

## Defend the Iraqi Peoples Against U.S. Occupiers!

# U.S. Imperialists Devastate Falluja

## U.S. Out of Iraq Now!

AFP

**Falluja.** Like “My Lai,” the word “Falluja” must be seared into collective memory and consciousness as a monstrous U.S. war crime. Falluja: a city of 300,000, largely depopulated as American “liberators” rode into town in tanks bearing the inscription in schoolbook Arabic, “Keep away or you will be killed.” Flattening Falluja was the first act of the second coming of George W. Bush. Mosques were bombed and then stormed by U.S. troops. NBC correspondent Kevin Sites videotaped Marines murdering a wounded, prostrate man in a mosque. This bit of grisly truth was sanitized by NBC (which blacked out the actual shooting) as too much reality about the Iraq occupation to beam into American living rooms.

In assaulting Falluja, the American troops’ first act was to seize the city’s main hospital to prevent “insurgent propaganda,” i.e., word of massive civilian deaths and casualties, from reaching the world. The American military then barred relief workers with the Red Crescent from delivering food, water and medicine to the trapped civilians. Typhoid is up, as families left in the city are forced to drink water polluted with sewage. Water and power lines to the city were cut in advance of the U.S. blitzkrieg and have not been restored. Children are dying. Charred bodies lie strewn among the twisted steel, shattered glass and rubble remnants of the city, and the smell of death is everywhere. Some physicians report evidence of the use of chemical weapons and cluster bombs. Medical authorities guess that at least 800 civilians have perished, but nobody knows.

Hundreds of men fleeing Falluja were

separated from their wives and children and ordered to march back to town. “There is nothing that distinguishes an insurgent from a civilian” was the explanation offered by a Cavalry officer. When forced back to Falluja, many males between the ages of 15 and 45 who didn’t die in the siege were then arrested. As an Iraqi journalist stated in a firsthand account in the London *Independent* (20 November), “Civilians were told to get out of Falluja, so any man who stayed behind must be in the mujahedin.”

Many of those who did manage to get out of Falluja were then killed as they fled to refugee camps or to the homes of relatives outside the city. U.S. forces sank boats ferrying refugees. AP photographer Bilal Hussein dodged gunfire to escape his hometown and attempted to swim across the Euphrates. He watched in horror as, before his eyes, a family of five was shot dead while trying to swim across. Then, he “helped bury a man by the river bank, with my own hands.”

The magnitude of the crime demands huge international protest. The international working class, not least the American proletariat, should mount class-struggle actions, demonstrations, strikes and hot-cargoing shipments of war matériel. This requires a political fight against the AFL-CIO labor tops who squandered union coffers and mobilized forces to support the Democratic Party

**pro-war** candidate John Kerry who exclaimed, “I’m not talking about leaving [Iraq], I’m talking about winning!” We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops from Iraq! We call for the defense of the Iraqi peoples against the U.S. occupiers and their puppet Iraqi troops and police. Insofar as the forces on the ground aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers and the mercenaries, we call for their defense. Every blow struck against the U.S. military and allied powers in Iraq is a blow in the interests of the international proletariat.

### Racism and Imperialist Occupation

We have warned that as the American military occupation of Iraq encountered resistance, it would become increasingly brutal. Haifa Zangana, an Iraqi-born novelist imprisoned under Saddam Hussein, writes: “Since the nominal handover of sovereignty on June 30, we have witnessed an escalation of Israeli-style collective punishment of Iraqi cities. Civilian carnage, coupled with enormous damage to homes and infrastructure, has become our daily reality” (London *Guardian*, 17 November). Australian journalist John Pilger reports:

“According to a senior British officer, the Americans view Iraqis as *Untermenschen*, a term that Hitler used in *Mein Kampf* to describe Jews, Romanies and Slavs as

sub-humans. This is how the Nazi army laid siege to Russian cities, slaughtering combatants and non-combatants alike. Normalising colonial crimes like the attack on Fallujah requires such racism, linking our imagination to ‘the other’.”

In this vein, a *Wall Street Journal* editorial (18 November) described the city of Falluja as a “terror den” and justified the shooting of the unarmed, wounded Iraqi man in the mosque. They sneered: “Who from the safety of his Manhattan sofa has standing to judge what that Marine did in that mosque?” The atrocity in the Falluja mosque quickly became a template for the U.S. troops and their Iraqi puppet forces. On November 19, 200-300 Iraqi National Guard troops, backed up by American forces, stormed Baghdad’s al-Hanifa mosque, one of the most important Sunni mosques in Iraq, when it was filled with worshippers at the end of Friday prayers, killing two and wounding at least nine.

*Le Monde* reported that outside the mosque, dozens of men were forced to lie face down on the ground under the guns of the U.S. Army. The violation of the mosques is a huge affront to every Muslim in the region and in the world. With these acts, the deranged, Christian fundamentalist Bush administration proclaims that nothing is sacred, nothing will be spared in the U.S. occupation, and political fallout be damned.

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## Defend, Extend Gains of 1949 Revolution!

## The Spectre of Tiananmen and Working-Class Struggle in China Today

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IBT

On November 5 Teamsters organizer Jose Gilberto Soto was assassinated in El Salvador, gunned down outside his mother's home in Usulután. The veteran organizer, former president of Teamsters Local 11 in Haledon, New Jersey, would have been 50 years old the next day, his birthday. Teamsters president James P. Hoffa issued a statement November 11 saying, "Mr. Soto... was organizing port drivers, the most exploited truck drivers in the U.S., and he was visiting El Salvador on behalf of the Teamsters to meet with Central American trade union leaders and port drivers. Mr. Soto was a trusted and respected Teamster leader from the Port of New York/New Jersey." "To date, the police have done little

# Teamsters Organizer Assassinated in El Salvador Honor Gilberto Soto

to apprehend what appears to be a death squad that killed our representative," the statement pointed out. The Teamsters, while appealing to the U.S. government for a full investigation, have also joined with the International Longshoremen's Association and the International Longshore and Warehouse Union to offer a \$75,000 reward for information leading to capture and conviction of the murderers. Workers should have no illusions that real justice for Gilberto Soto will come from the American imperialist government or its neocolonial satraps in El Salvador, heirs to the murderous D'Aubuisson death-squad regime.

Gilberto Soto was on the front lines of the international class struggle when he was gunned down. He was planning to meet with port workers in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Honduras. El Salvador port truckers endure horrible working conditions, with no legal right to organize and low wages. They are paid only for hours actually hauling, with no compensation for long waits to load or lengthy return trips. According to a National Labor Committee report posted on the Teamsters Web site, Gilberto Soto especially wanted

to meet container haulers employed by Maersk, one of the largest shipping companies in the world, based in Denmark. The report stated: "The IBT and SID [Specialized Workers Union in Denmark] were interested in collaborating on a joint project documenting the systematic violations of worker rights by Maersk."

In El Salvador, less than 5 percent of the workforce is unionized. Sweatshops, child labor and persecution of union organizers are rampant. It's a Free Trade Zone international racket, where low-paid workers produce apparel for Wal-Mart, Target, Saks, OshKosh and other famous brands, and the Coca-Cola Company buys sugar from El Salvador mills that use child labor to harvest sugarcane. Ominously, in the early morning hours of November 14, thugs ransacked the offices of the Centro de Estudios y Apoyo Laboral (CEAL), a Salvadoran labor support center that had been making public statements against the murder of Gilberto Soto. Communications and computer equipment was removed, and files had been tampered with. Hands off the Salvadoran labor movement!

Violence against union militants is endemic throughout the Americas—often with the complicity of local regimes and U.S. imperialism. In Colombia, assassination of union militants has escalated into a major war, as the World Business section of the *New York Times* (18 November) noted: "Union activists have fallen by the hundreds here, making Colombia the world's most dangerous country for union organizers." American companies in Colombia like coal producer Drummond and Coca-Cola bot-

tling plants have been accused in lawsuits of hiring paramilitary gunmen to kill organizers.

What can't be denied is that the class struggle continues to flare up. From the *maquilas* where goods are made to the ports where they are shipped around the world, the capitalists have created a new and potentially powerful workforce, whose unionization they fear. Gilberto Soto, a native of El Salvador who came to the U.S. in 1975, understood this. He dedicated his life to organizing the unorganized, from being a Teamsters northeast organizer for port truckers in the United States to his trip to El Salvador. He was also, according to New York CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), a longtime activist for the Salvadoran leftist FMLN and marched this past summer with CISPES in protests outside the Republican National Convention. We are honored that such a courageous and dedicated man was also a subscriber to *Workers Vanguard*. The way to honor his memory is to redouble efforts to organize port truckers here in the U.S. and in Central America, the cause for which he gave his life. Ultimate justice for working people will only come with the victory of socialist revolutions throughout the Americas.

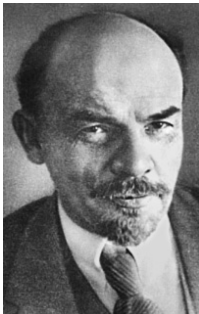
A funeral mass was held for Gilberto Soto on November 13. The Teamsters' Web site states that donations may be made to the following fund to benefit his wife, Alva "Maritza," and three children, Blanca, Rosalva and Edson: Gilberto Soto Memorial Fund, Wachovia Bank, 358 Market Street, Saddle Brook, NJ 07662, Account No. 1010110478249.■



TROTSKY

## Defense of the Workers States and International Socialist Revolution

*Polemicalizing in 1939 against those in the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party who wanted to abandon defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky outlined the link between defense of the USSR and the struggle for international workers revolution. Our fight today for the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states—China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam—and for workers political revolution to oust*



LENIN

*the Stalinist bureaucrats who rule them is likewise part of our struggle for proletarian revolutions worldwide.*

Mistakes on the question of defense of the USSR most frequently flow from an incorrect understanding of the methods of "defense." Defense of the USSR does not at all mean rapprochement with the Kremlin bureaucracy, the acceptance of its politics, or a conciliation with the politics of her allies. In this question, as in all others, we remain completely on the ground of the international class struggle....

We are not a government party; we are the party of irreconcilable opposition, not only in capitalist countries but also in the USSR. Our tasks, among them the "defense of the USSR," we realize not through the medium of bourgeois governments and not even through the government of the USSR, but exclusively through the education of the masses through agitation, through explaining to the workers what they should defend and what they should overthrow. Such a "defense" cannot give immediate miraculous results. But we do not even pretend to be miracle workers. As things stand, we are a revolutionary minority. Our work must be directed so that the workers on whom we have influence should correctly appraise events, not permit themselves to be caught unawares, and prepare the general sentiment of their own class for the revolutionary solution of the tasks confronting us.

The defense of the USSR coincides for us with the preparation of world revolution. Only those methods are permissible which do not conflict with the interests of the revolution. The defense of the USSR is related to the world socialist revolution as a tactical task is related to a strategic one. A tactic is subordinated to a strategic goal and in no case can be in contradiction to the latter.

—Leon Trotsky, "The USSR in War," 25 September 1939, reprinted in *In Defense of Marxism* (1995)

## Defend Antiwar Activist Mary Kelly!

### Ireland

Dublin  
6 November 2004

Dear comrades,

We wanted to bring to the attention of your readers the court case of courageous antiwar activist Mary Kelly. On October 28, Mary, a 52-year-old nurse and mother of four, was found guilty of "criminal damage without lawful excuse" for damaging a U.S. military aircraft at Shannon Airport on 29 January 2003. Her sentencing is scheduled for December 1 and she faces up to **ten years in prison**. She admits striking the aircraft on the nose cone, landing gear and engine cowl with an axe but argued in her defence that "I did what I have done with lawful excuse" to save human life and to prevent Shannon Airport being used to support the invasion of Iraq. Nearly 113,000 U.S. troops have been transported through Shannon in the first nine months of this year. It is estimated that by the end of the year, just under 350,000 U.S. troops will have passed through Shannon in the past three years (i.e., since the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq). Mary Kelly argues that this use of Shannon is a violation of both the Irish constitution and international law.

