesday, January 31, 7:00 p.m.
U of T, International Student Centre, 33 St. George St.
For Information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

NDP Rules for the Bosses: Break with the Pro-Capitalist NDP!
Wednesday, January 24, 6:30 p.m.
UBC, Student Union Building, Rm. 213
For Information: (604) 687-0353

SYC Speaker at PDC Holiday Appeal

“For a Socialist Future for All Humanity!”

The following is a speech given by New York SYC member Elizabeth Johnson at the Partisan Defense Committee's 15th annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners on December 2. Holiday Appeal benefits were also held in Chicago and the San Francisco Bay Area. These benefits are held to express solidarity with class-war prisoners like Mumia Abu-Jamal and to raise funds for the PDC's program of sending monthly stipends and holiday gifts to the prisoners and their families.

Probably the best advertisement for the Spartacus Youth Club is just the world around you. If you take a look around you at the world capitalism has bequeathed us, it's a world where unemployment and hunger go hand in hand with the destruction of commodities, like food, for profits. It's a world where imperialist powers devastate whole regions in competition for markets and resources. In this country, particularly if you're young, particularly if you're black, you daily face the savagery of the capitalist injustice system, a violent, racist state, and enforced social repression. So, what are you going to do about it?

The Spartacus Youth Club arms young revolutionaries with the politics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We intervene into social struggle and mobilize youth behind the social power of the multiracial working class. The strength of this program was seen right here in New York last year on October 23rd in the protest that drove the KKK out of the city. The strength of this program was seen in our united-front actions to defend abortion clinics, and in our active support of the student strikers of Mexico City's National Autonomous University. But why should youth line up behind the proletariat? Why Marxism? Because the working class produces the wealth of society. The working class has the power

to shut down the capitalist profit system and thus to remake society. Look at the Russian Revolution of October 1917. The working class, led by the Bolshevik Party, overthrew the rule of rapacious capital and seized state power.

We defend the Chinese, Cuban, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states just as we defended the Soviet degenerated workers state. We defend them despite their deformation by Stalinist bureaucracies. We defend the social gains of these revolutions. Like the Russian Revolution, the Chinese Revolution of 1949 brought literacy, the emancipation of women, virtually free housing, full employment and pensions. Compare that to the richest country in the world, the United States. Ronald Reagan and Bush the elder brought us social repression, union-busting and massive cuts in public services. But Clinton and the Democrats carried out basically the same program. They brought us the end of “welfare as we know it”—stealing food from the mouths of millions. They swelled the police forces and prison systems, broadening brutal attacks on blacks and minorities. As well, they brought the regimentation of youth, attacks on abortion, attacks on sex and the religious right's moral crusade for the institution of the bourgeois family.

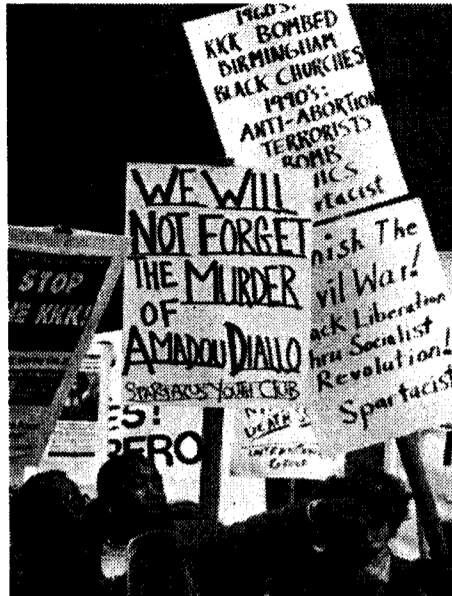
The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal clearly shows what the bourgeois capitalist state has in store for a black man who fights for social equality. The cops and courts work together to silence such opposition by any means necessary. The Spartacus Youth Club has struggled on and off campus in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal, most recently at UC Berkeley against right-wing racist assaults. The SYC also consistently fights against the racist capitalist system that is responsible for Mumia's imprisonment and his death sentence. We say: Abolish the racist death penalty! Free

advent of AIDS, which was cynically manipulated to enforce ignorance and instill widespread fear about sex among youth and the population in general. Meanwhile the ruling class to this day cares little for funding AIDS research or for providing medical care for those who suffer from the disease. The drive to spread bigotry and superstition about sex among youth went hand in hand with the Democrats' drive to end welfare, which was characterized by a racist campaign demonizing single mothers. Clinton's federal Welfare Reform Act, which passed with bipartisan support in 1996, included a provision for up to \$440 million over five years to be spent on abstinence-until-marriage education programs aimed at narrowly or exclusively promoting sexual abstinence. The effect of denying education on birth control and disease prevention is quite sinister; people under 25, many of whom contracted the disease while in high school, account for half of all new cases of HIV infection in the U.S. (*New York Times*, 28 December 2000). Studies show that in 1999 23 percent of secondary school sexual education teachers taught abstinence as the *only* way of preventing pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, compared with only 2 percent in 1988 (*Family Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 32, No. 5, 2000). This is only likely to increase under a Bush presidency as he has pledged to “elevate abstinence education from an afterthought to an urgent policy” (quoted in *Family Planning Perspectives*, *ibid.*).

The U.S. has one of the highest rates of unwanted teenage pregnancies of any developed nation, despite all the “just

say no” to sex moralizing. For the 65 percent of teens who don't abstain and the 19 percent of those who get pregnant, the possibility of deciding not to have their lives permanently, and often adversely, affected by having a child is being restricted on every front (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1999, quoted in *Family Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 32, No. 5, 2000, and the Alan Guttmacher Institute Web site, 1999). In addition to the difficulties of finding an abortion provider and the money to have one, many young women face the obstacle of parental notification and consent laws that exist in 31 states. In 16 of those states, a minor must have the consent of one or both parents, and in the other 15 states parents must be notified prior to an abortion. The SYCs stand in opposition to this sanctification of the bourgeois family where parents decree everything a minor can or can't do. We say: Down with parental consent laws and “squeal rules”! We also stand in opposition to the reactionary age of consent laws which brand cross-generational consensual sex a “crime” and are used to further restrict the potentially “sinful” activities of youth.

While abortion is a democratic right that is sometimes recognized under capitalism, the struggle to defend it and make it real for all women means striking blows at the oppressive institutions of capitalism, which necessarily raises the broader question of the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution. The oppression of women is strategic to capitalism. What is required for this struggle is a workers party of professional revolution-



Young Spartacus SYCs helped build PDC-initiated anti-Klan mobilization in New York, 23 October 1999.

