

U.S. Troops Out of Korea! Defend North Korea!

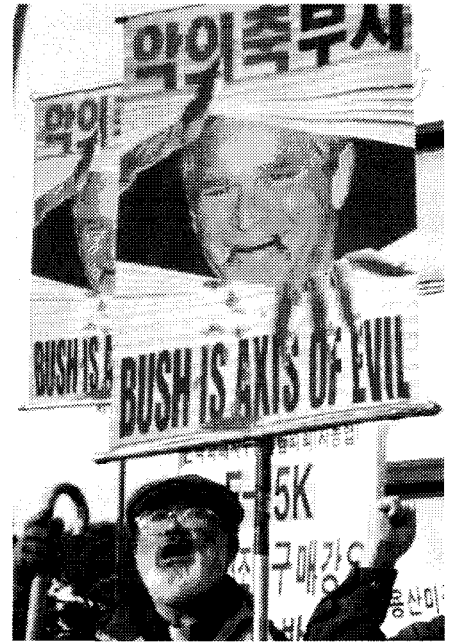
Having demonized the North Korean deformed workers state this February as part of an "axis of evil" along with Iran and Iraq, the Bush administration is now scrambling to deal with the acknowledgment by North Korea that it has a "secret" nuclear weapons program. The acknowledgment, apparently made to Assistant Secretary of State James A. Kelly in a meeting held in the North Korean capital of Pyongyang, came after Kelly confronted North Korean officials with U.S. intelligence information that such a program ex-

isted. But Washington's saber rattling against North Korea is markedly different in tone than its outright war threats and provocations against Iraq. After meeting with NATO secretary general Lord Robertson, George Bush had the following statement: "It is a troubling discovery, and it's a discovery that we intend to work with our friends to deal with. I believe we can do it peacefully."

The Bush administration accused the North Korean regime of violating a 1994 agreement to abandon the production of potentially weapons-grade

nuclear material in exchange for two nuclear reactors and 500,000 tons of fuel oil a year. Following Pyongyang's announcement, Washington initially declared the agreement "dead" but backed off after the Japanese and South Korean governments refused to follow its lead. In fact, it was the U.S. that violated the 1994 agreement, including by not building the promised reactors. As a 25 October statement by the Pyongyang government declared, the Bush administration's inclusion of North

continued on page 2



Reuters
Seoul: South Koreans protest visit by Bush in February.

Statement of the International Communist League

Defend Iraq Against U.S. and Allied Imperialist Attack!

The following statement was issued on October 23.

U.S. imperialism is leading the world to war. Tens of thousands of American and British troops are getting positioned for a full-scale attack on Iraq, while other powers from Australia to Turkey elbow each other for a role in the slaughter and a share of the loot. The White House has already revealed plans for a post-Saddam Hussein military occupation of Iraq. Look at the war chest of nuclear weapons the U.S. has and threatens to use today and it's clear that the fate of life on this planet is threatened by the continued existence of this imperialist order.

In the war against Iraq, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) clearly takes a side: We stand for the military defense of Iraq without giving a milligram of political support to the Saddam Hussein regime. Hussein is a bloody oppressor of Iraqi workers, leftists, Shi'ite Muslims, the Kurdish people and others. As such, he was a close ally and client of U.S. imperialism for two decades before he made a grab for Kuwait in 1990. Now the U.S. wants a

more pliant regime and tighter control of the oil spigot, not least to put economic rivals like Japan and Germany, who

are more dependent on Near East oil, on rations. With its renewed saber rattling over North Korea, Washington makes clear that that country will be next on its hit list in the event of an easy win in Iraq. The fact that the imperialists have not already threatened to bomb North Korea

in response to news that it may be developing a nuclear capability only underlines that nuclear weapons are the sole guarantor of a country's sovereignty in today's world. Every victory for the imperialists in their predatory wars encourages further military adventures; every setback serves

to assist the struggles of working people and the oppressed.

The colossal military advantage of the United States against neocolonial Iraq—a country which has already been bled white through 12 years of UN sanctions which have killed more than 1.5 million civilians—underscores the importance of *class struggle* in the imperialist centers as the chief means to give content to the call to defend Iraq. Every strike, every labor mobilization against war plans, every mass protest against attacks on workers and minorities, every struggle against domestic repression and against attacks on civil liberties represents a dent in the imperialist war drive. To put an end to war once and for all, the capitalist system that breeds war must be swept away through a series of revolutions and the establishment of a rational, planned, egalitarian socialist economy on a world scale. *Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack!*

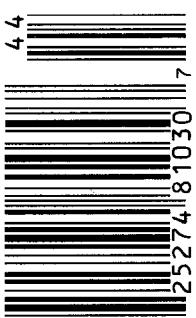
The extent to which Washington's allies in the United Nations, especially Germany, have openly criticized the Bush administration's rabid provocations in the Near East is a measure of the growth of tensions among the imperialist powers in recent years. But while objecting to the rudeness of an American cowboy boot on their necks,

continued on page 6



WV Photo
October 26: Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents, organized by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Clubs, marched in antiwar protests in San Francisco (above) and Washington, D.C.

Down With the UN Starvation Blockade!



Korea...

(continued from page 1)

Korea in the "axis of evil" and its targeting of the country for a potential nuclear first strike, as outlined in the Pentagon's "Nuclear Posture Review," amounted to "a clear declaration of war."

The statement went on to assert that North Korea "was entitled to possess not only nuclear weapons but any type of weapon more powerful than that, so as to defend its sovereignty and right to existence from the ever-growing nuclear threat from the U.S." In fact, it is precisely because Iraq does not have any nuclear weapons, or even a sizable conventional arsenal, that the Bush administration threatens war against it with impunity. A war against North Korea could lead to substantial American casualties—and poses a serious risk to the South Korean capital of Seoul, which is only 30 miles from the "demilitarized zone" separating North and South. Thus, the veneer of a more diplomatic course.

Nevertheless, the aim of America's rulers, whether of the Democratic or Republican persuasion, remains the overturn of the bureaucratically deformed workers states, mainly the People's Republic of China but also North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. North Korea accepted the 1994 agreement to abandon their nuclear



AP
North Korean leader Kim Jong Il welcomes Japanese prime minister Koizumi to Pyongyang, September. U.S. and Japanese imperialists vie for domination of East Asia.

weapons program after Democratic president Bill Clinton moved stealth bombers into South Korea and was prepared to bomb the North Korean reactor site at Yongbyon.

U.S. imperialism's renewed belligerence toward North Korea underlines the duty of revolutionaries to stand for the *unconditional military defense* of the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialist attack. Capitalist rule was overthrown in the northern half of

the Korean peninsula following liberation from 35 years of Japanese colonialism at the end of World War II, as the power of the local capitalists and landowners was broken under the Soviet military presence and the newly installed regime of Kim Il Sung. In a failed attempt to reverse that social revolution and the 1949 Chinese Revolution, U.S. imperialism devastated the peninsula in the 1950-53 Korean War, killing *more than three million people* and obliterating whole cities, including Pyongyang. This was in the service of maintaining a precious military foothold for American imperialism on the East Asian mainland in the aftermath of the victory of Mao's forces. Despite the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, the overthrow of capitalism in the North was a historic defeat for imperialism and a victory for the working people of Asia and the world.

It was another Democratic president, Harry Truman, who launched the Korean War—a "police action" carried out under the auspices of the United Nations. While the U.S. government now rants about "weapons of mass destruction," it was the U.S. that burned people alive and incinerated whole towns in Korea through massive napalm firebombings. Curtis LeMay—an Air Force general who later became infamous for vowing to bomb Vietnam "back to the Stone Age"—boasted, "We burned down *every* town in North Korea and in South Korea, too." And before that, it was the U.S. imperialists who used nuclear bombs against the Japanese civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

Following World War II, the Korean peninsula was partitioned between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the North and the Republic of Korea in the South, a capitalist police state under American military occupation. Before the outbreak of the Korean War, the South was swept by massive peasant revolts. And when North Korean forces moved in to reunify the country in 1950, they were greeted as liberators. The South's capital, Seoul, was quickly overrun, and U.S. forces soon found themselves clinging to the edge of the peninsula. They would have been driven into the sea had not the Soviet and Chinese Stalinist bureaucracies refused to deliver necessary military supplies to North Korea's army.

Later, when its forces were massively replenished, the U.S. Army approached the Yalu River, which separates Korea from China, and were faced by one million soldiers of the People's Liberation Army, who had crossed the river to defend China from attack. Again in retreat, the U.S. could only achieve a stalemate at the 48th parallel in what was widely viewed as a defeat for U.S. imperialism in this first battle of the Cold War. The war ended in a "truce," and the U.S. has refused to sign a peace treaty affirming North Korea's right to exist ever since, maintaining a massive military presence in the South, currently numbering over 37,000 troops. *All U.S. troops out of South Korea now!*

The Truman administration considered nuking China and Korea but was deterred

by Soviet military might, including its newly developed nuclear arsenal. Had the Soviet Union not possessed a nuclear arsenal capable of deterring U.S. imperialism, China and Korea would be irradiated rubble, and there would have been no Cuban or Vietnamese revolutions. The international working class must defend the right of the deformed workers states to have nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the imperialist war criminals.

U.S. Plans for World Domination: Deranged and Deadly

It is not simply difficult but impossible for any country to permanently and totally dominate a world composed of imperialist and other nation-states whose fundamental interests are based on the aspirations of each state's capitalist rulers, interests that only episodically coincide with those of other states. In the era of nuclear power, however, it is unfortunately possible to destroy the world. Thus, Bush's openly expressed plan for complete world domination is both deranged and deadly dangerous. The madness lies not simply in this unusually war-crazed administration but in the workings of the decaying imperialist order that sets one power against another in competition for arenas of capitalist domination. Two world wars, millions upon millions of corpses, give testimony that the imperialists' rational judgment quickly retreats before the anarchic conditions of capitalist exploitation and profit realization.

It is interesting to note that Kelly's visit to Pyongyang was inspired by U.S. imperialism's desire to throw a monkey wrench into ongoing moves toward rapprochement between North and South Korea. Increased links between these two countries are seen as a threat to the continued presence of American troops in the South, where there is substantial and growing hostility to the continued semi-occupation. Kelly's visit also came just one month after Japan's prime minister, Junichiro Koizumi, went to Pyongyang and offered substantial economic assistance to North Korea—this without U.S. approval. Japan and South Korea are currently attempting to expand economically into North Korea, and Japanese imperialism is seeking to reassert its domination and influence, as against that of the U.S., over its former colony in the Korean peninsula. To be sure, all parties are "shocked, shocked" by North Korea's admission of a nuclear program, hoping to gain advantage in subsequent negotiations with the North. But no less are these capitalist governments committed to continued efforts aimed at counterrevolution in North Korea. As our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan wrote in *Spartacist* [Japan] No. 26 (September 2002):

"The common hostility of Japan and the U.S. toward the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states does not moderate the rivalry between these two imperialist powers, but instead serves as an arena for its intensification. While North Korea and China are the immediate targets of Japan's military buildup, Japanese imperialism is also intent on defending its spheres of influence and interests against all threats and competitors, including American imperialism."