Her first trial, in June 2003, ended in a hung jury on the criminal damage charge, despite Judge Carroll Moran basically instructing the jury to convict her. However, the Director of Public Prosecutions ordered that she be tried again. Her second trial, in June 2004, collapsed when her legal team abandoned her because they refused to pursue the defence she wanted, in particular asking for disclo-



Irish Times

sure of the advice given by the Attorney General to the government regarding the legality of allowing the U.S. imperialists basically unlimited access to Shannon Airport. In her latest trial (again before Judge Moran) she was forced to defend herself because she was unable to obtain new counsel who would defend her in accordance with her wishes. Judge Moran gutted her whole defence by ruling that "You can't call evidence on political matters or the war in Iraq" and refused her permission to call expert witnesses like former UN weapons inspector Denis Halliday, who was to testify about the thousands of deaths caused by U.S. bombing of Iraq and the UN-sanctioned starvation sanctions. The Irish state is intent on making an example of Mary Kelly because her actions exposed the complicity of the Irish government in the U.S./British colonial war against Iraq. From the perspective of workers and the oppressed, Mary's actions were not a crime! **Drop the charges! Hands off Mary Kelly!**

The Spartacist Group Ireland have contributed to her legal defence and have highlighted her case (and those of other antiwar protesters like Eoin Dubsky and

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## WORKERS VANGUARD

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# 19th Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

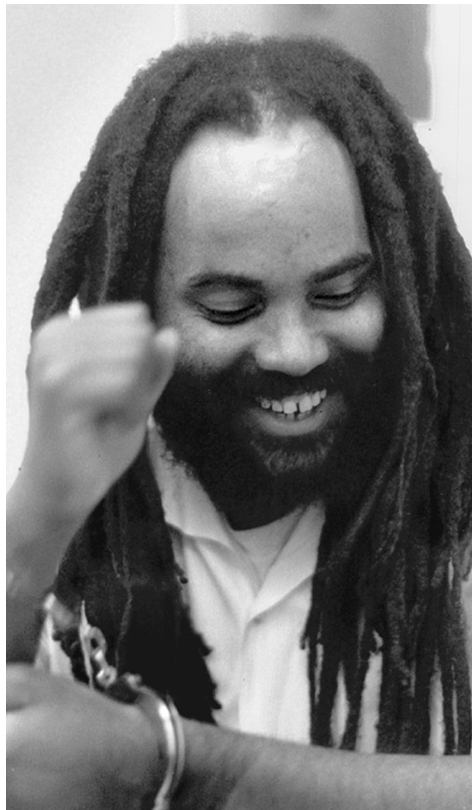
The Partisan Defense Committee is building for the 19th annual Holiday Appeal for class-war prisoners. The PDC provides monthly stipends to 16 prisoners—trade-union militants, fighters for black freedom and opponents of imperialism and capitalist militarism—and holiday gifts for them and their families. These gifts and messages of solidarity are a necessary reminder to these brothers and sisters that they are not forgotten.

The Holiday Appeal takes place as Bush, Cheney & Co. gear up for four more years of grinding attacks on labor, immigrants, blacks, gays, women and what remains of the Bill of Rights. Union activists, opponents of the imperialist occupation of Iraq, fighters for black rights, and even the lawyers who defend them in court, are faced with the threat of prison. Our benefits in New York, Chicago, the Bay Area and Toronto will be a forum for those in the cross hairs of this all-sided reaction.

A key focus of the Holiday Appeals this year will be the struggle to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. No case better expresses the bloodlust and depravity of American capitalism's judicial frame-up machine than Jamal's case. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist, Jamal was framed up on charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981 and sentenced to death. Despite the sworn confession of the real killer, recantation of prosecution witnesses, irrefutable proof of the trial judge's racist bias, and the prosecution's racist jury-rigging, coercion of witnesses, doctoring and concealing of evidence, Jamal remains in the shadow of Pennsylvania's death chamber.

Jamal's case cuts to the core of black oppression in the U.S. The case of Mumia,

## ABOLISH THE RACIST DEATH PENALTY!



COC Productions

## FREE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

a black man set up to be legally lynched through state-sanctioned murder, throws a spotlight on the barbaric, racist death penalty, a form of institutionalized state terror

directly descended in the U.S. from the system of black chattel slavery. The racist rulers of this country—Democrat as well as Republican—want Jamal's execution as a message to anyone who would fight against the ravages of this capitalist system. *Free Mumia now!*

Speaking at the New York benefit will be Monique Code, representative for Mumia's son, Jamal Hart, imprisoned on bogus fire-arms charges for speaking out in his father's defense. We are also happy to announce that leftist attorney Lynne Stewart will address the New York benefit. Stewart is currently fighting a sinister "terrorism" smear by the government that could send her to prison for up to 40 years. As the attorney for a reactionary Egyptian cleric imprisoned on charges stemming from the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, Stewart, as well as her translator and paralegal, are now charged with providing material support to terrorist activity. This frame-up threatens everyone. If attorneys cannot provide legal defense for the accused without being charged with the crimes themselves, there will be no right to legal defense. *Defend Lynne Stewart, Mohammed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar! Drop the charges now!*

We urge WV readers to support the work of the PDC. Come to the benefits and dig deep to contribute to this necessary class-struggle defense work. Victims of capitalist repression are to be found in all corners of the globe, and must not be abandoned. We seek to build a class-struggle legal defense organization that all workers, all class-war prisoners and victims of racist persecution and brutality look to as their own. We need your help to sustain this work. *Become a sustaining contributor to help drive the work of the PDC forward!* Contributions can be sent to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

### New York

**Friday, December 10  
6 to 11 p.m.**

**Live jazz with the Bern Nix Trio  
and special guests**

**Oliver Lake, Anthony Coleman,  
Roy Campbell and others**

6 Harrison St. (at Hudson)  
Manhattan

Take 1 or 9 subway to Franklin St.

**\$10 Advance • \$15 At the door**

For more information (212) 406-4252

### Bay Area

**Sunday, December 5  
1 to 4 p.m.**

Centro del Pueblo  
474 Valencia St.  
San Francisco

Near 16th/Mission BART

**\$10 • \$5 Student/Unemployed**

For more information (510) 839-0852

### Chicago

**Sunday, December 12  
3 to 7 p.m.**

United Electrical Hall  
37 South Ashland (at Monroe)

**\$5 Advance • \$8 At the door**

**• \$10 Contributing**

For more information (312) 563-0442

### Toronto

**Saturday, December 11  
7 to 10 p.m.**

Steelworkers Hall  
25 Cecil St.

**\$5 Advance • \$8 At the door**

For more information (416) 593-4138

## “Our Political Prisoners Stand on the Side of History”

### Ray Levasseur Released

We are very happy to report that this month Ray Luc Levasseur, a class-war prisoner for 20 years, was finally released from the halfway house he was paroled to in August, and is now home in Maine with his family. We print below a letter he wrote thanking his many supporters. The Partisan Defense Committee has for many years been proud to number Ray Luc Levasseur among our stipend and Holiday Appeal recipients. Like Jaan Laaman, another class-war prisoner whose fight for freedom continues, Ray was part of the Ohio 7, leftist activists convicted for their role in a radical group that took credit for “bank expropriations” and bombings in the late 1970s and '80s against symbols of U.S. imperialism such

as military and corporate offices. From the standpoint of the working class, the actions of the Ohio 7 against U.S. imperialism and racist injustice are not crimes, and these courageous activists should not have served a day in prison. In solidarity with these fighters, the PDC highlights their cases and those of other class-war prisoners. As Ray noted in a November 6 letter to the PDC and its supporters, “The PDC goes beyond ‘talking the talk’ and puts into practice non-sectarian support of political prisoners. I encourage all who are concerned about the plight of political prisoners to contribute to the PDC—who maintain a solid record of support for those imprisoned for political offenses.”

November, 2004

Dear friends,

On August 6 I was transferred from the U.S. penitentiary at Atlanta to a pre-release center in Portland, Maine. On November 4th I was released from the federal bureau of prisons custody. After 20 years confinement I've finally come home.

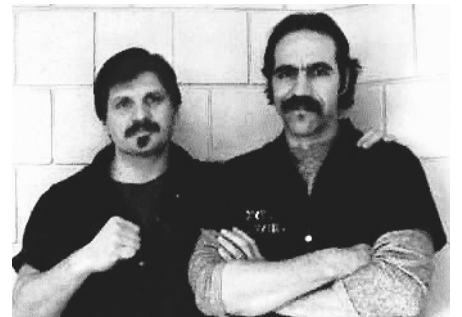
I am deeply grateful to all of you who've supported me during this excruciating ordeal. Some of you have been around since the first day of my capture in 1984. Others became involved during court trials attempting to criminalize actions taken in support of struggles from

Central America to Southern Africa. Some of you came through during the lockdown years at Marion and ADX—prisons continually violating the spirit and law of human rights. Others joined in during the quest for parole. Be it cards, letters, phone calls, books, literature, funds, political events, providing various kinds of support—each of you contributed in some way to my survival, enabling me to reach the dawn of a new life.

My release after 20 years imprisonment for political offenses demonstrates that political prisoners *can* be brought home. Do not forget those left behind.



Portland Press Herald



December 16th Committee

**Left: Levasseur embraced by his wife, Jamila, as he enters halfway house this summer. Above: Class-war prisoner Jaan Laaman with Levasseur in prison.**

Mumia is still on death row. The MOVE prisoners have endured over 25 years of unjust imprisonment. Mutulu Shakur, Oscar Lopez, Marilyn Buck and many others are weighed down by inordinately long sentences. A new generation of political prisoners needs support—from younger activists like Jeff “Free” Luers to immigrants detained in the extended post 911 repression.

I make special mention of my codefendants—Tom Manning, Richard Williams and Jaan Laaman. Of 8 of us charged with United Freedom Front actions, they are the only 3 remaining in prison. That's “freedom,” as in what these comrades fought for on behalf of others. They deserve respect and support. All our political prisoners need to be brought home.

One does not pass through 2 decades in America's maximum security cells without feeling its effects. The voices still reverberate from those I knew that died in prison. The sun is shining but shadows around me bear decades of physical and emotional pain. I remember hunger strikes and beatings; the sicken-

ing sounds of violence and the creeping silence of box car cells. I know the medical neglect suffered by some of our prisoners. I remember a world apart within which the spirit of political prisoners remains unbroken, and the circle of life survives the house of the dead. America's political prisoners are among the most principled people it's ever been my honor to know.

I was never a victim. I am a survivor of wars fought for and against U.S. imperialism. I believe that *our* political prisoners stand on the side of history that will vindicate our actions to alleviate the suffering of those most used and abused by a system that prioritizes profit over human needs. However, I am an anti-imperialist whose military role has ended.

I am now home with my wife Jamila and close to my family, including daughters, grandchildren and mother. From my heart I thank you all, for what you gave helped in some way to make this return home possible.

Love and respect,  
Ray Luc Levasseur



# Defend, Extend Gains of 1949 Revolution!

## The Spectre of Tiananmen and Working-Class Struggle in China Today

*We print below, slightly edited for publication, the conclusion of an October 9 forum in Oakland, California by Spartacist League spokesman Keith Markin. Part One appeared in WV No. 836 (12 November).*

### PART TWO

The occupation of Tiananmen began with a memorial gathering for former Chinese Communist Party (CCP) secretary general Hu Yaobang, who had died on April 15. Hu had been widely respected for the simple fact that he was one of the few leading officials not personally tainted with corruption. Teams of youth took their demands to working-class neighborhoods to stress that they did “not oppose the government or the party.”

