

On San Bernardino Massacre

The December 2 rampage in San Bernardino, California, which left 14 people dead and 21 more wounded, was a brutal crime. While there are widespread claims that the married Muslim couple who perpetrated the massacre were Islamic State (ISIS) supporters, their motive remains unclear. What is clear is that America's racist capitalist rulers have seized on this attack to ramp up anti-Muslim terror and push for greater state repression and tighter gun control laws.

Muslims in the U.S. have long been under siege, a situation that has been intensified following the November 13 Paris attacks. On Thanksgiving Day, a

**Down With
Anti-Muslim Backlash!
No to Gun Control!**

Moroccan-born taxi driver in Pittsburgh was shot by a man who accused him of being part of ISIS. Mosques have been attacked and numerous women in head-

scarves have been assaulted. The night after the San Bernardino shooting, thugs broke into and vandalized the Islamic Center of Palm Beach in Florida. The

New York Times (4 December) noted that Muslim leaders are reporting "a wave of death threats, assaults and vandalism unlike anything they have experienced since the aftermath of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks in 2001."

Following 9/11, anti-Muslim hysteria was fomented by the capitalist rulers as they launched the invasion of Afghanistan and implemented a series of "anti-terror" measures whose initial target was overwhelmingly those of Islamic background. We warned at the time that such laws would also be used against black people, leftists and the working

continued on page 8

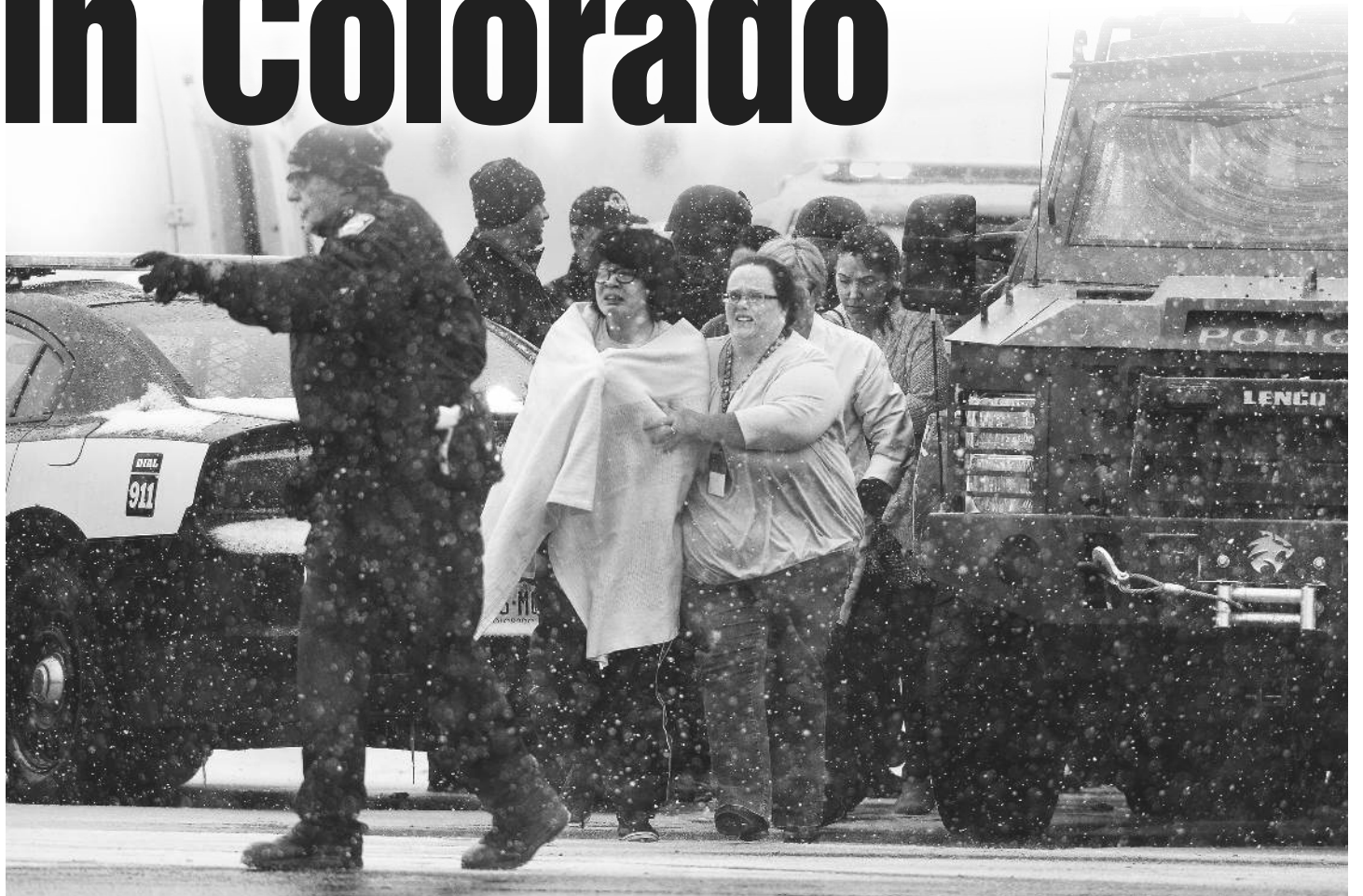
Anti-Abortion Terror in Colorado

One day after Thanksgiving, gunman Robert Lewis Dear opened fire at the Planned Parenthood facility in Colorado Springs, killing three and injuring nine others. Eleven people have now been murdered by anti-abortion fanatics since 1993. The killer's rant "no more baby parts" belied the disingenuous claims by the media and politicians that the motives of the attack were unknown. The triggerman may be a lone evangelical recluse and wife beater, yet his script was written by the preachers from the pulpits and the circus of Republican presidential candidates leading the crusade against women's right to abortion. This summer's video sting operation by the deceitfully named Center for Medical Progress launched the lying campaign that Planned Parenthood's legal and medically vital practice of making available fetal tissue for life-saving research was akin to "harvesting" human brains for profit. With anti-abortion terrorists further emboldened, in the last few months Planned Parenthood clinics in Washington and California have been attacked by arsonists while others received bomb threats.

Left in the shadows following the slaughter in Colorado is the daily violence against abortion providers by bigoted fanatics. This reality is powerfully documented in the recent book *Living in the Crosshairs—The Untold Stories of Anti-Abortion Terrorism* (2015) by lawyers David Cohen and Krysten Connon:

"Because of their work, abortion providers have been murdered, shot, kidnapped, assaulted, stalked, and subjected to death threats. Their clinics have been bombed, attacked with noxious chemicals, invaded, vandalized, burglarized, and set ablaze. Individual abortion providers have been picketed at home and have received harassing mail and phone calls. Their family members have been followed where they work, their children have been protested at school, and their neighbors' privacy has been invaded."

The ongoing legislative assault on abortion rights serves to legitimize such tactics of terror and intimidation. For decades, Democrats, liberals and feminists have offered up one concession after another to the right wing, resulting in the



Cross/Denver Post

November 27: People evacuated from Planned Parenthood clinic in Colorado Springs after deadly attack.

**Defend Planned Parenthood!
For Free Abortion on Demand!**

chipping away of access to abortion. In turn, anti-woman bigots have launched deeper legislative offensives aiming to erect insurmountable barriers to abortion access, such as mandatory waiting periods and parental consent, and extreme TRAP (Targeted Regulation of Abortion Providers) laws. While remaining nominally legal, the right to abortion has been effectively gutted: 89 percent of counties in the U.S. have no abortion provider, and only 14 percent of obstetrician-gynecologists perform the procedure.