Until the 1991-92 counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union, the vast Soviet military arsenal gave pause to the American imperialists. But in the past decade, the conflict in interests among the imperialist powers, no longer united in common hostility to the Soviet degenerated workers state, has come increasingly to the fore. In the last decade, the U.S. has used its economic and military might to impose its interests as against those of its imperialist competitors in West Europe and Japan. The qualitative imbalance in military capability will not persist forever.

Japan's imperialist rulers have used the North Korean "revelation" to press more urgently for the development of nuclear weapons. A leading Japanese government spokesman stated in April that Japan possesses enough plutonium to manufacture

On the 85th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

November 7 marks the 85th anniversary of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the only successful proletarian revolution to date. Despite its degeneration at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which ultimately resulted in capitalist restoration in 1991-92, the Bolshevik Revolution was a world-historic victory for working people and the oppressed internationally. Commemorating the significance of the revolution as the



TROTSKY



LENIN

opening shot of world socialist revolution, Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon underlined the importance of sweeping away the capitalist order in the U.S., the bastion of world imperialism. The Spartacist League is committed to the task of building a workers party of the Bolshevik type, the necessary instrument to lead the multiracial working class to power in the U.S.

The Russian revolution of November 1917 showed the workers of the whole world the way to power, to the overthrow of the capitalist property system, to the reorganization of economy on a rational basis. There is no other way to save mankind on an international scale than the Russian way. From that point of view we salute the great revolution tonight, as the initiator and inspirer of greater things to come. Therein lies its greatest significance.

If we view the Russian revolution in the right perspective we must see it for what it really was: an international action of the working class, started in a backward country, the most backward country of the great powers, tsarist Russia; and destined to be concluded in the most advanced and powerful country, the United States of America. That which was begun in the domain of the tsars will be finished in the domain of the American monopolists. And regardless of victories or defeats in one country or another, or even one continent or another, the central issue of our epoch—capitalism or socialism—will not be finally decided until it is decided in the United States of America. [...]

Just as the Russian Bolsheviks gave us the model of a victorious revolution, so also they gave us the model of a party fit to lead and organize the revolution. If we take the Russian Bolshevik party for our model—and there is no other model worth even talking about—this means a party that is orthodox Marxist in its theory, that is firm in principle, and strong in its unity and its discipline. Only such a party is fit to organize and lead a revolution.

—James P. Cannon, "The Russian Revolution—Twenty-eight Years After" (4 November 1945), reprinted in *The Struggle for Socialism in the American Century* (1977)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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The closing date for news in this issue is 29 October.

No. 790

1 November 2002

Our comrade Cory Pearson died on October 16, eleven days after suffering a heart attack from which he never regained consciousness. Cory was 54 years old. We extend our condolences to Cory's comrade and wife of 20 years, Ellen, to his brother and three sisters, and to his many comrades and friends around the world.

Growing up in a Southern family amid the turbulent civil rights movement, Cory was driven by an abiding interest in the history of black struggle. He was drawn into campus radicalism while an engineering student at Cornell University in the late 1960s, especially affected by the militant black student occupation there in 1968. Cory joined the Revolutionary Communist Youth, the Spartacist League youth group at the time, in the summer of 1973 and became a member of the SL the following spring. Won to Trotskyism while working in Washington, D.C., where we had no branch, Cory moved to New York City in order to be an active member of the organization. A few years later, Cory got a job as a phone worker. He was a member of Communications Workers Locals 1150 and 1101 for more than 20 years.

Throughout his life as a party member, Cory worked with *Workers Vanguard* in one capacity or another, for many years as our chief photographer and member of the production department and more recently in the circulation department. Whatever he undertook was carried out with a keen sense of professional standards and of Lenin's injunction that the press is the scaffolding of a communist organization. The day before his heart attack, Cory was continuing his efforts to get our press into more bookstores in the U.S. and internationally, and he had recently completed a new, updated list of literature available from the International Communist League.

Among the many pictures Cory took for *Workers Vanguard* over the years, he was particularly proud of a 1977 photo of striking coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky with a hand-lettered sign reading, "Warning: The Stearns Miners Have Determined That Scabbing Is Dangerous to Your Health." Seven years later, a picket at the Phelps Dodge copper strike

Cory Pearson



1948-2002

in Arizona saw Cory's photo and hand-lettered a similar sign.

Cory used his considerable skills not only to get the one picture in any situation that would most effectively illustrate our politics, but to build up a professional photo apparatus and to train other comrades. He organized a darkroom, first in his own apartment and then in the party headquarters. He spent many hours talking or writing to com-

rades about how to improve their photos and visited other locals and national sections of the International Communist League when he could. Others have been trained by Cory indirectly, through the pamphlet *Political Photo Journalism* which he wrote in the mid 1970s. A comrade currently in the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany recalls how Cory "wove the necessary technical information into the purpose of our photography. He wrote, 'Remember, you will be documenting the revolution.'... And these words echoed in my head more than once in difficult situations, especially during the political revolution in the DDR," the former East Germany, in 1989-90.

Those who worked with Cory even briefly remember his infectious enthusiasm, his generosity and his wide, eclectic range of interests. Cory was equally at ease talking about politics, nature photography, art or music. Over the years, he amassed an impressive collection of jazz recordings, including old reel-to-reel tapes, and photographs he had taken of jazz artists and other entertainers. But it was concern for his comrades that had first claim on what time and energy Cory had aside from carrying out his political work. For many years, he took on the job of "concessions commissar" in the press production department, ensuring that comrades who often had to work late into the night would have their favorite drink or brand of cigarettes available. He also spent many hours taping movies, especially those of political and historical interest, for the informal video lending library he organized for comrades' use.

As an Australian comrade remarked after Cory's death, "He was a talented photojournalist who put his art to the service of the greatest cause." Cory

will be remembered by all who knew him, and he will be remembered as well through his photographs and through the many younger comrades he helped train to become, like him, devoted and professional party workers.

Those who wish to join Cory's family and friends in remembering his life at a memorial meeting to be held in New York City on November 16 should call (212) 732-7861.

3,000 to 4,000 nuclear warheads in a matter of months. Now the Koizumi government is using North Korea's admission of the bizarre and senseless kidnapping of Japanese citizens to whip up an anti-Communist, chauvinist hysteria among the Japanese population, which has also set the basis for further repression of the ethnic Korean minority in Japan. As our comrades in Japan wrote: "The endless stories about abducted Japanese and demands that North Korea open its country for nuclear inspection are propaganda campaigns designed to erase Japanese imperialism's crimes before and during World War II and are intended to portray Japan—the second most powerful imperialist country in the world—as the victim."

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

The North Korean government is currently demanding as the price for the cessation of its nuclear arms program that the U.S. recognize North Korea's sovereignty, end the economic embargo and sign a non-aggression pact. If obtained, such a pact would be worth less than the paper on which it was written. Stalin's non-aggression pact with German imperialism in 1939 certainly did not prevent Hitler's Nazis from invading the Soviet Union two years later. Today, Chinese president Jiang Zemin echoes the imperialists' demands for a "nuclear-free" Korean peninsula. Such criminal appeasement, by denying North Korea the right to defend itself by acquiring

nuclear weapons, simply emboldens the rapacious U.S. imperialists in their drive to foment counterrevolution in China itself.

Fundamentally, the defense of those states where capitalism has been overthrown requires the extension of proletarian rule to the advanced capitalist countries. Yet it is this perspective that is not only alien but anathema to the nationalist bureaucratic castes that rule in North Korea and China. The cultist, nepotistic Stalinist regime of Kim Jong Il, who succeeded his father Kim Il Sung, undermines the defense of the North Korean workers state. Its appeals to Korean nationalism are rooted in the Stalinist lie

that socialism—a classless, egalitarian society based on material abundance—can be built in one country, or even half of one. This nationalist dogma is counterposed to a perspective for international socialist revolution, and particularly to any struggle for workers revolution against the South Korean bourgeoisie. The North Korean Stalinists have long called for "peaceful reunification" with the South—a recipe for reunification on the basis of capitalist wage slavery and annexation of the North by the *chaebol*, the huge industrial conglomerates that control the South Korean economy.

The Stalinist bureaucrats in Pyongyang and Beijing fear that socialist revolution

in South Korea and Japan would quickly inspire proletarian political revolutions that would result in their forced evacuation from their positions of privilege and power. Likewise, a political revolution in China or North Korea would have an enormous impact on the workers of South Korea and Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. It would also inspire the workers of Russia and the other former Soviet republics, which have been devastated by ten years of counterrevolution. As was the case in the Soviet Union and East Europe, leading elements of the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies look to the introduction of capitalist exploitation and to imperialist tolerance and support to increase their wealth and privileges. And as was shown in the USSR and the deformed workers states of East Europe, this path opens the road to counterrevolution, with its accompanying societal devastation. *For revolutionary reunification of Korea through socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North!*

What is needed above all is the forging of internationalist proletarian parties around the world. Our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan are committed to the struggle to forge a Leninist vanguard party to lead the fight for proletarian revolution in Japan. For our part, the Spartacist League/U.S. fights to build a revolutionary workers party—part of a reformed Fourth International—that can lead the multiracial proletariat in socialist revolution to sweep away U.S. imperialism, the most dangerous force on the planet. ■

Spartacist Group Japan at April 1996 protest against U.S.-Japan military alliance. Signs at center read: "For the Right of Nuclear and Military Testing for Chinese Workers State!" and "Not One Man, Not One Yen to Imperialist Japanese Military!"





AFF



Action Press

Philippine president Arroyo inspecting troops after crackdown against plebeian protesters in May 2001. Manila slum epitomizes wretched state of masses.

Arroyo Regime Bans "Morning After" Pill

Church and State vs. Women in the Philippines

Contraception and recent legislation to establish a reproductive health care program for women and teens in the Philippines have come under scathing attack by the bourgeoisie led by the right-wing government of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and the Roman Catholic church. The Arroyo government, which was installed in a "People Power" coup in January 2001 by the bourgeoisie centered on the Makati Business Club, the military and the powerful Catholic hierarchy—with the backing of the Stalinist and social-democratic left—recently banned Postinor, a brand of "morning after" oral contraceptive pill on the grounds that it violated the country's draconian anti-abortion laws. This sets the stage for further assaults by the Philippine bourgeoisie on the severely limited access to birth control, reinforcing the horrible oppression of women in the country.

In this 80 percent Catholic country, the woman question is a central and explosive issue. The 1987 constitution includes one of the most severe anti-abortion laws in the world, and when the Philippine bourgeoisie re-introduced capital punishment in the midst of an "anti-sex crime" crusade in the late 1990s, a new anti-abortion law meting out the death penalty—to both the woman and the doctor—was also proposed. Capital punishment, which was temporarily suspended

For Free Abortion on Demand!

as a result of opposition from abolitionists and civil libertarians, has received the green light from Arroyo, whose government is also seeking the death penalty for those it deems "terrorists." **Legalize Postinor! Free abortion on demand! Abolish the death penalty!**

Arroyo's identification with the church is no surprise. Besides being a faithful lackey of U.S. imperialism and an admirer of former right-wing British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, Arroyo also declared when she was a senatorial candidate: "My position [on family planning] is the position of the Church." Shortly after ousting from power capitalist politician Joseph "Erap" Estrada, a self-styled "man of the masses" whose downfall was sparked by charges of "immorality" and corruption, among Arroyo's first moves was to ban a film exposing the horrid conditions faced by the country's sex workers.