Mumia! We understand that the black question is a crucial one. Don't turn to black nationalists for black liberation—all they're interested in is black capitalism. Likewise, don't turn to the feminists for social justice—they are busy spearheading their own anti-sex witchhunt, lining up behind religious bigots.

Let us have no illusions in the bourgeois state, in its reformers and hucksters. Let us have no illusions in a state that maintains its rule by racist terror and social repression. The U.S. imperialist state can never be an instrument of international justice, just as it can't bring justice domestically. It did not bring justice to Serbia, to Somalia, or to Haiti. U.S. imperialism is competing worldwide for profits, primarily against its rivals Germany and Japan. Imperialist rivalries drive the UN and NATO. We of the SYC oppose all of the machinations of imperi-

alism, at home and abroad. During the Balkans War, we raised the call: Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack! We defend the Palestinian people against attack by the Israeli army—an army funded and armed by the U.S. imperialists. Recently we have been participating with Arab student groups in demonstrations around the city. For example, last week at NYU, we picketed members of the Israeli army who came to drum up support for the genocidal campaign against the Palestinians.

The “Battle of Seattle,” the anti-WTO and IMF protests urged various imperialist exploiters to exploit more humanely. Much of the left took Nader as the knight-errant of a kinder capitalism. We understood that he was a shill for the Democratic Party, channeling discontented youth back into the reformist trap of electoral politics. The IMF protests in Prague met the iron fist within Vaclav Havel's Velvet Revolution—which was really a capitalist counterrevolution. The IMF would never have even met in Prague without a counterrevolution.

The SYC sent a reporter, as part of an international team, to the protests in Prague. Various liberal and fake-Marxist groups came to line up youth behind the notion of “human rights” imperialism. We counterposed our revolutionary, international politics, to win new fighters for a better world—for communism. We do this internationally, we do it every day, here in the belly of the imperialist beast.

If you want to fight for the emancipation of all those ground under the boot of U.S. imperialism, to fight for those brutalized by racist capitalism at home, check out the Spartacus Youth Club. Check out our press. Read about what we do and what we stand for. Join us in the fight for new October Revolutions. Join us for a socialist future for all humanity. ■

aries representing the most advanced and politically conscious elements of the working class, modeled on Lenin's Bolshevik Party. As the youth auxiliary to the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League, section of the International Communist League, the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight to win youth to the struggle for working-class revolution to overthrow the capitalist system as the only means of eradicating the

myriad forms of oppression that exist today. As was demonstrated by the socialist Russian Revolution of October 1917, women will be in the front ranks of such a revolutionary movement, understanding that their interests cannot go forward without a working-class perspective, and with the workers movement understanding that it cannot go forward without taking up the fight for women's liberation. ■

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

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860
Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

Boston

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

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 454-4930

Public Office:

Tues. 5-9 p.m.
and Sat. 12-3 p.m.
328 S. Jefferson St.
Suite 904

Los Angeles

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

Public Office:

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

New York

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

Public Office:

Tues. 6:30-8:30 p.m.
and Sat. 1-5 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland

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

Public Office:

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

San Francisco

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

Public Office:

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

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

Vancouver

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

Imperialism...

(continued from page 1)

the fundamental point is that the installation of Al Gore in the White House would *not* have benefited the black ghetto masses. In his *Autobiography* in the early 1960s, black militant Malcolm X described the difference between the Republicans and Democrats: "'Conservatism' in American politics means 'Let's keep the n-----s in their place.' And 'liberalism' means 'Let's keep the knee-grows in their place—but tell them we'll treat them a little better; let's fool them more, with more promises'."

The difference between the two capitalist parties was even less apparent in the recent presidential election, where both Bush and Gore ran as "centrists" claiming to represent the mainstream of American politics. The election was exceptionally close because "independent" voters—those who don't normally vote either strictly Republican or Democratic—found little reason to choose one candidate over the other.

But while both parties uphold the racist capitalist system, they do so in somewhat different ways. The Republicans would rather openly repress the working class and minorities, while the Democrats would rather lie. Illusions in the Democratic Party stand in the way of freedom for labor, blacks and all those at the bottom of this society because they reinforce the rule of the exploiters and oppressors. A key role in sowing these illusions is played by the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy. As we explained in the recently published Spar-



Radio Times Hulton

Democratic president Woodrow Wilson (second from left) used liberal rhetoric to mobilize popular support for U.S. entry into World War I. U.S. troops occupied Far Eastern city of Vladivostok in 1918 in effort to crush Bolshevik government during Russian Civil War.



National Archives

The Spartacist League fights to break workers and minorities from pro-Democratic Party "lesser evilism" and to forge a workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution against the American imperialist order. We publish below an edited version of a public talk given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour last fall in Los Angeles which traces the history of "human rights" imperialism centrally represented by the Democratic Party.

* * *

When I first started giving public talks in the late 1960s and early '70s, during the last years of the Vietnam War, a common slogan among leftists was "American imperialism is the main enemy of the world's peoples." This was considered a

state—the Pentagon, the CIA—was the main instrument enforcing capitalist exploitation and national oppression the world over. But times change. Positions, ideas, attitudes which were commonplace among leftists of one generation in a certain historical period are very different—sometimes even the opposite—of those held by a subsequent generation of leftists in a later, very different historical period.

The present period is dominated by the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, the so-called "death of communism" and the emergence of the United States as the self-proclaimed "world's only superpower." So we encounter among the left in the U.S. and West Europe what we call

threat of trade protectionism.

Moreover, the Seattle mobilization was politically dominated by the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy, which staged an orgy of anti-Communist China-bashing. They denounced "slave labor" in China and demonstratively dumped a load of Chinese steel in the harbor. Imagine if there had been a group of Chinese steel workers watching this and someone had told them that this was a leftist demonstration. They might wonder what a right-wing demonstration would look like.

The Seattle protest took place just a few months after the U.S.-led NATO air war against Serbia, which largely destroyed the economic infrastructure of this small Balkan country. Enormous quantities of toxic chemicals were released into the air and waterways by the bombing of petrochemical plants and fuel refineries and the Pentagon's use of shells made of depleted uranium, a radioactive waste product. Yet most of the participants at Seattle—the AFL-CIO leaders, the social democrats, the Greens, many self-styled leftists—supported, to one degree or another, the U.S. onslaught against Serbia carried out in the name of liberating the Albanian population of Kosovo from Serbian oppression.