By May 4, 300,000 people had flocked to Tiananmen. It was the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement of 1919, which began with anti-imperialist student demonstrations and led to the founding of the Chinese Communist Party two years later. At the 4 May 1989 protest students and workers were singing together the revolutionary workers’ anthem, the “Internationale.”

Following the May 4 protest, student leaders—without any social power and fearful of mobilizing the working class—decided to launch a hunger strike to force concessions from the government.

Sympathy with the hunger strikers led to another huge demonstration on May 17. At this demonstration, there was massive participation of factory workers from around Beijing. The students, with very little social power, had sparked the seething economic discontent of the Chinese proletariat. The workers wanted to do something about the attacks on their “iron rice bowl” of previously guaranteed jobs and social benefits, and about rising inflation. They began organizing independently of the bureaucracy, like the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation (BWF). The BWF demanded a wage increase, price stabilization, and opposed corruption within the CCP. They called to “make public the personal incomes and possessions of top party officials.” The social power of the working class gave the protests their potentially revolutionary nature.

Li Peng, hatchet man for Deng Xiaoping and his regime, went to Capital Iron and Steel to discourage and intimidate workers there sympathetic to the students’ protest. It was the threat of a general strike that led Li and Deng to declare martial law on May 20. The 38th Army was ordered to put down the so-called “counterrevolutionary” uprising. However, these troops were based in Beijing and refused to move on the crowds.

The fledgling Chinese workers organizations began to organize resistance to the declaration of martial law. They formed “workers picket corps” and “dare to die” teams to protect protesting students



Peter Turnley

**Beijing, May 1989: Workers and students fraternize with troops called in to suppress uprising which marked incipient political revolution against Stalinist regime.**

against repression. Students and workers fraternized with the troops. The streets of Beijing were crowded with ordinary people arguing about politics, expressing their opinions on the way forward. The police vanished from the streets.

After governmental authority in Beijing evaporated, workers groups began to take on responsibility for public safety, taking over essential services like transporting food and other vital necessities. A group of People’s Liberation Army generals sent a letter of protest to Deng Xiaoping. The army was politically split. Not horizontally, as in a social revolution where the ranks split from the officers, but vertically. This is what an incipient proletarian political revolution looks like. For two weeks the order of martial law was not implemented.

On June 3, Deng was able to mobilize the 27th Army to implement the orders for martial law. The bloodletting began. It is reported that when the troops reached Tiananmen in the early morning of June 4, their first target was the workers’ station at the western end. One student leader saw tanks flatten the tents of the BWF, killing 20 people. In contrast to the war waged against the working people of the city, most of the students were allowed to leave Tiananmen Square without punitive actions being taken.

Why the savage repression at the very first signs of working-class protest? The Stalinist bureaucracy is a parasitic caste resting upon a collectivized economy. The bureaucrats do not *own* the means of production. They do not have the myriad threads of social control of a ruling capitalist class, such as the right to pass property ownership to their children. Their power stems from monopolizing

political control of the governing apparatus. Since they claim to rule in the name of the workers, they cannot tolerate any independent workers organization. Any real workers movement necessarily challenges the legitimacy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. This is the contradiction of every deformed workers state.

The exact toll of the massacre is impossible to determine, but it is likely that several thousand were killed or wounded. Yet the army’s terror failed to quell the rebellion. In fact, it served to generalize proletarian resistance, at first, as “dare to die” corps erupted all over China. Protests spread to over 80 cities, and that was only the official count. However, lacking a cohered leadership, the uprising was eventually smashed through state repression. One prominent U.S. left group, Workers World, actually defended the massacre, rehashing Deng Xiaoping’s lie that the protesters were counterrevolutionary and for bourgeois democracy. That also happened to be the line of the bourgeoisie internationally. During this period, this is what WV said: On May 26, “Upheaval in China: Oust the Bureaucrats—For Lenin’s Communism! Workers and Soldiers Soviets Must Rule!” (WV No. 478). On June 9, “Beijing Massacre—Civil War Looms; For the Unity of China Under the Leadership of the Workers!” (WV No. 479). On June 23, “Defend Chinese Workers! Stop the Executions!” (WV No. 480).

### The Lessons of Tiananmen

Wang Hui argues in his article “The 1989 Social Movement and the Historical Roots of China’s Neoliberalism”: “The direct cause of the movement’s failure was violent suppression by the

state. However, the indirect cause lay in the movement’s own inability to bridge the gap between its demands for political democracy and the demands for social equality that had been its mobilizing force.” This is very perceptive. What political program could bridge this gap?

During the Cultural Revolution, society was polarized between students and workers. At Tiananmen, both students and workers protested together, not without their differences, against the bureaucracy. Only a Leninist and Trotskyist party fighting for a proletarian political revolution could have bridged the gap between the demands for political democracy and social equality. But the workers groups did not go beyond upholding “democracy” as freedom from bureaucratic constraint. A revolutionary party that could instill the lessons of past struggles into the political consciousness of the workers was necessary.

The two weeks during which the army refused to implement martial law were a critical juncture. There was a political vacuum. Even a tiny Chinese Bolshevik organization could have been decisive in 1989, especially during those two weeks. The nascent situation of dual

power—in which working people were beginning to take control of the cities in their own hands—needed to be developed into a fight for political power. This would have meant struggling to transform the informal workers assemblies into workers councils open to all except openly counterrevolutionary tendencies.

Lenin described soviets (workers councils) as “the direct organization of the working and exploited people themselves, which *helps* them to organize and administer their own state in every possible way.” Migrant workers would be critical to help spread this type of organization into rural communities. Coordinated nationally, these organizations could have been the basis for a revolutionary regime of workers democracy counterposed to the Stalinists and pledged to fight to the death against capitalist restoration.

Because there was a lack of clear leadership, overtly reactionary elements were allowed on some occasions to make their voices heard, including some who raised slogans in favor of the Guomindang. Socialist aspirations were often mixed with great illusions in the U.S. and bourgeois democracy—exemplified by the “Goddess of Democracy” statue. But from the beginning, the protesters’ demands, centrally for more democratic rights and an end to corruption, were egalitarian in nature and within the framework of a workers state. Workers marched into Tiananmen Square carrying pictures of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, not Chiang Kai-shek.

In order to win workers, soldiers and students, a Bolshevik party would have to argue head-on against the nationalism of “socialism in one country” and clarify

# For Proletarian Political Revolution!

the fact that Mao and Deng were merely two sides of the same anti-Soviet bureaucratic coin. It would have been important to make an appeal to the workers of the world for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe, China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. A political revolution in China would have been a spark for the workers of the world, from Japan and South Korea to West Europe and the U.S., but especially in the Soviet Union.

In an interview published by *Revolutionary Worker* in 1999 (they recently reprinted it this June), Li Mingqi, a student protester at Tiananmen in 1989, explains the lessons he learned from the uprising and how he was won to what he believes was Marxism (that is, a sort of neo-Maoism): “Initially I shared the general dominance of bourgeois ideology among Chinese students. The student movement did not expect to become a mass democratic movement. But by May 17, when the workers really came into the streets, I began to realize that this was totally different from what I expected. I was saying to myself: this is more and more like a revolutionary situation.”

Explaining his political development, Li says: “In the movement, I already sensed that something was wrong. The student leadership did not dare to mobilize the workers, did not dare take steps to organize to take political power, and that resulted in the failure of the movement. So I began to rethink what I had believed, what I had taken for granted—Western ideology and Western-style democracy. I began to think maybe some alternative ideas are needed. And the most obvious alternative idea is Marxism.”

Li was arrested by the Deng regime and spent two years in prison. He’s now an émigré. Without seeing an alternative to Maoism, Li drew some wrong conclusions from the defeat. He blames the increased nationalism in China on the new Chinese capitalism. This is wrong on two counts: China isn’t capitalist, and “socialism in one country” is the basis for today’s Chinese nationalism. In a dialogue transcribed in *One China, Many Paths*, when Li was asked about his view of China’s war with Vietnam in 1979, he said he had nothing to say on the issue. But Li’s experience shows how the impact of the working class wielding its social power during Tiananmen changed the political consciousness of some students. With a revolutionary Marxist leadership, the working class can change the course of history.

**The Spectre of Tiananmen, the Intelligentsia and Working-Class Struggle Today**

A few years after crushing the uprising, the bureaucracy went on the offensive with their market policies. Between 1993 and 1999, protests against the market reforms quadrupled. By the late ’90s, there was a divergence within the Chinese intelligentsia reflecting the renewed social struggle against the market reforms: neoliberal intellectuals and hardliners within the CCP essentially support the repression at Tiananmen. They argue that if the movement had not been stopped, China would not have become a wealthier nation. The neoliberal intellectuals dubbed their antagonists the “New Left” to imply they are Marxists, because the “New Left” opposed the worsening conditions of the masses. They opposed the repression of the Tiananmen uprising, too.

The neoliberals complain that there hasn’t been enough privatization and that, therefore, China is still “socialist.” The “New Left” believes there is enough privatization to call China capitalist. Wang Hui recognizes, however, that China is not like other capitalist states because it was the only state to navigate successfully through the 1997-98 East Asian financial/economic crises. Wang says that this is because of the nation-state. But Thailand and South Korea were nation-states, too. Wang Hui believes that internationalism and Marxism are old-fashioned.

It is the collectivized property that is responsible for the ability of China to have navigated successfully through that financial/economic crisis. Continued state ownership of the financial system has enabled the Beijing regime up to now to effectively (though not totally) control the flow of money-capital in and out of mainland China. China’s currency, the yuan (also called the renminbi) is not freely convertible. It is not traded (legally) in international currency markets.

Knowledgeable spokesmen for Western imperialism recognize that the privatization and especially internationalization of the financial system is a necessary step in breaking the CCP regime’s grip on the banks. However, the bureaucracy can’t control the fact that the capitalist enclave of Hong Kong is an ever-widening breach through which illegal currency transactions flow in both directions. The expropriation of Hong Kong’s financiers and other sections of its bourgeoisie is vitally necessary to protect China’s economy from the destructive onslaught of the imperialist bankers.

Referring to the savage privatizations that followed the counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, Wang Hui commented on the debate about amending the Chinese constitution to render “private property rights inviolable”: “A decade later, the question of property rights has become the most pivotal social issue in China. The principle that private property



Unemployed workers in Shenyang, part of China’s “rust belt.”

should receive protection under the law does not divide intellectuals.” Wang Hui understands that the key question is private property, but he and the “New Left” draw the wrong conclusion. Their difference with the neoliberals is *how one gets the property*. The neoliberals condone illegal expropriations; the “New Left” is opposed. This amounts to being for capitalism with a human face. Where Wang runs into his own contradictions is on the question of privatizing land. He recognizes that if land were privatized, ordinary peasants would be ruined overnight. Marxists understand that the only class, besides the poor peasants themselves, whose interests are against the privatization of the land is the proletariat.

The National People’s Congress, this spring, passed a law that stated: “Citizens’ lawful private property is inviolable.” It was only a matter of time before such a law was passed. Last year they legitimized party membership for entrepreneurs. In fact, that law did not introduce a significant change in either the social composition of the CCP, which has 66 million members, or its functional ideology. According to an official survey, of China’s two million private business owners, 600,000 are party members and have been for some time. The overwhelming majority of these were long-time CCP managerial cadre who took over the small state-owned enterprises they were running when these were privatized over the past several years.

State-owned industrial enterprises can to a degree be buffered from increased import competition by additional government financing via the banks. But there is no way that China’s peasant smallholders can compete with the capital-intensive, scientifically managed agribusiness of

Following bloody suppression of Tiananmen uprising, Beijing bureaucracy singled out workers for repression. Signs accuse two workers of “rumor mongering.”

the U.S. and other major food-exporting countries. The basic line of the regime’s agrarian policy is not to protect the multitude of peasant smallholders. It is rather to move toward large-scale, de facto privately owned farms.