The right-wing attacks on women's rights come in the context of a growing leftist movement, seething anger over capitalist austerity and the threatened displacement of thousands of Filipino workers in the Near East that could result from the invasion of Iraq by the United States, the former colonial power in the Philip-

ppines. The campaign to impose social regimentation and conformity is justified as part of Arroyo's crusade to establish a "strong republic" founded on private property, anti-communism and "family values." These positions have served to embolden the Catholic church, whose social weight has grown considerably since its key role in the first "People Power" revolt which overthrew the blood-soaked dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos in 1986.

It was in the 1990s that the church mobilized a million of its followers in opposition to the family planning program pushed by the administration then headed by President Fidel V. Ramos, a Protestant. And, backed by a host of "pro-family, pro-life" groups, the powerful Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines has been able to shoot down bills aimed at legalizing divorce and same-sex marriages. Such moves by the church are aimed at bolstering and strengthening the hold of the bourgeois family, the key institution for women's oppression and the main instrument for social control in capitalist society. Women's oppression is compounded by religious backwardness—whether Catholic, Muslim or any other—which teaches women that their "natural place" is at home slaving over the stove and laundry and being sexually available in the bedroom, while denied the choice of when, whether or how many children they would like to bear.

Currently, the church is targeting the proposed limited-scope Reproductive Health Care Act, which was endorsed by conservative Senator Rodolfo Biazon, a former commander of the Philippine Marines. The bill merely seeks to provide birth control information to women. But in the Philippines, where sex education is not mandatory in schools and where "sex education" programs and literature mainly teach "chastity" and abstinence, even minimal reforms are a welcome departure from the prevailing stifling priest-ridden atmosphere and are thus viewed as a grave threat to social order by the bourgeoisie. Religious leaders have

branded the bill's authors "adulterers, fornicators and terrorists." Flouting the constitutional separation of church and state, the Catholic hierarchy has publicly warned politicians against supporting contraception, threatening to campaign against them in the 2004 elections. Hence, only three out of 24 senators and 60 out of 216 Lower House members have signed the proposed bill.

Fight for Women's Rights!

The feminist group Likhaan says that the Philippines has 2.6 million pregnancies each year, more than half of which are "unintended, forced, and unwanted." About 4,000 of these end up in the death of mothers due to complications in pregnancy and childbirth, including from botched abortions. A safe and simple medical procedure when carried out professionally, abortion can become deadly when driven underground. By conservative estimates, 800,000 abortions are performed in the country; at least 80,000 women, according to the Population Commission, have been hospitalized as a result of botched abortions. The survey also found that the use of contraception, which is banned by the Catholic church, fell to 47 percent among Filipino women in 2001, compared to 49 percent in 1999.

In 1999, religious reactionaries campaigned to discourage pregnant women from receiving tetanus injections by raising the bogey that the vaccine caused miscarriages. Apparently having scared mothers away from the tetanus injections, the campaign also succeeded in keeping children away from health centers for their regular immunization. This resulted a year later in the dramatic rise in the number of children getting sick with, if not dying from, measles.

The reactionary partnership of the church and the bourgeois state comes to the fore in the latest wave of budget cuts for public health and social services, combined with moral terrorism and financial pressure by the clergy. Besides the government ban on Postinor, the church has successfully forced the owners of the 7-11 convenience stores in the Philippines to stop condom sales and prevented some *barangay* (village) public health centers from dispensing free oral contra-

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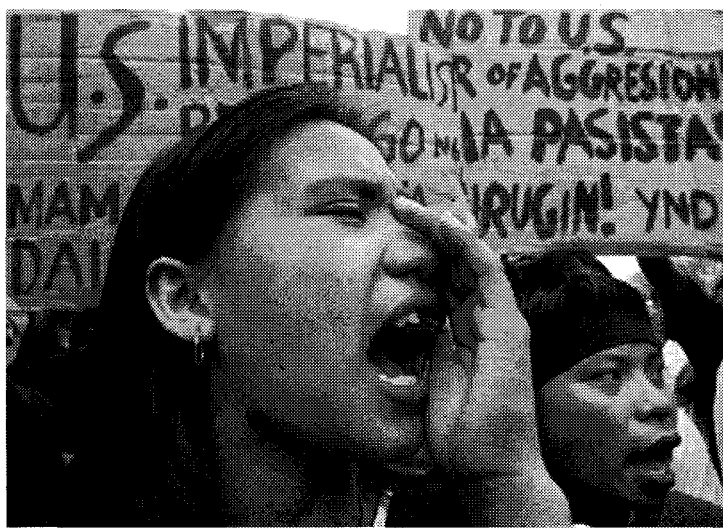
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ceptive pills to working women and the poor. In central Philippines, the clergy have torn down posters advertising contraceptives and in Iloilo City threatened to withdraw the lease on several department stores, including the ShoeMart and Gaisano chains, if they continued to sell condoms openly. This campaign of religious backwardness brings to mind the 350 years when the archipelago, then a possession of the Most Catholic Majesties of Spain, was under the sway of the friars.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which for eleven years provided technical assistance and supplies to support birth control in the Philippines, decided in September to discontinue support for the procurement of condom shipments. This is despite increasing concerns by international health agencies over the rise of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases in the Philippines. USAID's decision is part of the U.S. government's current policy of cutting funding to any overseas organization that provides family planning and abortion services. USAID supplies of oral contraceptives will be discontinued in 2003, and the country has enough stocks to last only until September 2004. During a recent action at the U.S. embassy in Manila, protesters fired five condom-tipped sky-rockets at the embassy grounds in outrage at the implementation of the gag order by the Bush administration.

All this is happening as the U.S. imperialist rulers continue to maintain hundreds of elite special forces troops and



October 16: Protesters outside U.S. embassy in Manila denounce war drive against Iraq and joint U.S.-Philippine military exercises.

thing to a permanent job. Twelve-hour shifts in heavily guarded factories, which are little more than sweatshops, are not uncommon. Childcare and health services are unheard of, and women are still fired if found to be pregnant so that the capitalist bosses can avoid paying maternity benefits. What little union rights and benefits workers enjoy—both men and women—are precious fruits wrested in militant struggle against the capitalists, often involving bloody confrontations with company goons and the state.

The capitalist state is not a neutral agency that can be pressured to act in the interest of the masses. Consisting at its core of the cops, courts, prisons and the army—armed bodies of men—the capitalist state is the instrument of bourgeois

mobilized women workers, urban poor and youth to propel the reactionary Arroyo regime to power. At the time, the Sisonites hailed the "People Power 2" coup as a "victory for the people" (see "For Workers Revolution in the Philippines!" *WV* No. 763, 31 August 2001). The Sisonite electoral party Bayan Muna even campaigned for Arroyo's senatorial ticket in last year's elections and were reluctant to oppose her government until Arroyo's military and anti-communist death squads carried out the murderous rampage against the Sisonites which has claimed the lives of at least 23 leaders and supporters.

Unlike the Sisonites and other inhabitants of the fake-left swamp, who treat women as just another sector to mobilize in a popular front with the "progressive" wing of the capitalist class, we adhere to the Leninist position that the vanguard party must be the tribune of all the people in the fight for socialist revolution. Unlike most of the Philippine fake left, which considers women's oppression to be the exclusive concern of women, we as Marxists hold that it is a social question that must be addressed by the entire working class—men included. Abortion, in particular, is not a "petty-bourgeois" or "Western" notion that has no place in the Filipino workers movement. The right to abortion is a very real life and death question in the Philippines, where unmarried mothers face a lifetime of social stigma and desperate poverty.

Women's groups like GABRIELA, which is influenced by the Sisonites, have not adequately addressed the abortion question in the Philippines. This is not simply because the leadership of GABRIELA and the like includes members of the religious orders, but even more because their program stands opposed to socialist revolution. Denying that the fight for emancipation of women could be a powerful motor force for socialist revolution, GABRIELA's predecessor, MAKIBAKA (the CPP's first women's group, founded in 1971), subordinated the fight for women's liberation to the two-stage "national-democratic" struggle in alliance

with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. They wrote: "Filipino women cannot work for their total liberation unless the Filipino nation is first liberated from the clutches of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism" (*Liberation*, November-December 1988). Today, capitulation to religious morality and the refusal to challenge the institution of the bourgeois family are demonstrations of GABRIELA's loyalty to their "own" bourgeoisie.

For their part, the Sisonites have balked at openly calling for free abortion (substituting at different times the vague liberal call for "choice" or "reproductive rights") and abstained on the question of divorce (which is even championed by the Democratic Socialist Women, the women's group of the right-wing social-democratic PDSP) and on democratic rights for homosexuals (a matter the Sisonites have relegated to their fellow travelers). The Sisonites together with the SPP and social democrats played no small part in building the pro-Arroyo "People Power 2" mobilizations—composed of the bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeois professionals, the clergy and students from the elite universities—which hurled misogynist and anti-gay slurs at Estrada supporters in the Senate.

Uniquely in the Philippine left, the SPP's predecessor, the Liga Sosyalista, included the demand to "make abortion legal, free and safe" (*Progresibo* No. 4, November-December 1998). But in seeking to forge the "broadest possible unity," the SPP has joined hands with the anti-abortion bigots of Pro-Life Philippines, Catholic religious organizations and Liberal Party politicians like Jovito Salonga and Wigberto Tanada in signing a Gathering for Peace declaration in February that opposed the U.S. military presence and worried about "driving away in the process thousands of potential tourists and investors." Reporting on a Sydney conference sponsored by the Democratic Socialist Party in late March, we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* (19 April):

"A Spartacist League/Australia comrade challenged SPP leader Sonny Melencio over the SPP's support for the Gathering for Peace declaration—with its concern over imperialist investment—and argued instead for a program of workers revolution to expropriate the capitalist state. In response, Melencio avowed a two-stage program and talked of the need for tactical alliances. But what the SPP leader described as a tactic is in fact a program that subordinates the proletariat to a mythical 'progressive' or 'anti-imperialist' wing of the bourgeoisie in the fight for 'democratic' capitalism, leading to a second 'stage' not of 'socialism' but the slaughter of workers and leftists."

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Marxists call for free abortion on demand and strict separation of church and state, opposing any manifestation of

continued on page 10



Economist

American troops deployed in the Philippines as part of U.S. imperialism's "war on terror."

advisers in the country, while funneling tons of war matériel aimed at improving the Philippine bourgeoisie's arsenal of state repression. Under the cover of the "global war on terror," over 100 U.S. troops have joined units of the Philippine Army in its bloody pursuit of secessionists in the historically Muslim southern island of Mindanao. We say: **Philippine troops out of Mindanao! U.S. troops out of Mindanao and all the Philippines!**

Class Collaboration Betrays Workers, Women

The brutal experience under governments headed by two women presidents—the *hacendera* (landlord) Corazon C. Aquino and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, the daughter of a former Philippine president—should disabuse young Filipino leftists and fighters for women's rights of any illusions that installing a woman at the helm of the capitalist state represents a major conquest for the oppressed. In the years since Aquino came to power in the "People Power" revolt in 1986, proletarian women have continued to face hellish conditions in the factories and plants. Women form the vast majority of workers in the garment, textile and semiconductor industries, and these women are overwhelmingly young. In this country, where more than half the population is below 30 years of age, a woman of 25 is considered beyond her prime for work on the assembly lines, and "six-month work contracts" are the closest

rule. It exists to impose and defend the "rights" of the capitalists to squeeze profits from the exploitation of the working class. The capitalist state is an instrument of repression against the working class and the oppressed and must be swept away through socialist revolution and replaced with a workers state.