Almost uniquely on the left, we stood for the military defense of Serbia against the forces of Western imperialism. When the bombing began, the Spartacist League issued the following statement:

"The barrage of cruise missiles and bombs launched against Serbia yesterday by the U.S. and its NATO allies brings us all a step closer to a new world war. This is a bloody statement by America's imperialist rulers that they will stop at nothing in their ruthless drive for profits and world domination...."

"Any military blows against U.S. imperialism are in the direct and immediate interest of working people and minorities in this country and around the world."
—WV No. 710, 2 April 1999

For over a decade, the U.S. has carried out an economic blockade of Iraq, sanctioned by the United Nations, which has resulted in the deaths of many times more Iraqis than the U.S. killed in the carpet bombing of Iraq during the 1991 Gulf War. One and a half million people in Iraq have died of disease and malnutrition. But there are no big liberal and radical leftist demonstrations against the blockade of Iraq like those against so-called "globalization." Moreover, at the time of the Gulf War almost all liberals and many self-styled leftists, backhandedly like the International Socialist Organization or openly like the anarchist intellectual Noam Chomsky, supported economic sanctions against Iraq as a supposed "humane" alternative to military action. Tell that to the Iraqis!

Woodrow Wilson's "War for Democracy"

In one sense this "human rights" imperialism is new, but in another sense it's a reversion to the basic political pattern of the modern imperialist era. Every major war fought by the United States in the 20th century was fought under, or at least begun under, a liberal Democratic president, not a right-wing Republican one: World War I under Woodrow Wilson, World War II under Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Korean War under Harry



Arnold L.A. Times

U.S. imperialist atrocities in 1941-45 Pacific War with Japan were linked with "yellow peril" racism, as Japanese Americans were thrown into internment camps. War ended with A-bombing of Japanese cities of Hiroshima (right) and Nagasaki.

Asahi Shimbun



tacist League/U.S. programmatic statement, "For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!":

"The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy is particularly tightly wedded to the aims and ideology of the racist American imperialist state.

"The trade-union bureaucracy is the chief obstacle to class struggle in the U.S. Through the instrument of the Democratic Party, they chain the workers to the capitalists and their state. In times of sharp class struggle or imperialist war, the labor bureaucrats become the open political police of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement. It is the task of the revolutionary party to educate the workers so that they can politically oust these misleaders and set the unions on the path of class struggle against the capitalists and their system."

truism, like the sun rises in the east and sets in the west.

That reminds me of a right-wing movie at the time, *The Green Berets* starring John Wayne, which glorified the elite U.S. forces in Vietnam. At the end of this movie, there's a beautiful scene of the sun setting in the South China Sea off the coast of Vietnam. But the South China Sea is *east* of Vietnam. I guess the U.S. defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese Communists so traumatized right-wingers like John Wayne that they forgot that the sun doesn't set in the east.

We had big, heated arguments with other leftists on all kinds of political questions in that period. But we did not have to argue that the American

"human rights" imperialism. This is looking to and demanding that the Western capitalist "democracies," centrally the U.S., fight national oppression, eradicate poverty and generally improve the conditions of humanity around the world.

Consider every military action undertaken by the U.S. and its allies since the 1991 Persian Gulf War—Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, the NATO air war against Serbia, East Timor. In every case, the strongest advocates and supporters of intervention have come from the left wing of the political spectrum—liberals, Greens, social democrats, even many self-styled revolutionary socialists. "Send in the Marines" used to be a right-wing slogan. Now it's raised by the "left": Starving Somalis are having food aid stolen by local gangs—send in the Marines; Serbs in Bosnia are killing Muslims—send in the Marines. Only now they're called "peacekeepers."

The so-called "battle of Seattle" last winter—the protests at the meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO)—is widely seen, especially by its participants, as the high point of leftist radicalism in the U.S. in years, even decades. Yet this protest was permeated with the spirit of "human rights" imperialism. To begin with, the main demand was that the Clinton administration pressure the WTO into adopting and enforcing an international code of labor and environmental standards. In other words, the U.S. government, through the WTO, should dictate the economic policies of "Third World" neocolonial countries like Mexico and Indonesia by using the

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S. Truman and the Vietnam War under John F. Kennedy. And all of these wars were fought, in terms of official ideology, in the name of liberal principles. World War I was supposed to be "the war to make the world safe for democracy" and "the war to end all wars." World War II was billed as a war against fascism and to secure for the world the "four freedoms"—freedom from want, freedom from fear, whatever. The Korean and Vietnam wars were fought in the name of defending the "free world" against "Communist totalitarianism."

What we now call "human rights" imperialism originated during the First World War. There was a division within the U.S. ruling class—characteristically between right-wing Republicans and liberal Democrats—over how to justify U.S. entry into the European war, how to motivate the American people to be willing to sacrifice their lives and the lives of their children and loved ones. The main protagonists in this debate were former Republican president Theodore Roosevelt and President Woodrow Wilson.

Roosevelt had been police commissioner of New York City. He then organized a cavalry brigade called the Rough Riders—sounds like a punk rock group, or something seamier—which participated in America's colonial conquest of Cuba from Spain in 1898. By contrast, Wilson was an academic, a man of books. Before becoming U.S. president, he had been president of Princeton University. But it was the bookish liberal intellectual Wilson, not the macho bully boy Roosevelt, who led the U.S. into the First World War, from which it emerged as the strongest imperialist power, able to dictate the economic policies of the European powers.

Roosevelt denounced Wilson's talk of making the world safe for democracy as woolly-headed idealism. America, he insisted, "did not go to war to make democracy safe.... First and foremost we are to make the world safe for ourselves. This is our war, America's war" (quoted in Arno J. Mayer, *Political Origins of the New Diplomacy, 1917-1918* [1959]). But Roosevelt's straightforward appeal to national chauvinism and imperialist aggrandizement could not have effectively mobilized the American people to go to war. He himself had admitted as much a few years earlier. When the war broke out in 1914, Roosevelt wanted the U.S. to enter it immediately on the side of Britain against Germany. But there was massive public opposition to this. Roosevelt wrote to Rudyard Kipling, the poet laureate of British imperialism:

"If I should advocate all that I myself believe, I would do no good among our people, because they would not follow me.... Thanks to the width of the ocean, our people believe they have nothing to fear from the present contest, and that they have no responsibility concerning it."
—quoted in Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (1994)

The difference between the U.S. and the warring European states was not only one of geographical distance. The American state was built through waves of immigration, mainly from different European countries. There was a large population of German Americans, who if the U.S. went to war with Germany would be forced to fight and kill in some cases their cousins, their uncles and nephews. There was an even larger population of Irish Americans. And the Irish people were oppressed by British imperialism, not German imperialism. In 1916, the British army suppressed an uprising in Dublin, the Easter Rebellion, for Irish independence. They massacred many of the survivors and executed the leaders.

