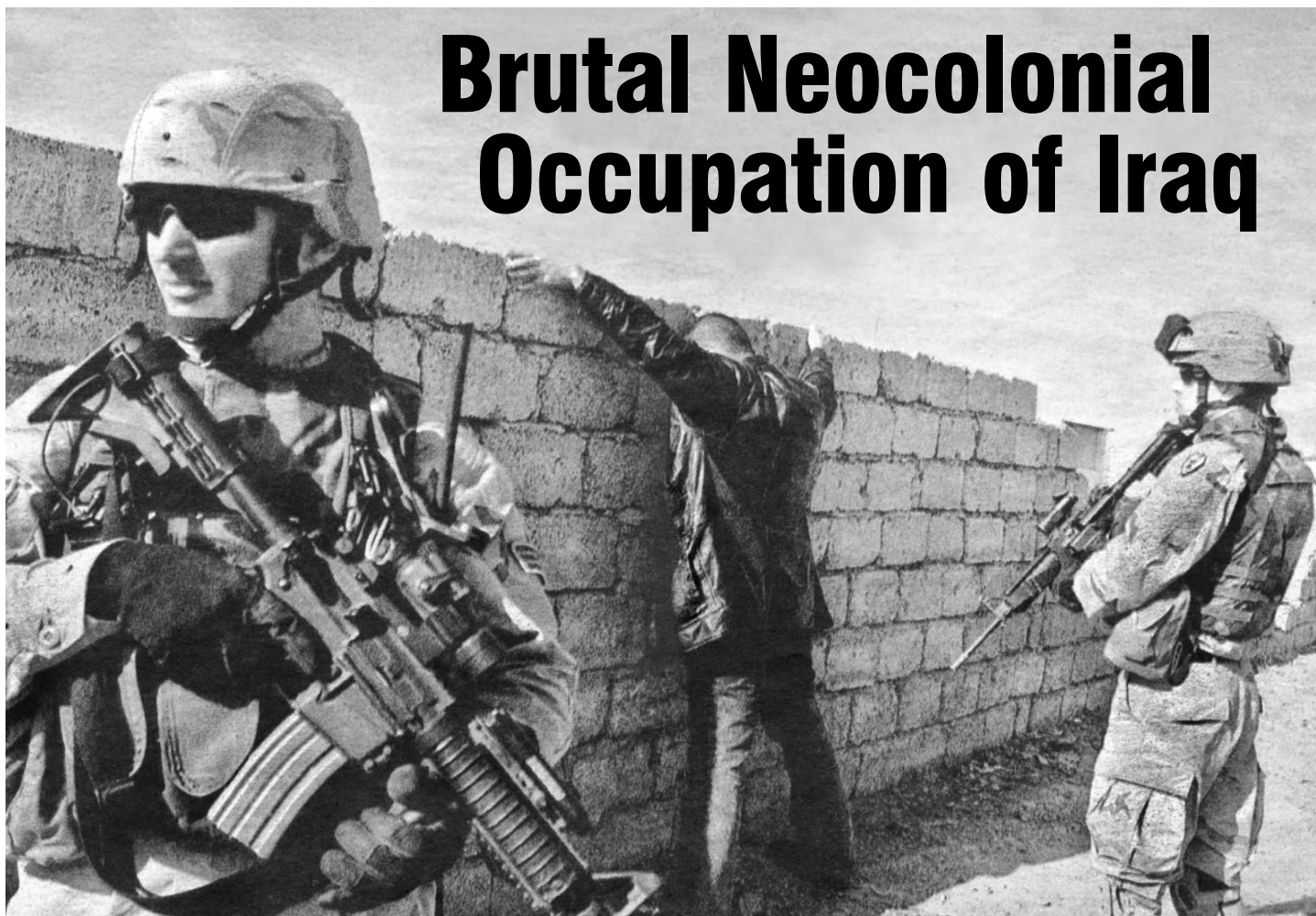


Defend the Iraqi Peoples! U.S. Out Now!

The much-ballyhooed dawn of democracy in Iraq, scripted to rise with the elections currently scheduled for January 30, resembles something from horror-film schlockmeister Wes Craven. But this isn't a movie. In Iraq the blood and body parts, the chaos and devastation are simply the all too real costs of the U.S. imperialist occupation. By reputable estimates, there have been at least 100,000 civilian casualties since the invasion of Iraq (the Pentagon refuses to count Iraqi dead). The hellfire unleashed by the American forces in the all-out onslaught on Falluja last November utterly failed to accomplish the military objective of securing that city. In the month following that assault, 20 American troops lost their lives on that supposedly insurgency-free terrain.

That once-modern city is now depopulated, two-thirds of its 250,000 residents having fled in the face of threats that all who remained would be fair game for the imperialist invaders. The *Detroit News* (31 December 2004) describes Falluja: "Lakes of sewage in the streets. The smell of corpses inside charred buildings. No water or electricity. Long waits and thorough searches by U.S. troops at checkpoints. Warnings to watch out for land-mines and booby traps. Occasional gunfire between troops and insurgents." Those of the city's former inhabitants who return will find a ghetto where they are forced to wear visible IDs issued by their conquerors and permitted to work on its reconstruction—the sole work likely to be available—only if cleared by U.S. authorities.

It's now "official"—no Weapons of Mass Destruction. Almost two years after the invasion, it is clear that U.S. forces have accomplished nothing except to further inflame resistance to the imperialist occupation. Powerful IEDs (improvised explosive devices) are now turning armored Humvees and Bradley vehicles into piles of scrap metal and flesh. Even the juggernaut of American armor, the Abrams tank, has been torn apart by these homemade bombs. The military finds itself increasingly, save for large-scale missions, confined to its bases, unable even to travel the 20-kilometer road linking Baghdad's airport to the capital's Green Zone. This road, linking two key American locations in Iraq, was declared too precarious and off limits first to British and then to American forces, who now must make it to town via helicopter (*Mother Jones*, 16 December 2004). The 22 dead and scores wounded in December's mess hall suicide bombing give testimony to the fact that the imperialist fortresses are far from secure. These blows to the U.S. pretensions to rule the globe can only be welcomed by the world's toiling masses.



Saman/Newsday

American soldiers arrest Iraqi in Mosul. Faced with spreading insurgency, U.S. forces seek to terrorize the Iraqi population into submission.

Meanwhile, the U.S. has been trying to diffuse the shock and horror over the torture scandals by painting them as aberrations. Most recently, the sadistic ghoul Charles Graner was convicted for his "excesses." But as Mumia Abu-Jamal wrote in a 3 May 2004 column: "The horrific treatment of Iraqis at Abu Ghraib has its dark precedents in the prisons and police stations across America." Indeed, Lieutenant Graner's defense, as spelled out by his lawyer, was that "he was simply following orders and using lessons from his civilian life as a prison guard to try to maintain discipline in a war zone" (*New York Times*, 11 January). Graner, whose ex-wife repeatedly sought court protection against his physical abuse, was a prison guard at State Correctional Institution-Greene in Pennsylvania, where Mumia is held on death row. A prisoner there filed a lawsuit alleging that in 1998 Graner and several other guards put a razor blade in his food. When the prisoner's mouth filled with blood and he screamed for help, the guards beat him, and one yelled, "shut up, n---r, before we kill you" (*Washington Post*, 5 June 2004).

But despite all the government's attempts, the fact cannot be covered up that such torture wasn't just the work of underlings but came from the top—specifically mandated by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, with the blessing of George W. Bush. The "legal" apologia for the torture was provided by White House counsel Alberto Gonzales, who seems assured of appointment as

Attorney General with scant opposition from Democrats in Congress.

Electoral Facade for Bloody Occupation

Stymied by the ferocity of the resistance, the Pentagon is now considering reviving "the Salvador option" in Iraq by employing Special Forces-directed squads made up of Shi'ite militiamen and Kurdish *pesh merga* forces to target Sunni "bad guys" and their supporters. During the civil war in El Salvador, the U.S. bankrolled the right-wing regime against the leftist insurgents while dispatching Special Forces hitmen to organize paramilitary death squads to hunt down the rebel leaders and their supporters.

In Iraq, adding insult to injury, it was largely Shi'ite volunteers in the Iraqi National Guard who were used to search the houses in Sunni Falluja in the aftermath of the imperialist devastation of that city. In the four of Iraq's 18 prov-

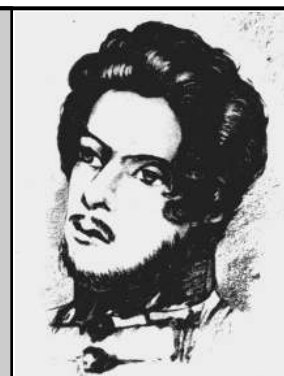
inces with large concentrations of Sunnis (and which contain more than 50 percent of Iraq's population) the level of resistance has compromised the January 30 elections.

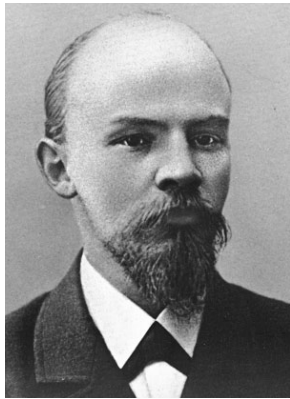
Many fear that reduced Sunni participation will assure a subsequent government heavily dominated by Shi'ite and Kurdish politicians and set the stage for a civil war. Perhaps, but that stage was set by the American imperialist invasion and the overthrow of their onetime ally, Saddam Hussein. Iraq is not a coherent nation but an entity—composed of Shi'ite and Sunni Arabs and Kurds, among others—carved out by the British imperialists following World War I. Absent a revolutionary workers party that can overcome the religious and ethnic divisions, a dictatorial glue, like the Hussein regime, is required to bind together under capitalism the various peoples within Iraq.

There are few real options available to
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How Marx Became a Marxist

PAGE SIX





LENIN

The following excerpts are taken from a January 1917 lecture by V.I. Lenin to the youth group of the Social Democrats (as socialists called themselves at the time) in Zurich on the twelfth anniversary of "Bloody Sunday," which marked the beginning of the 1905 Russian Revolution. The lecture was delivered during the inter-imperialist slaughter of World War I and on the eve of the February 1917 Russian Revolution, which opened the road to the proletarian conquest of power under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party later that year. The experiences and lessons of the 1905 Revolution were to prove critical to the victory of the 1917 October Revolution—1905 was a "dress rehearsal" for the 1917 workers' conquest of power.

On the 100th Anniversary of the 1905 Russian Revolution



TROTSKY

At the time of his lecture, Lenin still believed that the tasks of a revolution in backward Russia were bourgeois-democratic, though led by the proletariat and its allies in the peasantry. On the other hand, in large part stemming from the experiences of 1905, Leon Trotsky advanced for Russia the theory of permanent revolution, centered on the understanding that in successfully carrying out the bourgeois-democratic tasks of the revolution, the proletariat would also have to address the tasks of socialist revolution and the overthrow of bourgeois rule. The October Revolution confirmed Trotsky's analysis. In the course of events between February and October of 1917, Lenin arrived at the same conclusion as Trotsky on this question.

Today is the twelfth anniversary of "Bloody Sunday," which is rightly regarded as the beginning of the Russian revolution.

Thousands of workers—not Social-Democrats, but loyal God-fearing subjects—led by the priest Gapon, streamed from all parts of the capital to its centre, to the square in front of the Winter Palace, to submit a petition to the tsar. The workers carried icons. In a letter to the tsar, their then leader, Gapon, had guaranteed his personal safety and asked him to appear before the people.