Planned Parenthood is the largest provider of reproductive health care in the country. Among the plethora of services (including education) it provides, abortions account for only 3 percent. Texas and a handful of other states, including Alabama, Arkansas and Louisiana, have moved to end Medicaid funding for Planned Parenthood. Those most hurt by the offensive to defund the organization are the poor, minority and working-class women, as well as young teenagers, who are in desperate need of affordable health

care and who make up the bulk of Planned Parenthood's patients. While most news outlets centered their condolences on the police officer killed during the stand-off, the real face of the victims of the witch-hunt against Planned Parenthood is shown by the fact that the other two killed were a black man and a Hawaiian woman, who were accompanying friends to the facility.

There is a crucial need to defend Planned Parenthood and the few besieged abortion facilities remaining. In the 1990s,

continued on page 5



Racism Against Traveller Minority

The following article originally appeared in Workers Hammer No. 233 (Winter 2015-2016), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain. Travellers are a distinct ethnic group in Ireland with their own language, culture and historically itinerant way of life.

On 10 October 2015, a fire swept through a halting site in [Carrickmines] South County Dublin, killing ten members of two Traveller families. Among the dead in the most deadly fire in Ireland in over 30 years were five young children and a pregnant woman. In the immediate aftermath of this horrific tragedy there was an outpouring of grief and solidarity with the surviving members of the Lynch/Gilbert and Connors families. However, it wasn't long before brutal anti-Traveller racism was, once again, front and centre.

With the state's flags flying at half-mast in a show of utter hypocrisy, Fine Gael [governing party] Taoiseach [prime minister] Enda Kenny and Labour's Minister for Public Expenditure, Brendan Howlin, attended the funerals of five of the victims, Tom and Sylvia Connors and their three children. Grotesquely, Howlin sympathised with those local bigots who refused to open their pubs and shops to

Travellers on the day of the funerals. "I think maybe the unavailability of alcohol is not a bad thing," said Howlin, adding that there are "bad eggs in any community" (irishtimes.com, 23 October). Howlin's remarks, echoed by the Taoiseach, were condemned by Lorraine McMahon of Ballyfermot Travellers Action Group as "absolutely disgraceful." She noted that when the Taoiseach attended a Garda [Irish police] officer's funeral earlier in October, "he didn't talk about the bad eggs in the force" (independent.ie, 29 October). Racist stereotyping of Travellers is often invoked to justify their exclusion from pubs.

In another affront, the survivors of the fire were physically prevented from moving into a nearby field that they were offered to replace their now-destroyed halting site. A local mob blockaded the site with cars, preventing Traveller caravans from parking there. The council caved in to the racists and provided an empty car park, where the survivors currently live—next to a decommissioned dump. As Martin Collins, a director at Travellers' rights group Pavee Point stated: "Our community has been sickened to the pit of its stomach by the callous way the survivors have been treated over the past



Press Association

Dublin, October 2015: Memorial of flowers and toys left at site of deadly fire that killed ten Travellers.

two weeks." Collins pointed to the irony in the fact that earlier this year Ireland had been celebrated for its approval of same-sex marriage, but attitudes towards Travellers show "that any claims Ireland has to tolerance are a façade" (*New York Times*, 29 October).

Travellers have been part of Irish society for centuries and have faced the same kind of vicious discrimination and prejudice as Roma (Gypsies) in other European countries. Travellers are distinguished from the "settled" population by language and by a culture based on a nomadic tradition. Shortly after the Carrickmines fire, a motion put forward by Sinn Féin in the Dail [parliament] to acknowledge Travellers as an ethnic group was voted down. As we noted in an article ten years ago, the refusal by successive Irish governments to do so is a "criminal attempt to cover for the government's continued discrimination against Travellers—a distinct group with their own language, culture and way of life. *Defend Travellers! Down with the racist anti-trespass law!*" ("Fight Anti-Traveller Racism!" *Spartacist Ireland* No. 7, Spring/Summer 2005).

Local councils control the provision of accommodation for Travellers. But despite the current harsh economic crisis, this year almost half the country's local councils have returned the money allocated by central government for Traveller accommodation. Some 50 million euros went unspent in the period from 2006 to 2013.

No group in Irish society experiences quite the levels of poverty and misery

that the tiny population of approximately 30,000 Travellers endure. The All-Ireland Traveller Health Study of 2010 revealed that male Traveller life expectancy is over 15 years less than the average for the rest of the population, while women Travellers fare only slightly better at 11.5 years below the average. Infant mortality is reported at over 3.5 times higher for Travellers than for the settled population. The 2011 census showed that 55 per cent of Travellers leave school before the age of 15 and only one per cent attain a third level [college] qualification. At least 1,500 Traveller families are reported to be living in overcrowded, unsanitary conditions; many camp by the roadside with no running water or electricity. This hideously oppressed layer also constitutes a high proportion of the prison population.

As proletarian revolutionaries, we have consistently defended Travellers, including in the face of massive police attacks on halting sites such as at Dunsink in Dublin in 2004. A revolutionary workers party would seek to rally workers to the defence of all the oppressed, recognising that it is in the interests of the working class to oppose all attacks on immigrants, women and Travellers. We seek to build such a party, dedicated to mobilising the working class in a series of struggles to bring down the capitalist system through socialist revolution. This alone will open the road to providing decent living conditions, including housing, education and healthcare for Travellers—and for settled people. ■

Marxism and Religion

In this holiday season of vainglorious splurging by the wealthy, the millions who live in homelessness and desperate poverty are offered a smidgen of charity and heapings of religious consolation. As Karl Marx pointed out long ago, the struggle against religious illusions must be part of the struggle against the material conditions which produce them.



TROTSKY

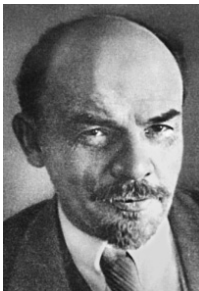
The basis of irreligious criticism is: *Man makes religion*, religion does not make man.

Religion is the self-consciousness and self-esteem of man who has either not yet found himself or has already lost himself again. But *man* is no abstract being encamped outside the world. Man is *the world of man*, the state, society. This state, this society, produce religion, an *inverted world-consciousness*, because they are an *inverted world*. Religion is the general theory of that world, its encyclopaedic compendium, its logic in a popular form, its spiritualistic *point d'honneur*, its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solemn complement, its universal source of consolation and justification. It is the *fantastic realisation* of the human essence because the *human essence* has no true reality. The struggle against religion is therefore indirectly a fight against *the world* of which religion is the spiritual *aroma*.

Religious distress is at the same time the *expression* of real distress and also the *protest* against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people.

To abolish religion as the *illusory* happiness of the people is to demand their *real* happiness. The demand to give up illusions about the existing state of affairs is the *demand to give up a state of affairs which needs illusions*. The criticism of religion is therefore *in embryo the criticism of the vale of tears*, the *halo* of which is religion.

—Karl Marx, "Introduction to *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*" (1844)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is December 8.