So the American ruling class had a real problem. How to motivate German Americans to fight against Germany. How to motivate Irish Americans to fight on behalf of British imperialism. How to motivate most other Americans to fight a war in which they believed they had no interest. Wilson sought to overcome popular opposition to entering the war by combining American nationalism with liberal idealism. America, he proclaimed, had a god-given mission to bring democ-



July 1969 issue of publication initiated by Spartacist supporters in the army during Vietnam War. SL intervened in antiwar movement, as in 1965 NYC protest (right), to link opposition to U.S. imperialism abroad to struggle for proletarian revolution at home.



racy, freedom, universal peace and all good things to the rest of the world. When Wilson announced his "14 Points" for ending the war, British prime minister David Lloyd George remarked acidly, "The good lord only had ten."

To German Americans, Wilson said: We are not going to war against Germany. We are going to war on behalf of the German people, to liberate them from the despotism of the Kaiser. We're killing Germans in order to liberate them. To Irish Americans, Wilson argued in effect: We're fighting for the right of self-determination of small nations. If we win this war, America will use its greatly increased influence to pressure Britain into giving Ireland independence. Wilson's declaration of war against Germany in 1917 laid out the ideological posture of American imperialism in the 20th century:

"Right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."
—quoted in *Diplomacy*

"Democratic" Imperialism and the Cold War

For U.S. imperialism, World War II was a two-front war: against Germany in Europe and against Japan in East Asia. Correspondingly there was a two-front ideological offensive. The war against Japan was primarily motivated by appeals to "yellow peril" racism with few democratic pretensions. In fact, Japanese Americans were rounded up and put into internment camps. However, the war against Germany was presented as a war for democracy against fascism. And the strongest supporters of war against Nazi Germany were liberals, social democrats and Stalinists. On the other side, many prominent rightists like industrialist Henry Ford and the national hero and aviator Charles Lindbergh campaigned for friendly relations with the Hitler regime.

There was an important exception to the generalization that the strongest support for the war against Nazi Germany came from the left wing of the American political spectrum. The black population in general was not taken in by the "war against fascism" rhetoric. Many blacks saw through the hypocrisy of the American rulers denouncing the racist doctrines of Nazism in Germany while preaching and enforcing the same racist doctrines in the American South. Franklin Roosevelt's vice president in the 1930s was a right-wing Democrat, John Nance Garner, from Texas, a state with legally enforced racial segregation and where blacks and also Mexican Americans were subjected to brutal police-state repression. Also most blacks knew that the main colonial powers in Africa subjugating and oppressing millions of black people were Britain and France, the so-called Western democracies, not Nazi Germany.

In one fundamental way, the Second World War was different from the First World War. In the former, all of the major combatants were capitalist imperialist

states fighting each other over foreign markets and spheres of exploitation. However, centrally involved in the Second World War was a non-capitalist state, the Soviet Union. It was the Soviet Red Army which primarily defeated the Nazi German Wehrmacht and in so doing liberated all of Europe from the nightmare of fascist rule.

The end of the Second World War was followed by a global conflict, lasting almost half a century, between the capitalist imperialist states led by the U.S. and the Soviet Union and its allies. This was known as the Cold War. The Cold War was fundamentally a class war and it originated not in 1945 but in 1917 with the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, when for the first time in history the workers took political power and established a government based on workers councils. The term "soviet" is simply the Russian word for council. For the first time—granted, under terrible conditions of war, civil war and devastating impoverishment—a government was instituted that expropriated the capitalists and landowners and consciously controlled the economy in the interests of the toiling masses. The Bolshevik Revolution had a liberating effect in all spheres of social life. Here in the Bay Area, it's generally believed that the first country to outlaw discrimination against homosexuals was San Francisco. Not true. Soviet Russia abolished discrimination against homosexuals in 1920 or '21.

The Bolshevik Revolution was made in Russia but it was not made only for Russia. Not only the Bolshevik leaders like Lenin and Trotsky but the Russian working class in general saw the October Revolution as but the beginning, the first step in the world socialist revolution. But while the Bolshevik Revolution inspired revolutionary movements throughout the capitalist world, these movements did not succeed in overthrowing capitalism in any other country. The effect of this failure on the future course of world history and on Soviet Russia itself was catastrophic.

The Bolsheviks emerged victorious from the Russian Civil War in which all of the imperialist states—including U.S. troops sent into northern Russia and eastern Siberia—intervened against them. But they were victors of a devastated country. Industrial production had fallen to a small fraction of what it had been in

tsarist Russia before the war. Famine and disease stalked the land.

So there opened up a seemingly unbridgeable gulf between the liberating goals of the Bolshevik Revolution and the actual frightful conditions in Russia. Under these conditions, there was a tendency toward the demoralization and depoliticization of the working class, on the one hand, and on the other toward bureaucratic conservatism and even corruption among the officials of the Soviet government and ruling Communist Party. These tendencies culminated in a political counterrevolution in 1924. There was a factional struggle in the party between the revolutionary internationalist wing led by Leon Trotsky and a bureaucratic nationalist wing which came to be led by J. V. Stalin. The Stalin wing bureaucratically suppressed the Left Opposition. The Trotskyists were later expelled from the party, persecuted, then killed. Trotsky was driven into exile and in 1940 murdered by an assassin on Stalin's orders.

Trotsky described the Soviet Union under Stalin as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. He sought to explain this new and unique historical phenomenon so it would be understandable to workers in North America and West Europe. He used the analogy of a highly bureaucratized trade union in which the leaders suppressed any kind of rank-and-file democracy. Oppositionists are routinely beaten up and expelled; the union misleaders negotiate rotten contracts with the employers. Nonetheless, the workers should still defend this union against the capitalists, during a strike for example, or against a government attack. Similarly, Trotsky argued, workers must defend the Soviet Union against attacks by the capitalist states or internal counterrevolutionary forces.