In the Philippines, working women suffer horribly under a triple burden of oppression: as women, as members of the working class, and as people in a semi-colony chiefly oppressed by U.S. imperialism. To even begin to lay the material basis for the emancipation of women from domestic slavery and all-sided oppression requires the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist order through workers revolution, and the extension of the revolution internationally. This requires above all the construction of a Marxist workers party that fights for the political independence of the working class from all parties and agencies of the capitalist class.

This perspective is counterposed to the Menshevik/Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution" put forward by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) led by Jose Maria Sison and the Socialist Party of Labor (SPP)—co-thinkers of the Australian Democratic Socialist Party—which recently dissolved into the Philippine Workers Party (PWP) founded by the assassinated leftist labor leader Popoy Lagman.

By openly aligning themselves with the Catholic church, the Sisonite CPP

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Aral/Sipa



AFP

Baghdad: Neighborhood destroyed by U.S. missile attack, 1997; women demonstrate against UN starvation sanctions, 1998.

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

all the subordinate imperialist states will acquiesce to the diktats of the master of capitalist ruling classes, U.S. imperialism, because they lack the might to oppose the U.S. and they want to be rewarded with at least a share of the spoils. As an official for the French oil company TotalFinaElf bluntly stated, "We want the oil and we want to be in the game of rebuilding the country. If there were a new regime and we have not been with the Americans, where will we be?"

War: The Continuation of Politics by Other Means

The American ruling class cynically manipulated the grief and horror felt by millions at the criminal and demented attack on the World Trade Center to wage war on Afghanistan. But the patriotic consensus in the U.S. is wearing thin, and elsewhere there is massive opposition to a war against Iraq. War demands civil peace, and from Los Angeles to London the imperialist war-makers are revealed as vicious domestic union-busters and strikebreakers. Declaring that a strike could "threaten national security," the Bush administration has brought down the force of the capitalist state to coerce the powerful American dockers union, the ILWU, to work under the dictates of the union-busting employers association. Across the seas, British firefighters are threatened with strike-breaking by the army. Plunging stock markets rob millions of workers of their pensions while public scandals expose insatiable corporate greed. Tens of thousands of working people, including the entire workforce at a number of Fiat plants in Italy, face a future of being chopped off like a gangrenous limb by owners seeking to protect their own profit margins amid the capitalist economic crisis. Civil liberties have been shredded and the capitalists have intensified their assault on social welfare and other gains wrested through decades of workers struggles.

Everywhere, the anti-immigrant witch-hunt has been whipped up to fever pitch in an effort by the capitalist rulers to deflect working-class struggle with racism and xenophobia. The anti-immigrant hysteria provokes a tide of blood as *thousands* of desperate refugees die try-

ing to cross the U.S. border from Mexico or to land a rickety boat in Australia or Europe. Having brought in large numbers of immigrants when their labor was needed, in the face of recession the bourgeoisies of West Europe do not need more immigrants as a supply of cheap labor. All this shows clearly that the capitalist system is the biggest threat to working people everywhere. A decade ago, the rulers crowed about the supposed "death of communism." But capitalism has brought the world to an impasse which the Iraq war illuminates with the terrifying glare of missiles

rulers can be altered to serve the interests of working people.

The truth is that this whole capitalist system is based on the extraction of profit for the owners of the means of production through the exploitation and subjugation of the workers who produce the wealth of society. War is a concentrated expression of this, as competing capitalist ruling classes scramble to steal natural resources and to carve out new markets for export of capital and fresh sources of cheap labor. The leader of the Russian Revolution, V.I. Lenin, emphasized the difference between *bourgeois pacifism*, which

and semicolonial victims, the proletariat has a side. As Lenin stressed in his 1915 pamphlet *Socialism and War*: "If tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on [tsarist] Russia, and so on, these would be 'just,' and 'defensive' wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slaveholding and predatory 'Great' Powers."

There are palpable opportunities to organize class-struggle opposition to imperialist war and to break the narrow nationalist and economist limits of strikes contained by labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. During the 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia, Italian COBAS unions organized a one-million-strong political general strike against the war. Fiat workers, who today battle plant closings in Italy, organized a campaign of material aid—a campaign which all sections of the ICL actively supported—for their class brothers and sisters at the Yugoslav Zastava car plant, which had been bombed by the imperialists. Last year, Japanese dock workers at Sasebo pointed the way forward by "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) Japanese military goods destined for the war in Afghanistan. Today, courageous Turkish workers at the U.S. airbase in Incirlik, which is planned to be a major launching pad for the Iraq war, threaten a strike.

What's essential is to draw a class line and unshackle the working people and anti-imperialist youth from bourgeois politicians, their agents in the trade unions and their left servants, who seek to channel justified hatred of war into illusory calls for parliamentary reforms of the profit-driven system that breeds war and, in West Europe, into support for their own national bourgeoisie against the Americans. In the heart of the imperialist beast, the Spartacist League/U.S., American section of the ICL, has pointed the way forward with revolutionary internationalist contingents in the antiwar protests. We demand: *For class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade! All U.S./UN/imperialist troops out of the Persian Gulf and the Near East!*

Bush Doctrine: Nuclear Top Cops of the World

In September, the Bush administration released its "National Security Strategy," a diplomatic bombshell enshrining the principle of "pre-emptive" war, including with nuclear weapons, against anyone who steps in America's way and avowing that no power will ever catch up with the huge military advantage the U.S. has amplified since the Soviet Union was destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. (The U.S. military budget is now greater than that of the next 19 countries combined.) This threat is directed first and foremost against China, as well as against America's imperialist rivals. The new policy represents a significant shift from how America has dominated the world since it emerged triumphant over its rivals in the first and second imperialist world wars. For decades, the



Spartakist

Spartakist Workers Party banner at October 26 Berlin protest reads: "Down With Racist State Terror! For Class Struggle Against German Capitalist Rulers! Defend Iraq Against Imperialist Attack!"

streaking across a night sky. The fight for authentic communism (not its Stalinist perversion) through the instrumentality of revolutionary workers parties is the only way forward.

In the U.S., not even dizzying flag-waving or the heavy fist of state repression has induced the masses to embrace war with Iraq. In Europe, hundreds of thousands of workers and anti-imperialist youth have demonstrated their opposition to this war. The problem is that the antiwar protests in Europe have all been channeled into a national-chauvinist direction of getting one's "own" rulers to stand up to the Americans. In the U.S., antiwar liberals and leftists bleat, "Money for jobs, not for war" and so fuel the lie that fundamental priorities of the capitalist

lulls the masses into passivity and embellishes capitalist "democracy," and the yearning for peace by the masses. Following the outbreak of the first interim-imperialist world war, Lenin wrote:

"At the present time, the propaganda of peace unaccompanied by a call for revolutionary mass action can only sow illusions and demoralise the proletariat, for it makes the proletariat believe that the bourgeoisie is humane, and turns it into a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries. In particular, the idea of a so-called democratic peace being possible without a series of revolutions is profoundly erroneous."

— "The Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad" (February 1915)

In wars between the imperialist predators and plunderers and their colonial

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CHICAGO

U.S. has wrapped its outright brigandage in the guise of "democracy" and "liberating" people from "dictatorship." The United Nations often served as the "humanitarian" fig leaf for the terror and destruction of U.S. imperialism worldwide, from the 1950-53 Korean War to the starvation blockade of Iraq.

Complaints by European social democrats and fake leftists about American "unilateralism" do not represent any class opposition to U.S. imperialism, merely the squeals of less powerful states and their apologists who want a bigger cut of the take and would prefer to be treated less rudely. Their maneuvers in the UN are essentially power plays to squeeze the U.S. a bit for their own rival national interests. Lenin called the UN's predecessor, the League of Nations, a "den of thieves," and the UN serves that purpose today: regulating global disputes within the framework determined by the most powerful imperialist powers, covering all its maneuvers as "peace" missions. Now the U.S. feels confident to drop this mask and snarl an overt "Roll over, or you could be next." And they do roll over, acquiescing to exempting the American military from international war crimes tribunals and to U.S. appeals to Iraqis to assassinate their head of state!

The White House policy change is not merely semantic nor an absence of diplomatic niceties. This is the shape of the "new world order" emerging from the demise of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was the homeland of the October Revolution of 1917, the world's first and, to date, only victorious workers revolution. The exploitative capitalist system was overthrown and replaced by a planned, collectivized economy. Yet in the absence of socialist revolutions in Germany and other advanced industrial countries, the young workers state remained impoverished and encircled by hostile imperialist powers, and the Soviet workers themselves were politically expropriated by a conservative bureaucratic caste, akin to the labor bureaucracy which sits atop the trade unions in capitalist countries. Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October Revolution, fought the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin and struggled to return the Soviet Union to the road of revolutionary internationalism. In 1933, Trotsky called for a political revolution to oust the bureaucracy, while continuing to insist that it was the duty of the proletariat internationally to militarily defend the world's first workers state from internal or external attempts at capitalist restoration.

Despite Stalinist deformation, the Soviet Union represented the industrial and military powerhouse for every state that overthrew capitalist rule, from Vietnam to Cuba. Without Soviet military might to stay its hand, U.S. imperialism has been riding roughshod over and expanding its military presence on every continent and on every sea. Interimperialist rivalries that were usually subordinated to the common cause of destroying the Soviet Union have now come to the fore. The re-election of German chancellor Gerhard Schröder on the basis of his anti-American stance in the Iraq conflict, the first time since the end of World War II that capitalist Germany has expressed overt opposition to a major American military-strategic policy, is one indication of the widening rift in the imperialist camp. Japan's wooing of North Korea in September in defiance of Bush's aim to starve and quarantine that "rogue state" is another. Mexican president Fox, who wants to be Bush's man in Latin America, can't even get a diplomatic crumb tossed from Washington's table for his services rendered. During the 1991 Gulf War, Germany and Japan alone paid over 25 percent of the cost of the war, with other U.S. allies (like Saudi Arabia) covering almost all of the rest. Yet Schröder vows not to pay a pfennig this time, and Japan has made clear it does not intend to contribute either. The deepening world economic recession is exacerbating tensions between the West Europeans, the

United States and Japan. Economic trade wars between and within the rival blocs for larger shares of the world market will ultimately lead to military conflicts.