Ultimately, the only way to resolve the shortage of arable land in China in the interests of workers and poor peasants is by extending the revolution to an industrially advanced capitalist state like Japan. But the bureaucracy is opposed to this perspective. In the meantime, a government based on workers and peasants councils would not only prohibit or restrict the hiring of labor and leasing of additional land by rich farmers, but it

riots, especially against increased taxation and corruption.

An indication of serious problems for the Stalinist bureaucracy was reported in a *Herald Tribune* article (3 June): “In contrast to Tiananmen in 1989, the police increasingly admit that most demonstrators are motivated by legitimate grievances against rapacious managers and corrupt local officials, and are not just pawns of anti-Communist conspirators. Conceding that protest is widespread and enjoys growing popular sympathy, the police are scrambling to learn new anti-protest techniques aimed at containing and defusing, rather than brutally squelching, demonstrations.”

The bureaucracy’s pace of market reforms is limited by its fear of the proletariat, especially the spectre of another Tiananmen. Fuxin, which is northwest of Shenyang, in the northeast, by late 2000 had produced 530 million tons of coal. That’s enough to fill trucks with 60 tons each and line them up end to end until they encircled the Earth 4.3 times! On January 31, 2003, Wen Jiabao spent the Chinese New Year’s Eve together with miners 720 meters underground. He had a very good reason. Official statistics claim that 200,000 of the Fuxin Mining Bureau’s 400,000 miners have been laid off. One article points out: “In the workers’ way of thinking, there is one bond that may not be broken: China’s mining resources belong to the state, and ‘the working class is the master of the state and the master of industry,’ so why is it that in actual experience the ‘masters’ jobs can be bought off one by one in exchange for a paltry ‘subsistence provision’?”

This goes to the heart of the contradictions of the Chinese deformed workers state. The following examples show that a section of the working class sees the necessity of defending collectivized property, they understand that capitalism has not yet been restored, but their political consciousness has real limitations and contradictions.

In another interesting article, entitled “Industrial Restructuring and Workers’ Resistance in China,” Feng Chen (of Hong Kong Baptist University) describes how workers in the state-owned enterprises (SOEs) have different perceptions of property rights than workers in private enterprises. The latter primarily strike for wages and the conditions of their labor, whereas some SOE workers are concerned over the question of forms of property and corresponding property relations when

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# Profit System Undermines Public Health

The following is a contribution by Mark K., a longtime sympathizer of the Spartacist League.

Once again the nation faces a flu vaccine crisis, now an annual event which cannot be blamed simply on technical problems of production—it is an indictment of the workings of capitalism itself. The suspension of Chiron Corporation's manufacturing license for flu vaccine because of contamination problems in their British factory leaves only one manufacturer (Aventis Pasteur) remaining, cutting the available supply nearly in half to 55 million doses. This is not enough to provide protection for the population, and poses the danger that *people will die* needlessly. On average, 36,000 people are killed every year by flu in the U.S. even when the immunization program has ample supplies.

Yet the head of the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), Dr. Julie Gerberding, outrageously decreed, "This is not an emergency" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 6 October)! This is criminal government negligence bordering on insanity, like Nero fiddling while Rome burned, and it's rooted in the Bush administration's fanatical worship of the "free market." Echoing Gerberding, U.S. Health and Human Services (HHS) secretary Tommy Thompson went on CNN (18 October) to reiterate that this is "not a health crisis." "We want people to relax," he said in an incredibly stupid statement at a Tampa, Florida news conference (not coincidentally in a key swing state before the presidential election). "The flu season is not here.... This is not an emergency *right now*" (*Miami Herald*, 18 October, emphasis added).

Any rational government would respond to such a medical emergency with emergency measures: *Seize* all the remaining flu vaccine supply and let a committee of doctors distribute it according to medical need. But the CDC and HHS explicitly rejected this course of action: Gerberding "insisted repeatedly at a midafternoon press conference that the federal government would not seize the 55.4 million doses now expected to be available and compel their redistribution" because, she said, it's "not a realistic strategy" and would be "disruptive" (*Boston Globe*, 7 October). Thompson echoed that government line with virtually the same words. Forcible government intervention is off the table because their capitalist masters won't stand for its "disruptive" effect on *profits*, hence it's not "realistic." Different capitalist governments react to social crises differently. Canada and Britain, for example, have national health care systems, though dilapidated and replete with problems. In contrast, the twin parties of American capitalism have repeatedly rejected the creation of a national health care system, making the U.S. the most backward of industrial countries.

National Museum of Health



## Capitalist Greed and the Flu Vaccine Shortage



Jason DeCrow

Elderly endure long waits for flu shots at senior center in Queens Village, New York.

Without presenting any emergency plans, Thompson simply told the elderly not to wait in long lines, but "come back another day"! This did nothing to stem the growing panic among seniors who scrambled to find vaccine. One elderly woman in the Bay Area died waiting in line when she fainted and hit her head. Playing with statistics in his pre-election Tampa news conference, Thompson cynically boasted that there has been an actual "increase" in vaccinations in recent years due to administration efforts—disappearing the fact that this year's truncated supply is vastly below the necessary minimum, and the irrational distribution system combined with escalating panic will greatly exacerbate the shortage among high-risk groups. The government is not concerned: one is reminded of Scrooge's contemptuous line (in Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*) that if people are going to die, "they had better do it, and decrease the surplus population."

As a sign of the utter failure of "free market" medicine, the CDC impotently issued *voluntary* guidelines advising that the vaccine be given first to those who are most at risk—people over 65, children under 2, those with chronic diseases—even while the remaining doses were *already* being distributed by private suppliers, and anybody with 20 bucks

could get it at local pharmacies regardless of their health condition, at least until panic set in and/or the supplies ran out. By mid-October, hospitals were reporting that some distributors were trying to sell bulk supplies of vaccine, normally about \$8 per shot, for *\$60 to \$100 per shot* or more—"entrepreneurship" in Bush's world. Meanwhile, with an aristocratic haughtiness worthy of Marie Antoinette, Senate majority leader (and doctor) Bill Frist openly ignored the CDC guidelines by sending "letters urging his 99 colleagues to get the shots" (AP, 20 October), and all 535 members of Congress could get them *for free*. In an ironic twist, the Bush administration is considering importing vaccine from Canada—even as they try to prevent seniors from buying lower-priced drugs there!

This is a crisis created by capitalist "market forces." One by one, vaccine manufacturers have dropped out of producing flu vaccine because they didn't find the "market" to be profitable enough. Only a few years ago there were four manufacturers, but today there are only two, so any problems in production create immediate disaster. Furthermore, the distribution system is almost entirely in private hands, leading to more profiteering. In 2000 there was a scandal when the

media reported that the year's flu vaccine was "first going to private businesses that paid top dollar for them, relegating public health programs that vaccinate the poor and elderly to the back of the line" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 October 2000). The *Wall Street Journal* (18 October) captured the corporate mindset with the headline, "Flu Season Threatens Productivity."

### Emergency Room Physicians Warn of "Public Health Disaster"

But the physicians who man the front lines in the emergency rooms are urging emergency action by the government. "The potential exists for a public health disaster this winter," said Dr. Arthur Kellermann of Emory University's Department of Medicine (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 October). He was speaking at a press conference in San Francisco during the annual meeting of the American College of Emergency Physicians (ACEP), which issued a press release (18 October) headlined, "Flu Vaccine Shortage Could Result in Significant Patient Deaths, Unless Swift Actions Are Taken."

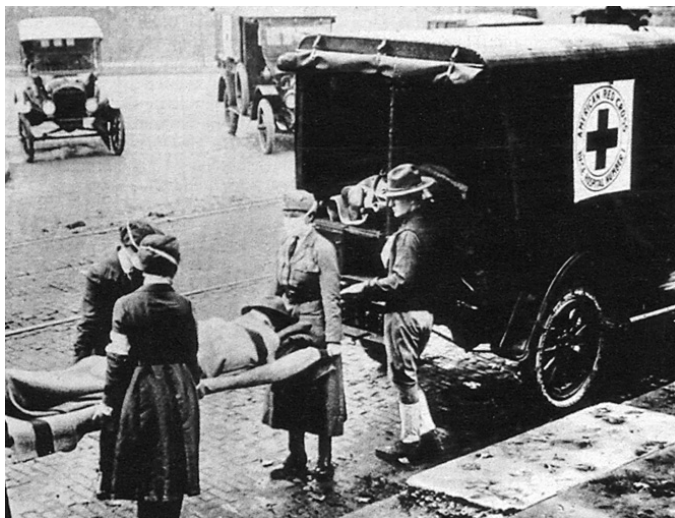
How many deaths? That depends on a lot of variables, including the unpredictable factor of whether the flu season is mild or severe, but government health agencies are supposed to plan for the worst scenarios. In the Bay Area's Alameda County, which includes the Oakland/Berkeley area, "health officials estimate that nearly four times as many people could die from the flu this season because of the vaccine shortage" (*InsideBayArea.com*, 2 November).

If we apply that factor of four across the country, it suggests well over *100,000* extra deaths! This will disproportionately hit blacks and Hispanics due to the racial disparity in health care access in the U.S. For instance, the CDC's *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* (10 October 2003) compares the average vaccination rates by race/ethnicity for the over-65 group in the years 1989-2001, and this shows the black rate about *one quarter lower* than the white rate in the latest years, with the Hispanic rate only slightly above the black rate. So not surprisingly, the American Lung Association reported last August, "In 2001, blacks were 26% more likely to die from pneumonia and influenza than whites."

It could get much worse if we get hit by a radically new strain of influenza virus. The target of the annual vaccine is really based on an educated guess as to what strain may hit us. The wily flu virus is constantly mutating into new forms, and every ten to forty years it comes up with something so radically new that it causes a worldwide pandemic. The most catastrophic one in the past century was the 1918-19 "Spanish flu" which killed 20 to 50 million people worldwide, half a million in the U.S., and was so powerful that it killed many healthy young adults. There have been only two pandemics since then, both much less serious: the 1957-58 "Asian flu" and the 1968-69 "Hong Kong flu." So we are overdue, and scientists are worriedly studying the recent outbreaks of "bird flu" among people in Asia for fear that the virus could "pass" from birds to humans on a far greater scale and then between humans, which would be devastating. This year's flu vaccine may already be partly outmoded: The targeted strain is A/Fujian, but already a new strain is spreading in New Zealand, dubbed A/Wellington, though the consensus is that the current vaccine will provide partial protection against this new strain. But the shortage of vaccine exacerbates the vulnerabilities.

ACEP warns that the nation's emergency rooms, already overloaded under normal conditions, could be swamped in

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Culver

Catastrophic flu pandemic of 1918-19 killed over 20 million people. Hospital wards and morgues filled as half a million died in U.S.

# Young Spartacus

Every new generation of revolutionaries must learn and apply the historical lessons and traditions of the Marxist movement in order to cohere a cadre later capable of carrying forward the fight for world socialism. Leon Trotsky, a leader of the Russian Revolution, said about political education in a June 1932 letter to Bolshevik-Leninist youth in Spain:

"I learned with joy that you are undertaking the publication of your own paper. A revolutionary tendency that does not educate the youth will die stillborn. In the present world, communism is the only task of great magnitude that demands a whole series of generations for its complete realization. The proletarian revolution requires continuity. To assure this continuity is the mission of the youth; that is to say, it is your mission. Marxism shows how this is to be done.

"The strength of Marxism is in the unity of scientific theory with revolutionary struggle. On these two rails, the education of the communist youth should progress. The study of Marxism outside the revolutionary struggle can create bookworms but not revolutionaries. Participation in the revolutionary struggle without the study of Marxism is unavoidably full of danger, uncertainty, half-blindness. To study Marxism as a Marxist is possible only by participating in the life and struggle of the class; revolutionary theory is verified by practice, and practice is clarified by theory. Only the truths of Marxism that are conquered in struggle enter the mind and the blood."