Troops were called out. Uhlans [lancers] and Cossacks attacked the crowd with drawn swords. They fired on the unarmed workers, who on their bended knees implored the Cossacks to allow them to go to the tsar. Over one thousand were killed and over two thousand wounded on that day, according to police reports. The indignation of the workers was indescribable....

Reading it now, this petition of uneducated, illiterate workers, led by a patriarchal priest, creates a strange impression. Involuntarily one compares this naïve petition with the present peace resolutions of the social-pacifists, the would-be socialists who in reality are bourgeois phrasemongers. The unenlightened workers of pre-revolutionary Russia did not know that the tsar was the head of the ruling class, the class, namely, of big landowners, already bound by a thousand ties with the big bourgeoisie and prepared to defend their monopoly, privileges and profits by every means of violence. The social-pacifists of today, who pretend to be "highly educated" people—no joking—do not realise that it is just as foolish to expect a "democratic" peace from bourgeois governments that are waging an imperialist predatory war, as it was to believe that peaceful petitions would induce the bloody tsar to grant democratic reforms.

Nevertheless, there is a great difference between the two—the present-day social-



Dietz Verlag Berlin



Basil Blackwell Inc.

1905 Russian Revolution: Barricades on the Arbat, Moscow (top). Leaders of Petersburg Soviet during 1906 trial (above).

pacifists are, to a large extent, hypocrites, who strive by gentle admonitions to divert the people from the revolutionary struggle, whereas the uneducated workers in pre-revolutionary Russia proved by their deeds that they were straightforward people awakened to political consciousness for the first time....

The proletarian struggle produced

widespread ferment, often revolutionary movements among the peasant masses, fifty to a hundred million strong; the peasant movement had its reverberations in the army and led to soldiers' revolts, to armed clashes between one section of the army and another. In this manner a colossal country, with a population of 130,000,000, went into the revolution; in this way, dormant Russia was transformed into a Russia of a revolutionary proletariat and a revolutionary people....

October and December 1905 marked the highest point in the rising tide of the Russian revolution. All the wellsprings of the people's revolutionary strength flowed in a wider stream than ever before. The number of strikers—which in January 1905, as I have already told you, was 440,000—reached over half a million in October 1905 (in a single month!). To this number, which applies only to factory workers, must be added several hundred thousand railway workers, postal and telegraph employees, etc.

The general railway strike stopped all rail traffic and paralysed the power of the government in the most effective manner. The doors of the universities were flung wide open, and the lecture halls, which in peace time were used solely to befuddle

youthful minds with pedantic professorial wisdom and to turn the students into docile servants of the bourgeoisie and tsarism, now became the scene of public meetings at which thousands of workers, artisans and office workers openly and freely discussed political issues....

The proletariat marched at the head of the movement. It set out to win the eight-hour day by revolutionary action. "An Eight-Hour Day and Arms!" was the fighting slogan of the St. Petersburg proletariat. That the fate of the revolution could, and would, be decided only by armed struggle was becoming obvious to an ever-increasing mass of workers.

In the fire of battle, a peculiar mass organisation was formed, the famous Soviets of Workers' Deputies, comprising delegates from all factories. In several cities these Soviets of Workers' Deputies began more and more to play the part of a provisional revolutionary government, the part of organs and leaders of the uprising. Attempts were made to organise Soviets of Soldiers' and Sailors' Deputies and to combine them with the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

For a time several cities in Russia became something in the nature of small local "republics." The government authorities were deposed and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies actually functioned as the new government. Unfortunately, these periods were all too brief, the "victories" were too weak, too isolated....

We must not be deceived by the present grave-like stillness in Europe. Europe is pregnant with revolution. The monstrous horrors of the imperialist war, the suffering caused by the high cost of living everywhere engender a revolutionary mood; and the ruling classes, the bourgeoisie, and its servitors, the governments, are more and more moving into a blind alley from which they can never extricate themselves without tremendous upheavals.

Just as in Russia in 1905, a popular uprising against the tsarist government began under the leadership of the proletariat with the aim of achieving a democratic republic, so, in Europe, the coming years, precisely because of this predatory war, will lead to popular uprisings under the leadership of the proletariat against the power of finance capital, against the big banks, against the capitalists; and these upheavals cannot end otherwise than with the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, with the victory of socialism.

We of the older generation may not live to see the decisive battles of this coming revolution. But I can, I believe, express the confident hope that the youth which is working so splendidly in the socialist movement of Switzerland, and of the whole world, will be fortunate enough not only to fight, but also to win, in the coming proletarian revolution.

—V.I. Lenin, "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution" (22 January 1917)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Workers Vanguard, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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

The closing date for news in this issue is 18 January.

No. 840

21 January 2005

Beslan Massacre and the Putin Regime

Independence for Chechnya! Russian Troops Out Now!

With the massacre of hundreds of hostages, half of them children, in Beslan, North Ossetia on 3 September 2004, Russia's savage war against Chechnya returned to world headlines. This three-day standoff, in which over 1,200 people were taken hostage, capped a chain of terrorist attacks. They began the night of August 24-25, when two airliners from the same Moscow airport were almost simultaneously blown out of the sky by suicide bombers, killing all 89 on board. Then, on August 30, a Moscow subway station was targeted by a suicide bomber, killing ten.

These attacks were a real gift to Russian president Vladimir Putin, who has regained a level of popular support for what was becoming a very unpopular war. Islamic fundamentalist Shamil Basayev, a longtime leader of the Chechen resistance, who first came to national prominence in 1995 with the seizure of some 2,000 hostages (according to UPI) in a hospital in southern Russia, claimed responsibility for the Beslan hostage taking in a written statement. Basayev also took responsibility for the 2002 hostage-taking in a Moscow theater. That attack was suppressed by Russian police using poison gas, resulting in the murder of at least 129 hostages.

These attacks are criminal from the viewpoint of the working class. Not only are they counterposed to the cause of Chechen national rights, they embrace the same mentality as that of the racist rulers of the Russian capitalist government—identifying the multinational working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors. In the case of Beslan, located in North Ossetia to the west of Chechnya, this can only lead to further interethnic bloodletting, with the historically Christian Ossetians pitted against the primarily Muslim Ingush and Chechen peoples. Formerly integrated schools in North Ossetia are reportedly being segregated by nationality since the massacre. Yet the hostage-takers' demand for Russian withdrawal from Chechnya is a just demand that has widespread support, even throughout Russia.

As proletarian internationalists, we are fundamentally opposed to all forms of bourgeois nationalism. We forthrightly oppose the Great Russian oppressor embodied in Putin & Co., as we militarily defend Chechnya against the Russian imperialist occupation. We are for proletarian action against Russia's war on the Chechen people. The fight for Chechen independence is essential to the interests of the multinational working people of Russia, who face continued attacks on their own lives by the very state power that is carrying out the war in Chechnya.

At the same time, we extend not an iota of political support to the nationalism of Chechen resistance leaders like Shamil Basayev, who promotes reactionary Islamic fundamentalism, or to President-in-exile Aslan Maskhadov. After participating in the successful 1994-96 resistance against Moscow and being elected president in January 1997 (after the Russians assassinated Chechen president Dudayev in April 1996), Maskhadov was driven from power when Russian troops rolled back into Chechnya in 1999. Today he seeks imperialist intervention and the enrichment of his own capitalist backers.

The war against Chechnya is a direct



AP

Grozny: Russian soldiers threaten woman and child during neighborhood sweep. Ruins of Minutka Square, once Grozny's largest marketplace.



Gamma

result of the capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. We of the International Communist League were unique among the left in our forthright defense of the gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and against the capitalist restoration led by Boris Yeltsin. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, Chechen independence was proclaimed. Russia invaded Chechnya in 1994 and by 1996 Chechnya had won de facto independence at the cost of 60,000 to 100,000 lives (based on data from human rights organizations), the vast majority civilians, as 6,000 Russian soldiers were sent home in body bags according to official figures, while estimates are as high as 14,000.

Estimates of the number of Chechen civilians killed in the first Chechen war of 1994-96 and the second war launched in 1999 range from about 100,000 to 200,000—out of a total population estimated at 300,000 to 450,000! Chechnya's cities and towns have been leveled. Industrial sites like Grozny's Krasny Molot factory, which before the Chechen wars was Europe's biggest producer of oil drilling equipment, are now piles of brick and refuse. Documented examples of Russian Army methods of terror and collective punishment are as extreme as they are barbaric. Chechen men have been chained to armored trucks and forced to

watch while both female and male companions are raped and sodomized by Russian soldiers, as reported by *Newsweek*. In some villages, everyone over the age of twelve was chained together and blasted to pieces with artillery, leaving their remains to be dragged off by packs of wild dogs. *Russian troops out of Chechnya!*

The Putin Regime: Repression and Bonapartism

During Putin's first term in office, he rammed through a new labor code that greatly restricted the rights of trade unions, in effect banning strikes. Putin predictably sought to use the Beslan massacre to increase his already considerable powers. Within days, he issued a proposal, which was duly passed, to end direct elections of Russian governors and other regional leaders. Putin can now appoint leaders, subject to ratification by regional parliaments. If the regional parliaments reject his appointees twice, he has the authority to disband them. More recently, Putin won overwhelming parliamentary support for a counterterrorism law that hands the Kremlin broad powers to declare states of emergency, restrict free speech and clamp down on the news media. The Beslan massacre also increased calls to end the moratorium on the death penalty that was enacted in

1996 as a condition for Russia joining the Council of Europe.

In the wake of Beslan, pogromist hysteria was whipped up against non-Slavic peoples from the Caucasus and Central Asia. Putin's nonstop media barrage against the "two-legged beasts" provided the backdrop for nationwide xenophobic attacks. In Moscow alone, 11,000 people were rounded up by state authorities, and 890 were deported in a one-day sweep. Vigilante auxiliaries to the police were organized nationally. In Ekaterinburg, five cafes frequented by refugees from the Caucasus were attacked by skinheads, killing one person and sending two to the hospital.

After the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Putin repackaged the repression in Chechnya as part of the "war against terrorism." Washington granted Putin a free hand in Chechnya in return for Russia withholding its veto of the UN Security Council Resolution authorizing the American invasion of Iraq in the spring of 2003. But this has its limits, as was seen recently in Ukraine, where Washington thumbed its nose at Putin by bankrolling the presidential candidate seeking closer ties with the West (see "'Democracy' Movement Made in U.S.A.—Ukraine: Robber Barons and Nationalist Demagogues Fall Out," WV No. 838, 10 December 2004). While turning a blind eye to Russia's war in Chechnya, both the U.S. and its close ally, Britain, have extended political asylum to exiled former cabinet ministers of Maskhadov's government. Washington is intent on checking Russian hegemony along the periphery of the former Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, a bevy of right-wingers in Washington have formed an American Committee for Peace in Chechnya (ACPC), whose message, in the words of the *New Left Review* (November-December 2004), is "that authoritarianism is in Russians' DNA and that Putin would do well to learn the lessons de Gaulle drew from Algeria." The ACPC includes former national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski and former secretary of state Alexander Haig as well as neoconservatives like Pentagon advisor Richard Perle and former CIA head James Woolsey. The ACPC calls for a

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AP

Beslan families mourn their dead after school massacre.

19th Annual Partisan Defense Committee Holiday Appeal

Thousands Raised for Class-War Prisoners

The Partisan Defense Committee's 19th annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners, held this past December in six cities in the U.S. and Canada, raised over \$10,000 after expenses. The PDC addressed trade-union locals across the country, receiving pledges of over \$1,600 earmarked for the legal defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Some of the unions that contributed to Jamal's defense were Amalgamated Transit Union Locals 308 in Chicago and 1179 in New York City and Bay Area's AFSCME Local 444. In attendance and amounts raised, this was a very successful year—but the need for such defense efforts is even greater. America's foremost political prisoner, former Black Panther Party member and MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal, remains on Pennsylvania's death row, as his legal appeals enter a crucial phase. Many other class-war prisoners have already served decades behind bars; others face decades more—while Bush and the Democrats' anti-immigrant "war on terror" targets the rights of all to dissent.