Today the U.S. has its sights set on holding and grabbing more of the oil wealth of the Near East, but the ultimate prize it wants is China. Emboldened by capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, the U.S. is mounting military pressure on China—from the expansion of U.S. bases in the Philippines to new bases on the Afghan border. At the same time, the U.S. and other imperialists, as well as overseas Chinese capitalists, promote incursions of the capitalist market in "Special Economic Zones" for free-market exploitation in the heart of the Chinese deformed workers state. China is one of seven potential targets in



Castelnuovo/NY Times

the cross hairs of U.S. plans for a **nuclear first strike**, as laid out in the "Nuclear Posture Review" issued by the Pentagon earlier this year. Nonetheless, the miserable Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy endorsed the U.S. "war on terror" in Afghanistan. As well, elements of the bureaucracy seek to become a new capitalist ruling class, assisting the economic penetration of China by the imperialists and the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie. The terrible reversal of human progress by every measure, from infant mortality to life expectancy to literacy, since capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and East Europe is a warning to the Chinese working masses that a sellout to the "free world" means a free fall into capitalist exploitation and misery—and so much the more so for China, with its vast expanses of economic backwardness. The gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which lifted China from the yoke of imperialist domination, ended the enslavement of women and vastly improved the conditions of life of the worker and peasant masses through the creation of a planned, collectivized economy, are at risk. We Trotskyists fight for the **unconditional military defense** of China—as well as North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies which undermine the workers states.

The ICL threw every resource at its disposal into the fight to stop capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, and earlier in East Germany. We sought to reimplant the authentic communism of Lenin's Bolsheviks, and to bring to the working class Trotsky's brilliant analysis of the contradictory character of the deformed workers states, in order to build revolutionary internationalist parties as the instrument to defend the old gains and conquer new ones. We did not succeed, but the bitter result of capitalism's victory—a far more dangerous world of unbridled imperialist exploitation and war—makes the struggles at hand all the more urgent and steels our resolve. In contrast, virtually the entire "left" howled along with the imperialist wolves in back-

ing the forces of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. In so doing they expressed their rapprochement with their national bourgeoisies. Thus it is not surprising that, reflecting growing differences among the major capitalist powers, these "leftists" went on to act as "human rights" drummer boys for their imperialist rulers against Serbia in 1999 and today adopt an "antiwar" posture which is nothing but pink window-dressing on the national interests of their own capitalist ruling classes.

Fake Left Marches to the Beat of Their Own Capitalist Rulers

It is correct to oppose American imperialism, but to promote the idea that the European imperialists are more benevo-

What a poignant appeal to the German bourgeoisie of Auschwitz, to the French imperialists who soaked Algeria in blood, to the British who pillaged the Indian subcontinent and carved up the Near East and whose imperialist troops enforce brutal repression of the Catholics in Northern Ireland! How about today's minor players, like the Belgians, whose colonial occupation of the Congo was unrivaled in brutality, or the Dutch, who subjugated Indonesia and also engaged in an intercontinental slave trade? Let's not forget it was the Italian bourgeoisie which set up concentration camps in Libya and which used poison gas against the Ethiopian population. Moreover, this bloody colonial past paved the way for the murderous repression of dark-skinned immigrants by West Europe's rulers today, from the



Reuters

Devastated Jenin after Israeli blitzkrieg in April. Fascistic Zionist settlers rampage in Palestinian city of Hebron, July.

lent and progressive than their American rival is nothing but vile social-chauvinism. Yet this is precisely the counterfeit currency of the European "left." Thus the Italian Rifondazione Comunista (RC), the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Workers Power (WP), among a raft of others, signed a call "To All Citizens of Europe and to All Their Representatives" which proclaims:

"Those who show solidarity with the people of Iraq have no hearing in the White House. But we do have the chance to influence European governments—many of whom have opposed the war. We call on all the European heads of state to publicly stand against this war, whether it has UN backing or not, and to demand that George Bush abandon his war plans."

racist *Rasterfahndung* (a computerized system for racial profiling of mainly Muslim immigrants) in Germany to the institutionalized racist cop terror of France's "Vigipirate" campaign, Italy's drowning of boatloads of Albanian refugees, Britain's deportations of asylum-seekers, and on and on.

Perhaps the "leftist" signatories of the above-quoted statement feel their imperialist masters "owe" them one. After all, they *did* help install the reactionary governments in place across Europe. The British SWP declared itself "over the moon" when Bush's poodle Tony Blair first became prime minister. The French LCR vigorously campaigned "in the streets and at the polling booths" to "stop

continued on page 8

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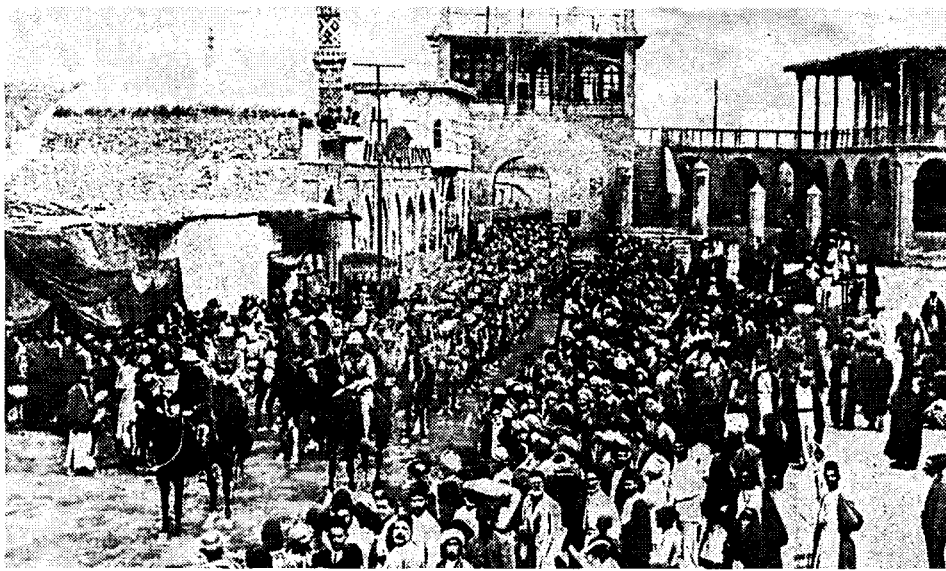
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Iraq...

(continued from page 7)

Le Pen" and install the right-wing Gaullist Jacques Chirac. The German Clifite group Linksruck helped put Schröder, who seized on the Balkans War to become the first man to roll Bundeswehr tanks out of Germany since Adolf Hitler, back in office as an anti-American "peace" candidate. Italian RC leader Bertinotti talks out of the left side of his mouth about a "European general strike for peace" (conspicuously excluding the American workers), while simultaneously appealing to the European heads of state, including the right-wing, fascist-allied Berlusconi, to oppose the war. In effect, Bertinotti calls for a "strike for peace" by capitalist governments. *Proposta* and Falcemartello (the Italian offshoot of the British Grantites), nestled inside RC, refuse to take a side to **defend Iraq** and promote mobilizations against U.S. military bases in Italy without addressing Italian imperialism. Indeed, *Proposta* supported the previous RC/"Ulivo" government which invaded Albania in 1997. In cyberspace, Workers Power and its League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) calls to "defend Iraq," but on the streets of Britain they campaigned for Tony Blair, who wages war on Iraq. Workers Power openly campaigned for the defeat of Serbia by the Kosovo Liberation Army—tool of NATO imperialism in the Balkans War—and turned up at a London demonstration which featured the call "Good luck NATO!" WP also issued the demented proclamation that "in the aftermath of NATO's victory in Kosova, a pre-revolutionary situation is maturing" ("The Fight to Overthrow Milosevic in Serbia," 11 August 1999 LRCI statement).

In Britain, the Clifite SWP froths mightily against "Bush's war," yet it sup-



British troops march into Baghdad, 1919, amid imperialist carve-up of Near East following World War I.

ported the entry of British imperialist troops into Northern Ireland in 1969 and still can't bring itself to call for their immediate unconditional withdrawal! While occasionally denouncing the United Nations in their newspapers, various international affiliates of the Clif tendency make up the right wing of the antiwar movement and criminally build illusions in the UN, whose sanctions against Iraq are a **murderous act of war**. In 1990-91, the SWP built the Committee to Stop the War in the Gulf headed by Tony Benn, who supported UN sanctions. Now Linksruck has published a petition on its Web page demanding: "We appeal to the German Federal Government with much concern: To do everything possible in the framework of the UN in response to the U.S.A. to avoid the threatened war!"



"Democratic" French imperialists tortured and assassinated Algerians in failed attempt to defeat war of independence.

In Australia, the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) announces in its 4 October issue of *Socialist Worker* that it backs the Victorian Peace Network (VPN), an antiwar confab which states, "UN resolutions on disarmament and human rights will only work if they are applied equally, without fear or favour. All the nuclear powers and all Middle East states must abolish their stocks of

chemical, biological and nuclear weapons." This is an openly pro-imperialist call for the **disarmament of Iraq** in the face of impending U.S./British attack. As for the imperialists, they will only be disarmed when they are expropriated by victorious workers revolutions. Clinging to the coattails of liberals like the VPN, the ISO ends up again in the camp of the imperialists.

Similarly, the Marcyite Workers World Party (WWP) in the United States talks a little more left in its newspaper but in practice dedicates its efforts to subordinating the antiwar movement to capitalist politicians in the Democratic Party of war and racism. The WWP promotes Ramsey Clark, who was top cop under the Vietnam War administration of Lyndon Johnson and today demands that U.S. imperialism "lead us on the road to peace!"

U.S. military bases across Europe and Asia, as well as high-tech spy installations such as Australia's Pine Gap, have become deserving targets of antiwar protests by leftists and trade unions. It

struggle fight against war, much less against the domestic reflection of this war drive: an escalation of police-state terror against immigrants, *sans-papiers* (undocumented immigrants) and "second generation" youth. LO has swung wildly in recent months, from grotesque support to cop "strikes" and calls for **more cops** in poor neighborhoods to opposing police brutality. Yet where LO is consistent is precisely in their steadfast refusal to fight for anything but the most narrow economic demands in the proletariat. Incredibly, in months of LO factory leaflets you can not find one word against anti-immigrant racism, but plenty of their perpetual reformist babble about "banning layoffs." Thus LO does its bit to tie workers to their exploiters with the lie that the capitalist system can somehow be regulated under a "good" government to be humane.

In Lenin's classic antiwar primer *Socialism and War*, written in 1915 in the crucible of World War I, he wrote:

"Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same politico-ideological content—class collaboration instead of the class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle, helping one's 'own' government in its embarrassed situation, instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments so as to advance the revolution."

Indeed, the pseudo-Marxists' support to their own rulers as somehow more moral and humane than the American bourgeoisie is the same argument used by the German Social Democrats as "justification" for "defense of the fatherland" and voting war credits to the Kaiser in 1914. This renunciation of the fundamental Marxist perspective of class vs. class—encapsulated in the clarion call of the *Communist Manifesto* "Workingmen of all countries, unite!"—impelled Lenin to rip off the dirty shirt of the Second International and build a new, Communist, Third International. The betrayal by the Social Democrats made Lenin realize that opportunism had a material base in the workers movement itself, particularly in the trade-union officialdom which tied its fortunes to the capitalist system. Lenin's greatest contribution to Marxism was his conclusion that a decisive **split**

from the opportunists was the **precondition** for the proletariat to fight for its own class interests and its own class rule. Contrast this understanding with the base opportunism of groups like Peter Taaffe's Committee for a Workers International, headed by the British Socialist Party, which may occasionally make orthodox-sounding statements about capitalism being the root cause of war but is wedded to support to social democrats like the German Party of Democratic Socialism.