No. 1080

11 December 2015

Letter

Correction on North Vietnamese Military

1 December 2015

Dear Comrades:

In the WV#1078 article "Down With U.S. Imperialism's Anti-China Trade Pact!" we write: "The collectivized property forms central to Vietnam's economy are a gain of the social revolution that overturned capitalism, when Communist-led guerrilla forces defeated first the French and then the U.S. imperialists and their Vietnamese puppet forces." It is incorrect to state that it was "guerrilla forces" that defeated the U.S. imperialist colossus and their Vietnamese puppets. By the time of the victory of the communist-led forces in Vietnam in 1975, the character of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam/National Liberation Front (DRV/NLF) military forces had changed dramatically from the early years of the war. We point this out explicitly in the article "Take Saigon!" (WV#65 28 March 1975) where we describe the final offensive of the war:

The battle for Ban Me Thuot spotlights a very important aspect of the current offensive. The DRV/NLF attack was

spearheaded by a sizeable tank column. Throughout the current offensive DRV/NLF forces have employed sophisticated weapons such as tanks, armored personnel carriers, heavy artillery and radar-aimed anti-aircraft guns against the ARVN. This is no guerrilla offensive such as in 1968.

Additionally, the DRV had an air force, including Chinese and Soviet-supplied MiG fighters, hardly typical of guerrilla forces. In fact, they were so successful, the U.S. Navy established the Topgun fighter pilot training school to thwart the Vietnamese fliers in 1969.

Comradely,
Brian

NOTICE
Workers Vanguard skips
an issue in December.
Our next issue will
be dated January 15.

Despite Worker Fury over Tiers UAW Tops Force Through Sellout Contracts

In the tug-of-war over equal pay for equal work between the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the auto giants GM, Ford and Fiat Chrysler (FCA) that played out in contract negotiations in Detroit this fall, UAW president Dennis Williams and Co. never let up in peddling the lie that they were “closing the wage gap.” However, the final contracts, which huge numbers of workers opposed, said something else entirely. The UAW tops had to scramble to force their agreements through, even using members’ dues to hire a New York PR firm to sell the sellout.

The contract dispute, which threatened to spill over into a strike at several stages, was centrally over the question of the two-tier wage system that was brought into the assembly plants in 2007. Introduced in the name of keeping the U.S. carmakers “competitive” with their German and Asian rivals, tiers mean that newer workers get paid a fraction of the wages earned by workers who were hired before 2007 to do the same job. This divisive scheme has been used by the “Detroit Three” to slash hourly pay rates and amass the mountain of profits they are sitting atop now, and is hated by the workforce. Workers saw that, with the companies selling record numbers of cars, now was their best chance to get rid of the tiers.

As contracts came up for ratification votes, UAW members at all three companies registered their anger in rancorous union meetings and in balloting. FCA workers rejected management’s initial offer by a two-to-one margin—the first time UAW workers have voted down a national contract since 1982. Union officials gave FCA formal strike notification before forcing through a revamped contract in a second vote. At GM, a clear majority of skilled workers voted against the agreement, fearing that the proposed blending of job titles (“broadbanding”) would lead to heavier workloads under more dangerous conditions and result in wage and job losses. Two weeks later, the bureaucrats declared the



Toledo, September 27: Angry Fiat Chrysler workers at rally demanding equal pay for equal work. Signs include: “Back to the Table—No Deal!”

contract ratified, with 55 percent of GM workers overall voting yes. Ford workers were offered one-off signing bonuses of as much as \$10,000 (up from the lousy \$3,000 offered at FCA), but even with that sweetener only 51 percent voted in favor of the contract. At the end of the day, workers at all the Detroit Three are still stuck with contracts preserving the wage tiers—and had new tiers crammed down their throats by their rotten leadership.

As far back as September 2014, during a one-day strike against an Indiana seat plant run by Lear Corporation, workers in both tiers made clear that they were fed up with the whole damn system. “End Two Tier! Start with Lear!” was their slogan. The UAW tops quickly ended that strike with a ruse claiming that they had done away with the two-tier wage scale and trumpeting the “victory” as a model for the upcoming contracts with the Detroit Three. In reality, they had agreed to the relocation of most of the workers on the lower-paid

tier to another plant, reclassifying them as “subassembly” workers who would make barely more than the minimum wage.

Workers Vanguard warned: “Come this September, the union tops are again likely to try to proclaim victory over the tier system while attempting to sell the membership a new scheme to preserve that system’s attack on wages and working-class unity” (WV No. 1064, 20 March). That’s exactly what came to pass at the Detroit Three.

The top tier, shrinking fast as workers die or retire, got a small raise, their first in a decade. The second tier, soon to become the new top tier, got promises of raises spread out over eight years (a joke, since the contracts expire in four years) that would eventually bring them to \$29 an hour—a dollar more than the top tier previously got. These workers will never receive the defined benefit pension that used to provide a measure of security in retirement for UAW members who survived the backbreaking assembly lines—

it will die when the last surviving top-tier worker does. Second-tier workers at GM and Ford will get first-tier health care benefits, but FCA workers will not.

The list of unequal compensation agreed to by the bureaucrats goes on and on. Parts workers at GM were shunted into an entirely new tier, with a wage scale topping out at \$22—about \$280 a week less than top wages for second-tier assembly line workers. The ever-growing pool of temporary workers, constituting yet another tier, will get paid even less, and not even as much as temp workers are earning today. An indication of how bad the deals are for workers was Ford’s gleeful statement that its labor costs will increase less than 1.5 percent per year as a result of the contract. All workers should be in the union on the same pay scale, and parts workers should be in the same local as the assembly plant they supply!

The desire for equal pay for equal work runs very strong right now in the UAW, and more broadly in the working class. Some 2,000 workers organized in UAW Local 833 are on strike against the Kohler Co. plumbing manufacturer in Wisconsin over this very question (see WV No. 1079, 27 November). But the fealty of the UAW trade-union bureaucracy to the capitalist profit system, as demonstrated by their actions this contract season, is counterposed to the realization of even this most basic tenet of the workers movement. Manifestly incapable of leading any serious fights, these guys are long overdue for replacement. But not by the out-bureaucrats and wannabees waiting in the wings, who have no fundamental difference with the current labor lieutenants of capital in Solidarity House—they all push reliance on the capitalist Democratic Party and the government, in place of independent working-class action.

What auto workers need is a class-struggle leadership forged in battles like the ones that built the UAW and other industrial unions in the 1930s. Such fights would go a long way toward restoring the unions as battalions of the proletariat. Armed with the certain knowledge that the working class has no interest in common with the bosses, a union like the UAW could bring to bear its inherent power to choke off the profits derived from a core industrial sector. It could play a leading role in a broad fight against capitalism’s ravages, drawing in other workers and the unemployed as well as black people and immigrants targeted by the capitalist rulers. To hold to such a perspective against the many obstacles that the bourgeoisie will put in the way requires building a revolutionary workers party dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist profit system for good and forever. ■

No to Public Housing Smoking Ban!

On November 12, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Julián Castro revealed an outrageous proposal to nationally ban all smoking in public housing over the next several years, invoking the agency’s seemingly divine “responsibility to protect public housing residents from the harmful effects of secondhand smoke” (*Washington Post*, 12 November). In fact, major studies that tried to find a health risk from secondhand smoke show no statistically meaningful correlation. But the health, happiness and well-being of the denizens of public housing have nothing to do with the proposed ban. As Councilman Ritchie Torres, a Democrat who leads the New York City Council’s public housing committee, put it, “If the federal government is generally concerned about improving public health, how about fixing roofs or removing mold?” Or how about providing real medical coverage for everyone rather than the sham of “Obamacare,” where deductibles are often so high as to render coverage almost unusable?