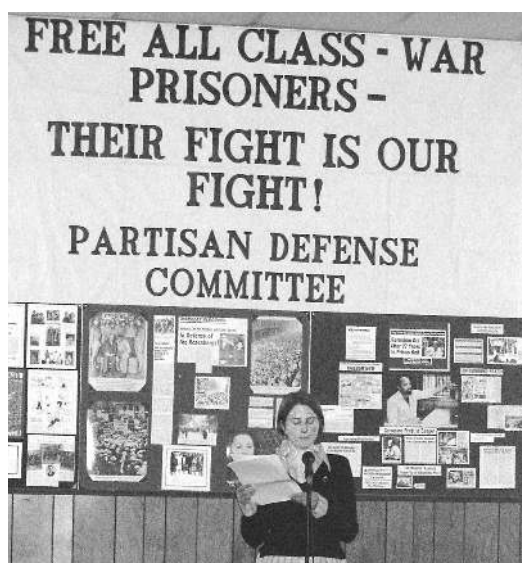
The PDC's annual appeal raised funds for Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal defense as well as for monthly stipends to 15 other class-war prisoners—trade-union militants, fighters for black freedom and opponents of imperialist and capitalist militarism, men and women who were singled out for standing up to racist capitalist oppression and exploitation.

Besides Mumia, these prisoners included: United Mine Workers union militant Jerry Dale Lowe, who was recently released from a halfway house; leftist activist Jaan Laaman of the New Left Ohio 7; Hugo Pinell, the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison; Ed Poindexter and Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa, former Black Panther supporters victimized by the FBI COINTELPO operation; Jamal Hart, Mumia Abu-Jamal's son, framed up by Philadelphia cops; Jamal Holiday, a young black man still in jail after the Republican National Convention protests; and eight MOVE members imprisoned since the Philadelphia cops' siege of their home in 1978: Chuck Africa, Michael Davis Africa, Debbie Sims Africa, Janet Holloway Africa, Janine Africa, Delbert Orr Africa, Edward Goodman Africa and William Phillips Africa.

The PDC holiday fundraisers were an expression of solidarity and showed how to organize to continue the fight against the racist rulers' reactionary onslaught. The benefits were a real "tribune of the people," where black, white, Asian and Hispanic activists, veterans of the '60s and young students, gay activists and trade unionists, came together to hear about and fight for both old and new cases of urgent importance to the workers movement.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The New York City benefit this year featured live jazz with the Bern Nix Trio, Oliver Lake, Roy Campbell, Anthony Coleman and other guest artists. It drew a diverse crowd, including many youth and trade unionists from the Transport Workers Union, Communications Workers of America, 1199 SEIU, DC 37 and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, among others. Leftist attorney Lynne Stewart addressed the crowd, describing the ominous implications of the government's terrorism smear and prosecution of her, her paralegal and translator (see speech on facing page). She also empha-



WV Photos

sized the importance of Mumia Abu-Jamal. "It's still about Mumia," the veteran movement lawyer said. "Mumia is the point person. He is the most egregious case. He is the one that speaks. And when he speaks, it's all of us speaking, with his words and his wisdom, just as was read here tonight."

This year's appeals focused on Mumia Abu-Jamal, an eloquent "voice of the voiceless." His frame-up and death sentence are what the racist death penalty in America is all about. Despite the formal overturning of his death sentence, despite the sworn confession of the real killer, the 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 evidence, Jamal remains in the shadow of Pennsylvania's death chamber. Part of building for the New York City Holiday Appeal was a December 7 presentation at Columbia University by PDC staff counsel and former counsel for Mumia, Rachel Wolkenstein, on the fight to free Mumia. The Spartacus Youth Club co-sponsored and helped build the event, which was hosted by the Columbia Political Union and also co-sponsored by the Black Students Organization, Amnesty International and the International Socialist Organization, among others.

Also speaking in New York was Monique Code, representing Mumia Abu-Jamal's son Jamal Hart. Hart was imprisoned and given a 15½-year sentence on bogus firearms possession charges for speaking out in his father's defense. After eight years behind bars, Hart was recently transferred to a prison in Ray Brook, New York, near the Canadian border and far from his family and supporters in Philadelphia.

Code read from impassioned greetings to the benefit by Hart, who wrote:

"These capitalistic rulers collectively remain in love with their Confederate



Clockwise from above: Bern Nix Trio and friends in NYC; radio host and former member of League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Norm Richmond, in Toronto; youth learn about class-war prisoners at Chicago benefit; Spartacus Youth Club speaker in Chicago.



Spartacist Canada

flag.... The warriors still held in captivity such as Hugo Pinell, Sundiata Acoli, Ruchell Magee, Dr. Mutulu Shakur, and my father Mumia Abu-Jamal, who by the way, still resides on death row in the Pennsylvania hellholes, will ultimately be freed by people who remain steadfast in solidarity. We must NOT give up hope.... I sincerely urge you to join this movement that supports a class war and the freedom of all political prisoners."

Unionists and Youth

"For those who came to the Holiday Appeal for the first time, I'm sure this was a unique experience: black and white, young and old, all participating in a political meeting on an equal basis," commented a veteran PDC organizer in Chicago, where the social at the United Electrical Hall drew some 85 people. The PDC built strongly for the Chicago event at union meetings, including making a presentation at steel workers Local 1014 in Gary, Indiana. Despite devastation of the steel industry, there are still thousands of steel workers who are a force to be reckoned with. Other trade-union locals where presentations were made included Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 308, United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6, UAW Local 551's Civil Rights Committee and the regional UAW Civil Rights Committee.

Speaking at the Chicago benefit was a young anarchist, Jeremy Hammond, whom the PDC defended following his arrest at the 27 June 2004 Gay Pride Parade. Hammond and two others were seized by cops for defending their march from anti-gay bigots who attacked the parade. Recalling the IWW's slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," the PDC has a long history of mobilizing labor to defend gay rights. Chicago is the city, after all, where the PDC and Spartacist League mobilized hundreds of steel workers, auto workers, transit workers and others in defense of Gay Pride Day in 1982 when Nazis threatened it.

In Toronto, Canada, the Partisan Defense Committee's first public benefit was held at the Steelworkers Hall, where trade unionists and youth attended. The Holiday Appeal was built at left and labor events and in black neighborhoods, where a local barber, wearing a Mumia Abu-Jamal pin, invited organizers to give a rap to the customers. At the benefit, guest speaker Norman Otis Richmond, a prominent black activist and radio host, spoke about Jamal and his own experiences as a member of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit.

Greetings were sent to the benefit by Dave Bleakney, National Union Representative of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. The greetings noted that the CUPW has supported the defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal for years:

"Our union has sent letters, passed resolutions and participated in demonstrations. It is no secret to us that this is an eloquent class warrior who finds himself caged for telling the truth in a system that cannot afford the truth.

"Postal workers know this truth well. Our former national President once went to jail for several months for mistakenly assuming that the right to strike and negotiate actually existed in Canada."

Labor must practice class solidarity, he wrote, stating it must "forget living in a dream world that it is business as usual. Business as usual has meant genocidal policies against indigenous people. It has meant slavery and death for millions. It has meant unions are on the defensive. And it means that yet another one of ours is languishing on death row."

International Cases: Canada, Israel and Ireland

Greetings were read to the Toronto gathering from Sophie Harkat, the wife of Mohamed Harkat, one of five detainees held without rights since December 2002 by the Canadian government under

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Lynne Stewart Speaks at NYC Benefit

The Partisan Defense Committee was honored to have Lynne Stewart speak at our New York Holiday Appeal on 10 December 2004. Lynne Stewart, her translator Mohammed Yousry and her paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar, are the targets of an ominous “terrorism conspiracy” frame-up by the U.S. government stemming from their legal defense of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman following the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. The government vendetta against Stewart threatens the basic democratic rights of *everyone*. If an attorney cannot defend the accused without being legally prosecuted for doing so, then nobody will have the right to legal defense.

Lynne’s remarks are perfectly in the spirit of the PDC’s tradition of non-sectarian defense work and open political debate. We oppose all the U.S. government’s frame-ups and victimizations, including against reactionary Islamic fundamentalists. At the same time, we recognize that what these fundamentalists stand for has nothing to do with anti-imperialism and is counterposed to the interests of working people and the oppressed, much less human progress more generally. Our class-war prisoners, regardless of their political views, are among those who represent the cases and causes of working people—fighters against racist injustice, against U.S. imperialism, against the encroachments on the rights of labor by capital.

With regard to the mainly Muslim and other immigrants rounded up after September 11 and the Guantánamo prisoners, we say: **Free all the detainees!** Our denunciation of the government prosecution of Abdel Rahman for the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, was, sadly, all too prescient:

“The World Trade Center bombing trial and the conspiracy case against Sheik Rahman is being used to whip up an anti-Arab terrorism scare whose purposes range from whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria to reviving discredited sedition laws and intimidating all those who fall out of step with the government. We have no love lost for Sheik Rahman and his Afghan contras, but we nevertheless defend those who were caught in the web of government provocation against this witchhunt prosecution which aims to cover up the government’s crimes. The ‘conspiracy’ and ‘sedition’ laws exist to be used against striking unionists, leftists and oppressed minorities, while the conspirators in power in Washington go free.”

—“FBI Provocateurs in World Trade Center Bombing,”
WV No. 591, 7 January 1994

Drop the charges against Lynne Stewart, Mohammed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar!

* * *

Well, they told me I was invited to a party [laughter]. And indeed it is a party. And then they told me, you just have to speak for maybe five minutes. Well, I’m going to differ with that, because as I look around this room, I need more than five minutes to just recognize—and I’m not going to say “thank”—but recognize the supporters who have shown up at the courtroom, who have stopped me and wished me well, all of the people in this room whose hearts and thoughts are with us in this trial, and with this case, and who recognize, as comrades, the real importance of an attack upon lawyers, and the role that lawyers—even though we may hate them at times [laughter]—do play in the movement. When the chips go down, and you’re sitting in that police station with maybe your head feeling not quite so good from the end of a night-stick, you want somebody that’s going to get in there and intercede on your behalf.

And let me tell you, this case is about

making sure that there’s nobody to call, that nobody will show up, that nobody will come to defend the righteous who protest, the righteous who take political action, or anything else, because the government wants to control that. And when I say “control that,” I don’t mean calling



WV Photo

Lynne Stewart addressing NYC Holiday Appeal benefit, December 10.

the lawyer and saying “do this and that,” but control by means of rules and regulations, by “dos” and “do not.” And most of all, by saying to the bar, if you don’t obey *our* rules, we will get you. We will get you like we got Lynne Stewart.

That’s why I address you as comrades, because this is not about me personally. This is really about the movement and where we’re going, and where we have to go. I was thinking about Mumia. I spoke last night, as some of you know, at the Mumia Coalition, and I’m thinking about what I said about the judge in Mumia’s case, the judge who said, “Well, innocence is no defense.” No? So then we have to say, “Well, what is a defense in this country, if innocence is not a defense?” The people in this room well know. What is a defense? If you come from the upper classes, that’s a defense. If your skin is the right color, that’s a defense. If you have a lot of money, regardless of what class you come from, that’s a defense [applause]. It’s not a defense to be innocent. It’s not a defense to hold the Constitution out there. And that’s what we fight. And that’s what we make them be honest about.