At the same time, the workers in a bureaucratized union should struggle to oust the existing labor traitors and replace them with leaders who represent their genuine interests. And the workers in the Soviet Union should struggle to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with a genuinely communist leadership. Trotsky called this perspective proletarian political revolution.

The Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union rejected, indeed feared, international proletarian revolution, and instead advocated "peaceful coexistence" with

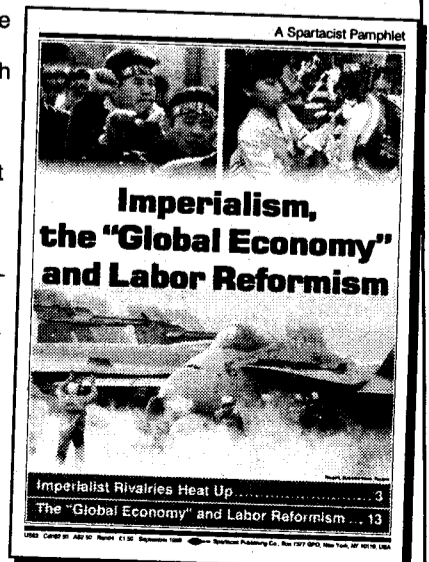
continued on page 10

This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

Exploitation, poverty and social degradation can be eliminated only through proletarian revolutions in the imperialist centers as well as the neocolonial countries, laying the basis for an international planned socialist economy.

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Imperialism...

(continued from page 9)

world capitalism. But the capitalists had no intention of peacefully coexisting with the Soviet Union. They aimed to destroy the Soviet Union and recapture Russia, the other Soviet regions and all of East Europe for capitalist exploitation, which they finally did in 1989-92. That was what the Cold War had been all about.

Carter's "Human Rights" Crusade

During the Cold War, the official line of the U.S. rulers was that they were defending democracy, individual freedom and national independence. At the same time, Washington militarily and financially supported every colonial, medieval, reactionary and murderous right-wing regime on the planet: French colonial rule in Indochina and Algeria, white-supremacist rule in South Africa, the Saudi monarchy, the Shah of Iran, military juntas in Latin America.

By the late 1950s, many idealistic liberal youth in the U.S.—I was one—were troubled by this obvious contradiction. They were asking themselves: If America is waging a Cold War against the Soviet Union to defend democracy and national independence, how come we're supporting French colonialism killing one million Algerians—one-tenth of the entire population—in seeking to suppress their struggle for national independence? How come we're supporting the Saudi monarchy, where women who commit adultery are stoned to death? How come we're supporting brutal right-wing dictatorships like Batista in Cuba and Trujillo in the Dominican Republic? And some of these critical liberal youth began to think that maybe the Communists were right, that what the U.S. government was really defending was the profits of Wall Street bankers and American industrialists.

And then came the long, losing war in Vietnam, which radically altered the entire American political landscape. For the first time there developed widespread popular disillusionment with—and rejection of—Cold War militarism. A sizable left emerged which maintained that American imperialism was the main enemy of the world's peoples. The leftist radicalization brought about by the Vietnam War was intertwined with and built on the mass black struggles against racist oppression at home. There's an interesting book called *Brothers* by two black Vietnam War veterans, Stanley Goff and Robert Sanders, in which they write:

"It was obvious that we were the aggressors because we were fourteen thousand miles from home rather than vice versa.... We didn't really feel that we were fighting for our country; half the brothers felt it wasn't even our war and were sympathetic with [North Vietnamese leader] Ho Chi Minh.



As Democratic president Carter launched Cold War II over Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979-80, Spartacist League gave unconditional military support to Soviet forces against U.S.-backed Islamic fundamentalists.

"When I was in the Nam, Mohammad Ali was refusing to take the oath [upon being drafted]. Our reaction was we shouldn't have taken it either. We felt the American Dream didn't really serve us. What we experienced was the American Nightmare."

It's an exaggeration that half the black soldiers in Vietnam sympathized with Ho Chi Minh, but a hell of a lot did.

After the Vietnam War ended in 1975, the U.S. rulers set about trying to restore the moral authority of the American government as part of the ideological preparation for a new Cold War offensive against the Soviet bloc. The Republican administration of Nixon/Ford/Kissinger, which was identified with the Vietnam debacle, was replaced by the Democratic administration of Jimmy Carter. Carter proclaimed that henceforth the goal of American foreign policy would be promoting "human rights."

Seemingly, a major target of Carter's "human rights" crusade was South Africa, a country that was anathema to American liberals and blacks. South Africa actually remained an important regional ally of the U.S. throughout this period. The Pentagon continued to collaborate closely with the South African army and the CIA with the South African political police. Yet almost all liberals and most self-styled leftists applauded the Carter White House when it hypocritically denounced apartheid and called for majority rule in South Africa. In opposition to this, we wrote at the time ("The Main Enemy Is at Home!" *WV* No. 163, 24 June 1977):

"The American ruling class is no ally of the oppressed non-white majorities of southern Africa.... American imperialism, the butcher of Vietnam, cannot wipe the blood stains from its murderous deeds. The moral pretensions of this behemoth are as sinister as Hitler's claim to be civilizing Europe."

We pointed out that the only real target of the "human rights" campaign was the Soviet Union:

"We repeat the warning we have sounded since the beginning of Carter's 'human rights' ploy: behind the liberal rhetoric stands the threat of imperialist war, principally directed against the Soviet Union. We are no friends of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which murdered thousands of Left Oppositionists, including Trotsky himself, and suppressed soviet democracy for all dissidents, socialist or otherwise. But in the face of this imperialist propaganda blitz aimed at undermining the Soviet degenerated workers state, we insist that the incomparably greater danger is the restoration of capitalism through bloody counterrevolution."

The "Anti-Globalization" Campaign

Basically, Carter's "human rights" propaganda campaign worked. In the so-called Cold War II during the 1980s, almost all liberals and most of the self-described left supported the U.S. against the Soviet Union. They supported the U.S.-armed Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan who wanted to re-enslave women in the veil and were fighting the Soviet Army for this "noble" purpose. They supported Lech Walesa and the

Catholic nationalists of Solidarność in Poland. They supported the Russian anti-Communist demagogue Boris Yeltsin who seized power in the Kremlin in August 1991 and four months later dissolved the Soviet Union. And, as I indicated at the beginning of the talk, in the post-Soviet period it is liberals and leftists who have been the strongest, most vocal advocates of American dominion over the rest of the world in the name of defending and promoting "human rights."