There are a little over two million people inhabiting public housing. For the most part they are huddled near the bot-

Hell Is Not Hell Enough

tom of the sociological barrel of American society—the elderly, disabled and the working poor and their children. They live on incomes well below the poverty level, but are nevertheless obliged to pay 30 percent of their income to rent apartments in buildings that are not infrequently rat-infested and falling apart. Although 32 percent of public housing residents are white, the nearly half who are black are segregated into some of the nation’s meanest ghettos. Blacks and Latinos are four times more likely than white people in similar housing to live in high-poverty neighborhoods (where the poverty rate exceeds 40 percent).

The proposed ban on smoking would take away one of the few pleasures available to those consigned to earthly hell while providing authorities with yet another pretext to evict public housing residents. Since Democratic president

Bill Clinton introduced the “one strike, you’re out” rule in 1996, felons have been prohibited from living in public housing while others have been evicted for being suspected of criminal activity without even being charged with, much less convicted of, a crime. Tenants can face eviction merely for having visitors, including relatives, who have been convicted of a felony. Today, the Obama administration is seeking to expand a 1996 program that allows selected public housing agencies to set time limits for occupancy and to link residency to children’s academic success. Meanwhile, no new funds have been allocated for public housing since the mid-1990s, while 10,000 units a year are lost to decay. The reality is that public housing is headed for the junk heap.

Housing agency representatives have suggested that residents will have to enforce the proposed smoking prohibi-

tion. This, as many have pointed out, is a decidedly unhealthy proposal that would turn residents into potential finks and would only lead to more police raids. It is not difficult to imagine the blowing away of a black tenant by an invading cop who “mistakes” the non-diet cola in his hand for a gun. Look at what happened to Akai Gurley: last November a New York cop in the Brooklyn projects shot and killed him as he was walking in the stairwell with his girlfriend because the elevators were broken.

There is no reason for the cruel indignities visited upon this section of the population other than the very nature of the capitalist order. The growth of the profits and wealth amassed by the owners of the means of production always goes hand-in-hand with increasing misery and poverty for working and poor people. And when these depredations are visited on black people, they are done so with a vengeance. The cornerstone of American capitalism is the race-color caste oppression of black people—an oppression that drives a wedge between black and white

continued on page 8

30th Annual PDC Holiday Appeal

Free the Class-War Prisoners!

This year's Holiday Appeal marks the 30th year of the Partisan Defense Committee's program of sending monthly stipends as an expression of solidarity to those imprisoned for standing up to racist capitalist repression and imperialist depredation. This program revived a tradition initiated by the International Labor Defense under James P. Cannon, its founder and first secretary (1925-1928). This year's events will pay tribute to two former stipend recipients: Phil Africa of the MOVE 9 who died under suspicious circumstances in January and Hugo Pinell, the last of the San Quentin 6 in prison, who was brutally assassinated in August. We honor the memory of these courageous individuals by keeping up the fight for the freedom of all class-war prisoners. The PDC currently sends stipends to 14 class-war prisoners.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a former Black Panther Party spokesman, a well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and an award-winning journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless." Framed up for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia police officer, Mumia was sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. Federal and state courts have repeatedly refused to consider evidence proving Mumia's innocence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed the policeman. In 2011 the Philadelphia district attorney's office dropped its longstanding effort to legally lynch America's foremost class-war prisoner. He remains condemned to life in prison with no chance of parole. Mumia now faces a life-threatening health crisis related to an active case of hepatitis C which brought him close to death in March. The Pennsylvania prison authorities adamantly refuse to treat this dangerous but curable condition.

Leonard Peltier is an internationally renowned class-war prisoner. Peltier's incarceration for his activism in the American Indian Movement has come to symbolize this country's racist repression of its Native peoples, the survivors of centuries of genocidal oppression. Peltier was framed up for the 1975 deaths of two FBI agents marauding in what had become a war zone on the South Dakota Pine Ridge Reservation. Although the lead government attorney has admitted, "We can't prove who shot those

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

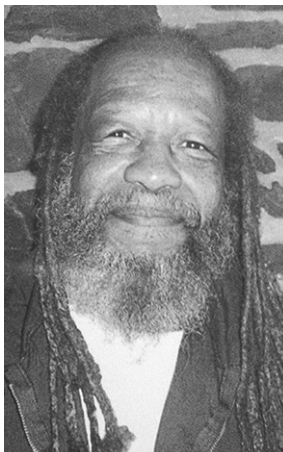
The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

agents," and the courts have acknowledged blatant prosecutorial misconduct, the 71-year-old Peltier is not scheduled to be reconsidered for parole for another nine years. Peltier suffers from multiple

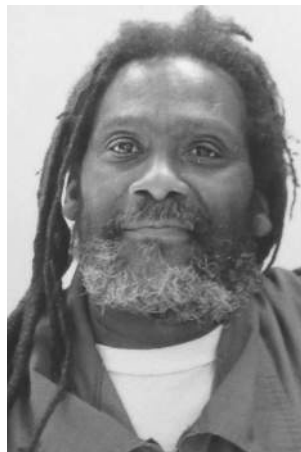
Africa, Janine Africa, Delbert Africa and Eddie Africa—are in their 38th year of prison. After the 8 August 1978 siege of their Philadelphia home by over 600 heavily armed cops, they were sentenced to 30-



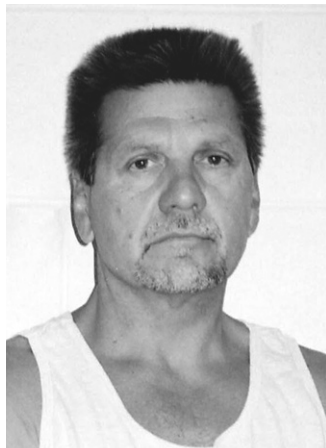
MOVE



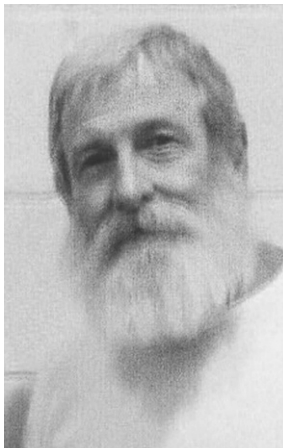
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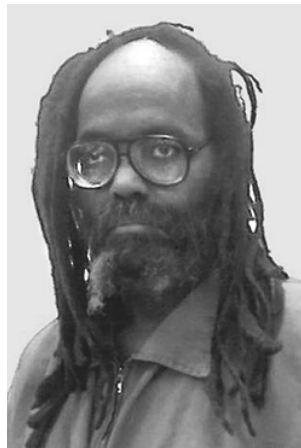
MOVE



4strugglemag



Anarchist Black Cross



Johanna Fernandez

Some recipients of PDC stipends for class-war prisoners (clockwise from top left): MOVE 9 prisoners Janet Africa, Delbert Africa and Eddie Africa; Mumia Abu-Jamal; Ohio 7 militants Tom Manning and Jaan Laaman.

serious medical conditions and is incarcerated far from his people and family.

Seven MOVE members—**Chuck Africa, Michael Africa, Debbie Africa, Janet**

100 years, having been falsely convicted of killing a police officer who died in the cops' own cross fire. In 1985, eleven of their MOVE family members, including five children, were massacred by Philly cops when a bomb was dropped on their living quarters. After nearly four decades of unjust incarceration, these innocent prisoners are routinely turned down at parole hearings. None have been released.