I’ve been on trial now for eight months. I regret most not being out there to do the work, to pick up the work, as Safiya Bukhari, who was a great worker for prisoner rights, said. I looked at your table over there, Jaan Laaman, Ray Levasseur—I defended the Ohio 7, met them. My client was Richard Williams, who’s currently at Butner [Federal Correctional Institution], currently undergoing chemotherapy for cancer that they just happened to discover. The political prisoners are getting older. They need our support. We are indeed defined by these political prisoners, and whether or not we have the will to get them to a place of freedom.

But you know, it’s still about Mumia. Mumia is the point person. His is the most egregious case. He is the one that speaks. And when he speaks, it’s all of us speaking, with his words and his wisdom, just as were read here tonight. And as I said, my greatest regret, it may sound strange, is not the 40 years I’m facing, not the angst that goes into that, but really not being out here to do the work. To do the work that lawyers do, to do the work fighting for the rights of people, keeping those conditions lawsuits, keeping them on their toes, making them do the right thing.

People like Ray Levasseur, a working-class guy who went to Vietnam, who got religion there—when I say religion, I mean politics [laughter]—came back and opened a bookstore up in Portland,

Maine, set up a bail fund for use of poor people to get folks out of jail, and eventually ended up, because of the attention, mainly, but also the threats to his life, went underground, and was of course arrested many years later. He served 20 years in prison, and now as he himself writes, he is now a retired soldier, living in Portland, Maine. It is folks like you, and the Partisan Defense Committee, and the money that comes in every month, that’s what keeps those folks alive.

I can also say to you: write to these people, because I tell you, *you* are enriched by their correspondence, and they can never have enough from the outside. I know I have never visited a so-called political prisoner, or a prisoner of war, that I didn’t leave feeling that I had had the visit, not them. They are really special people. They are people that were out there, and now they have honed their outlooks by years and years of dealing with the prison system. Not an easy task.

But as for me, we’re winding down. I’m in my endurance mode. We’re hopefully going to get to the summations and charge. I do still maintain great hope in the jury system. It does depend on the climate, as one of my lawyer friends reminded me today. But I do believe there can be nothing probably more communal than 12 citizens who are complete strangers coming together to decide what are the facts of a case. While we know how the people of this country are written upon by media, how they are written upon by just the facts of their daily lives, we still hold out the hope that ordinary people coming together can make an important decision in a fellow human being’s life, can do that openly and honestly. And we believe with all our hearts that they will find us not guilty [applause].

So once again, because I don’t want to stop the party, I am very happy to be here. I am so happy to recognize so many people who have meant so much. The trial goes on; we’re over there at 40 Centre Street in the same courtroom as the Rosenbergs were in. And whatever your politics are, or were, or could be, this is a case worth defending. We feel we’re not going to end up like Julius and Ethel—I heard “hope not”—we’re not going to hope even—we are *not* going to

end up there because we have taken the aggressive stance [applause].

I spent three weeks on that witness stand explaining to the jury how we do the work we do, what it is all about. How we are guided, not by rules and regulations set out by the Bureau of Prisons, but how we are guided by ethical rules that guide our productivity, the most important of which is *to zealously defend*. And in that we are not answerable, we are autonomous in our decision-making, and how that works and why it works.

And Lord knows, I’m no Islamic fundamentalist [laughter]. But I will say to this assembled group, at some risk, that I think that when we talk about political prisoners, we have to recognize that there are almost a hundred Muslims who are there, and they were framed up. Certainly Sheik Omar was framed by the U.S. government, acting in conjunction with the Egyptian government. And while I don’t adopt his politics—that’s for sure—I still am enough of a believer in self-determination to say that we are going to have to address international problems such as this, and not be so narrow that we can only say we’ll take our political prisoners, but not *those* political prisoners [applause]. Most of these Muslims are held in a special wing of Florence, Colorado [Administrative Maximum Unit Prison (ADX)]. It was built after 9/11. Florence, as most of you may know, is the most repressive federal jail. It is small rooms and dog runs and no human contact whatsoever.

I do want to say that I thank everyone for coming tonight, for putting up with this longer speech than I was scheduled to give, and I would ask you to come to court. I would ask you particularly to come to court when we do the summations. Michael Tigar is worth the price of admission, which is free. He’s worth a great deal more than that to me, because he is fearless. He is not afraid of my politics. He is not afraid to have put that out in front of a jury, that when an oppressed person defends himself, and may be forced to use violence against an oppressor, that is not only to be recognized; it is to be commended [applause]. So I urge you to keep up with the Web site. It’s very simple: lynnestewart.org. Come out to court if you have some time.

We’re [presenting] the co-defendants’ case. It’s a lot more interesting than the government’s case, which, as the people who were there know, was endless. There was not one live person as a witness, except a reporter from Egypt, who was so frightened up there he could hardly testify. Everything else, wiretaps, videotapes, pictures, newspaper clippings. We

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For The Second Circuit
Docket No. 03-2235
03-2438
JOSE PADILLA, Donna R. Newman,
as Next Friend of Jose Padilla,
Petitioner-Appellee-cross-Appellant,
v.
DONALD RUMSFELD,
Respondent-Appellant-cross-Appellee.
On Appeal from the United States District Court
for the Southern District of New York
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Young Spartacus

We print below the first part of an educational given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at the Twelfth National Conference of the SL/U.S. held last summer.

Becoming a professional revolutionary of the Marxist persuasion almost always involves an intellectual challenge. You have to learn to think about the world in a fundamentally different way than when you first came to social and political consciousness.

Sometimes it also involves a personal challenge of one kind or another. For example, one's parents may strongly disapprove of this particular career choice. This was definitely not what they wanted and expected for their son or daughter. For those of you who have faced that particular personal challenge, you're in very good company. Throughout her life, Marx's mother believed that her son had wasted his great talents on that communist nonsense. It is said that she once exclaimed: "If only Karl had made some capital instead of just writing about it."

The term "dialectical materialism" was devised by George Plekhanov, often called the founding father of Russian Marxism, as a capsule formula for the Marxist worldview. Dialectics or dialectical understanding is *not* a mysterious concept, although it has been subjected to a great deal of mystification, not least by professed Marxists. In the course of the faction fight with Burnham and Shachtman over the Russian question in 1939-40, Trotsky commented: "What does this terrible word 'dialectics' mean? It means to consider things in their development, not in their static situation" ("On the 'Workers' Party" [August 1940]).

In the most general sense, dialectics signifies that what exists at present and will exist in the future is determined and conditioned by the entire prior course of historical development or, in some cases, retrogression from it. Change is caused by the interplay of contradictions, tensions, antagonistic elements inherited from the past; the remote past as well as the more recent past.

One of Sigmund Freud's favorite aphorisms is that the child is the father of the man. This is a dialectical approach to individual psychology. How one feels, thinks and acts is strongly influenced by one's early childhood experience, especially one's relations with one's parents or parental figures. Someone may wake up one morning and say to himself: "I really hate what my life has become. I hate what I have become. I want to be happy and successful." Who doesn't? Unfortunately, it doesn't work like that. You cannot wipe out your entire past experience and reconstruct your life and personality anew according to some preferred model. There is no such thing as being born again. That is true for individuals. It is true for societies. It is true for the non-human natural world.

How Marx Became a Marxist

PART ONE

BY Joseph Seymour



Young Spartacus graphic: drawing of Marx by H. Bach

Like everything else in the world, the origins and also subsequent development of Marxism can only be understood dialectically. As Marx himself stated in this regard: "The biography of a single individual can in no way be separated from the biographies of previous and contemporary individuals: indeed, it is determined by them."

So to understand how Marx became a Marxist, we have to start by looking at the socioeconomic, political, cultural and intellectual universe which Marx encountered and entered as a young liberal idealist in western Germany in the mid-late 1830s. Marx grew up in a society in which a developing industrial economy, based on modern technology, both confronted and coexisted with a political and cultural complex inherited from the late medieval world.

When Marx was nine years old, Alfred Krupp established a steel-making foundry in the Ruhr city of Essen which later developed into one of the great industrial empires in the modern world. The year Marx graduated *gymnasium*, the equivalent of high school, in 1835, the first railroad was launched in Germany. Two years later, when Marx was at the University of Berlin, August Borsig founded a subsequently famous machinery works

in that German city.

At the same time, despite its liberal facade, the Prussian state was a form of monarchical absolutism in which the political personality of the monarch mattered. When the old king died in 1840, he was succeeded by his son, a religious reactionary, who instituted a more repressive policy toward academic and intellectual life. One consequence was that Marx left Germany and moved to Paris, which was then the center of the communist and socialist movements. It was then and there that Marx himself became a communist.

Prussia was officially a "Christian state." Thus in order to practice law, Marx's father, who was a secularized and non-believing Jew, had to legally convert to Lutheranism and also change his name from Herschel to Heinrich.

Marx first entered the political scene in 1837 as part of a radical intellectual circle called the Left Hegelians or Young Hegelians. This movement had been initiated a few years earlier with the publication of a book titled *The Life of Jesus* by David Strauss. This was a work of biblical criticism which questioned whether Jesus had actually performed the miracles ascribed to him. It ignited an intellectual and political firestorm because decisive

sections of the German ruling class, especially the Prussian landed nobility (the so-called Junkers), identified a skeptical, not to speak of hostile, attitude toward orthodox Christianity with the ideology of the French Revolution, with what was called "red republicanism." "First, they question the truth of the Bible; next they'll be calling for the execution of the king of Prussia." This was the mindset of the men who ruled Germany when Marx entered the political scene. In 1843, Marx published an important work in which he called for eliminating the "Middle Ages" in Germany because the heritage of the Middle Ages was so strongly present in the Germany of the day.

Contradictions of Enlightenment Thought

A basic premise of materialism is that external reality exists independently of our consciousness. Thus in understanding the intellectual development of the young Marx, it is useful to consider not only what he thought at the time but what others thought about him. When Marx was a member of the Left Hegelian movement, a close colleague, Moses Hess, wrote the following appreciation of him in a letter to a friend:

"Dr Marx (that is my idol's name) is still a very young man—about twenty-four at the most. He will give mediaeval religion and philosophy their *coup de grâce*; he combines the deepest philosophical seriousness with the most biting wit. Imagine Rousseau, Voltaire, Holbach, Lessing, Heine and Hegel fused into one person—I say fused not juxtaposed—and you have Dr Marx."

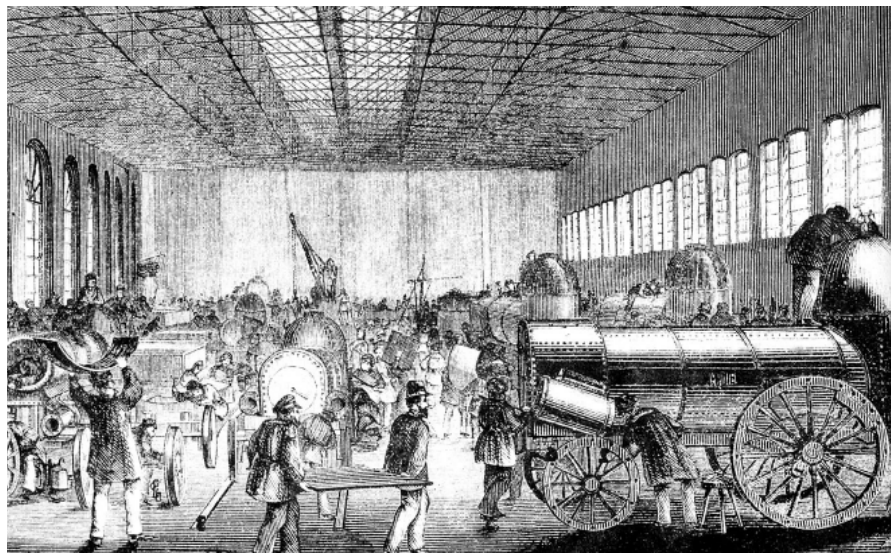
—reproduced in David McLellan, ed., *Karl Marx: Interviews and Recollections* (1981)

Hess was not simply saying that Marx was a very smart and very knowledgeable guy who had read and assimilated the ideas of the main progressive thinkers from the mid 18th-century French Enlightenment through the then-present day. He was saying something much more significant than that.