Now, someone might argue: What about the "anti-globalization" campaign which attacks the malevolent role of large American corporations around the world? That's not support for U.S. imperialism. But in a sense it is. Because the organizers and spokesmen of the "anti-globalization" campaign deny that the American state—the Pentagon and

capitalist democracy. The more money a country has in the Fund, the more votes it has in determining IMF policies. And since the U.S. has the most money it has the most votes. A perfect example of capitalist democracy in practice.

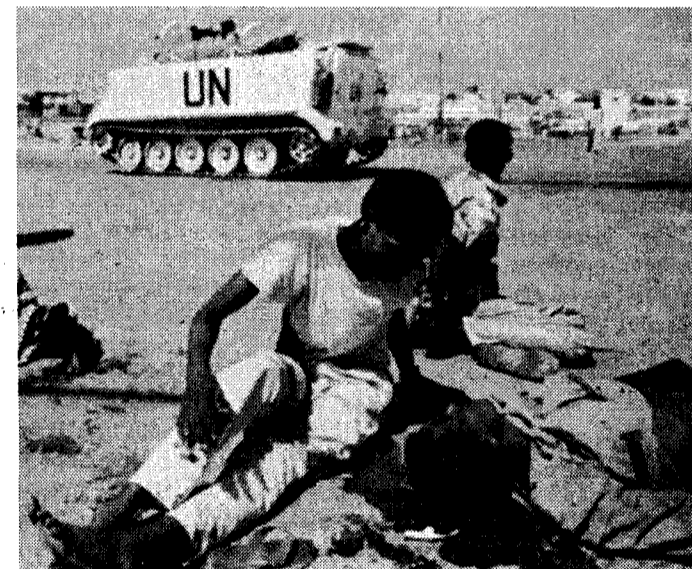
The link between the "anti-globalization" campaign and "human rights" imperialism was clearly stated by Ralph Nader: "The WTO undermines our legitimate local, state and national sovereignties which enable America to lead the way in worker, consumer environmental standards." America, its governmental and legal structure—which is based on private ownership of the means of production—are here held up as a model to be emulated by the rest of the world. But what if other governments and peoples refuse to let America lead the way? Well, that's where the U.S. military comes in, for example, bombing and blockading Iraq and Serbia.

The Battle for China

The main target of American imperialism in this period is the People's Republic of China, the most populous country on earth. That's the big prize. Having succeeded in destroying the Soviet Union, the U.S. rulers now aim to reconquer and exploit China. A few months ago, the *London Independent* (30 August 2000) ran an article stating:

"The next world war is on its way. That is the only conclusion one can draw from the US defence budget, which has begun a rapid escalation. America may be enjoying its longest period of peace for decades, but you'd never know it from the way the Pentagon is planning to start spending. The target, apparently, is China, the new global enemy for the 21st century."

The *London Independent* is a respectable mainstream bourgeois newspaper, in no way leftist in its views or otherwise "far out." It's not a supermarket rag with head-



Der Spiegel

"Human rights" imperialism in Somalia, 1993: demonstrators gunned down in the streets by UN "peacekeepers."

CIA—is the main political agency of the Wall Street banks and Fortune 500 corporations. Instead they call upon the American government to oppose the exploitative and destructive practices of U.S. and other large corporations abroad.

The ideologists of the "anti-globalization" campaign argue that Citibank and Morgan Stanley, General Motors and Boeing are no longer American capitalist enterprises at all. They've supposedly become "transnational" corporations which rule the world, or seek to, through "transnational" institutions like the International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization. In the name of defending American sovereignty, which is supposedly threatened by the nefarious doings of the IMF, WTO and the like, left liberals like Ralph Nader join hands with the right-wing demagogue Pat Buchanan, who would be quite at home in a clerical-fascist regime in the U.S.

In reality, international economic institutions like the IMF and WTO have no independent power. They're dominated by the major capitalist states while increasingly becoming an arena of conflict among them. The WTO meeting in Seattle broke up mainly because of differences between the U.S. and Japan over agricultural policy, not because of the street protests. Far from being undemocratic, the IMF is actually a model of

lines like "Al Gore's Mind Controlled by Space Invaders"—which actually is quite plausible.

The Second World War in East Asia was fought between the U.S. and Japan basically over which of the two imperialist powers would subjugate and exploit China. When the U.S. defeated Japan by A-bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki, America's rulers believed they had won China. They had a puppet regime, headed by Chiang Kai-shek. But a few years later, Chiang's forces were defeated by the peasant-based "red" army of Mao Zedong. In 1949, Chiang's forces fled to Taiwan and the American imperialists were driven out of China.

We characterize China (and North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba) as a bureaucratically deformed workers state, a state of qualitatively the same type as the former Soviet Union. Its economy is based on collectivized property while being politically ruled, or rather misruled, by a parasitic bureaucratic caste. However, the historical origin of People's China is significantly different from that of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union originated in a proletarian revolution led by a genuine communist party. The 1949 Chinese Revolution was a peasant-based revolution led by a petty-bourgeois nationalist Stalinist party. The resulting Chinese workers state was thus bureaucratically

**Programmatic Statement
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**For a Workers Party
That Fights for a Workers Government!**

**For Socialist Revolution
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**Opponents of the Revolutionary
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deformed from its inception.

Over the past few decades, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, under the rubric of building a "market socialist economy," has enormously strengthened the forces within China driving toward a capitalist counterrevolution. While land remains state-owned, agriculture has been decollectivized, spawning a class of relatively wealthy farmers hiring and exploiting the labor of their poorer peasant neighbors. Capitalist enterprises, some of them fairly large, have proliferated, typically owned and managed by the sons of government and Communist Party officials. China has been opened up to substantial investment by American, West European and Japanese capital and also by the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie in Hong Kong, Taiwan and elsewhere.

However, the forces driving toward capitalist restoration have encountered *massive and increasing resistance* by the Chinese working class, poor peasants and other toilers. The Chinese Labor Ministry reported that in 1999 there were 120,000 separate labor disputes, some no more than workers submitting petitions but also many militant strikes and shop-floor actions. According to a police report from the central province of Anhui, it has become common for workers to hold managers hostage to force them to meet their demands.