Albert Woodfox is the last of the Angola Three still incarcerated. Along with Herman Wallace and Robert King, Woodfox fought the vicious, racist and dehumanizing conditions in Louisiana's Angola

prison and courageously organized a Black Panther Party chapter at the prison. Authorities framed up Woodfox and Wallace for the fatal stabbing of a prison guard in 1972 and falsely convicted King of killing a fellow inmate a year later. For over 43 years, Woodfox has been locked down in Closed Cell Restricted (CCR) blocks, the longest stretch in solitary confinement ever in this country. His conviction has been overturned three times! According to his lawyers, he suffers from hypertension, heart disease, chronic renal insufficiency, diabetes, anxiety and insomnia—conditions no doubt caused and/or exacerbated by decades of vindictive and inhumane treatment. Albert was ordered released by a federal judge in June, but the vindictive Louisiana state prosecutors are bringing him to trial yet again for a crime he did not commit.

Jaan Laaman and Thomas Manning are the two remaining anti-imperialist activists known as the Ohio 7 still in prison, convicted for their roles in a radical group that took credit for bank "expropriations" and bombings of symbols of U.S. imperialism, such as military and corporate offices, in the late 1970s and '80s. Before their arrests in 1984 and 1985, the Ohio 7 were targets of massive manhunts. The Ohio 7's politics were once shared by thousands of radicals but, like the Weathermen before them, the Ohio 7 were spurned by the "respectable" left. From a proletarian standpoint, the actions of these leftist activists against imperialism and racist injustice are not crimes. They should not have served a day in prison.

Ed Poindexter and Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa are former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska, National Committee to Combat Fascism. They are victims of the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO operation, under which 38 Black Panther Party members were killed and hundreds more imprisoned on frame-up charges. Poindexter and Mondo were railroaded to prison and sentenced to life for a 1970 explosion that killed a cop, and they have now spent more than 40 years behind bars. Nebraska courts have repeatedly denied Poindexter and Mondo new trials despite the fact that a crucial piece of evidence excluded from the original trial, a 911 audio tape long suppressed by the FBI, proved that testimony of the state's key witness was perjured.

Contribute now! All proceeds from the Holiday Appeal events will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund. This is not charity but an elementary act of solidarity with those imprisoned for their opposition to racist capitalism and imperialist depredations. Send your contributions to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013; (212) 406-4252. ■

Holiday Appeal Fundraisers

Free the Class-War Prisoners! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

CHICAGO

Sunday, January 24
3 to 7 p.m.

U.E. Hall
37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)
Information: (312) 563-0442

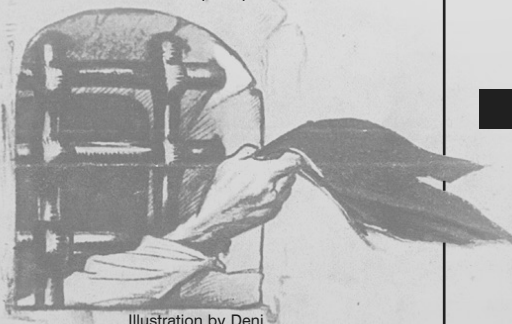


Illustration by Deni

NEW YORK CITY

Saturday, January 30
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Abortion...

(continued from page 1)

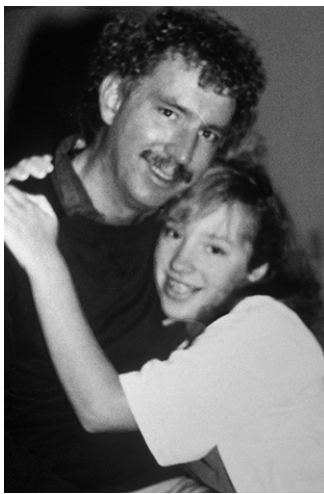
liberal and left-wing activists mobilized in mass clinic defense actions at the height of Operation Rescue's nationwide anti-abortion terror campaign. The Spartacist League and its supporters participated and noted that if such mobilizations were bolstered by the power of labor, they would make a real show of strength in support of women's rights. We pointed out that the only thing capable of stopping "god-fearing" reactionaries from spreading their murderous attacks against poor and working women was to put some real "fear of god" into them. Yet bourgeois feminist groups such as NOW and NARAL consciously demobilized clinic defense, diverting the struggle into pressuring the false friends in the Democratic Party to implement so-called buffer-zone laws to keep anti-abortion protesters at a distance from clinics. Such laws have not stopped the mobs besieging staff and patients. As we emphasized from the start, these laws are also used to arrest clinic defenders.

Abortion is a simple medical procedure, safer than childbirth. But because it provides women with some control over whether or not to have children, abortion is seen as a threat to the patriarchal family, which is the main source of women's oppression and a key prop of capitalist class rule. The regulation of abortion and contraception—both of which open the possibility of women being able to have sex without having children—has historically been a powerful weapon in the hands of organized religion and the capitalist state to enforce conservatism and social conformity. Unrestricted access to both abortion and contraception, as part of quality health care for all that is free at the point of delivery, is a vital necessity for women and for working people as a whole. *For free abortion on demand!*

Democrats and Republicans: Enemies of Women

Loathing the right-wing bible-thumpers of the Republican Party is an act of sanity, but support to the Democrats is no way to defend abortion rights. The first major attack on abortion rights following the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling took place under the "born again" Christian and Democrat Jimmy Carter, who in 1977 signed into law the Hyde Amendment that eliminated abortion coverage from the Medicaid health plans of 23 million poor women. It has been renewed every year, regardless of which party controlled Congress or the White House. Cut from the same cloth, in 2010 Obama signed an executive order ensuring that federal funds from his signature Affordable Care Act are not used for abortion.

Back in 1992, the Clinton of the male persuasion won the presidency with sup-



Ralf-Finn Hestoff, Reuters, Huttmacher/Wichita Eagle
A few of the courageous abortion providers murdered by "right to life" terrorists. From left to right: Dr. David Gunn (shot in 1993) with his daughter; Dr. Barnett Slepian (at left, shot in 1998); Dr. George Tiller (shot in 2009).



port from women for his pro-*Roe* stance, and then proceeded to carry out a relentless campaign aimed particularly at poor and black women. During Bill Clinton's eight years as president, welfare for mothers was axed, the number of abortion providers plummeted, and state after state passed laws restricting abortion rights. Current Democratic front-runner Hillary Clinton, while defending Planned Parenthood in words, constantly panders to the religious right. She has stated that abortion should be "safe, legal and rare, and by rare I mean rare." The Democrats'

talline hypocrisy that the U.S. rulers do not deem anti-abortion attacks terror because Christians, not Muslims, carry them out. But anything that strengthens the capitalist state's "war on terror" will be another dagger aimed at the working class, the oppressed and immigrants, who are already in the crosshairs of the government, its cops and courts. Since the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center, homegrown white supremacists and anti-government extremists have perpetrated more acts of terrorism on U.S. soil than Islamic jihadists. Nonetheless,

have a monopoly of violence and to further consolidate its repressive powers.

Racist, Anti-Woman Homegrown Terror

In this racist and anti-woman capitalist society, the onslaught against abortion is directly linked to generalized social reaction, particularly against black people. The legal right to abortion was won as a result of the massive social struggles of the 1960s and '70s, the civil rights movement and the radicalization of the Vietnam War years. Following those upheavals, whole sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie sought to reverse the limited gains won by both women and black people. Since the early 1980s, this reactionary backlash has been spearheaded by the Christian fundamentalist right. While the current focus of this crusade is the war on women's right to abortion, the right-wing evangelical movement, which became politically mainstream during the Carter administration, came to prominence through defending racial segregation at private Christian schools.