Lenin explains in *Socialism and War*:

"Today **unity** with the opportunists **actually** means subordinating the working class to their 'own' national bourgeoisie, and an alliance with the latter for the purpose of oppressing other nations and of fighting for dominant-nation privileges; it means **splitting** the revolutionary proletariat of all countries."

He concludes that the task at hand is:

"To rally these Marxist elements, however small their numbers may be at the outset; to reanimate, in their name, the now forgotten ideals of genuine socialism, and to call upon the workers of all lands to break with the chauvinists and rally about the old banner of Marxism—such is the task of the day."

Near East Trip Wire for World War Three

In order to fully and effectively mobilize the workers and rural toilers of Iraq against American imperialism, it is necessary that the Iraqi regime be overthrown and replaced by a government of workers and peasants councils (soviets) such as was established by the 1917 Russian Bolshevik Revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. A Leninist-Trotskyist party in Iraq today would thus seek to combine the struggle for national independence against American militarism with a social revolution against the Iraqi capitalists and landlords. Arab leaders throughout the Near East fear that a U.S. invasion of Iraq will ignite social turmoil in their own countries. Meanwhile, Israel continues to pound the Palestinians, shattering every building block of society in the Occupied Territories and posing the very real possibility of mass expulsion of the Palestinian people. It is the U.S.-led war on Iraq that would provide the "cover" for Sharon's genocidal plans. Turkey fears that the destruction of the Saddam Hussein regime could incite struggle by the oppressed Kurdish people in Iraq—and Turkey—for their national rights. The Near East is a patchwork of artificial states whose borders were literally drawn by the imperialists to suit their colonial appetites, including control of vital oil reserves.

Imperialist domination has **reinforced** social backwardness and the brutal repression of women, of homosexuals, of national, ethnic and religious minorities in the Near East. Not least, it was U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet "holy war" in Afghanistan in the 1980s which, along with the bankruptcy of Arab nationalism and the nationalist betrayals of the Stalinist Communist parties, helped fuel the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the Near East. Where much of the rest of the left marched in lockstep behind the imperialists and against the Soviet Union in

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Afghanistan, uniquely we took a side *with the Red Army* against the CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries. The Soviet presence brought the hope of liberation to the Afghan peoples, especially the women enslaved by Islamic law and the veil. We proclaimed: Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples! We opposed Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal from Afghanistan and presciently warned of the impulse it would give to counter-revolution, noting "It's better to fight in Afghanistan than in Moscow."

In urban centers throughout the Near East, there is a modern industrial proletariat which has the social power and class interest to transcend ethnic and religious division and sweep away the capitalist order. The task is to render the proletariat conscious of its interests, combatting all variants of nationalism, including the "progressive" nationalism of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and all manner of religious fundamentalism. The key is forging a revolutionary leadership based on Trotsky's program of permanent revolution, which teaches: "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leaders of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses" (*The Permanent Revolution*, 1929).

Trotsky stressed that "the subsequent fate of the [proletarian] dictatorship and



Novosti

Soldiers march through Moscow under banner of Communism in 1917. October Revolution pulled Russia out of carnage of World War I, inspired exploited and oppressed around the world.

socialism depends in the last analysis not only and not so much upon the national productive forces as upon the development of the international socialist revolution." Today in the Near East, the struggle against imperialist war and domination and against oppressive capitalist rule by the despotic sheiks, colonels and Zionist rulers cannot be resolved within the confines of a single country. Justice for the Palestinian people, national emancipation for the Kurds, freedom from the veil and *sharia* (Islamic law) for women, require

sweeping away the medieval fundamentalists in Iran and Sudan, the bloody butchers in Syria and Iraq, the reactionary monarchies in Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, and the kill-crazy Zionist rulers of Israel. ***U.S./NATO and all imperialist forces out of the Near East! Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinian people! For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! For a socialist federation of the Near East!***

These struggles must be linked to the fight for socialist revolution in the

advanced capitalist countries of Europe, North America and Japan. Throughout the imperialist centers, immigrant workers and their children represent a living bridge linking class struggle between the metropolis and the former colonies and linking racially oppressed immigrants to the power of the proletariat as a whole. A struggle against war and against national and racial oppression cannot be waged through the politics of compromise pushed by the social democrats, the ex-Stalinists and their so-called "far left" tails. The struggle against war presupposes a revolutionary instrument of struggle, an internationalist Trotskyist party. This is the task to which the International Communist League is dedicated.

The vast machinery of death in the hands of the imperialists is a measure of the enormous scientific and technological progress made possible by the Industrial Revolution. Today, science and technology are centrally deployed to advance the bourgeoisie's untrammled pursuit of profit through grinding exploitation of the overwhelming mass of the world's population and threaten the very existence of human civilization. Turning science and technology to the benefit of humanity requires wresting the means of production from the hands of the capitalist imperialist rulers and creating an international planned economy. Only in this way can the needs of the billions of toilers now consigned to dreadful and stultifying poverty begin to be met and the threat of war ended once and for all. ***Only socialist revolution can end imperialist war—Reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!*** ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

senior partners on Wall Street and in the City of London. The "tripartite alliance" government led by the African National Congress (ANC)—which includes COSATU and the thoroughly reformist South African Communist Party (SACP)—rules over the South African masses at the behest of the white bourgeoisie. Harking back to the days of outright apartheid repression, the bourgeois daily *Johannesburg Star* (9 October) aptly editorialised: "All too often we find ourselves thinking that the more things change, the more they stay the same. If ever there was cause for déjà vu, it must be the headline 'Two Striking Miners Shot Dead'."

In the aftermath of the strike, the ANC trotted out four top SACP ministers to attack the COSATU leadership for calling the general strike. In turn, the COSATU leadership, which is dominated by SACP-ers, claimed that it was the workers who had forced their hand. As the *Star* (4 October) headlined: "COSATU Chiefs Succumbed to Pressure—Union Leadership Wanted to Postpone the Strike but Were Accused of Selling Out." The ERPM strike clearly went beyond the aims of the labour tops to simply have the workers blow off steam. The mining sector has seen a substantial amount of labour unrest in the past year, and the bureaucrats are fearful that such action could threaten "business as usual."

The backdrop to the attack on the miners is a "black empowerment" takeover of ERPM by black capitalists who used a labour contractor to "implement inhuman working and living conditions," as a National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) spokesman put it. Labour contractors are notoriously used to circumvent union contracts on wages, working conditions and retrenchment issues. The miners had been protesting since early April because the bosses had planned to fire 4,000 of them, and the black elite moving in said they'd only rehire 2,800 workers.

The miners' labour struggle is particularly significant as the ANC regime moves to implement a "mining charter" that proposes a target of 26 percent "black empowerment" in ten years' time. Through "black empowerment" moves,



Ruth Motau

ANC-led neo-apartheid regime enforces hellish conditions for the masses at the behest of the white capitalist ruling class.

the bourgeois-nationalist ANC seeks to create a broader layer of black exploiters to act as a buffer between the overwhelmingly black African proletariat and the white bourgeoisie. Whatever cosmetic changes happen in the corporate boardrooms, the "new South Africa" remains a seething pit of racist rule where blacks are kept at the bottom. The murders on the picket lines are the face of what's to come.

What conditions in South Africa cry out for is the forging of a revolutionary vanguard party that acts as the tribune of the people. The combative and powerful South African working class, if it is to struggle for its own liberation against capitalist exploitation, must lead the fight against the brutal oppression of women, immigrants, the rural poor and the millions who languish in the country's destitute shantytowns.

As the largest COSATU affiliate, the NUM is a key strategic union that, with its hands on the economy's central resources of gold, diamonds, platinum, coal and electricity generation, has the social power to bring the country to a standstill. But instead of mobilising for a shutdown of all the mines and other subsidiary industries in protest against the outrageous killings of the miners, the NUM bureaucracy appealed for class peace and assured the miners' exploiters that the bureaucrats would contain any protest action and commit themselves to "negotiation." One of the miners at ERPM told

Spartacist South Africa: "If all the mines had come to a standstill, this would have been resolved in just ten minutes." It wasn't until October 18 that the COSATU leadership, in a press statement touting its "health and safety campaign," made any mention about the attack on the miners at ERPM. The slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all" emblazoned on COSATU banners is treated with contempt by the treacherous union tops.

The labour bureaucracy is made up of lieutenants of the capitalists whose purpose is to maintain class collaboration. In the aftermath of the killings, the SACP sent its general secretary to cool the situation down. The COSATU president and the NUM general secretary had gone to ERPM earlier for the same reason. This

string of bureaucrats appealed for calm and sapped the working-class action, calling for "the law to take its course." Two security guards were arrested in order to assuage the workers' anger. But, of course, the master criminals—the owners and managers of ERPM—remain free to exploit the miners and, when they protest, to shoot them down.

As the murders at ERPM show, the battle lines are being drawn against the rising black elite—the *amabhunu amnyama*. Recently, striking municipal workers also faced cops and security goons in a struggle against a layer of black ANC councillors enforcing the privatisation of utilities supplying electricity and water. Cops and security guards are armed thugs of the state whose purpose is to protect private property. Spartacist South Africa says: ***Cops and security guards out of the unions!***

Outrage over the killing of the ERPM miners underscores the rapidly growing disillusionment with and hostility toward Thabo Mbeki's ANC regime. As one shop steward at ERPM told *Spartacist South Africa*: "What has changed is the jockey, but the horse remains the same." To protect jobs being shed under the guise of "black empowerment" will take a fight to unleash the social might of the unions. What is needed is a revolutionary leadership in the unions to oust the pro-capitalist leaders in COSATU, who tie the working masses to the cart of bourgeois nationalism. Break with the ANC/SACP/COSATU Alliance! We are for the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party that fights for a socialist society where those who labour rule. ■

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SPARTACIST SOUTH AFRICA

For Class Struggle Against Neo-Apartheid Capitalism!
South African Bourgeoisie Backs US War on Afghanistan

The criminal attack on the World Trade Centre deliberately killing thousands of working people of all races, nationalities and religious beliefs, provided the American ruling class with a public opportunity to demonstrate its military might and increase state repression of dissent. The weeks of massive, relentless terror bombing of Afghanistan produced the intended result. Hundreds of civilians have perished and tens of thousands have been driven into refugee camps. Villages have been reduced to rubble, with hospitals destroyed. Red Cross facilities obliterated, entire families blown to smithereens. The South African Rand Daily Mail and other mass newspapers and news websites have fully denunciated and attacked the apartheid regime. The International Communist League, under the call, "For a Socialist South Africa," has speaker underlined against our "own bourgeoisie" and to overthrow the capitalist system, just like it is the duty of our American comrades to mobilize the working class against the war aims of the US bourgeoisie.

The South African Rand Daily Mail and other mass newspapers and news websites have fully denunciated and attacked the apartheid regime. The International Communist League, under the call, "For a Socialist South Africa," has speaker underlined against our "own bourgeoisie" and to overthrow the capitalist system, just like it is the duty of our American comrades to mobilize the working class against the war aims of the US bourgeoisie.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) weekly general strike against the apartheid regime is supported by the forces of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie of the South African ruling class has also supported the US war on Afghanistan. The bourgeoisie of the South African ruling class has also supported the US war on Afghanistan. The bourgeoisie of the South African ruling class has also supported the US war on Afghanistan.

Down With U.S. Government "Anti-Terrorist" Hit List!