Why? Because Rousseau and Voltaire represented fundamentally different and indeed counterposed worldviews within the universe of progressive social thought. They were protagonists in the most famous debate in Enlightenment literature. The question was whether civilization was progressive or retrogressive, with Voltaire maintaining the former and Rousseau the latter.

Rousseau summarized his ideas thus: "Man is naturally good and that it is by institutions alone that men become evil." He maintained that man in a so-called state of nature was instinctively empathetic to the sufferings of fellow members of his species. However, the institution of private property had turned men against one another. Men in society had become murderously acquisitive, driven by greed and envy.

Rousseau himself was a deepgoing his-



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Germany in Marx's youth was contradictory. While capitalist industrialization occurred, backward monarchs remained in power, notably the King of Prussia, satirized in an 1847 cartoon by Friedrich Engels (right).



Dietz Verlag Berlin

torical pessimist. He was a moralist critic of the existing social and political order in Europe. He believed that the large majority of men had become irremediably corrupted by millennia of civilization.

However, during the course of the French Revolution, Rousseau's ideas were in a sense inverted into a naive, world-conquering optimism. The leaders of the Jacobin regime like Robespierre and Saint-Just, who revered Rousseau, believed that the revolutionary transformation of institutions had brought about the moral regeneration of the French people. The establishment of a democratic republic had imbued the citizens of the French nation with the spirit of patriotism and virtue.

In opposition to Rousseau, Voltaire maintained that the betterment of humanity and the progress of society were centrally dependent upon the further development of science and technology. One of his early works was a popular exposition of Isaac Newton's theories of physics. If Voltaire had summarized his worldview in a sentence, it would have been something like: "Man is naturally ignorant, and it is only by the acquisition of knowledge that he *gradually* becomes enlightened."



Mengel

While Enlightenment thinker Voltaire (far left, dining with Frederick the Great of Prussia) looked toward the educated classes as the vehicle for change, the more egalitarian ideas of Rousseau (right) influenced leaders of the French Revolution.



Bulloz

But who are the social agents who will so enlighten the benighted mass of humanity? For Voltaire, they were and could only be benevolent and rational members of the upper classes and intellectuals, like himself, who could influence the ruling circles.

In addition to Rousseau and Voltaire, Hess mentions another leading figure of the French Enlightenment, Holbach, whose ideas influenced the young Marx. Holbach, who was a wealthy nobleman, was a thoroughgoing materialist, in effect an atheist. But he believed that such advanced views were the limited preserve of exceptional members of the upper classes like himself. "The people," he wrote, "reads no more than it reasons; it has neither the leisure nor the ability to do so."

So how did Marx fuse the democratic egalitarianism identified with Rousseau with the intellectual elitism of Voltaire and Holbach? To oversimplify, Marx combined the goal of Rousseau with the

means of Voltaire by way of a dialectical conception of history derived from Hegel, while purged of the latter's idealist metaphysics.

The goal of communism is an egalitarian and harmonious society in which all men support the needs and interests of other men. But such a future society can come into being only through the overcoming of economic scarcity by qualitatively raising the level of production and labor productivity through the further progressive development of science and technology. Moreover, throughout the history of civilization prior to advanced industrial capitalism, raising the level and forces of production necessarily entailed the exploitation and oppression of the mass of humanity by a small class of property owners. In other words, private property and class-divided society were not a tragic historical mistake which could have been avoided if only people had known better.

A very good capsule statement of the Marxist worldview in this regard is to be found in one of Marx's lesser-known works, *Theories of Surplus-Value* (1863):

"Although at first the development of the capacities of the *human* species takes place at the cost of the majority of human

individuals and even classes, in the end it breaks through this contradiction and coincides with the development of the individual; the higher development of individuality is thus only achieved by a historical process during which individuals are sacrificed."

This conception fundamentally differentiates dialectical materialism from all variants of radical idealism, such as anarchism.

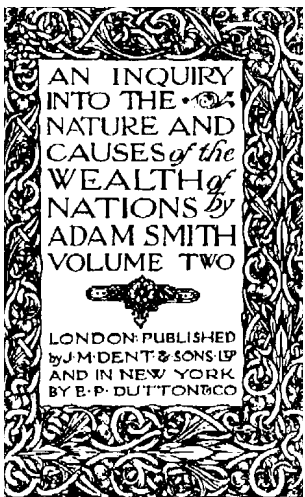
Liberalism, Communism, Socialism

In the period in which Marx and also Engels first came to political consciousness, the terms liberalism, communism and socialism were commonly used in conventional political discourse. However, liberalism, at least in emphasis, meant something significantly different than it does today, while communism and socialism meant something fundamentally different than today.

Central to the liberal worldview was a belief in raising the level of production

Adam Smith argued that a competitive, capitalist market economy would maximize labor productivity and increase national wealth.

Der Spiegel



and productivity through the application of science and technology. Scottish and English political economists—from Adam Smith in the late 18th century to David Ricardo in the early 19th to lesser lights like James Mill in Marx's formative years—were leading intellectual representatives of liberalism. They maintained that the wealth of nations—to use the title of Adam Smith's classic and seminal work—would be maximized by the institutional framework of a competitive market economy made up of a

houses and proportionally more food, clothing and the like.

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848) Marx wrote of the Babouvist movement in this way:

"The first direct attempts of the proletariat to attain its own ends, made in times of universal excitement, when feudal society was being overthrown, these attempts necessarily failed, owing to the then undeveloped state of the proletariat, as well as to the absence of the economic conditions for its emancipation, conditions that had yet to be produced, and could be produced by the impending bourgeois epoch alone. The revolutionary literature that accompanied these first movements of the proletariat had necessarily a reactionary character. It inculcated universal asceticism and social levelling in its crudest form."

This leveling-down conception of communism was necessarily conditioned by the pre-industrial character of French society at the time.

In the lengthy period of reaction in Europe following the overthrow of Napoleon in 1815, what I have called the Jacobin communist tradition was perpetuated and promoted by one of the surviving leaders of the Babouvist movement, Philippe Buonarroti. In the late 1820s he published a book about it, including original documents, which became known as "the bible of revolutionaries." A little later I'm going to discuss Buonarroti's ideas in another context. But here I want to emphasize that even after the advent of industrial capitalism in continental West Europe in the 1820s, the term "communism" retained its programmatic connotation of a leveling-down. It evoked in popular consciousness, as well as among the ruling classes, the spirit and the image of the French Revolution in its most radical phase, that is, a violent uprising of the poor against the rich, of the have-nots against the haves.

In the period we're talking about, the difference between communism and socialism was more sharply delineated than it later became and is today. Whereas communism was insurrectionary—it meant red revolution—socialism was reformist and pacific at two fundamental levels. First, all socialist tendencies appealed to the supposedly benevolent and rational-minded members of the ruling class to promote their program. For example, Robert Owen, the foremost British socialist of the era, dedicated a section of his pioneer work, *A New View of Society*, written in 1813, to the prince regent of England.

Secondly, with the important exception of the Saint-Simonians (whom I'll discuss in a bit), all major socialist schools—the Owenites in Britain, the followers of Charles Fourier and Étienne Cabet in France—advocated a system of decentralized, self-governing communities based on economic cooperativism. Such socialist communes, so to speak, could be established and coexist within the overall framework of the developing capitalist economies of the day. People would be able to see for themselves in practice that socialist cooperativism was in every respect a better way to organize society. More and more people would form more and more socialist communes until, peacefully and gradually, they completely displaced the existing class-divided and exploitative society. In short, socialists sought to transform society through the force of

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Marx...

(continued from page 7)

example rather than the force of force.

In the early 19th century, numerous attempts were actually made to establish socialist communities. Many of these attempts were made in the northern part of the United States with its relative political liberty, fluid social structure and cheap land. However, one of the most interesting and historically noteworthy attempts to form a socialist commune was made in, of all places, Romania. An eccentric Romanian landowner was an enthusiastic admirer of the ideas of Charles Fourier. So he set up a commune—it was called a *phalanstère*—for his peasants on Fourierist principles.

Fourier was a pioneer advocate of what was later called “free love.” He opposed traditional marriage and sexual monogamy. It turned out that many of these young Romanian peasant men and women appreciated Fourier’s ideas in this respect and practiced them. Pretty soon news of the strange and scandalous goings-on of this estate reached the ears of the Romanian Orthodox clergy and government authorities who were, of course, outraged. They organized a reactionary mob to attack and demolish this commune. I’m happy to report that the Fourierist peasants of Romania heroically defended their socialist commune. A small historic victory for our cause.

Between the French Revolution and Marx’s formative years, the Industrial Revolution crossed the channel, so to

speak, from Britain to France, Germany and elsewhere in continental West Europe. This opened up a historical possibility which did *not* previously exist and could not have been envisioned by even the most far-sighted progressive intellectual. It now became possible to envision the limitless expansion of material wealth available to *all* members of society, not just a small privileged class of property owners.

This idea was first developed in programmatic form by the followers of Saint-Simon after he died in 1825. Henri de Saint-Simon is usually and rightly described as an idiosyncratic genius. He was a wealthy French nobleman who claimed direct descent from Charlemagne, the founder of the early medieval French feudal state. Saint-Simon himself was a liberal and in the last phase of his life he became a leading spokesman and publicist for the bourgeois liberal opposition—bankers and industrial entrepreneurs—to the reactionary Bourbon monarchy.

However, he was a liberal imbued with the ideas of rational humanism. Even in this early stage of capitalism, he recognized what Marx would later call the anarchy of the market. There were periods in which industrial production declined instead of increasing. Factories went bankrupt, causing great suffering to their former workers, because the owner had miscalculated future market conditions. Useful inventions were not introduced into production because bankers and entrepreneurs would not take the financial risk. To solve these prob-



University of Minnesota

Henri de Saint-Simon’s ideas influenced later socialist thought.

lems, Saint-Simon advocated what could be called centralized capitalist planning. That is, all financiers and industrialists should get together through the banking system and coordinate their operations so as to continually maximize production.

After Saint-Simon died, his followers took the next logical step. This is, they advocated a public institution that would take over all the factories, railroads, mines and other industrial resources and direct these so as to maximize the production of society in line with the progressive development of science and technology. In 1830, they published the *Exposition of the Doctrine of Saint-Simon*, the crux of which was:

“A *social* institution is charged with these functions which today are so badly performed; it is the *depository* of all the instruments of production; it presides over the exploitation of all the material resources; from its vantage point it has a comprehensive view of the whole which enables it to perceive at one and the same time all parts of the industrial workshop....

“The social institution of the future will direct all industries in the interest of the whole society, and especially of the peaceful laborers.” [emphasis in original] —quoted in George Lichtheim, *The Origins of Socialism* (1969)

These ideas were so far ahead of their time that they found no point of support in the French society of the day. The bourgeois liberals who had sponsored Saint-Simon were, of course, appalled by the new radical ideas of his followers. But neither did Saint-Simonian socialism get

a sympathetic hearing in the working class. The mass of urban wage earners were artisans using pre-industrial technology. They aspired to own their own small shops. A typical French carpenter, furniture maker, watchmaker would have considered a central institution directing a technologically dynamic industrial economy as both utterly fantastical and deeply repugnant to his perceived interests.