It is no coincidence that the states of the former Confederacy have some of the most restrictive abortion laws. A week before the Planned Parenthood carnage, a black abortion provider, Dr. Willie Parker, wrote a *New York Times* opinion piece (18 November) describing the immense difficulty women have in obtaining abortions in the South, where they often travel hundreds of miles for an appointment. Dr. Parker is among the shrinking number of doctors willing to perform abortions in the poorest state of the country, Mississippi, where only one clinic remains. His courageous commitment to women's rights is all the more striking because it goes against the black church, which promotes social backwardness around issues of sex, especially abortion.

Dr. Parker noted: "A majority of pregnancies in the South are unintended. More than a quarter end in abortion.... In some areas of Mississippi, the rate of death for black pregnant women mirrors that of countries in sub-Saharan Africa." Impoverished and desperate conditions will continue to force poor, black and immigrant women into squalid back-alley abortions. A 2013 law restricting abortions in Texas has forced the closure of around half of the 40 clinics in the state. Since then, hundreds of thousands of women there have tried to self-induce abortions, using potentially unsafe methods without medical supervision.

The whittling away of abortion rights exemplifies the fact that reforms benefiting the working class and the oppressed can easily be reversed under capitalism. Abortion must be defended, but the right to abortion does not mean equality for women in the broader sense. Contrary to the reformist left and the feminists, we revolutionary Marxists understand that women's liberation cannot be achieved by relying on the ruling class, its political parties or its state: it requires a revolutionary transformation of society through a workers revolution, which will sweep away the system of capitalist exploitation to which black oppression and women's subordination is integral. Only after capitalism is overturned can we lay the basis to build a society where women will be able to have children (or not) with full social support including free quality childcare and medical care including contraception and abortion. ■



WV Photo
Spartacists join in defense of abortion clinic against violent Operation Rescue fanatics, San Mateo, California, July 1993.

"pro-choice" position is at best hollow, catering to middle-class and bourgeois women who have always had the means to get an abortion when they need to. Skilled in spouting family values moralism, the Democrats pander to fundamentalist reactionaries whose goal is to keep women "in their place," i.e., subordinate to men as mere baby-making vessels.

Feminists keep pushing the repeat button when it comes to relying on bourgeois politicians and the federal government to supposedly protect women. Following the Colorado Springs attack, NARAL issued a petition demanding that the Department of Justice "investigate clinic violence as domestic terrorism." It is of course crys-

those the state targets as "domestic terrorists" continue to be leftists, militant trade unionists, black radicals and Muslims.

President Obama's main contribution to the abortion "debate" has been to seize on the Colorado Springs attack to push for more gun control. Gun control ensures that the beleaguered abortion providers are disarmed, effectively denying their right of self-defense in the face of anti-abortion terror. Meanwhile, the "army of god" zealots and crazies will still be able to get their hands on weapons. As *Living in the Crosshairs* quoted Dr. Warren Hern, a late-term abortionist based in Colorado: "Our adversaries are at war with us. They will stop at nothing, up to and including assassination." Knowing that the fortified walls and security entrances of a clinic cannot guarantee immunity from a fanatic's gun, many providers are accustomed to going to work armed and wearing bulletproof vests. All of them recall the 2009 murder of Dr. George Tiller at his church. For over 35 years, Tiller heroically provided abortions to women, including late in pregnancy, despite massive legal and extralegal harassment.

Innocent people are killed precisely because they are unarmed and defenseless in the face of reactionary killers incited by the bigotry and inequality which pervade every aspect of American society. Every day, abortion clinic workers, as well as patients and their volunteer escorts, have to run a gauntlet of anti-woman bigots on their own without assurance of protection by law enforcement. *Living in the Crosshairs* provides accounts from abortion providers in some areas whose complaints of harassment have been willfully ignored and from other providers who have witnessed collaboration between cops and anti-abortion protesters. Placing more restrictions or outright bans on gun ownership tramples on the population's basic rights while allowing the capitalist state—with its police and military—to

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Japan: Protests Against Militarism

TOKYO—Amid widespread opposition and mass protests, the right-wing government led by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) rammed new "National Security Laws" (NSL) through the Upper House of parliament in an overnight session on September 18. The NSL authorize the Japanese military to engage in combat overseas in support of an ally such as the United States or in pursuit of so-called collective security. Not without symbolism, the parliamentary session took place on the anniversary of the "Manchu Incident," which signaled the start of the 1931 invasion of China by Japanese imperialism.

The central purpose of the current laws is to further strengthen the military encirclement of China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state created by the overthrow of capitalist rule in the 1949 Chinese Revolution. In this intent, Japan collaborates closely with U.S. imperialism. While overshadowed by the American military behemoth, the Japanese state has at its disposal a standing army—euphemistically called the "Self-Defense Forces"—of close to 250,000 active troops. With the seventh largest military budget in the world, Japan possesses top-notch military technology in some fields, such as ultra-silent submarines. For 2016, the government is proposing Japan's highest military budget in the post-World War II (WWII) period.

If the hawkish Abe administration had counted on its anti-China scare-mongering to line up a majority of the population to support or at least acquiesce to these laws, the task proved to be not so easy. An anti-government protest movement, of a scope quite unprecedented in recent years, developed in opposition to the warmongers. Protest rallies repeatedly mobilized tens of thousands, ranging from mothers' organizations and kindergarten nurses to workers' assemblies, with students playing a leading role in initiating a broad protest movement. Notably, support ratings for the Abe administration, very high for years, fell to 30 to 40 percent at the height of the protest movement over the summer.

The first protests last May were small but the events grew steadily. Over 100,000 people surrounded the parliament building on July 15, when the government forced the bills through the Lower House. Even after the legislation was passed, 25,000 people rallied against it on September 23. Smaller protests continue on a regular basis. The prominent protest group Students Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy (SEALDs) describes its aim as "bringing together the forces of liberalism" in Japan. These young people reject the bourgeoisie's refrains about the need to sacrifice for the country, and many say they wish for a "peaceful world."

Opponents of the drive toward militarism often base their arguments on the provisions of the postwar Japanese constitution, imposed on the country by the American occupation forces after Japan's defeat in WWII. The Constitution's Article 9 states that Japan forever renounces the use of force to settle international disputes. As communist opponents of the Japanese bourgeoisie, the Spartacist Group Japan of course opposes any reactionary revisions of the Constitution. But we forthrightly combat illusions that this document or any other piece of paper can "prevent war." No capitalist ruling class in history has ever been constrained by its own laws from employing violent repression and war when it feels its own class interests are at stake.

While the protests' dominant politics do not go beyond liberalism and pacifism, nonetheless it is a good thing that there is a widespread horror of imperialist war



Tokyo, September 2015: One of the nightly mass protests organized by Students Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy against Japanese National Security Laws.

and distrust of the government. The SGJ has participated in a number of the protests, selling our press and discussing our views with workers and youth. We have explained that the working class worldwide needs to defend the Chinese workers state against the Japanese imperialists and have argued that militarism is inherent to capitalist rule and can only be finally defeated by socialist revolution.

militarism demonstrators, making numerous arrests. Protest leader Aki Okuda has reportedly received death threats.

The Abe government is following in the footsteps of the previous Democratic Party government (2009-12), which also pursued military buildup targeting China, most notably the Japanese government's declaration nationalizing the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands in the East China Sea in Septem-

Down With U.S.-Japan Counterrevolutionary Alliance! — Defend China! —



Aircraft carrier USS George Washington with Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force destroyer during exercise "Keen Sword 15," November 2014. Inset: Japanese prime minister Shinzo Abe with President Obama.

ber 2012. The NSL are a message that in any military conflict with China or North Korea, which is also a deformed workers state, the Japanese bourgeoisie intends to bring its military power fully to bear in league with the U.S. imperialist forces. The new laws are part of the ongoing strengthening of the counterrevolutionary U.S.-Japan military alliance. The key sectors of big business stand fully behind Abe on this question, as declarations by the major bosses' associations have shown. As communists, we say: **Down with the NSL! Down with Japanese imperialism!**

Defend the Gains of the Chinese Revolution!