We in the International Communist League stand for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese workers state, despite its bureaucratic deformations, against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution. There is

now a widespread view in the U.S., extending across the entire political spectrum from the *Wall Street Journal* to the left-liberal *Nation*, that China has already become capitalist or semi-capitalist or that the restoration of capitalism is going to be smooth and automatic, a little more capitalism every day. That is not true. The fate of the most populous country on earth will be determined—and soon—through monumental class battles. What is needed is to construct a Leninist-Trotskyist party in China which can channel the elemental struggles of the workers and rural toilers against the forces of capitalist restoration into a proletarian political revolution.

Such a revolution in China would radically change the entire international political landscape and alter the future

course of world history. It would have an enormously radicalizing effect on the working class in Japan—the industrial powerhouse of Asia—and throughout East Asia, from the Korean peninsula to Indonesia.

But while the world socialist revolution might well begin in East Asia, the ultimate battle will be fought here in the United States. For it is only proletarian revolution from within that can ultimately destroy American imperialism, which is truly the main enemy of the world's peoples. What is needed to achieve that revolution and lead it to victory is a revolutionary internationalist workers party like the party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. If you want to help build that party, join us. ■

ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK!

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration in Gary, Indiana: 'All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan on January 20!'"

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Hector M. Flores, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308,* Chicago, IL

Gruppe Spartakus/Internationale Bolschewistische Tendenz, Duisburg, Germany

Eric Hampton, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL

Internationalist Group/League for the Fourth International

Charles A. Johnson, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL

Marion J. Johnson Jr., Pastor, Mount Moriah Baptist Church, Gary, IN

Mustapha Kamal, Assistant Professor (Arabic Literature), University of Chicago,* Chicago, IL

R. Khalidi, Director, University of Chicago Center for International Studies,* Chicago, IL

Sayoko Kikuchi, Association to Abolish the Death Penalty,* Tokyo, Japan

Dae-Keun Kim, Coordinator, Korean Resource Centre, Inc., New South Wales, Australia

Korean Resource Centre, Inc., New South Wales, Australia

Labor Black League for Social Defense, New York, NY

Labor Black Struggle League, Chicago, IL

Earl McCroy, Unit 1 Chairman, UAW Local 477,* Chicago, IL

Mexican American Workers' Association, New York, NY

Michael Mezo, Sub-district Director, United Steelworkers of America District 7, Sub-district 4, Gary, IN

Hans Modrow, member of European Parliament for Party of Democratic Socialism,* Berlin, Germany

Pauline J. Morgan, community activist, Gary, IN

Mount Moriah Baptist Church, Gary, IN

National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa

New Roots Inc., Gary, IN

Cengiz Oban, press spokesman, Committee for Struggle Against Torture Through Isolation (IKM), Hamburg, Germany

David D. Owen, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308,* Chicago, IL

Keith A. Phelps, President, RWDSU Local 1064,* Southfield, MI

Allen L. Pieper, Downstate Vice President, SEIU Local 73,* Springfield, IL

Paul C. Pratt, New Roots Inc., Gary, IN

Kenneth Riley, President, International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422,* Charleston, SC

Joe Rosado, Trustee/Political Coordinator, USWA Local 5544,* Chicago, IL

Eden Schulz, Organizer, UAW Local 2110,* New York, NY

Cassandra J. Seay, member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL

Mary Selvie, UAW Women's Committee,* Chicago, IL

Shalom International, Miami Beach, FL

Earl Silbar, Executive Board member-at-large, AFSCME Local 3506,* Chicago, IL

Socialist Cultural Work, Gütersloh, Germany

Spartacist League/U.S.

Spartacus Youth Club, Chicago, IL

Wilford C. Spears, Retired President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308* and Retired International Vice President and General Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL

Trade Union of Trade, Bank and Insurance Workers, Erfurt, Germany

Richard Stomper, First Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL

United Afrikan Movement (NWI), Gary, IN

United Steelworkers of America District 7, Sub-district 4, Gary, IN

United Steelworkers of America Local 1014, Gary, IN

Lou Jeanne Walton, social worker, Gary, IN

Alex Wheeler, Jr., President, United Steelworkers of America Local 1014, Gary, IN

John Williams, Shop Steward, Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union,* Victoria, Australia

Standish E. Willis, Chairperson, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers,* Chicago, IL

Markus Wolf, Writer, Berlin, Germany

Ryuji Yagi, Director, Publications Department, Social Democratic Party (National Federation),* Tokyo, Japan

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee printed on page 12.

Stop the KKK...

(continued from page 12)

who is perceived as "costing" big business or violating their reactionary "moral" code. The Democrats, who have destroyed welfare, devised more laws to extend the arm of the state's executioners and flooded the ghettos and barrios with

more cops, smile and do the same thing. To defend its own interests and the interests of all the oppressed, labor must break the chains that bind it to the agencies and parties of the capitalist class enemy.

Demonstrating the social power of labor in action against the Klan, the most deadly enemies of labor, would be a powerful message to the Chicago transit bosses who daily up the ante in disciplin-

ing the workforce while keeping you on the job without a contract for over a year; to the steel bosses who devastated the plants and mills of the industrial Midwest; to the auto bosses who work you to death and then lay you off. A mass labor/black mobilization to *stop* the KKK in Gary could serve as a big step toward building the kind of party that the working people need—a workers party that fights to eradicate an entire system based on exploitation and racist reaction.

The PDC has initiated mobilizations that have brought out thousands of opponents of fascist terror from Chicago to Washington, D.C. to San Francisco and New York City. Let's make sure that we have such a determined demonstration of the might of the working people that built this country in Gary, Indiana on January 20. *All Out to Stop the KKK!*

Partisan Defense Committee
11 January 2001

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

It Costs \$\$\$ to Stop the Klan

Working people, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, gays, Jews, Catholics, as well as immigrants, students and youth—all opponents and targets of racist terror—have a big stake in stopping the KKK killers on January 20. Our labor/black mobilization, "All Out to Stop the KKK January 20!" in Gary, Indiana, costs lots of money. Leaflets, posters, buses, communications and equipment cost thousands. We need your help *now*. Get your union, church group, student club and friends to help defray these costs. Contributions should be made payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmarked "Stop the KKK." Send checks to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 or P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013-0099.

Spartacist Forum

Stop the Klan! For a Workers America!

Black and Red: Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

**Break with the Democrats—
For a Revolutionary Workers Party!**

Saturday, January 27, 5 p.m.