—Trotsky, "To the Spanish Youth,"  
*The Spanish Revolution* (1973)



## Join the SYC!



Clockwise from top left: *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive, North Carolina, 2000. Spartacist contingent at San Francisco antiwar demo, March 2004. New York SYC campus speakout against racist provocation, March 2004. SYC with striking grocery workers outside L.A., October 2003.

## SYC Ten Point Program

*The Spartacus Youth Clubs intervene into social struggles armed with the revolutionary internationalist program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We work to mobilize youth in struggle as partisans of the working class, championing the liberation of black people, women and all the oppressed. The SYCs fight to win youth to the perspective of building the Leninist vanguard party that will lead the working class in socialist revolution, laying the basis for a world free of capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter.*

**1** Mobilize students behind the social power of the multiracial working class! Picket lines mean don't cross! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Down with union-busting "workfare" schemes! Jobs for all at union wages! Organize the unorganized! Unionize the South! Down with multi-tier wages, which pit younger and older workers against each other! Cops, prison guards, security guards out

of the unions! Keep the bosses' government and courts out of the unions!

**2** Black oppression is the bedrock of racist American capitalism. Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution! For mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists and race-terrorists! No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defense! No reliance on the capitalist courts or politicians! Fascist terror is not a question of "free speech." Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

**3** For free, quality, integrated public education for all! Nationalize the private universities! Down with the racist purge of higher education—defend affirmative action, no to tuition hikes! No to budget cuts! For an end to tracking! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities

should be run by those who work and study there! Down with police occupation of public schools! Cops off campus!

**4** For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For mass, labor-backed mobilizations to defend abortion clinics! Down with parental consent laws and "squeal rules"! For free abortion on demand! For free, quality 24-hour child-care! For free, quality health care for all! Equal pay for equal work! Down with anti-gay laws! Down with reactionary age of consent laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt! Down with all laws against consensual activities, called "crimes without victims," like pornography, gambling, drug use, prostitution and "statutory rape"!

**5** Down with racist anti-immigrant laws! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Organize foreign-born workers into the unions! No deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Arab, anti-Asian, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry!

**6** Down with the "war on terror," which is a war aimed at immigrants, labor, the left and minorities! Free all the detainees! Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all class-war prisoners! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! Defend victims of racist cop terror and police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or "community control" of the police! For labor mobilizations against racist cop terror! Down with the "war on drugs," a racist war by the ruling class against black and Hispanic youth! The capitalist state—at its core consisting of the cops, courts, prisons—is the executive committee of the ruling class, an instrument of organized violence by the capitalists against the workers and the oppressed. It must be smashed through workers revolution!

**7** Defend separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Keep religion out of the schools! No prayer in the schools! Down with the teaching of creationism! For the teaching of evolution! No government funding for religious, private or "charter" schools!

**8** Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! U.S. and allied forces out of Iraq now! Down with the colonial occupation! For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers at home! No illusions in the UN—a den of imperialist thieves, their victims and their lackeys! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans, Afghanistan, Haiti! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean! U.S. imperialist butchers: hands off the world! No to the draft! Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military! Drive ROTC, CIA and police recruiters off the campuses!

**9** For international working-class solidarity! Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! Workers of the world, unite! For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and establish regimes of workers democracy, based on the power of workers councils, and revolutionary internationalism!

**10** Break with the racist, warmongering Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism! For a revolutionary, multiracial workers party that fights for socialist revolution! Look to the example of the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 Russia! For new October Revolutions! For the international rule of the working class!

*The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth groups of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). ■*

### Spartacus Youth Club Events

#### LOS ANGELES

**Saturday, December 11, 2 p.m.**

Class: **The Russian Revolution**

3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215  
(Vermont/Beverly Red Line station)

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239  
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

#### NEW YORK

**Thursday, December 2, 7 p.m.**

**Video Showing and Discussion**

**Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!  
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!**

Update on Mumia's case will follow  
showing of: *From Death Row,  
This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*

Intercultural Resource Center  
552 West 114th St. (Amsterdam & Broadway)  
For more information: (212) 267-1025  
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

#### CHICAGO

**Tuesday, November 30, 7 p.m.**

Class: **"Globalization" or  
Imperialism?**

University of Chicago  
Cobb Hall, Room 107, 5811 S. Ellis Ave.  
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441  
or e-mail: spartacist@iname.com

#### BOSTON

**Thursday, December 2, 6:30 p.m.**

Class: **American Capitalism and the  
Struggle for Black Freedom:  
For Black Liberation Through  
Socialist Revolution!**

Harvard University, Loker Common  
Memorial Hall Basement  
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453  
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com



## Massad...

(continued from page 12)

which has included Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and his lieutenant Paul Wolfowitz. The main force behind the right wing's bogus "academic freedom" campaign is racist ideologue David Horowitz. Horowitz carried out his own witchhunting tour of campuses in 2001, apologizing for slavery and attacking the gains of black struggle. He is involved in the highest councils of the Republican Party and is behind the grossly misnamed "Academic Bill of Rights." Horowitz touts the myth that conservatives are persecuted in American universities. The "Academic Bill of Rights" is in reality an attempt to provide the basis for a purge of the left from campuses, with demands for "duly authorized authorities" to snoop into tenure and hiring decisions. This bill was passed by the Georgia State Senate.

Disguising their witchhunt as a campaign for "academic freedom," this cabal of Zionist neocons, yellow journalists and government officials is in fact trampling the free speech rights of defenders of the Palestinian people, as well as any voice of dissent against racist U.S. imperialism. This includes leftists, radicals, black and minority students. *Columbia Unbecoming* specifically singles out the International Socialist Organization and attacks the campus left more generally.

Over 2,800 people have signed an Internet petition denouncing the attacks on Professor Massad. It is good that Massad's case has garnered support. The Spartacus Youth Club is signing this petition as an elementary act of solidarity with Massad, but we warn that the wording is based on a false conception that Columbia University is an ivory tower that exists to protect academic freedom. The petition states: "We call on President Bollinger to rise to the occasion and issue a categorical statement in defense of Professor Massad and against this campaign of defamation," and that these attacks "threaten the very ideal of a university as a place of open and vigorous intellectual exchanges." In fact, the "ideals" of elite universities like Columbia are to train the intelligentsia necessary for the maintenance of the capitalist system. This includes the next generation of cadre for the CIA and State Department,

researchers for the "military-industrial complex" and union-busting lawyers. The campus administration exists to carry out this mission.

What is urgently necessary is for students and all those in the cross hairs of the witchhunt to mobilize in united-front protest in defense of the victimized professors and against the campus thought police.

### Zionist Lies and Smears

The statement of Eric Posner, a former Israeli army medic and student of Massad's, demolishes the scurrilous charges in *Columbia Unbecoming*:

"I am a Jew, an Israeli, a Jerusalemite, and an American. As opposed to the interviewees in the film, 'Unbecoming Columbia,' [sic] I am also a MEALAC major. Last year, I was approached by Ariel Be'ery [General Studies student body president and a Zionist activist involved in the film]. He wanted to hear

the students in the film even took his course.

The classic tool of the trade for the Zionists is the slander that anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism. Massad's statement eloquently repudiated this claim:

"Unlike the pro-Israel groups, I do not think that Israeli actions are 'Jewish' actions or that they reflect the will of the Jewish people worldwide! All those pro-Israeli propagandists who want to reduce the Jewish people to the State of Israel are the anti-Semites who want to eliminate the existing pluralism among Jews. The majority of Israel's supporters in the United States are, in fact, not Jews but Christian fundamentalist anti-Semites who seek to convert Jews.... Therefore, it is not anti-Semitism that offends pro-Israel groups; what offends them is anti-Israel criticism."

In fact the Zionists have always reserved special venom for Jewish historians who defend Palestinian rights, like Joel Beinin and Norman Finkelstein.



Young Spartacus

**Spartacist banner at April 2002 antiwar demo in Washington, D.C. Forthright defense of Palestinian people is key to defeating Zionist witchhunt.**

my opinion about MEALAC and Massad, whose class I was enrolled in at the time. When I expressed my profound appreciation for Massad's critical approach and the multiplicity of perspectives that he offers in his classroom, *Be'ery told me that he wouldn't be calling me back for a taped interview.*" [emphasis in original]

As an article in *Jewish Week* (29 October) based on interviews with more than two dozen other mostly Israeli and American Jewish MEALAC students stated: "Most of the complaints on campus appear to be from pro-Israel activist students not in the MEALAC program." According to Professor Massad's statement, only one of

The current wave of attacks on Columbia professors is part of an ominous mobilization going back years, which escalated after September 11. In 1985 the campus office of globally renowned Columbia professor and prominent Palestinian activist, the late Edward Said, was firebombed. In 2000, after Said tossed a stone into Israel from across the Lebanese border, in a symbolic act of celebration of the end of the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon, the campus Zionists and the right-wing press, along with the *Columbia Spectator*, viciously attacked him (see "Columbia Spectator Witchhunts Edward Said," WV No. 743, 6 October 2000). Also the victim of a vicious witchhunt by the same reactionary forces was Professor Nicholas De Genova, for honorably speaking in favor of the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Iraq at a 2003 campus antiwar teach-in.

Now there is the International Studies in Higher Education Act of 2003, or House Resolution (H.R.) 3077, which was passed unanimously by the House and awaits a vote in the Senate. Several Zionist organizations are behind this piece of legislation, including the Anti-Defamation League and American Israel

Public Affairs Committee. It would, if passed, among other things, lead to the establishment of a government "advisory board" including representatives of national security agencies to oversee federally funded university programs, especially Middle East studies. Professor Rashid Khalidi warned: "If implemented as its proponents intend, it would impose the pseudo-sciences of terrorology and the demonization of Islam and Muslims as integral parts of teaching and research about the Middle East" (*In These Times* Web site, 11 December 2003). **Down with H.R. 3077!**

### Defend the Palestinians!

Key to defeating the witchhunt against Columbia professors and MEALAC is forthrightly taking up the defense of the Palestinian people. While the recent Zionist attacks have been spearheaded by forces of the far right, the Democrats are no less staunch supporters of Zionism and Israel than the Republicans. The Spartacus Youth Clubs have been active in protests around the country in opposition to the Zionist attacks on professors and student groups, from the banning of the Students for Justice in Palestine at UC Berkeley to attempts to shut down conferences of the Palestine Solidarity Movement (see "Defend Pro-Palestinian Protesters!" WV No. 792, 29 November 2002).

The SYC intransigently defends the Palestinian people against Zionist state terror. At the same time, we defend the right of the Hebrew-speaking population as well to self-determination. Against all variants of nationalism, we counterpose a program of proletarian revolutionary internationalism. As we wrote in "Zionist Butchers Strike Gaza" (WV No. 834, 15 October): "The Palestinian nationalists have tried nearly everything to beat back the Israeli garrison state: from fighting to negotiating to appealing to the UN and Western imperialists, to now pathetically begging to simply be allowed to exist—and it has all been and will all be futile. So long as the national axis is emphasized, the situation will always be bleak and hopeless. But if the *class* axis is emphasized, there is at least a *realistic* chance at an equitable resolution."

The road to the social and national liberation of the Palestinian people lies through common class struggle by the Hebrew-speaking and Arab workers against both the Israeli and Arab ruling classes, who likewise are oppressors of the Palestinians. Only within a socialist federation of the Near East can the right to national self-determination for both the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples be equitably realized. The struggle to defend the Palestinian people must be linked to a fight against the U.S. imperialist occupation of Iraq. **For a socialist federation of the Near East! Down with the U.S. colonial occupation of Iraq! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories! Down with the Zionist witchhunt on campus! ■**

## Vanunu...

(continued from page 12)

release of all victims of Zionist state terror and the withdrawal of all Israeli troops and settlers from the Occupied Territories!