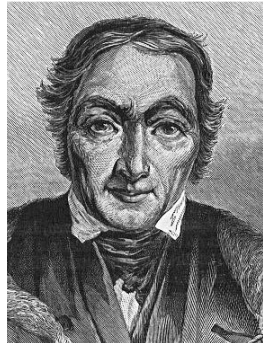
Completely politically isolated, the Saint-Simonian school soon disintegrated into antagonistic sects. And I am using the term “sect” in the literal religious sense. One of the latter-day Saint-Simonian groups believed in the Great Mother. This personage was supposedly an Oriental Jewess living in the Near East who was destined to unite East and West, man and woman, matter and spirit. The leaders of this group went to Egypt, Palestine, Turkey searching for the Great Mother. The left was a lot more imaginative and interesting in those days. These were wild and crazy guys. Almost all of our left opponents today are real dullards by comparison.

Although the Saint-Simonian school had disintegrated while Marx was still in his early teens, its *ideas* gained a widespread and sympathetic currency among progressive-minded intellectuals in France, Germany and elsewhere in continental West Europe. One such intellectual was a learned Prussian nobleman and middle-level government official, Ludwig von Westphalen, who was a friend of the Marx family in Trier. He saw in young Karl a kindred spirit—hungry for knowledge, committed to the betterment of humanity—and he took him under his wing. Marx later described von Westphalen as a “paternal friend,” who also became his father-in-law. The two would go for long walks in the Rhenish countryside where they would exchange ideas on everything from Shakespeare to socialism.

In this way Marx early on acquired a knowledge of the Saint-Simonian school, that is, of a far more advanced conception of the future collectivist organization of the economy than the crude leveling-down of the Jacobin communist tradition or a system of decentralized socialist communes. When in the mid 1840s Marx made the transition from radical democrat to communist, he operated with a basically Saint-Simonian conception of the future organization of the economy.

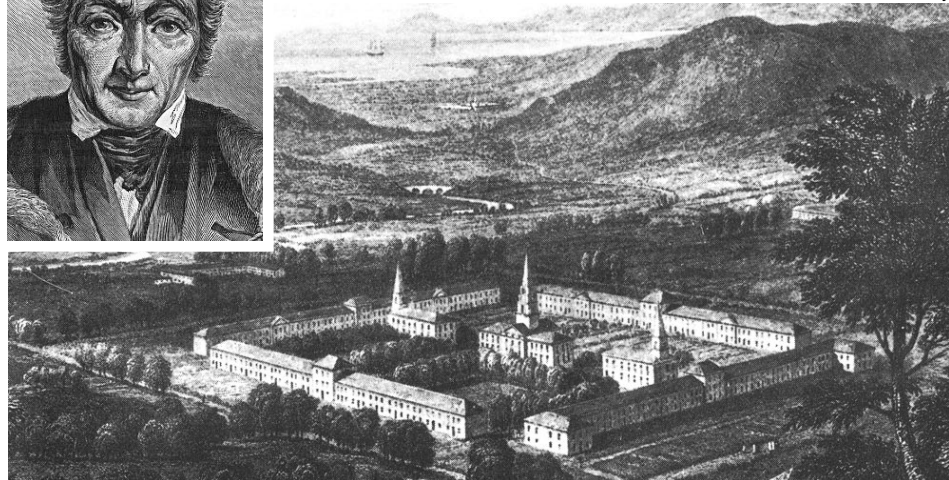
[TO BE CONTINUED]

Wikipedia.org



English reformer Robert Owen (inset) set up several short-lived utopian socialist communities, such as at Orbiston, Scotland (below).

Radio Times Hulton Picture Library



Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

“encouraging (adult educators and coordinators) to interrupt the business of the College in support of the strike.” A determined union mobilization on behalf of all of those victimized by the strike is not only basic solidarity but also *key for defense of the CCCTU itself*. Defend the part-time and emeritus professors! Hands off Earl Silbar!

In concert with the State’s Attorney’s office, bogus criminal charges have been filed against some of the strike participants. Eight days after the strike was over, Malcolm X College Humanities and Arts professor Ben Rubin was arrested in his home, falsely charged with battery against a security guard at a rally at Board headquarters.

The *Chicago Sun-Times* reported on 27 December 2004 that Malcolm X College 2003 co-valedictorian, Felipe Findley, also faces bogus criminal charges and expulsion for his participation at the same rally where Professor Rubin was framed up. As well, Wright College student, Sulaimon Balogun, beat back criminal trespass charges and expulsion threats for distributing pro-strike flyers at his own school after the union turned out members and provided legal defense at

his December 30 court hearing.

As an 18 December 2004 Partisan Defense Committee protest letter to Richard A. Devine, Cook County State’s Attorney, underlined: “The attack on Prof. Rubin and other City Colleges employees and students who honored the picket lines is a threat to all Chicago trade unionists, and to anyone who would fight the City’s threatened layoffs, furloughs, and cut-backs as the Daley administration seeks to balance its budget on the backs of the unions and the oppressed.” Drop the charges against Rubin and Findley! No reprisals against any strikers or strike supporters!

Outrageously, the 500 security guards at the City Colleges are members of CCCTU Local 1600! The job of these security guards is to defend the interests of the college administration, and during the strike they did their job. Now, several of these guards are being used as witnesses in the frame-ups of strike supporters. Security guards are the private auxiliaries of the police, which are the armed thugs of the capitalist state. Far from being part of the workers movement, they are its enemies, composing the front line of state repression against strikes, the working class and the oppressed. Cops and security guards out of the unions!

The defense of CCCTU Local 1600 and its supporters is a fight for all of Chi-

cago labor, which has been under attack by the Democratic Daley administration. City workers have been working without a contract for 18 months while Daley threatens to privatize city services and demands that workers agree to unpaid furlough days. Likewise, transit workers have not had a contract for a year and are threatened with 1,000 layoffs this summer in order to balance the Chicago Transit Authority budget.

The strike by the CCCTU was won on the picket lines and should be an example for the rest of labor. At the same time, the actions of the Board underline that, just as it takes a hard fight on the picket lines to win, it takes a hard fight after a strike victory to defend the union and its allies. ***Labor must mobilize its muscle against the retaliations and victimizations! An injury to one is an injury to all!*** ■

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Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

the U.S. imperialists. A meaningful augmentation of troop levels is simply not available. But enlistments into the reserves have fallen and the top general of the Army Reserve, James R. Helmly, recently released a memorandum that stated that the Reserve is currently unable to meet mission requirements (*New York Times*, 6 January). Re-instituting the draft would only inflame domestic opposition to the war. These realities have led saner heads in American ruling-class circles, notably Brent Scowcroft and Zbigniew Brzezinski (national security advisers for George Bush the elder and Jimmy Carter respectively), to push for a consideration of disengagement.

But as Bush the younger is well aware, war enhances, unless challenged, the power of the imperialists at home. The need for “sacrifice”—meant only for



Former U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell brandishes “evidence” of WMDs in Iraq to make case for war to UN Security Council, February 2003.

working and poor people—has promoted the enactment of legislation granting the president vast repressive powers over his citizen subjects. From Bush’s standpoint, the “war against terror” provides him with the authority to proceed to destroy Social Security and cut back funding for health and education, while emboldening the bosses in their attacks on organized labor.

At the same time, the attacks on the democratic rights and well-being of the population are hardly the aberrant pro-

clivities of Bush’s cabal. They are congruent with the aspirations of America’s capitalist rulers, provided such measures do not engender substantial opposition among the population. It is such opposition that concerns the bourgeois critics of Bush’s policies—i.e., the prospect that the growing discontent with the war, a discontent that has found some resonance within the ranks of the occupying armed forces and their families, will unleash and give expression to the multiple simmering discontents of an American populace that has endured the slow erosion of its rights and well-being for three decades.

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist War!

War is a two-edged sword. Its depredations were the motor force for the only working-class revolution to overturn capitalist rule, the 1917 October Revolution in Russia. It was the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in the then-USSR in 1991-92 that enabled the U.S., without fear of redress, to launch such wars as the 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia under Clinton and the invasion of Iraq. As proponents of proletarian revolution we stand in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, a tradition based on using all struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, especially war, to mobilize the working class for socialist revolution.

It is quite possible that the American imperialists will cut bait in Iraq and withdraw, availing themselves of whatever pretensions to “decency” or “wisdom” as are available. Appealing to bourgeois liberals has been the political strategy of the organizers of the antiwar movement—the International ANSWER coalition headed by the Workers World Party and its recent spin-off, the Party for Socialism and Liberation; the United for Peace and Justice coalition backed by the International Socialist Organization; and the Not In Our Name Coalition organized by the Revolutionary Communist Party.

In the lead-up to the war, they built demonstrations designed to appeal to antiwar capitalist Democratic politicians and the “peace is patriotic” crowd. Now, the main demand for the January 20 protest against Bush’s inauguration is “Bring the Troops Home Now,” which is an accommodation to the social-patriotic “support our troops” wing of the antiwar movement. The slogan is designed to appeal to those whose opposition to the



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at New York City antiwar demonstration, March 2004.

occupation is primarily driven by concern over the deaths of American soldiers, and not defense of the Iraqi peoples against American imperialist brutality.

We do not groove on the deaths of American soldiers. But as revolutionary Marxists, we have a side in Iraq: against the U.S., its allies and Iraqi lackeys. We call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied forces, while understanding that Iraq will remain devastated and its peoples, absent the overthrow of capitalist rule in the region, will continue to be the objects of imperialist domination. Youth and workers should mobilize in protest on the basis of defense of the peoples of Iraq against any

U.S.-led attack or repression and for the military defense of Iraqi forces on the ground when they aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers.

The working class is the only force with the cohered social power to overturn the capitalist social order. And it is in the pursuit of that end that we raise the call for class struggle at home as a necessary first step toward the proletarian mobilization capable of ending for all time the blood-soaked rule of American imperialism. The Spartacist League/U.S. fights to build a working-class party of socialist revolution dedicated to overturning the rapacious American imperialist order. ■

Washington Post

Sadistic prison guard Charles Graner beats Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad. Torture is U.S. policy, directed from the highest levels in Washington.



Chechnya...

(continued from page 3)

“direct international presence” (i.e., Western imperialist troops) in Chechnya.

Calls for foreign intervention in Chechnya feed into moves by U.S. imperialism to increase its military presence in the region. The Pentagon already has a network of military bases in Central Asia and the Caucasus. This includes U.S. Marines in Georgia, which is also occupied by a garrison of Russian troops. *U.S. out of Central Asia and the Caucasus! Russia out of Chechnya and Georgia!*

Down With Great Russian Chauvinism!

The most disgusting response to the Beslan massacre among leftist groups comes from the dubious Socialist Equality Party (SEP) of David North, which declared that the demand for an independent Chechnya is “a reactionary project, whose realization would benefit only aspiring bourgeois elements and their communalist and Islamic fundamentalist allies” (World Socialist Web Site, statement by the Editorial Board, 4 September 2004).

National rights for the peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia were won as part of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which destroyed what Lenin called the tsarist “prison house of peoples.” Under the Soviet Union, autonomous regions

were established for formerly oppressed peoples such as the Chechens, Ossetians, Tartars and Bashkirs in the Urals. Under Stalin’s rule, national rights of non-Russian peoples were savagely trampled on in the Caucasus and elsewhere. During World War II, Stalin dissolved the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, falsely claiming it had supported the invasion by Nazi Germany. The entire population was deported to Central Asia, and a large percentage died en route. Stalin also forcibly resettled the Volga Germans and a number of other peoples from the Crimea and Caucasus.