Hands Off Communist Party of the Philippines!

On August 9, the U.S. government declared the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its New People's Army (NPA) "foreign terrorist organizations," making it illegal to provide any "material support or resources" to the CPP. CPP supporters can be deported from the U.S. or denied entry. A few days later, at the behest of the U.S., the Dutch government froze the personal bank account of CPP leader Jose Maria Sison and denied him the housing and food and medical allowances he is entitled to as a refugee in the Netherlands. Numerous other Filipino leftists in the Netherlands face a similar danger, including Sison's comrade, Luis Jalandoni. These measures are particularly ominous amid threats to extradite Sison to the U.S.

On August 29, the Canadian government also added the CPP, NPA and Sison to its "terrorist" list. With a media hysteria campaign comparing Sison to Osama bin Laden, the European Union is now also poised to ban the CPP.

Sison spent nine years in the jails of former U.S.-backed dictator Ferdinand Marcos, where he was also tortured. In 1986 he was released by Corazon Aquino, Marcos' successor, only to be charged with subversion by the Aquino regime while he was abroad. Repeated assassination attempts, first under Aquino and later under Joseph Estrada, failed.

The witchhunt against Sison and the CPP/NPA comes in the context of a crackdown against leftists and Muslim secessionists in the Philippines by the Arroyo government, aided by hundreds of American troops. Despite our fundamental political differences with the Stalinist CPP, we call on the workers movement internationally to defend them against state repression. The American government's attack on the CPP in the name of the "war on terror" underlines that the assaults on the rights of Muslims and Arabs by the Bush administration are ultimately aimed at the left and labor movement.

Canada, which like the U.S. has a large Filipino population, is threatening a full-scale witchhunt of the Filipino left. A small right-wing biweekly in Vancouver, the *Asian Pacific Post* (September 19-October 9), reported that Canadian cops and spies "are tracking the fundraising activities of several B.C.-based Filipino-

Canadian associations to determine if they are pumping money to communist rebels in the Philippines." An unnamed government official told the *Asian Pacific Post*: "We are looking at a variety of issues pertaining to fund raising by the Filipino groups, looking at bank accounts

tances, as much as \$4 billion per year, make up about 6 percent of the Philippine economy and are a major source of hard currency in this terribly poor U.S. neocolony.

An example of how devastating a clampdown on remittances can be is



October 21: Manila demonstrators burn effigy of Gloria Arroyo in protest against government's plan to impose draconian "anti-terror" measures.

and the extensive remittance system used by the migrant workers to send money home."

Among the groups to be spied on and harassed are the B.C. Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines, SKILAB (an overseas Filipino workers group) and the Filipino-Canadian Youth Alliance-Vancouver. Another group under attack is the Filipino Nurses Support Group, a labor organization representing Filipino nurses in Canada. Showing how widespread this witchhunt is, one of the named groups is the Philippine Women's Center, one of whose programs has been subsidized by the Canadian government.

The government threats to spy on remittances effectively targets every immigrant worker, since virtually all immigrants send money to their families back home. An estimated four million Filipinos work as seamen, toil in the oil fields of the Near East, or work as domestic servants, garment workers or nurses in Europe and North America. Their remit-

last year's shut down of the Somali-connected al-Barakaat, one of several *hawalas*, or informal money-transferring networks, used by Somali immigrants. In the wake of September 11, al-Barakaat was put on the "terrorist" list and closed down in the U.S., Canada and elsewhere, as U.S. authorities claimed that it was a conduit for moving Al Qaeda money. In Somalia—devastated by hunger and

Philippines...

(continued from page 5)

discrimination against women, homosexuals and ethnic, national and religious minorities. Marxists fight to end patriarchal practices oppressive to women, like polygamy, based on the subordination of women, and the imposition of the *kumbong* (headscarf) on Muslim women. While the Catholic Philippine bourgeoisie wages bloody civil war against Muslim guerrillas in Mindanao, it also recognizes *sharia* (Islamic law) in the region, further reinforcing the horrible oppression of Muslim women.

The struggle for women's emancipation is tied to the proletarian class struggle to overthrow the system of capitalist exploitation. As in the 1917 Russian Revolution, women workers will be at the forefront of the fight against capitalist and semi-feudal enslavement in the Philippines. The Bolsheviks recognized that in backward regions, the fight for the emancipation of women was a great motor force for revolution. In 1924, the revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote about Muslim women of the Soviet East: "The Eastern woman, who is the most paralyzed in life, in her habits and in creativity, the slave of slaves, she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak, will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress. She will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas and new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution and for ideas of Communism than the awakened woman worker."

imperialist depredation, without banks, post offices or other infrastructure—such networks are used by 80 percent of the population to conduct daily banking and, most of all, to receive the overseas funds on which many rely for their existence. Less than a year later, as the U.S. added the CPP to its "terrorist" lists, it delisted al-Barakaat because...it had "no terrorist links"!

Seizing on the U.S. banning of the CPP, the Philippine government broke off "peace" negotiations with the CPP/NPA guerrilla forces and declared the CPP "terrorist." The Philippine military, with the aid of hundreds of U.S. "advisers," has used the campaign against the unsavory Abu Sayyaf guerrillas as a pretext to go after dissidents, leftists and secessionists among the oppressed Muslim minority in Mindanao and other southern Philippine islands. "Disappearances" and attacks on leftists and trade-union leaders sharply increased since the U.S. troops arrived early this year. Arroyo has also intensified the campaign of vilification against the NPA, calling it worse than Abu Sayyaf in order to set the leftist guerrillas up for liquidation.

There have been protests in the Netherlands, Canada and the U.S. against the deadly witchhunt of the CPP. It is vital that the working class take up the fight against the government's attacks on the left and democratic rights; the laws that now target mainly immigrants will be used against the whole working class. The same government that has outlawed the CPP has also invoked the anti-union Taft-Hartley law against the West Coast ILWU longshore union. In Oakland, California on February 9, ILWU Local 10 was an instrumental force in the united front protest initiated by the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee in defense of immigrants and against the "anti-terror" laws. Among the many organizations endorsing the protest was the Filipino Workers Organization, and one of their leaders addressed the rally.

The defense of the CPP and other Filipino leftists is a crucial task of the international workers movement. **Fight the "anti-terror" witchhunt! Hands off the CPP and Jose Maria Sison! Full asylum for Sison! U.S. troops out of the Philippines!** ■

For the Filipino working class and plebeian women and youth, workers revolution in the Philippines is a question of life and death. However, the gains wrested by a victorious socialist revolution will be short-lived in the face of hostile imperialism. Moreover, it will be impossible, especially in the impoverished Philippines, to build socialism and therefore realize the full emancipation of women without the extension of the revolution internationally. The fight for proletarian power in the Philippines must be linked to a perspective of international proletarian revolution, particularly in the imperialist centers of the U.S., Japan, Australia and West Europe. The millions-strong diaspora of Filipino workers around the world provides a living bridge between the class struggle in the archipelago and those in the Near East, North America and elsewhere. The key to victory lies in the forging of an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party against all variants of nationalism and class collaboration.

The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, fights against every depredation of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines, in Iraq and throughout the world. As part of our struggle against imperialism and in defense of working people and the oppressed around the globe, we stand for the unconditional military defense of social gains under the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. Join the ICL in the fight for new October revolutions, for the liberation of women and all the oppressed! ■

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NYC...

(continued from page 12)

with" the jogger's hair. This is a standard ploy by the cops when they don't have an iota of physical evidence to back up their case. "Consistent with" is meaningless; there could be countless millions of people who had hair "similar" to the jogger's. But the prosecuting attorney then baldly told the jury at the trial that the forensics expert "found on Kevin Richardson's underpants a hair that matched the head hair" of the jogger. DNA tests performed earlier this year revealed conclusively that the hair did not match.

Northwestern University Law Professor Steven Drizin, an expert on false confessions, pointed out, "It is almost an absolute certainty they were not involved in this rape. That would require a scenario so unlikely, it's impossible to believe. You also have to explain how five teenage boys could sexually assault a woman and not leave a shred of physical evidence at the scene. Why is there no DNA? Teenage boys can't make peanut-butter-and-jelly sandwiches without leaving a mess behind" (*Newsday*, 18 October).

New York 1989: A City on the Edge

At the time the jogger's bludgeoned body was discovered lying in the park, Ed Koch was in the middle of a tightly contested mayoral primary race with black Democrat David Dinkins. Koch, who rode into office appealing to the white "ethnic" vote, seized on the jogger case to once again play to the racist vote, giving fuel to lynch mobs on the street. Four months after the rape, a gang of white punks in Bensonhurst blew away 16-year-old black youth Yusuf Hawkins, who was in "their" neighborhood to visit his white girlfriend. The neighbors excused this coldblooded murder by pointing to the Central Park rape.

New York had long been a city on the edge, a trail of horrors punctuated by the names of those many black people killed by Koch's cops—among them 67-year-old grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, 25-year-old artist Michael Stewart, 17-year-old black honor student Edmund Perry. In 1987 alone, Koch's killer cops gunned down 24 people—21 of them black or Hispanic.

Emboldened white thugs on the streets had for years engaged in a wave of pogromist attacks. In 1982, black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death after he stopped into a bagel shop in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn. In 1986, a Howard Beach lynch mob chased 23-year-old Michael Griffith to his death on the Belt Parkway. In 1987, a bus of mostly black passengers was attacked by a gang of 20 white punks with ax handles, baseball bats, spiked clubs and tire irons, while white homeowners in Flushing torched a building which the city had leased to house black and Latino foster care infants.

The raw racist nightmare that defined New York was replicated in cities across the country. With the devastation of

whole swaths of industrial plants, America's capitalist rulers came to see the residents of the inner-city ghettos which used to provide a reservoir of unskilled labor for the auto plants and steel mills—a "reserve army" of the unemployed to be tapped when the economy needed them—as a "surplus" population. The cold-blooded policy of starving black welfare mothers and their kids was augmented by a "war on crime" which snatches young men and women from the streets and throws them into prison hellholes. One statistic sums it up: As one million assembly line jobs were lost in the 1980s, one million people were added to the prison population. In the decade since, on the heels of what was hailed as U.S. capitalism's greatest economic expansion, ghetto conditions have only worsened and the prison population has continued to skyrocket.

An article in the *Boston Review* (April/May 2002) by Loïc Wacquant noted:

"The United States far outstrips all advanced nations in the international trend towards the penalization of social insecurity. And just as the dismantling of welfare programs was accelerated by a cultural and political conflation of blackness and underservingness, so, too, the 'great confinement' of the rejects of market society—the poor, mentally ill, homeless, jobless, and useless—can be painted as a welcome 'crackdown' on them, those dark-skinned criminals from a pariah group still considered alien to the national body."

The Central Park jogger case played a critical role in feeding a climate where ghetto youth are portrayed as inveterate criminals. From the moment the victim was taken to the hospital, the black and Latino youths were being lynched in the press. The obligatory "alleged" was not used when describing them as rapists. Even before they were coerced into giving their statements, the *New York Times* (21 April 1989) ran the headline, "Youths Rape and Beat Central Park Jogger," while the right-wing gutter rag *New York Post* the same day screamed, "Wolfpack Rapes Jogger." Liberal columnist Pete Hamill disgustingly added, "I think this is an insult to animals in general and wolves in particular" (*New York Post*, 25 April 1989). Even today, after their innocence has been proven, one of the lead cops on the case continues to refer to them as "mutts."