As a Sephardic Jew whose family had emigrated from Morocco, Vanunu's own experience of discrimination at the hands of the European-derived Ashkenazi establishment led to his active alienation from Zionism. As a student at Beersheba's Ben-Gurion University, he identified with the Palestinian students he met, and participated in protests for Palestinian equality and against the 1982 Lebanon war. Vanunu is further despised in Israel because of his conversion to Christianity in 1986. After his prison release, he sought refuge in the East Jerusalem church because of death threats from Israelis, and he has remarked that the Palestinians in the neighborhood have embraced him. He said in an interview

with the London *Guardian* (15 November), "Since the second intifada, the reality is very, very bad. I used to have optimism but when I came out and saw the wall and saw the reality...young people who live here don't have any hope."

The U.S. bourgeoisie often repeats the refrain that their junior partner Israel is "the only democracy in the Middle East." The myriad prison torture chambers where Palestinian prisoners languish, the electric fences of Gaza, three-story-high concrete walls and checkpoints of the West Bank expose the lie of Israeli "democracy." Vanunu exposed that the vast majority of "weapons of mass destruction" in the Near East has been in the bloody hands of the Zionist garrison state, bankrolled for decades by the U.S. bourgeoisie.

The ICL and the Partisan Defense Committee have actively fought internationally for the release of Mordechai Vanunu. After the Israeli High Court of Justice in July upheld and extended every restriction of movement and speech on Vanunu, the PDC sent an August 7 letter of protest joining with all those outraged at the endless acts of vengeful repression. We stated: "Mordechai Vanunu should not have spent even one day behind bars. As we have said many times, all of humanity owes Vanunu a tremendous debt of gratitude." **Hands off Mordechai Vanunu! Down with the gag order! Let him leave Israel right now! ■**

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# Falluja...

(continued from page 1)

Cutting water supplies to cities, starving civilians, deliberately killing the unarmed and wounded—all these are war crimes as stipulated by the Geneva Conventions, to which the U.S. is a signatory. But the only rule of war the U.S. recognizes is what it can get away with. Before capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet Union in 1991-92, fear of the Soviet nuclear arsenal stayed the hand of U.S. imperialism. Now, with a military arsenal that far outstrips any of its rivals, the U.S. is riding roughshod wherever it pleases. Emboldened by re-election, Bush is escalating the brutality of the American occupation in Iraq and is now brazenly saber rattling against Iran and North Korea. We insist that the North Korean deformed workers state has the right to develop nuclear weapons to defend itself against the American imperialists.

The veil of “neutrality” has to be ripped off the bloody face of the United Nations, whose sanctions against Iraq, imposed at the behest of the U.S. in 1990, killed *one and a half million people*. This starvation blockade as well as the UN weapons inspections literally set the country up for rape and destruction by U.S. imperialism. Notably, the UN and the mainstream capitalist media kept an early appeal for help from Falluja’s governing Shura Council a deep, dark secret. *CounterPunch* and the *Asia Times* published excerpts of a letter sent on October 14 to Kofi Annan by the Falluja Shura Council:

“In Fallujah [the Americans] have created a new vague target: al-Zarqawi. Almost a year has elapsed since they created this new pretext and whenever they destroy houses, mosques, restaurants, and kill children and women, they said: ‘We have launched a successful operation against al-Zarqawi.’ The people of Fallujah assure you that this person, if he exists, is not in Fallujah...and we have no links to any groups supporting such inhuman behaviour. We appeal to you to urge the UN [to prevent] the new massacre which the Americans and the puppet government are planning to start soon in Fallujah, as well as many parts of the country.”

## No Illusions in Capitalist “Democracy”

“Democracy” was of course the pretext for the slaughter in Falluja. George Bush wants a decal of legitimacy slapped on the bloody American occupation of Iraq and so aimed to clean out “foreign insurgents” (look who’s calling who “foreigner”!) before the sham elections projected for January 30. *Time* magazine reports that the CIA is funding its favorite candidates, which is how “the Company” has helped install loyal U.S. neo-colonial regimes—that is, when the U.S. even bothers to push ballots after bullets.

Al Jazeera cites the deputy commander of the U.S. Central Command, Lieutenant General Lance Smith, as imperiously

stating that elections will likely not take place in Falluja at all. “And so it could be that even without, say a city like Falluja voting, that there will be adequate representation by the Sunnis to feel or look like it was legitimate representation for all the parties involved.” Smith stated that additional troops will be deployed to “secure the country” before the vote.

Just before the U.S. launched its previous attack on predominantly Sunni Falluja this April in retaliation for the killing of four mercenaries, the occupiers also moved against Shi’ite cleric Moktada al-Sadr, shutting down his Baghdad newspaper. These events sparked protests around Iraq and temporary expressions of unity between Shi’ites and Sunnis against the occupation. This time around, Washington is taking better advantage of the longstanding ethnic and religious divisions in the country. Thus, the U.S. deployed Kurdish army forces in Falluja and dangles the carrot of serving as Washington’s anointed satraps before the Shi’ite leaders. Iraq is not a nation but a patchwork of different peoples and ethnicities, carved up by the British imperialists out of the old Turkish Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War. The Sunni minority lorded it over the Shi’ite majority under Ba’athist rule, and now it looks like the terms of oppression may be reversed.

Meanwhile, many Iraqi Kurds (part of the Kurdish nation which also geographically spans parts of Iran, Turkey and Syria) wrongly look with hope to the American occupation as a rampart against Arab reconquest. As we wrote in “The Left and the ‘Iraqi Resistance’” (WV No. 830, 6 August): “Absent the working class emerging as an independent political force in a struggle against neocolonial rule, each of these populations can only come to power by oppressing the others and in alliance with U.S. imperialism.”

At the same time, thousands of people demonstrated in Baghdad, Basra and Heet in support of the people of Falluja, braving beatings and arrests. The Association of Muslim Scholars rallied 47 political parties, including Sunni, Shi’ite, Christian and even Turkmen, at the Umm al-



NBC News

**War crime: U.S. Marine kills severely injured, unarmed man inside Falluja mosque, November 13.**

Qura Mosque to plan a boycott of the elections. As the overextended U.S. military concentrated its forces in Falluja, guerrillas launched large-scale attacks in Ramadi and Mosul.

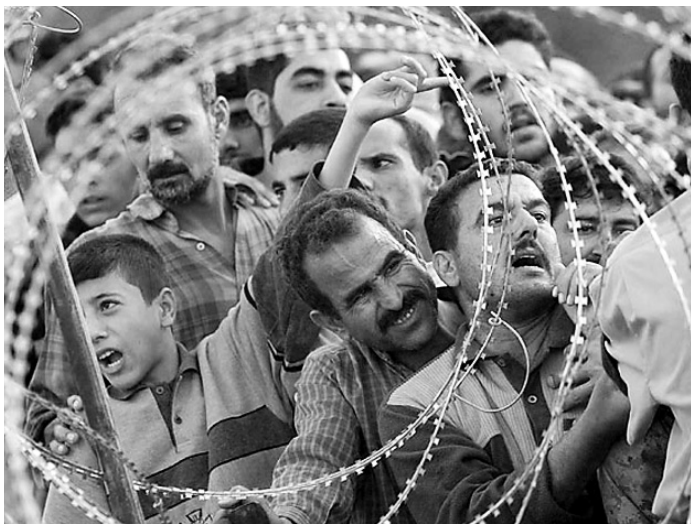
The U.S. military had hoped that Iraqi troops would take the front lines during the elections, a key component of the *trompe l’oeil* “sovereignty.” But Iraqi troops have deserted en masse when militarily confronted by resistance forces. In Mosul on November 10 and 11, nine police stations were overrun while officers deserted. The stations have been recaptured, but only 800 out of 4,000 officers have reported back to serve under the U.S. occupiers (*Financial Times*, 20-21 November). The U.S. military has resorted to extending tours for troops already deployed in Iraq and calling up reservists who haven’t handled a weapon or jogged around the block in years.

The terror, destruction and racist subjugation by foreign imperialist occupation is the immediate threat confronted by the peoples of Iraq. The precondition for any liberation is to get the U.S. and

allied troops out. This struggle must be combined with combatting the reactionary clerical forces seeking to impose an Islamic regime. These forces seek to reimpose the veil and (Islamic) *sharia* laws, which reduce women to a status little different than chattel slaves.

Unemployment in Iraq is over 70 percent. The American oil companies and sleazy contractors want to plunder Iraq, and that means grinding neocolonial exploitation of Iraq’s working people by the imperialists and their Iraqi front men. Equality for all the peoples of Iraq, and the Near East more broadly, will only come about through the overthrow of capitalist rule in the region and the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East. This poses the urgency of constructing genuine Marxist parties to lead the fight for workers rule in the region.

The subjugated masses in Iraq face the same racist and union-busting enemy faced by working people and the oppressed in the United States. It is in the class interests of American workers to fight for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq. We do not raise the call for class struggle at home against U.S. imperialism in the light-minded belief that this will be easy to achieve in the repressive post-September 11 climate and in the reactionary context of “national unity” pushed by labor misleaders and Democrats as well as Republicans. We raise this call because it is essential to win the working class to the understanding that it alone has the social power to defeat the American imperialist system and because this Marxist perspective is the *only* way forward. A revolutionary multi-racial workers party must be forged to lead the hard struggles ahead to victory. The Spartacist League is dedicated to this purpose. ■



Baldwin/NY Times

**Homeless and hungry refugees from Falluja line up for scarce food.**

# Ireland...

(continued from page 2)

the Ploughshares/Catholic Worker 5) in our propaganda. We have stressed that a more effective way of opposing the Irish bourgeoisie and the use of Shannon by the U.S. imperialists would be to mobilise the social power of the proletariat, in particular the airport workers who should take industrial action to prevent the transport of troops and war matériel through Shannon. However, the pro-capitalist trade-union misleaders, while often featured speakers on the platforms of the class-collaborationist Irish Anti-War Movement, didn’t dare mobilise the power of the workers against the war because it would disturb their cosy “social partnership” with the Irish capitalists. Indeed, the current leaders of the airport workers unions won’t even lift a finger in defence of the jobs of their own members who are currently under attack.

We understand that war is an integral

part of the capitalist system and seek to use examples like the use of Shannon by the U.S. military and the vindictive prosecution of Mary Kelly to expose the myth of Ireland’s “neutrality” and the futility of looking to “our” government to oppose imperialist war. Rather, it is only by becoming conscious that the Irish capitalist class has interests diametrically counterposed to those of the working class that advanced workers can be won to the perspective of building a revolutionary vanguard party to act in the interests of all the oppressed and for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Mary Kelly’s supporters are asking for donations to her legal defence to be sent to: Legal Defence Fund, International Bank Account Number (IBAN) IE 45ULSB 9860 2050 4000 07. Messages of support can be sent to Mary at keltol@graffiti.net or PO Box 9260, Dublin 1, Ireland.

Comradely greetings,  
John Blake  
for the Spartacist Group Ireland

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# Chinese Workers Fight Privatization of State-Owned Industry



China Labour Bulletin

The number of worker demonstrations and strikes in China has increased sharply in recent years. In particular, moves by the Beijing bureaucracy to privatize state-owned factories, which have resulted in hundreds of thousands being laid off in recent years, have been fiercely resisted by the workers. Though nationwide government statistics on the number of protests since 2000 are not available (itself a telling sign), an analysis of Chinese government reports shows an increase in each of the past three years. According to the right-wing think tank, the RAND Corporation:

“Sichuan, China’s largest province, apparently saw an increase in protests of almost 20 percent last year, to nearly 1,500. “No region has experienced more demonstrations than the aging northeastern rustbelt, known to the West as Manchuria, where market reforms have badly hurt workers and pensioners from inefficient state enterprises. Police in Liaoning Province on the border with North Korea claimed a stunning 9,559 incidents involving more than 863,000 people between January 2000 and September 2002—an average of almost 10 incidents involving 90 people each day for nearly three years.”  
—*International Herald Tribune*, 3 June

The *Associated Press* (15 November) reported that workers in Shenzhen in southern China seized the Hong Kong owners of an electronics company, demanding unpaid wages. In response, the police warned them not to hurt the hostages, but took no action against the workers. Illustrative of the increasing number of labor actions in China was a recent strike by 6,800 mainly women textile workers at the newly privatized Tianwang Textile Factory in Xianyang (Shaanxi province) in northern China.