In the late 1950s, the liberal Stalinist regime of Nikita Khrushchev restored the Chechen-Ingush Republic and large numbers returned to their homeland. They enjoyed a substantial degree of national autonomy, preserving and developing their language and cultural identity, despite the fact that the Soviet Union was a deformed workers state dominated by Russian nationalism.

As Georgi M. Derluguian notes in his insightful essay “Che Guevaras in Turbans” (*New Left Review*, September-October 1999), “In the 1960s Soviet Central Asia and the Caucasus were commonly described as a showcase of modernization, and this was not mere propaganda.” By all indicators, Soviet citizens from this region were centuries ahead in development compared to neighboring Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, especially

when one considers the condition of women.

Today, these regions have been thrown back centuries in time. The deepening hold of nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism on the consciousness of the peoples of the former Soviet Union is a reflection of capitalist counterrevolution. What is needed to galvanize proletarian opposition to the capitalist rulers of Russia and the other former Soviet Republics is the forging of a revolutionary workers party steeled in Leninist inter-

nationalism. As we wrote at the beginning of the first Chechen war a decade ago (WV No. 614, 13 January 1995):

“An internationalist, revolutionary workers movement fighting for a democratically planned, egalitarian economy and true equality between the peoples of this region could rally the working masses of all the Caucasian peoples to overcome the raging fratricidal national conflicts. An authentically communist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party must be forged in sharp struggle against all variants of nationalism, and in particular against the chauvinism of the Great Russian oppressor.” ■

Spartacist Forums

Defend the Palestinian People! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Saturday, February 12, 5 p.m.
University of Chicago, Reynolds Club
South Lounge, 5706 S. University

For more information: (312) 563-0441
e-mail: spartacist@iname.com

CHICAGO

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

Imperialist Crimes in Rwanda and Sudan: No UN/Imperialist Intervention!

Saturday, February 12, 7 p.m.
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
252 Bloor Street West, Room 8200
(St. George subway station)

For more information: (416) 593-4138
e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

TORONTO



Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The first Labor Black Leagues were formed as a result of the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people in militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.



WV Photos

If You Stand For—

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabherding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting; keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops, prison guards and security guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour child-care! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Defend the separation of church and state! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Down with the

anti-sex witchhunt—cops and courts out of the bedroom! Down with all laws against consensual activities such as "crimes without victims" like pornography, gambling, drugs and prostitution!

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or community control of the police! Down with the racist and anti-labor "war on drugs"! For decriminalization of drugs! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend

the deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea—against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For proletarian political revolution to oust their Stalinist bureaucracies! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

—Join the Labor Black Leagues!

Membership pledge is \$3/year unemployed; \$10/year employed.

For more information, contact:

CHICAGO (312) 563-0441

Labor Black Struggle League
Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680

NEW YORK (212) 267-1025

Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 2502, Church St. Station, New York, NY 10008

OAKLAND (510) 839-0851

Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604

Bus Strikers...

(continued from page 12)

with contracts expiring at different times. TWU and ATU members in most of the private lines are in the same boat—no contract, no security, with pension and health benefits up for grabs. One of the Local 100-organized companies, Liberty Lines Express, was taken over by MTA Bus in early December, but none of the labor issues were resolved and the union's contract expires in late February.

Extending the strike to the other private bus lines, where workers are also without contracts and facing imminent takeover by the MTA, is the only way to really jack up the heat on City Hall and the MTA. Contingents of TWU Local 100 members and other transit workers—and some of the tens of thousands of unionists working without contracts in the New York area—should be mobilized to stand side by side with the striking workers on the picket lines. During the summer of 2002, TWU-organized workers struck three private bus lines for seven weeks while ATU officials kept workers at Green and Command on the job. This betrayal by the ATU leadership and the TWU leadership's refusal to mobilize its membership for the current strike only helps the bosses keep the workers divided.

Common struggle on the picket lines is the first step toward winning this fight.

The unions must fight for full parity in wages, benefits and job protections for private lines workers at the highest levels that now exist for MTA workers (e.g., wages at the private lines are now about \$3 less per hour). What's needed are union contracts with the *same expiration date* and eventually *one industrial union* of all NYC transit workers—including the dollar van drivers who are now being used by the city to scab on the strike. Instead of allowing the racist bosses to pit non-union van drivers against unionized bus workers, the transit unions should organize the predominantly immigrant van drivers into the union. Central to such an organizing drive is the fight against anti-immigrant racism and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

On the picket lines, several workers as well as union reps expressed dangerous illusions that the cops are potential allies in this current labor struggle. The cops are not "workers in uniform" but the armed and paid thugs of the bosses' state. If cops want a better contract, they are fighting for better conditions under which they can torture prisoners and shoot down black and Latino youth in the streets. So far, police presence on the picket lines has been light, but if the city or bus companies try to run scab buses the cops will be mobilized to protect the scab operation with billy clubs, mace and bullets if need be. The natural allies of the working class are other workers and the oppressed

ghetto and barrio poor, who are daily on the receiving end of cop terror. A union-led fight for free mass transit would win wide support from the city's working people and poor and link the struggles of the integrated labor movement to those of the oppressed and exploited.

What are the obstacles to such a successful fight? The main obstacle is the pro-Democratic Party, pro-capitalist outlook of the trade-union bureaucracy. The TWU and ATU brass look to and foster illusions in Democratic (and sometimes Republican) politicians who posture as "friends of labor" but whose real interests are in maintaining the capitalist status quo of exploitation and racist oppression. Queens Borough President Helen Marshall and City Councilmen Gifford Miller and John Liu have been trying to broker

a deal to end the strike with support from the ATU tops, but workers should put no trust in these capitalist politicians, none of whom oppose the Taylor Law. Democratic Party state attorney general Eliot Spitzer led the charge against TWU Local 100 in 1999, penning the injunctions that outlawed even uttering the word "strike" by transit workers. Republicans and Democrats push the racist, anti-labor, anti-immigrant "war on terror" as part of supporting the repressive aims of U.S. imperialism. Looking to the Democrats is a recipe for defeat. There must be a fight to replace the pro-capitalist union leadership with a class-struggle leadership basing itself upon a fight for not only the immediate interests of the workers, but for a workers party fighting for a workers government. ■

Labor Black League Discussion

Down With Bush/Democrats' "War on Terror"! For a Class-Struggle Fight for All Our Rights!

A *Workers Vanguard* readers circle discussion on WV No. 839, front page article

Saturday, January 29, 5:30 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318
(1-1/2 blocks north of Chambers St.)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

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

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Defend Utah Miners! Victory to the UMWA!

Utah coal miners at the Bear Canyon Mine, known as the Co-Op Mine, are engaged in a battle for trade-union and immigrant rights. On December 9, a week before a vote for union representation, the owners, C.W. Mining Co., fired 30 Latino coal miners. Bob Butero, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Regional Organizing Director, told *Workers Vanguard* that these workers are still fired.

For 16 long months, the predominantly Mexican-born miners have been fighting to improve their unsafe working conditions and paltry pay of \$5 to \$7 an hour with virtually no benefits by conducting an organizing drive to join the UMWA. According to the UMWA counsel, the rapacious capitalist owners, part of the Kingston Order Entities' \$150 million empire with 173 businesses, have retaliated against the workers with firings, intimidation and attempts to "investigate" the workers' immigration status. They have also packed the union election vote with family members and managers to promote a phony company "union," and launched a massive federal lawsuit, claiming "unfair labor practices" and "defaming" of the mine owners. The courageous struggle of the miners has received and must continue to receive working-class support nationally and internationally until they have won. ***Victory to the Co-Op miners!***

This labor battle being fought in these canyons of central Utah is emblematic of the historic oppression of Utah coal miners and the bare-knuckled tactics capitalists are using in vicious anti-union campaigns across the country and around the globe. Even the Utah state government history Web site acknowledges in a 1990 article, "The railroad hired labor agents to bring foreign immigrants to Utah to do this dangerous work. Lured by false promises of easy money, miners came from Italy, China, Finland, Greece, present-day Yugoslavia, Japan, and Mexico."

The Utah miners struggle is also emblematic of the brutal tactics being increasingly used by the bosses to prevent unionization across the country. A *New York Times* article (14 December 2004) about an International Union of Electrical Workers organizing drive at the EnerSys battery factory was headlined: "How Do You Drive Out a Union? South Carolina Factory Provides a Textbook Case." It cites the factory's human resources director (quoting the company's president) saying, "We need to do whatever we've got to do to get rid of this union, regardless of what it may cost us."



Miners and their families outside Co-Op Mining Co., near Huntington, Utah.

The unionization battle at the Co-Op mine began when a nearly ten-month strike erupted on 23 September 2003 in response to C.W. Mining's firing of pro-union militant Bill Estrada. He was the third miner targeted within several weeks for organizing to bring in the UMWA. Then, when the company locked out 75 workers, the miners turned the lockout into a strike and picketed the mine. The strike ended when the National Labor Relations Board brokered a deal with the company agreeing to allow the miners to return to work on July 12. But in September the company launched a federal suit against 120 organizations and individuals who not only supported the miners but even those reporting the miners' views, including the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) newspaper, the *Militant*. The *Militant* (12 October 2004) reports that the "lawsuit asks for at least \$1 million in damages from the defendants and an unspecified amount of punitive damages to be determined during trial." This is a dangerous and sinister lawsuit aimed at intimidating the strikers and silencing their supporters. The Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has made a financial contribution toward the SWP's legal defense, and a contribution to the "Co-Op Miners Fund." We urge others to do the same. ***Defend the SWP and all strike supporters!***

The mine bosses' demand for immigration documentation one week before the union representation election was a vicious attempt to intimidate the miners, most of whom have been working at the mine for years. A UMWA press release issued the day after the December 9

firings stated that UMWA International President Cecil Roberts "explained that the UMWA, in particular, believes that all workers, regardless of their citizenship status, are entitled to the full protection of America's labor laws." Roberts said, "Since our union's inception in 1890, our members have prided themselves on the fact that the UMWA was one of America's first labor unions to pass resolutions prohibiting worker discrimination of any kind, be it gender, race or religion." Such statements by union officials are welcome. But the American labor movement must move beyond mere words and mobilize in a class-struggle fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. As underlined by the Utah miners struggle, the fight for immigrant rights is vital for the union movement to move forward.

To flex its muscles and win, the labor movement must stop playing by the bosses' rules. But the UMWA bureaucracy has promised to abide by bourgeois legalities and the decisions of institutions like the NLRB. Even the bourgeois mouthpiece *New York Times* (2 January) describes the NLRB's current decisions as "so hostile to unions and to collective bargaining that they run counter to the goals of the National Labor Relations Act." In fact, the UMWA bureaucracy's fealty to capitalist laws led them to abandon an all-out defense of Jerry Dale Lowe, a UMWA West Virginia coal miner and staunch mine safety rep, when he was framed up and sent to prison for nearly eleven years for doing picket duty during the Ruffner mine strike in 1993.

Some organizations and individuals supporting the Utah miners have chastised the Kingston family because they are

polygamists. But this is a matter of an individual's private personal relations (see "Free Tom Green! Mormon Polygamists: Leave Them Alone!" WV No. 764, 14 September 2001). The Kingston business empire and C.W. Mining should be fought because they are vicious capitalists who use their extended family to smash unions and attack immigrants.