The 1949 Chinese Revolution was a world-historic event that still defines the political situation in East Asia. It ended the rule of the rapacious indigenous capitalists

and landlords and liberated the most populous nation on earth from imperialist subjugation. Enormous strides forward in the living standards of the masses, in education, health and nutrition as well as women's access to society more broadly—especially in comparison to other poor countries that have remained capitalist, such as India—are living proof that a collectivized economy is superior to capitalism and represents a historical advance.

Resulting from the military victory of peasant-guerrilla forces led by the Stalinist Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in a civil war, the workers state issuing out of the 1949 Revolution was bureaucratically deformed from its inception. While bourgeois property relations were smashed and a collectivized economy established, the Revolution brought to political power a Stalinist, nationalist bureaucratic regime which is an obstacle to development toward socialism (a classless society) and which opposes the revolutionary conquest of power by workers in other lands.

Until it was destroyed by imperialist-backed counterrevolution in 1991-92, the Soviet Union was the industrial and military powerhouse of the states where capitalism had been overthrown and hence the chief target of the imperialist powers led by the U.S. Today, China has taken center stage in their counterrevolutionary designs. We unconditionally defend China against imperialism and internal counterrevolution and fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist rulers. The best defense of China's gains is workers revolutions in the imperialist centers. Since its emergence as an imperialist power in the late 19th century, the Japanese ruling class has longed to dominate China. Today this appetite is redoubled as the rulers in Tokyo and Washington seek to undo the 1949 Revolution and reconquer China for unrestricted imperialist plunder.

Okinawa Bases: Dagger Aimed at China

In recent years, the U.S. imperialists, even while bogged down in the Near East quagmire, have been moving some of their most advanced military hardware into the Asia-Pacific region. The important Yokosuka naval base is the home port for a U.S. Navy aircraft carrier. Hand in hand with the U.S., Tokyo is now moving to build new military bases in Okinawa and is creating an amphibious landing force directly targeting China. The frequent pretext is "defense of the Senkaku Islands." We defend China's control of the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands and also fully support China's development projects—including military installations—in the South China Sea. This area has become a critical focal point of imperialist efforts to encircle China.

This is recognized by such bourgeois ideologues as Robert D. Kaplan: "Just as German soil constituted the military front line of the Cold War, the waters of the South China Sea may constitute the military front line of the coming decades" (*Asia's Cauldron—The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific*, 2014). This fall, the U.S. provocatively sent a Yokosuka-based American destroyer into the seas around the Spratly (Nansha) Islands to dramatically underline its opposition to China's construction of new islands.

Following its victory in WWII, the U.S. moved immediately to establish direct military administration of Okinawa (in fact the island was returned to Japanese civil administration only in 1972, two decades after the rest of the country). As Chinese Communist forces were driving out the corrupt bourgeois forces of Chiang Kai-shek in the late 1940s, the U.S. fortified

Okinawa as a military bastion, establishing bases often by direct confiscation of land. These bases were soon to be used in the counterrevolutionary wars against the workers and peasants in Korea and later in Vietnam.

U.S. military planners have long termed Okinawa the “keystone of the Pacific”; today as part of the anti-China buildup, its military significance, and that of the surrounding islands and islets, is growing. Now, Japanese imperialism is increasing its own presence with the building of new military bases as well as increasingly sharing military facilities with the U.S. In Henoko, Okinawa—against strong local opposition—the Japanese government is building a super-modern base for U.S. Marines. Today intended to be a launching pad for U.S. and Japanese marauding and provocations in the region, it is also a potential future base for the Japanese navy.

The island's military bases have been a focus of popular protest by Okinawa's people for decades. Demonstrations were often sparked by particular instances of U.S. soldiers' male-chauvinist pig behavior toward local women, but the opposition on Okinawa to military bases is deeply rooted. Last summer, one LDP "study group" meeting in Tokyo openly mooted the suppression of the two main bourgeois newspapers in Okinawa, which reflect the dominant anti-bases sentiment, prompting a storm of protest. The passing of the NSL also puts wind in the sails of ultramilitarist right-wingers; indeed the night after the new laws were passed, a group of violent rightists, obviously in cahoots with the cops, assaulted anti-bases protesters at Henoko. We say: *All U.S. military bases out! Down with the U.S./Japan Military Security Treaty! Smash the counterrevolutionary U.S.-Japan military alliance through workers revolution on both sides of the Pacific!*

Pacifism and the Protest Movement

Today in Japan (as in the United States), the view is widespread that World War II was a “war against fascism” in which the Anglo-American “Allies” were fighting for “democracy.” But WWII, like WWI, was an interimperialist war fought for control of colonies, markets and spheres of influence. The late-arriving imperialist powers, Germany, Italy and Japan, had been mostly shut out of what they saw as their share of Asia and Africa.

Authentic Marxists opposed all the imperialist powers in WWII and fought for international working-class solidarity and for revolutionary struggle against the capitalist rulers at home. At the same time, our revolutionary forebears unconditionally defended the Soviet Union against the imperialists. They also championed the movements for national independence which emerged in the colonies while the imperialists were busy fighting each other. In contrast, after Germany invaded the USSR in June 1941, the parties of the Stalinized Communist movement were patriots and opponents of class struggle in the capitalist countries that were allied with the USSR; in the oppressed colonies of those Allied imperialists they opposed pursuing the struggle for national and social liberation.

When the U.S. dropped atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, Japan was already defeated. The bombs, whose purpose was to showcase the new weapon in order to intimidate the Soviet Union, killed some 200,000 people. The war and Japan's defeat instilled in broad layers of the Japanese population deep fear and hatred of war that remain important factors in politics today. One of the consequences is that there remains strong popular attachment to the "peace Constitution." Although what the bourgeoisie really wants is the outright revision of the Constitution, it does not feel confident enough right now to go for that, which would require a referendum. From this hesitancy came the tactic of passing laws that "re-interpret" the Constitution.

Following Japan's defeat in 1945, a powerful workers upsurge began, sparked by a strike by Chinese and Korean prisoners of war and forced laborers in the

**March 2015:
Yoshiaki Harada,
Liberal Democratic
Party member of
Japanese House
of Representatives,
presses Japan's
claim to Diaoyu/
Senkaku Islands
as part of
counterrevolutionary
drive against
Chinese deformed
workers state.**



mines of Hokkaido (the northernmost Japanese island). There were massive strikes, which led in some industries and parts of the country to the establishment of “production control” committees—workers committees that took over factories and exercised, in different degrees, control over production, challenging bourgeois property rights. It was in this context that the U.S. occupiers basically wrote and imposed the Constitution on Japan.

The working people had suffered great material privation in the war, and the power structure had lost all authority through defeat. Thus, the top priority for the occupation was to ensure orderly capitalist rule in Japan. The Constitution naturally enshrined private property and, importantly, upheld the emperor system, a crucial institution of social stability, nominally at variance with the professed democratic values of America. As the strike wave was growing, in January 1946 General Douglas MacArthur, supreme commander of the occupation, wrote to Dwight Eisenhower (U.S. Army Chief of Staff) that Japan would collapse if the emperor were removed. At the same time, the occupation aimed to prevent the re-emergence of a challenge to U.S. power in the Pacific; hence the Constitution stipulates that Japan “will never” maintain “land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential” (Article 9).