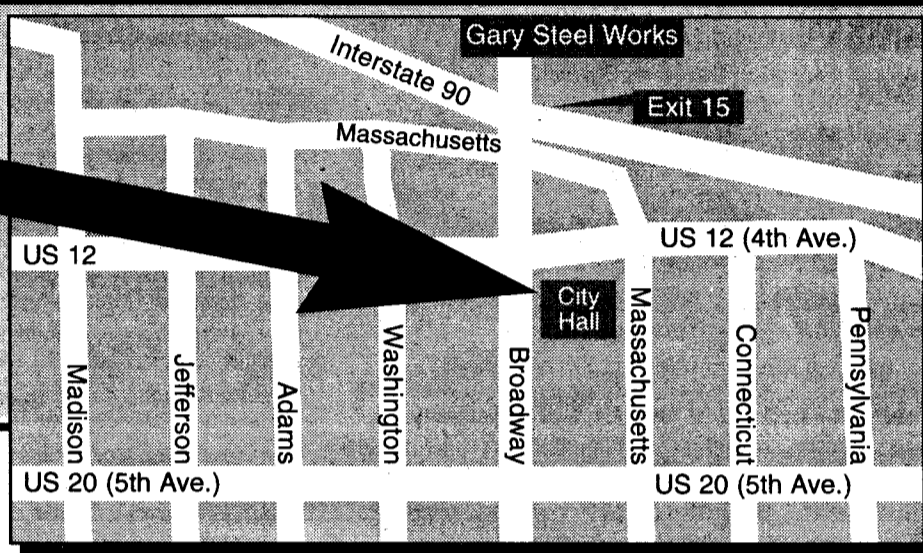
USWA Local 5544 Hall, 9350 S. South Chicago Ave.

CHICAGO For more information: (312) 454-4930

WORKERS VANGUARD

ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK! Saturday, January 20

**BE THERE AT
NOON!**
City Hall, Gary, Indiana
401 Broadway



The following urgent call was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on January 11.

* * *

The Ku Klux Klan says it's going to rally in Gary, Indiana on January 20. They say they are going to celebrate the murder of Martin Luther King Jr., who was gunned down by an assassin's bullet thirty-three years ago. The Klan's purpose is to recruit more racist killers to murder other black men, women and children; to terrorize and kill Jews, Hispanics, Asians, gays and anyone else who doesn't fit in with their demented, genocidal quest for a "racially pure" America where trade unions don't exist.

This is a deadly provocation against the overwhelmingly black population of Gary and the tens of thousands of black and Hispanic working people who live in Chicago's South Side and suburbs just a stone's throw away. The "imperial wizard" of one of the KKK groups mobilizing for this provocation tried it in New York City on October 23, 1999. The Partisan Defense Committee said that the Klan was making a big mistake thinking that they could get away with it. And they didn't. An 8,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the PDC rode the Klan off the streets of New York. This is what is needed in Gary on January 20: a militant, determined and disciplined mobilization of the power of labor standing at the head of all the targets of Klan terror to stop the fascists.

The Partisan Defense Committee calls on the steel unions in Gary, on the powerful labor movement in Chicago, on the black population of Gary and the nearby Chicago suburbs, on Hispanics, Asians, Jews, Catholics, youth, campus organizations and all the opponents of racist terror to join us in a massive display of overwhelming strength and social power. All out to stop the KKK on January 20! Be there: noon, at City Hall in Gary, at the same time and the same place that the Klan says they are going to rally.

Beware those who argue that the KKK rally is an exercise of "free speech." As is only too painfully known by many blacks in Gary and Chicago, the Klan "speaks" with the lynch rope. The fascists' "words" are fired out of the barrel of a gun. Look no further than the killing spree of Benjamin Smith, a follower of the fascist "World Church of the Creator," which took the life of Ricky Byrdson, a black man and former basketball coach at Northwestern University, and of Won Joon Yoon, a young South Korean student, and wounded nine others including several orthodox Jews in the summer of 1999. Beware those who say that the Klan should be ignored. The Klan, which sees Indiana as their turf for terror and murder, won't ignore you.

In December, the Klan rallied in the heavily Jewish suburb of Skokie, where Ricky Byrdson was murdered and where the fascists had not dared to show their

face since 1978, when a gang of Nazis canceled a planned march in the face of a promised outpouring of thousands of survivors of Hitler's Holocaust. If the Klan gets away with their provocation against the impoverished black population of Gary, these killers will feel the wind in their sails to try to do the same in the heavily black, Hispanic and working-class South Side of Chicago. The Klan's purpose is to bring the "open shop" South to labor/black Chicago.

Appealing to the government, whose cops and other forces exist for war against labor and all the oppressed, to "ban the Klan" will only strengthen its hand against all of us. The government, its cops and courts protect the fascists because these paramilitary thugs are the

last line of defense when the powers that be can no longer keep the oppressed masses in line by lulling them with the idea that a system based on the exploitation of the many by the few represents the "will of the people."

Going like lambs to the slaughter into police pen traps, which are routinely set up, will only leave you in the hands of the racist cops while giving the Klan a free ride. Engaging in small-group confrontations with the Klan and their police protectors will accomplish nothing other than getting some heads busted and people thrown in jail. What is needed is to mobilize the social power to stop these racist killers. This power lies in the hands of the multiracial working class—from the Gary and Inland steel mills to the powerful Chicago transit unions, Teamsters, postal and airport workers in a city which is the heart of labor/black power in the Midwest.

Celebrating the murder of Martin Luther King Jr., the Klan says it also wants to commemorate the birthday of Confederate general Robert E. Lee. The KKK doubtless also wants to celebrate the election of Republican president George W. Bush. John Ashcroft, Bush's nominee as attorney general, is a Klan dream come true. In a 1998 interview with *Southern Partisan*, Ashcroft praised this journal, which celebrates the Confederate slavocracy, for "defending Southern patriots like Lee, Jackson and Davis." But black people who keenly feel that they were robbed of their right to vote in the recent elections should remember the forces that stood against them in their fight against Jim Crow segregation and disenfranchisement—the KKK and their Southern *Democratic Party* bosses.

The Republicans revel in their hatred for labor, black rights, abortion rights, immigrants, the poor and anybody else

continued on page 11



Transit workers and other trade unionists formed backbone of labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out of NYC, 23 October 1999.

For Labor/Black Mobilization Against Racist Terror!