The battle lasted almost seven weeks, the longest known strike since economic “reforms” were introduced over two decades ago. The workers were fighting impending layoffs and wage cuts being proposed by their new capitalist employers, the Hong Kong-based conglomerate China Resources. The company’s offer would give laid-off workers a severance payment of one month’s wages for each year they worked there. Those not laid off would be required to sign short-term contracts at lower pay and lose their seniority status. In addition, they would have to serve a six-month “probationary” period during which they would receive 60 percent of their new salary.

Strikers maintained an around-the-clock presence at the factory entrance, in rotating shifts of 200 workers. Banners hanging from the factory gate declared: “We want to survive!” “Protect workers rights!” and “Give us back the funds we worked hard for!” Four days into the strike, on September 18, some 1,000 police appeared at the factory gate with water cannons and prepared to forcibly disperse the pickets. Awakened by their comrades banging on wash basins, thousands of workers and their families poured out of the plant dormitories and surrounded the cops. Confronted by this massive show of solidarity, the police retreated without attempting to use their water cannons.

The whole privatization plan of the Tianwang Textile Factory was carried out in a way designed to implicate the workers in their own demise. A few years ago, the factory was turned into an employee- and management-owned shareholding

company. Workers paid 4,000 yuan (\$483) for a share in the company (Communist Party officials also invested in the company). But the dream of “cooperative” capitalism did not last long. Now, the workers are reportedly being forced to sell shares back so China Resources can take over.

As with other strikes in this same period, the Tianwang workers’ struggle was brought to an end by a “carrot-and-stick” policy. Police rounded up more than 20 strikers and issued “wanted” notices for three others, leading a satisfied China Resources spokesman to proclaim that the strike was “under control.” China Resources then got most workers to return to the factory by agreeing to limited concessions: dropping the idea of a probation period and signing longer-term contracts while insisting on the lower wage scale. We demand the release of the arrested strikers—and all those arrested in other, similar strikes—and the dropping of all charges against them!

According to the Hong Kong-based *China Labour Bulletin*, one of the strikers’ demands was for the right to elect their own factory-level trade union and to register it with the officially sanctioned trade-union organization, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU). To head this off, municipal authorities announced that the ACFTU itself was already moving to establish a union branch at the factory. However, no elections were held to endorse this officially imposed body.

An integral part of our program for proletarian political revolution in the

**Women workers at Tianwang Textile Factory struck for almost seven weeks against Hong Kong bosses after privatization of their plant.**

deformed workers states is the struggle for unions free from state control—as opposed to the ACFTU, which is an arm of the ruling bureaucracy in China. Trade unions are necessary even in a healthy workers state to guard against possible encroachments and abuses by the government, as well as to help plan production, work methods, etc. But the trade unions must be based on defense of collectivized property. We warn against those like Han Dongfang and his *China Labour Bulletin*, which baldly admits that its chief editor has been featured on radio broadcasts of the *Voice of America* and *Radio Free Asia*—both of them official anti-communist mouthpieces for U.S. imperialism. When the likes of Han and the *Bulletin* promote “independent” trade unions in China, they are promoting capitalist counterrevolution.

In the face of the fundamental hostility of the capitalist states to the very existence of the workers states, it is indispensable to distinguish between working-class opposition to bureaucratic abuse and imperialist opposition to the workers states themselves. No genuine proletarian opposition to the Stalinist misrulers can be built without a firm commitment to defending the gains of the Chinese Revolution. A Trotskyist party in China would inscribe on its banner: Defend the system of collectivized property, the central gain of the 1949 Revolution. ■

## China...

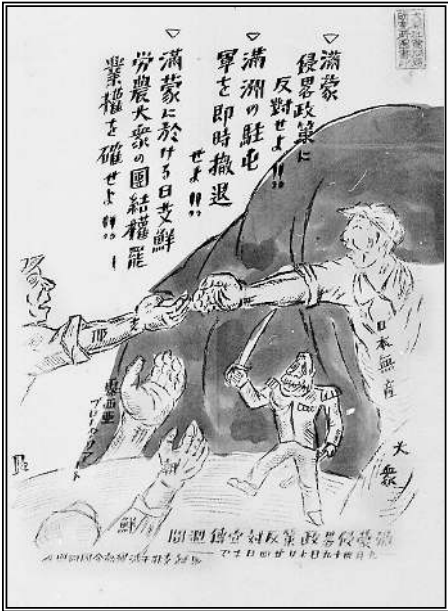
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their factory is “restructured” (privatized). Feng says that in some factories there was an open challenge to the transition to capitalist property relations.

One method of obstructing privatization involves occupying the factory. For example, when workers at a plastics factory in Shanghai heard that their factory was being forced to merge with another one (with the implication of layoffs), they blocked all the entrances to the factory and refused the party secretary entry. The workers justified their occupation of the factory as defending public property to which they had legitimate rights. If these protests were organized, they could spark a conflagration of struggle.

Feng says, “This form of action can be traced back to the tradition of working-class struggle in the final years of the Chinese Revolution. As some workers proudly described it, their action of defending the factory was similar to that of their predecessors on the eve of the communist takeover in 1949, when pro-communist workers formed ‘worker guard teams’ (*gongren jiuchadui*) to protect factories from sabotage by the Guomindang” (interview, January 2000).

In some cases, workers’ protests against restructuring eventually brought the disputes to workers and staff councils (WSC). While these WSCs are, according to law, meant to scrutinize management, they are actually for the most part powerless because the trade unions—which the WSCs are based on—are powerless on the shop floor. While workers are pretty cynical about the WSCs, there are cases where they have become a crit-

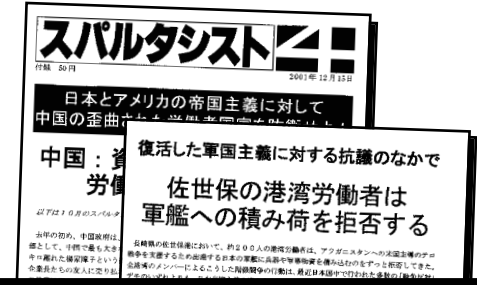


Ohara Institute for Social Research

ical arena for contesting restructuring.

At the SL Company, the WSC held a company referendum and the privatizing scheme was rejected by 80 percent of the workers and staffers. According to the workers there, this was the first time in the factory’s history that they had voted to decide something important to their interests.

Workers from Changjiang Sugar Factory in July of 1999 argued in their petition letter to the provincial trade union: “How to restructure the form of property should be democratically determined by workers. The county government cannot unilaterally decide it.... Workers are the master of the enterprise and the main body (*zhuti*) of reform. Restructuring without consulting the workers’ and staff council and selling the factory without informing workers are serious violations of workers’ democratic rights. We demand to get back



**1927 poster by Japanese Communist Party’s National League for Non-Intervention in China Movement calls for immediate withdrawal of Japanese troops and for the right of Japanese, Chinese and Korean workers in Manchuria and Mongolia to organize and strike. Above: Supplement to *Spartacist Japan* (15 December 2001) published an article on refusal by Sasebo dock workers to load arms bound for U.S. troops in Afghanistan.**

our democratic rights.”

This is a powerful example that workers are not prepared to raise the white flag concerning collectivized property. They have an answer to the question “democracy for what class?”: Democracy for the workers to fight in defense of collectivized property. An important political limitation is that they need to defend the collectivized property of the workers state in general, not just of *their* factory. They need to understand that they are part of the international proletariat. This underscores the necessity of a Leninist party to bring this consciousness into the proletariat.

An important misconception that I’d like to deal with is that maximizing productivity and egalitarianism are counterposed in a workers state. This view contends that only the market can discipline managers and workers in order to max-

imize production and that egalitarianism is only possible through a command-planned economy. The false political framework of this narrow view is that the *only* political form of a workers state is the political monopoly of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The only thing the neo-Maoists within the bureaucracy can offer is a command-planned economy. Its limitations are that the workers, technical intelligentsia and managers don’t identify themselves with the government that issues the plan, which leads to ignoring and subverting the plan at its base. Thus there is an inherent tendency for Stalinist regimes to replace centralized planning and management with market mechanisms in order to discipline the workers and managers. Trotsky, commenting in *The Revolution Betrayed* on the command-planned economy under Stalin, stated that “The Soviet products are as though branded with the gray label of indifference. Under a nationalized economy, quality demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery.” Workers democracy is key to bridging the tasks of maximizing productivity and egalitarianism within a workers state. This necessitates a revolutionary proletarian party.

**Workers of the World, Unite!**

I have clarified that China is a bureaucratically deformed workers state because the core of the economy is collectivized property, and that the Stalinist bureaucracy is a privileged caste with a contradictory nature, not a class; it can’t be reformed. Reinstating the “iron rice bowl” with the bureaucracy still grasping political power will not resolve the main



Flu...

(continued from page 6)

a serious flu epidemic, and in their October 18 press release called on “the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services to immediately convene within the next two weeks, a ‘crisis summit’ of key federal agencies, nongovernmental organizations, and patient advocacy groups to establish crisis plans for the coming flu season.” ACEP presented a practical, 6-point plan with proposals to alleviate emergency room overcrowding and called for “federal and state emergency funding” for hospitals and emergency departments.

U.S. Health and Human Services spokesman Tony Jewel responded contemptuously that ACEP only wants to “make a money grab” (*USA Today*, 19 October) and also accused ACEP of trying to “scare people” (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 October)! This from an administration that endlessly hypes the dubious threat of a terrorist “bio-warfare attack” in order to spend billions of dollars in the “Bio-shield” program to buy drugs or vaccines for smallpox, anthrax and botulinus toxin, but sits on its hands when a genuine bio-threat is impending. Democratic challenger John Kerry’s attempt to attack Bush on this reeked of hypocrisy, since the Democrats agree on the idea of “free market” medicine—Kerry specifically



Mike Luckovich/Atlanta Journal-Constitution

rejected any suggestion of “government-run” health care in the last debate before the election.

“Market Forces” Close the Hospitals

By law emergency rooms have to treat anyone who walks in. EMTALA (Emergency Medical Treatment and Active Labor Act), for example, provides a meager “safety net” for the uninsured, requiring “medical screening examinations” to find and stabilize emergency conditions. But the “free market” is devastating emergency rooms, which are losing money because of the vast numbers of uninsured

who rely on them for medical care. The capitalist answer has been to *shut down* the “unprofitable” emergency rooms and hospitals! In September the San Jose Medical Center, the only hospital in downtown San Jose and one that’s served the community for 80 years, precipitously announced it was closing on December 9. The decision was made by its owner, the giant conglomerate Hospital Corporation of America, because of “higher wage costs and increasing numbers of uninsured patients” (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 September).

San Jose mayor Ron Gonzales, whose own life was recently saved by this hos-

pital when he suffered a heart attack a few months ago, expressed some mild “concern” but went on to insist that “we can’t force the Hospital Corporation of America, as a private business, to change its business decision.” Private business plans are to tear down the hospital to make way for some other “enterprise.” As an emergency measure, this hospital should be seized and forced to remain open and funded by seizing profits of HCA in the state. But no capitalist politician would make such a proposal in defiance of bourgeois law. Officials of Santa Clara County, which includes San Jose, reacted to the planned closure by threatening to cut off trauma care for people airlifted from smaller nearby counties, such as Santa Cruz, which lack such facilities. Meanwhile, several other emergency rooms have also announced closure recently, particularly in Los Angeles. “We face an unraveling of our health care system,” commented Dr. Jack Lewin, head of the California Medical Association (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 September).