The key to victory for organizing the UMWA at Co-Op Mine and winning citizenship rights for the miners is drawing the class line and hard class struggle. Union pronouncements of support and financial contributions to the fired miners are well and good. But the coal miners are in a desperate and difficult situation. The Teamsters and other powerful unions in the area—including the railroad workers unions that transport C.W. Mining coal across the country and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers who operate the power plants—should also be mobilized in support of the miners. Union filings for NLRB recognition and court actions to win citizenship rights for workers must be accompanied by class-struggle action. Likewise, rather than reliance on capitalist "friends of labor" politicians, Democrats or Republicans, it is necessary for working people to mobilize their power politically by building an independent workers party. ■

Appeal for Support and Assistance

The Co-Op miners are urgently requesting supporters around the world to:

Send financial contributions made out to "Co-Op Miners Fund" to UMWA District 22, 525 East, 100 South, Price, UT 84501.

Write, call or fax the NLRB and protest the actions of Co-Op owners, demand reinstatement of the fired workers, and that only the real workers at the mine be allowed to vote, as the NLRB initially ruled, not the owners' extended family:

NLRB Region 27

Director B. Allan Benson

600 17th St., 7th Floor-North Tower
Denver, CO 80202-5433

Tel: (303) 844-3551

Fax: (303) 844-6249

Please send copies of messages of support and NLRB protest letters to the above UMWA address or fax to (435) 637-9456.

Holiday Appeal...

(continued from page 4)

draconian "security certificates," which allow the indefinite detention of any refugee or immigrant whom the government considers a national security threat. She pointed out, "These men are detained on only allegations and without any access to the evidence. Their legal teams are kept in the dark.... If the Security Certificate hearing is found reasonable...then these men will be deported without any chance to appeal the decision. They will be returned to jail, torture or death. The last person deported to Algeria on a Security Certificate has disappeared."

International issues were also raised at the San Francisco Bay Area and New York City fundraisers. In the Bay Area, it was standing room only, with many youth and trade unionists attending. A spokeswoman for the Mordechai Vanunu defense committee gave a vivid speech describing Vanunu's release from an Israeli prison after serving his 18-year sentence and his re-arrest. Last November 11, over 30 armed police seized this brave whistleblower who exposed Israel's nuclear arsenal, and today he is under surveillance and

barred from leaving the country.

The New York social received greetings from the courageous antiwar activist Mary Kelly in Ireland, who struck a U.S. military aircraft at Shannon Airport through which nearly 350,000 U.S. troops have been transported in the past three years. In her defense, Kelly wrote, "By chopping up this warplane with an axe, I acted to save lives and prevent crime, and my defence of justification was firmly based in Irish and International Law, including the Nuremberg Principle which calls for determined action to prevent crimes against peace and humanity from occurring." Though convicted, which she will appeal, she wrote, in a piece of good news: "Due to a vigorous and relentless campaign and the unapologetic legal challenge presented in the Court, I have walked from this a free woman—the judge finally had to admit that my motivation was upright and my beliefs sincere: on December 1st he passed sentence—2 years suspended."

Become a PDC Sustainer!

We urge WV readers to support the work of the PDC. The Partisan Defense Committee seeks 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. That's what this year's holiday appeals looked like. Now, we need your help to sustain and expand this ever more urgent work. Free Mumia-Abu Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

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. ■

Lynne Stewart...

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of the left, we love newspaper clippings; we're always cutting something out—"we have to be able to use this to organize somebody." I'm going to warn you all, this is what they have against us: "You had this clipping" [laughter].

But to close, I just want to say that it's always clear in a political trial who is with the government and who is on the side of righteousness. And I can only say that in a trial, where the judge has allowed in every bin Laden reference the government has cared to make, after he told the jury this case has nothing to do with 9/11, and then videotapes, press

releases and pictures [were allowed] in on the flimsiest connection to the third co-defendant; but when the third co-defendant, Ahmed Sattar, the activist, wanted to put in that remarkable video footage of the young boy being killed by the Israeli tank in Palestine, the judge said, "No, no, that will confuse the jury; it's not relevant." Sattar wanted to use that to explain his state of mind in doing the things that he is accused of doing.

I see my friend Farouk Abdel Muhti [on the poster] over there [applause]. He was taken from us much too early. A real gap in our movement, not to have him. He filled so much space. A most remarkable man. I always felt he was like my (excuse the expression, Ralph and others) "soul brother." We were arrested I guess about the same day, but of course because he was an "alien," he was taken away to prison for the next year, where I have no doubt the treatment he received killed him. And if we don't believe that, then we don't know what's going on in those four walls. They are vicious, brutal, uncaring places. So I'm happy to see his picture up there next to my friends, the political prisoners.

And I'd like to just recognize all of you for supporting me and understanding the importance of this struggle. Thank you very much. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Victory to Private Lines Bus Strikers!

New York City

NEW YORK—On January 10, fed-up bus drivers and mechanics for two private bus lines walked off the job in a strike called by their respective unions. The two unions, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 1179 and 1181, represent about 800 bus drivers and maintainers at Green Bus Lines and Command Bus companies which serve 70,000 riders daily in Queens and Brooklyn. After working without a contract for over two years and facing the uncertainty of an imminent takeover by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA), the two unions are striking in an effort to force the bosses to negotiate the labor terms of the takeover. Michael Bloomberg, the city's arrogant billionaire mayor, refused to discuss any issues with the unions until the fourth day of the strike. The mayor is scheming to unload seven city-subsidized private bus lines onto the MTA and impose the slave-labor Taylor Law on the private lines workers, who have repeatedly launched sickouts and strikes in recent years.

Spirits were high on the picket lines in the first week of the strike, as determined workers marched with signs during the morning rush hour and huddled around steel drum fires throughout the day and into the cold nights. Bus drivers and mechanics said they will "stay out as long as it takes," telling *Workers Vanguard*, "we need job security" and "we need parity in wages and benefits with the MTA workers." Green Lines workers also talked about the poor condition of the dilapidated bus fleet. A mechanic told WV, "Some of the buses are 20 years old." He also noted that the bosses say, "Just fix it, get it out, we'll worry about it when it comes back." A bus driver complained that the seats are so bad, "you feel like

you were beat up on your back when you are done with your run." The worst buses run on routes in some of the city's poorest neighborhoods, yet Bloomberg's Department of Transportation is sitting on \$156 million in federal funds slated to buy new buses.

thing on paper *before* their unions are subject to these repressive measures.

The private bus companies, the Bloomberg administration and the MTA have been playing ping-pong with the private bus lines workers since the city announced its intention to buy out the

city has nothing to do with their situation. The city and the bosses are playing cynical games in a haggling contest over the price of the bus lines while the workers worry about their health care plans, pensions, job security, wages, discipline, seniority rights, safety and work conditions.

Picket line at Green Line depot, Jamaica, Queens, January 10.



Bloomberg and the rest of the city rulers lust to bring all of the private lines workers under the Taylor Law, which makes public employee strikes illegal. A recent *Daily News* editorial (13 January) called for jailing union presidents John Longo of ATU 1179 and Sal Battaglia of ATU 1181, an echo of the *New York Post* call to put Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Roger Toussaint "on ice" during the December 2002 contract struggle when transit workers authorized a strike. Workers on the Green and Command picket lines are worried about being under the Taylor Law, as well as the draconian disciplinary system which the MTA imposes on its workforce. According to some, part of the rationale for striking now is an attempt get some-

companies' owners and absorb their operations into the MTA. After failing to get a "Regional Bus" plan passed in the state legislature last summer, the MTA created a new subdivision called "MTA Bus" in late September as an umbrella organization to take over the seven private lines. MTA Bus is part of a plan to create a non-civil-service bus operation, giving the MTA maximum control over hiring and firing while creating a new tier of workers with a substandard pension plan. Jerome Cooper, the majority owner of Green and Command as well as two other bus lines, has declined to negotiate a new contract on the grounds that they will soon be taken over by the MTA. Meanwhile, Bloomberg has refused to negotiate with the bus unions by claiming the

Strikers on the picket lines have been asking, "Where is the TWU? Where is Roger Toussaint?" Local 100 not only represents bus workers at five of the seven private lines, but also is a powerhouse of labor in NYC. Although some Local 100 members have come out in solidarity with the strikers, other than a token appearance by a few Local 100 staffers in front of TV cameras at the Green picket lines, the TWU membership has not been mobilized in support of their striking brothers and sisters in the ATU. More than ever, the fate of the private lines workforce is closely linked to that of subway and bus workers. But in New York City, transit bus workers are now split between TWU Local 100 and four different ATU locals

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Spread the Strike to the TWU Local 100 Private Lines!

Hands Off Chicago City College Strikers and Supporters!

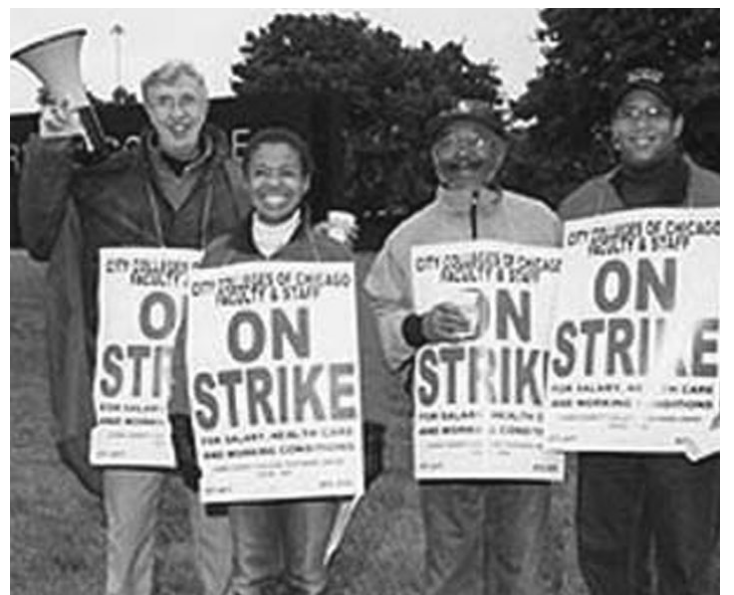
CHICAGO—In response to the successful strike last fall by the Cook County College Teachers Union (CCCTU Local 1600), the Chicago City Colleges administration has launched a vicious campaign of firings, blacklisting and reprisals against the strike's most committed militants and supporters. On October 19, more than 750 CCCTU members—teachers and professional staff at the seven City Colleges—went out on strike for the first time in 26 years. Confident that the union would buckle, the City Colleges Board, hand-picked appointees of Mayor Richard Daley, went on the offensive demanding a string of takeaways.

This was a widely popular strike, supported by many students, part-time teachers and working people around the city. The Chicago Spartacus Youth Club helped man the pickets by mobilizing

youth, including from the University of Chicago. After holding firm for nearly three weeks, the CCCTU won many of its demands: maintain class sizes, a modest wage increase, and significantly increased wages for nursing teachers, while making smaller concessions on health care and workload than those originally demanded by the Board.

Stinging from defeat and determined to weaken and destroy the union, the City Colleges administration is already tearing up the contract, blatantly violating an explicit clause demanding "no reprisals" against "the Union, Union members, students, clerks, or any other person" who supported the strike. The Board is targeting the more vulnerable non-CCCTU members who, while not themselves on strike, honored the picket lines. Some 140 part-time and emeritus

Cook County College Teachers Union picket, October 2004.



Bob Blackwood

teachers are facing termination explicitly for their principled action in honoring the CCCTU picket lines! The *Chicago Tribune* (12 January) reported that "By early January, the school began sending out letters to adjunct faculty members who had honored the picket line informing them of 'predisciplinary hearings'." As CCCTU union president

Perry Buckley said, "It's pure, pure revenge and spite." Additionally, veteran City College Adult Educator Earl Silbar (AFSCME Local 3506) was served a letter of reprimand because he was "observed at the College picketing and/or speaking with Adult Educators" and given a three-day suspension for

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