Citing Family Court chief prosecutor Peter Reinharz as authority, the *Times* wrote of hundreds of "wolfpack" attacks a year. Of course, this didn't include the white mob that murdered Michael Griffith in 1986, who were always politely referred to as "Howard Beach residents." The immediate aftermath of the Central Park attack was renewed calls to bring back capital punishment to New York State, which at one time had been the death penalty capital of the U.S. A *Post* (26 April 1989) editorial demanded, "Channel Your Outrage: Demand the Death Penalty." Donald Trump paid \$85,000 for full-page ads in the city's four major newspapers declaring: "Bring Back the Death Penalty, Bring Back Our Police." Trump demanded: "Let our politicians give back our police department's power to keep us safe. Unshackle them from the constant chant of 'police bru-

tality' which every petty criminal hurls immediately at an officer who has just risked his or her life to save another's." Pataki's support to the death penalty played a large role in his 1994 election as governor over Democrat Mario Cuomo, who had repeatedly vetoed death penalty legislation. In 1995, the New York legislature voted to bring back capital punishment, a law enthusiastically signed by Pataki.

In a recent column in *Newsday* (22 October), Jimmy Breslin nailed Trump: "If the woman jogger had died and the young men were convicted of murder and executed, and the evidence of being not guilty suddenly came out now, it would be murder by the state and Trump would be as good as an accomplice. The most you'd get out of him would be a shrug. Calling for the police to be let loose meant exactly what it said. Louima, Diallo. Let's go. Break their heads. Slam 'em." In fact, dozens of death row inmates have been released in recent years after DNA evidence exonerated them.

Shortly after the rape, Family Court prosecutor Reinharz declared: "I think that kids like this, given what I would call their predatory nature, are people who, given the chance, would do something like this again. There really isn't any way to control them—at least we haven't found it in the juvenile justice system" (*New York Post*, 25 April 1989). He was echoed by Pete Hamill: "Jail does not cause them fear. They come from a world where jail is just another puberty rite. And in jail they will only continue the education that brought them to Central Park. And we know one more thing: atrocities like this will go on and on.... We know why. There aren't enough cops. There aren't enough jails. There aren't enough judges" (*New York Post*, 23 April 1989).

This view of black youth as inherently "predatory" has been the ideological cover for Democratic and Republican administrations putting tens of thousands of killer cops on the streets; for the passage of stiffer mandatory sentences and the vast expansion of prison construction; for the drastic reduction of funding for public defenders; for the gutting of habeas corpus appeals and the death row speedup. Largely due to the "war on drugs," the prison population has more than doubled over the past 20 years, with over two million behind bars, more than half of them black and Hispanic.

As the government continues to starve the ghettos and barrios, the Bush administration set up its Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in order to funnel government funds to church groups. John DiIulio was hand-picked by Bush last year as the first head of this office. As a Princeton professor, DiIulio, the exemplar of "compassionate conservatism," wrote in the *National Review*: "All that's left of the black community in some pockets of urban America is deviant, delinquent and criminal adults surrounded by severely abused and neglected children, virtually all of whom were born out of wedlock." Together with right-wing ideologues William Bennett and John Walters, DiIulio warned in the 1996 book *Body Count* of a "rising tide of juvenile superpredators." Although the "rising tide" was actually plummeting, with youth crime in 1999 at its lowest level in 25 years, their rantings provided inspiration for "The Violent Youth Predator Act of 1996," under which juveniles are housed in prison with adults. Increasingly, children as young as 12 are being tried as adults.

The American Injustice System

The damage done to the lives of the five young men and their families is immeasurable. As Yusef Salaam's mother pointed out, "Every time he shows up someplace, he goes and he applies for a job, people can look on this list and see he's a felon and a sexual predator. Would you hire someone like that?" Speaking of her son Kharey, who is now 30 years old, Dolores Wise poignantly said: "He was raised in prison" (*Newsday*, 22 October).

Her other son was attacked by a teacher upon learning he was Kharey's brother.

Among the fears city officials have in agreeing to overturn the frame-up convictions is opening themselves up to million-dollar lawsuits. No amount of money can mend what has been done to their young lives, or to their families. But we welcome any money the five can wrench out of the racist city fathers—selling off Trump Plaza and giving them the proceeds would be a start.

Frame-ups by the cops and prosecutors, whose role in society is to protect the class rule of the bourgeoisie, are endemic to the American capitalist justice system. In the typical case, the cops find a suspect, usually black or Latino, and suspend further investigation to pin the crime on him—coercing confessions, concealing evidence, intimidating witnesses, bribing finks. And then there are those cases in which the political ends served by a false conviction enormously magnify the duplicity of the cops and prosecutors. The jogger case is one example, used to whip up a climate of racist hysteria to further the ends of a ruling class that has condemned a whole generation of black youth to unemployment, poverty and prison.

The case of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is another kind of example, an overt frame-up aimed at silencing a man feared by the state for his eloquent and outspoken defiance of the capitalists' racist rule. A former spokesman for the Black Panther Party, a supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal was railroaded to death row on charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in December 1981. One year before Matias Reyes came forward to absolve the Central Park defendants, Mumia's lawyers presented to the courts a sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Jamal, shot and killed Faulkner. But to date the federal and state courts have refused to even consider Beverly's confession and Jamal remains under the shadow of death in Greene County, Pennsylvania. Another example is the frame-up of Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), a former Black Panther who spent 27 years in prison for a crime the government *knew he did not commit*. The murder he was accused of took place in Santa Monica, but the FBI had wiretaps showing that he was in Oakland at the time, 400 miles away.

The hysteria whipped up around the Central Park jogger case was a not-so-distant echo of the lynch mob "justice" of the Deep South. That this one played "up North" is simply a measure of the increasingly genocidal impulses of the rulers of this country toward the black population, whose segregation at the bottom of this society has always been a linchpin of American capitalism. Critical to maintaining this state of affairs has been the role played by black Democrats.

David Dinkins came to office in 1989 assuring Wall Street that the working people and minorities "will take it from me." At the time, admitted FBI fink and all-purpose hustler Al Sharpton was posturing as the voice of the increasingly destitute and desperate black masses of the city. Today, Sharpton opines that at the time of the Central Park jogger case, "All we had was our outrage. Now the feelings are the same but the expression is different. We have proven that we can take the system on and win." What Sharpton is saying is that he has made it as one of the main spokesmen for the Democratic Party in New York City, and in this role wants to contain any expression of outrage in the face of the demonstrative proof of the innocence of the five black and Latino youths who were vilified as "animals" and thrown behind bars.

The case of these youths illuminates the racist frame-up machine of American capitalist "justice." It will take a workers revolution to put the state's machinery of repression and death out of business once and for all and bring to justice the hired thugs who have committed untold crimes against the working class and minorities in the name of "law and order." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

NYC: Racist Frame-Up of Black, Latino Youth

Central Park Jogger Case

On 19 April 1989, two particularly heinous crimes were committed in New York City. The first was the bludgeoning and brutal rape of a 28-year-old woman who came to be known as the Central Park jogger. The second was the launching of a racist frame-up of five black and Hispanic teenagers who were rounded up by the cops. Everyone from the bourgeois media to racist pig and then-mayor of New York Ed Koch and billionaire real estate mogul Donald Trump clamored for a lynching. All pretense of "innocent until proven guilty" was tossed out the window amid screams over "wolfpacks" of black youth, "animals on a feeding frenzy." The not-so-subtle message that black and Hispanic ghetto youth are subhuman was brought home in a full-page ad by Trump howling: "They should be forced to suffer and, when they kill, they should be executed for their crimes.... CIVIL LIBERTIES END WHEN AN ATTACK ON OUR SAFETY BEGINS."

The five youths—Anton McCray, Raymond Santana, Kevin Richardson, Yusef Salaam and Kharey Wise—were all convicted and served their full terms, ranging from nine to twelve years. They were consistently denied parole for refusing to admit to the rape, *which they did not commit*. Last January, serial rapist Matias Reyes confessed that he, and he alone, committed the rape. DNA testing corroborated his account. But the District Attorney's office still refuses to exonerate its victims. At a court hearing on October 21,

the D.A.'s office was given until December 5 to complete its "investigation" and advise the court whether it is joining in the defense application to overturn the convictions.

The conviction of these youths was a racist frame-up in the best American style. The centerpiece of the prosecution's case was coerced "confessions"—four of them videotaped—extracted after hours of interrogation, threats and false promises of leniency. Police only managed to extort a statement from 15-year-old Yusef Salaam after unlawfully denying requests by family members and close friends to see him. Among them was Salaam's "Big Brother" counselor, who happened to be an Assistant United States Attorney. Throughout the trial, the five recanted the "confessions" and maintained their innocence.

Even in the forced "confessions," not one of the youths ever admitted to actually raping the jogger. Instead, they told stories of being part of a group attack in which others committed the rape. In the basic details as to the location of the attack, the description of the woman, the number of people involved and the weapons used, the stories told by each of the five were so disparate from each other—and the known facts—as to have cast significant doubt that they were anything but the product of scared kids trying to tell the cops what they wanted to hear so they could go home.

The cops and prosecutors always knew

there was no physical evidence linking the five to the attack. Although the jogger lost 75 percent of her blood during the brutal beating, not a drop of it was found on them. The tabloids dutifully reported days after the attack that the cops believed not only that the jogger was raped eight times but that the attacks came in shifts. But only one semen sample was ever discovered—which turned out to be Reyes'. It has recently been revealed that the cops knew that a similar

rape had occurred in the park two nights earlier, which Reyes has also since confessed to. But they never told the teens' lawyers about the earlier attack—information which would have been vital to the defense—because it didn't jibe with the frame-up that had been concocted.

The police department's forensics expert testified that hair found on one of the youths, Kevin Richardson, could be described as "consistent with and similar

continued on page 11



October 21: Dolores Wise (at left), mother of framed-up youth Kharey Wise, at rally outside Manhattan Supreme Court.

AP

South Africa: Striking Miners Killed on the Picket Line

The following article was written by our comrades of Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League.

JOHANNESBURG—In the first two days of October, the powerful Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) called a general strike/stayaway action against the drive to privatise government assets, which has already resulted in massive job losses and hikes in payments for basic services like electricity and water. The two-day action was widely effective, with the auto and transport sectors hardest hit.

But when mine workers at the East Rand Proprietary Mines (ERPM) in Boksburg extended the strike by an extra day to protest low wages, ERPM bosses responded by threatening to terminate these strik-

ing workers if they didn't return to work by Sunday. By the time the workers returned to the mine shafts the following Monday, the company had already brought security guards to enforce a lockout. As the workers gathered to protest the lockout, the guards opened fire with shotguns, killing two and seriously wounding scores of others. One of the wounded later died in the hospital. We stand in solidarity with those victimised miners and the injured, and share our grief with the families of those killed.

This coldblooded killing was an attack on the whole of the South African labour movement. Indeed, Thabo Mbeki's regime is intent on waging war against the working class and poor in order to please the white capitalist class and their

continued on page 9



Cape Town, October 1: Mass union rally at start of two-day nationwide general strike against privatizations.

AP