This is a medical emergency, but it isn’t even admitted, let alone addressed, by the Democratic and Republican co-rulers of the imperialist order. The collapse of the health care system is a glaring example of the bankruptcy of capitalism in meeting human need, and the screaming necessity for a collective reorganization of society’s productive capacity under a workers government. ■

problem: the bureaucracy is opposed to the workers mobilized in their own, revolutionary internationalist interests. Its policies, based on building “socialism in one country,” undermine the defense of the workers state. The bureaucracy must be removed by the workers.

The examples I gave clearly show that the program of proletarian political revolution, based on unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state and the establishment of genuine workers democracy, is no pipe dream for Chinese workers. Building a revolutionary internationalist, Leninist-Trotskyist party is necessary to make it a reality. This is the most fundamental historic task of the Chinese proletariat. For such a party, a political revolution establishing a workers democracy and instituting a centralized planned economy with a strict monopoly of foreign trade is part of the program of international proletarian revolution. Workers in the SOEs must tie their struggle to the struggle of workers in private enterprises—to expropriate those enterprises—to migrant workers, to the poor peasants, to women, and to oppressed minorities. The party must be a tribune of all the people. Nationalism is false consciousness.

It is critical to understand that the Japanese proletariat can be an ally of the Chinese proletariat. There is a history of the Japanese proletariat’s opposition to Japanese imperialism’s aggression against China. In 1927 the Japanese Communist Party called for unconditional withdrawal of Japanese troops from Manchuria and for the right to strike and organize of Chinese, Korean and Japanese workers. In 2001, the Sasebo dock workers refused to

load a ship with arms bound for U.S. troops in Afghanistan. Workers of the world can unite. The ICL fights to reforge Trotsky’s Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution.

The Chinese “New Left” is rife with contradictions. Most defend the inviolability of private property in principle, but they don’t like the “down side” of the market. In particular, they understand that if the land is privatized the poor peasants will be ruined. The Chinese “New Left” seeks the impossible: capitalism with a human face. Only the proletariat supported by the poor peasants can defend the nationalized land. Besides, China won’t be modernized through capitalism. Capitalist China will look like a mix of the warlordism following the first Chinese Revolution in 1911 and post-counterrevolution Russia today.

The question of “democracy” cannot be separated from the class nature of the state. For example, the fake-Trotskyist affiliate of the United Secretariat in Hong Kong, Pioneer, blazoned in the headline of its New Year’s Day 2004 statement in support of the protest that day: “For General Elections Through Universal Franchise and Free Nominations!” This call is virtually identical to the demand issued by U.S. imperialism’s representative in Hong Kong the month before. The first order of business in Hong Kong is the expropriation of the bourgeoisie there. These calls for “democracy” with no intention of defending collectivized property on the mainland are a cover for not-so-“democratic” counterrevolution.

For all those who call China capitalist, here’s a short anecdote from a novel by Ha Jin, *The Crazy*. During the Tianan-



Viktor Bulla

**Russian workers at Putilov factory vote for delegates to Petrograd Soviet in 1920. Under Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolsheviks, soviets were organs of working-class rule. Stalin’s political counterrevolution destroyed Bolshevik Party and liquidated soviet democracy.**

men protests a reactionary shouted to the workers: “Don’t be slaves anymore!” A locksmith responded: “How dare you call me a slave.” Chinese workers are not prepared to surrender; they are not slaves. They want to fight to defend collectivized property. They can be the masters of their state, but they need leadership.

To finish, I wanted to make a few points about the ICL’s intervention into the incipient proletarian political revolution in East Germany in 1989-90. The tasks of the international proletariat are immense. Our intervention showed that it is possible when there’s a small crack, during a revolutionary situation, like the two weeks it took to enforce martial law at Tiananmen, for a revolutionary program to have tremendous impact. Workers came to us and asked, how do we form workers soviets? Enough East German workers considered what the ICL was fighting for, that when the fascists desecrated the Treptow Soviet war memorial the ruling Stalinist government felt compelled to join a united-front protest we initiated against the fascists and in defense of the deformed workers state. A quarter of a million workers participated. For the first time ever in a deformed workers state, Trotskyists shared a platform with the Stalinists. We were fighting to become the revolutionary leadership. From the platform, our speaker called for “Workers and soldiers soviets to power!”

This was the best defense against capitalist counterrevolution. Two programs were competing: ours, of proletarian

political revolution, and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution. The Treptow mobilization frightened the powers that be, both East and West, and our forces were too small. We lost. The lessons of that struggle and of Tiananmen must be assimilated by the international proletariat. The key question is not how to modernize China, but how to establish an international soviet system that can resolve the problem of scarcity in the world. ■



Spartakist

**January 1990, East Berlin: ICL initiated 250,000-strong anti-fascist rally at Berlin’s Treptow Park, where Spartakist speaker denounced Stalinists, called for workers to power.**

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Defend Columbia Professor Joseph Massad!

# Down With Zionist Witchhunt on Campus!

### Young Spartacus

We reprint below a corrected version of a New York Spartacus Youth Club leaflet issued on November 22. The original version incorrectly asserted that we would not sign the petition in defense of Professor Massad.

Columbia University is today ground zero in a right-wing witchhunt designed to intimidate and drive out any professor who does not toe the line of support to the state of Israel. The latest escalation was triggered by a squalid little film by the David Project, *Columbia Unbecoming*. It slanderously accuses Professor Joseph Massad, along with other professors in the Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures (MEALAC) department, of “academic intimidation” of pro-Israel Zionist students. The New York City gutter press *Daily News* and the *New York Sun* have embarked on a vicious campaign against Massad and several other professors. The *Sun*, along with New York City Democratic Congressman Anthony Weiner, has explicitly called for Massad’s firing.

With the screaming front-page headline “Poison Ivy: Climate of Hate Rocks Columbia University,” the *Daily News* (21 November) featured a sinister “special report.” In it, respected professors such as Massad, Hamid Dabashi, Rashid Khalidi, George Saliba and Nicholas De Genova are denounced as “Columbia’s firebrands,” the “faculty with the most strongly anti-Israel views.” The article is replete with alleged quotes from the professors described as “venom disguised as classroom instruction.”

In response to the film, the Columbia administration has launched a formal investigation into the film’s accusations and promised to “take whatever steps are necessary.” Not content with this, the Democrat-dominated New York City Council has announced they will demand an outside investigation if the university investigation “comes up dry” (*New York Sun*, 12 November). **Down with the Zionist witchhunt! Hands off Joseph Massad and the other professors!**

The attacks on Massad and other professors are nothing less than a campaign to silence and drive out those who speak against the crimes of U.S. imperialism

and its allies. Well before *Columbia Unbecoming*, Professor Massad, a contributing writer for the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Ahram Weekly*, had long been reviled by Zionists. In 2002 a Zionist think tank, the Middle East Forum, set up the Campus Watch Web site in an attempt to blacklist pro-Palestinian academics, whom it labels “apologists to terrorism.” Professors such as Massad, Dabashi and Khalidi were listed on this site.

A regular recipient of death threats, Massad declared in his statement responding to the charges in the film: “With this campaign against me going into its fourth year, I chose under the duress of coercion and intimidation not to teach my course this year. **It is my academic freedom that has been circumscribed. But not only mine.**” An e-mail to Massad by a professor of medicine, Moshe Rubin, expressed the real sentiments of the forces behind this campaign: “Go back to Arab land where Jew hating is condoned. Get the hell out of America. You are a disgrace and a pathetic typical Arab liar” (*Columbia Spectator*, 27 October).

In the context of U.S. imperialism’s bloody colonial occupation of Iraq and



Columbia University

the post-September 11 bipartisan “war on terror,” the forces of the far right are pushing to roll things back to the McCarthyite 1950s when Communists, leftists and even liberals were driven off the campuses while black students were excluded altogether. It was precisely the exclusion of black students that the racist anti-affirmative action “bake sale” sponsored by the Columbia College Conservative Club last semester was all about (see “Campus Right-Wingers Target Black Students,” WV No. 821, 5 March).

Indeed, the principal instigators of these assaults on campus dissent, such as Campus Watch’s Daniel Pipes, are closely linked to the Bush administration. Pipes is part of the neoconservative Project for the New American Century,

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# Israel: Vanunu Arrested Again

On November 11 at dawn, over 30 police armed with machine guns descended on St. George’s Cathedral in East Jerusalem to re-arrest Mordechai Vanunu, the brave whistleblower of Israel’s hidden massive nuclear arsenal. He was grabbed along with his laptop and papers and taken to Petah Tikva, the Shin Bet (internal security) interrogation center near Tel Aviv, where he was questioned for ten hours and released on bail to house arrest. On November 17 he was pulled in again for further questioning. The crazed and vindictive Zionist state will not rest until Vanunu is permanently silenced for having revealed almost 20 years ago that Israel’s capitalist rulers had enough nuclear weapons not only to incinerate every Arab capital, but to bomb major cities in the Soviet Union as well—and the missile capacity to do so.

Vanunu was released from the notorious Ashkelon prison hellhole on April 21 after spending 18 years there, eleven and a half in solitary confinement. In 1986, Vanunu, a former technician at the Dimona nuclear weapons facility, was kidnapped by the Mossad (Israel’s secret intelligence agency) in Italy, drugged and tried in total secrecy after revealing to the London *Sunday Times* that Israel had amassed upward of 200 nuclear warheads and was building hydrogen and neutron bombs. Despite Vanunu’s having served his full prison term, the Israeli government has used a State of Emergency stat-



Reuters

**Heroic nuclear whistleblower Mordechai Vanunu speaks to reporters while in court on November 11 following his arrest.**

## Down With the Gag Order!

ute passed in 1945 when Palestine was under British Mandate to commit Vanunu to virtual imprisonment within its borders. While he is no longer under house arrest, he continues to be barred from leaving the country, talking to non-Israelis, going near airports, ports, embassies, and is under 24-hour police surveillance.

As soon as he passed through the prison gates, Vanunu gave a press conference and has continued to speak out defiantly to the international press to

denounce the Zionist doomsday machine. In an August 18 interview with Amy Goodman on her show, *Democracy Now!*, Vanunu said, “I’m very happy and glad that I...let all the world and the Israeli people see the true face of Israel who used to remind the world ‘holocaust, holocaust’ every hour, every day, but in fact Israel [has] a holocaust factory. This Jewish state was producing holocaust weapons.”

Another cell in the same Ashkelon

dungeon was inhabited by Marcus Klingberg who had intimate knowledge of Israel’s other secret arsenal of megadeath, its stockpile of chemical and bacteriological weapons (see “Free Israeli Scientist Marcus Klingberg!” WV No. 596, 18 March 1994). Klingberg worked at Nes Tsiona, the top-secret research center where “non-conventional weaponry, from viruses to poison derived from mushrooms,” was developed (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 6 January 1994). Klingberg was disappeared and secretly tried in 1983 and sentenced to 20 years, convicted of spying for the Soviet degenerated workers state—no crime in the eyes of the world working class. He was finally released to house arrest in 1998, and in 2003 was allowed to leave Israel at the age of 84.

At nearly the same time the police were dragging Vanunu in to threaten him yet again, the Israeli military killed three Egyptian border cops with a tank shell fired into the Egyptian side of the border at Rafah in Gaza, saying that the Egyptians were mistaken for Palestinian “terrorists.” Sharon’s Gaza “withdrawal” plan has meant the escalation of Israeli terror against the besieged Palestinian masses. The daily death toll of Palestinians continues, and the population in both Gaza and the West Bank was put under lockdown following the death of Yasser Arafat. Some 7,400 Palestinian prisoners languish in Israeli jails. We demand the immediate

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