On the heels of the outbreak of strikes in September 1945 and with the aim of

establishing stable worker-management relations, the occupation mandated new union rights for Japanese workers. The American overlords also voided the repressive laws that had illegalized Communists since 1925 and let the surviving leftist prisoners out of Japanese hellhole jails. The Japanese Communist Party (JCP) immediately began to play a prominent role in the labor struggles.

But the JCP used its authority to betray the strike wave in the name of supporting bourgeois “democracy.” In line with its position that Japan was some kind of semi-feudal society, it hailed the occupation for moving against “feudalistic elements” and painted it as playing a progressive role. This was a continuation of the JCP’s line of supporting the Allies in the war. Of course, the occupation soon shifted course: soon after the JCP’s betrayal of the 1947 general strike, a campaign was unleashed against leftists and workers’ leaders, with tens of thousands

of militants fired between 1949 and 1951. The 1948 ban on strikes by government workers, who had been in the forefront of labor militancy, was an important step.

The repression escalated after the Chinese Revolution, and during the Korean War the JCP was proscribed and its leadership forced to go underground. Through this repression, and together with the willing collaboration of the Socialist Party to undermine Communist influence in the unions, the wave of labor militancy was defeated. After criticism from Moscow, in 1950 the JCP retrospectively disavowed its support for the U.S. occupation, but political support for bourgeois forces in the name of “democracy” remains the JCP’s program (as it remains that of other social-democratic reformists in Japan and worldwide).

Today the JCP works overtime to push the widespread view that the Constitution can prevent imperialist war and that a people's movement can bring about a peaceful Japan. These illusions are suicidal for the working class. Imperialism and militarism are inherent in the capitalist system; to put an end to imperialist war, a series of workers revolutions is necessary, which will rip the means of production out of the hands of the capitalists and establish an international planned economy.

After the 1949 Chinese Revolution, American policy toward Japan took a U-turn. Formerly seen mostly as a rival for economic domination of the Pacific region, Japan became the key ally in the U.S. crusade to stop the “Communist menace” in Asia. Thus, based on a directive by the U.S. occupiers, the Japanese government established the forerunner of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) in 1950 during the Korean War. Imperialist rivalry, which can never truly be eliminated, was subordinated to unity against China and the USSR and against the threat of further anti-capitalist upheavals, such as would indeed break out in Korea and Vietnam. The postwar economic recovery really took off when Japan became the quartermasters for the U.S. forces in the Korean War. On the political level, anti-Communist cooperation remains the dominating factor in U.S./Japan relations up to today.

For Class Struggle Against the Bourgeoisie!

A few days before the government pushed through the NSL, it passed in parliament an important economic attack on the working class: legislation to further extend temporary work. These laws eliminate any time limit for a company employing a temp worker for a specific job (there had been a limit of three years). They favor the increasing use of temporary workers instead of full-time employees with benefits, greater job security and union rights. While there were small protests and clear anger among workers, the bureaucrats at the head of the trade unions, devoted to the lie of a shared “national interest” of workers and bosses, did not mount any serious opposition to these laws.

At the same time, the demonstrations against the new war laws have brought out workers, with union banners present at many protests. Anti-NSL sentiment has been shown in some strategic industries such as shipbuilding and steel. Some unions affiliated to Rengo, the largest union federation, have issued protest declarations, while a number of unions affiliated to the JCP-led Zenroren federation formally voted to empower their leaderships to declare a political strike in opposition to the laws.

The Zenroren-affiliated health workers union, which has about 170,000 members, motivated its opposition by noting that if a war breaks out its members would immediately be directly involved. The Zenroren-affiliated metal workers union JMIU (about 9,000 members) voted to authorize calling a strike and held meetings in workplaces around the country, where non-organized workers also joined their assemblies. It is clear that the pressure from the base must have been very strong; the JCP's newspaper *Akahata* quotes a worker: "We were waiting for the union to propose some action." However, the class-collaborationist bureaucracies of all three trade-union federations (in addition to the above mentioned two there is also Zenrokyo, associated with the Social Democratic Party) are dead set

continued on page 8

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| <p>Fourth ICL International Conference, Autumn 2003</p> <p>The Fight for Revolutionary Continuity in the Post-Soviet World</p> <p>PAGE 2</p> <hr/> <p>Forty Years of <i>Spartacist</i></p> <p>"Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International"</p> <p>PAGE 14</p> | <p>日本の共産主義の起源、 「二段階革命」をめぐる議論そして米国の占領</p>  <p>Document</p> |
| <p>The Origins of Japanese Communism, Debate over "Two-Stage Revolution" and the American Occupation</p> <p>The Meiji Restoration: A Bourgeois Non-Democratic Revolution</p> <p>Appendix: Historical Documents</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manifesto by the Preparatory Committee for the Japanese Communist Party (1921) • Program of the Communist Party of Japan (1922) • Report on Differences at the Special Congress of the Japanese Communist Party (1923) <p>PAGE 20</p> |  <p>Document</p> <p>ミハタワで開かれた1923年1月の第1回日本共産党大会で討議経過を示す。右にあらわされている中で、(左)のブルジョア的立場(上)と書いてある。</p> <p>明治維新： 親ブルジョア非民主主義革命</p> |
| <p>Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Woman, Anti-Sex: U.S./UN Crusade Against "Sex Trafficking"</p> <p>PAGE 60</p> <p>AUSTRIA...432 BETHAN...21 CANADA...2082 ENGLAND...130 SOUTH AFRICA...70 USA...0937-30</p> |  <p>スパルタシスト・日本グループ</p> |
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Japan...

(continued from page 7)

against really mobilizing the power of the working class. Thus the leadership of the JMIU on September 9 declared a token “strike” for half an hour in one company, involving a couple of dozen workers. This action demanded: stop the war laws and the law on temporary jobs.

The reformist leaderships at the top of the unions must be defeated politically; revolutionaries must fight in the unions for a new leadership on a program of class struggle and political opposition to the capitalist rulers. The sentiment against the NSL needs to be turned toward mobilizing the working class in class struggle against the capitalist class and their war machine. A small but powerful example was the workers action that occurred in 2001 in the port of Sasebo when about 200 dockworkers organized in Zenkowan (All Japan Dockworkers Union) refused to load war matériel for the Japanese navy heading to support the U.S. imperialists in their war in Afghanistan. Such actions of international solidarity point toward an understanding of the power of the working class to destroy the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The Fight for Revolutionary Leadership

There is a section of bourgeois opinion that opposes the aggressive militaristic anti-China course of the current government from the standpoint that it endangers Japanese business interests in China. This tendency is represented in the main by the

Massacre...

(continued from page 1)

class. Indeed, during the 2002 ILWU West Coast longshore contract battle, the head of Homeland Security warned the union that a strike could “threaten national security,” and the Bush administration threatened to send the military to operate the ports.

The same capitalist rulers who are perpetrating the “war on terror” are also gutting wages, benefits and jobs for working people. They know they sit on a mountain of social discontent. When it explodes in social and class struggle, the rulers will use their “anti-terror” laws to try to suppress the workers and the oppressed. It is vital for working people to defend Muslims and oppose every attempt by the ruling class to augment the repressive power of the capitalist state.

The San Bernardino killings were a godsend to the ruling class. Dropped from the front pages were the cop killings of unarmed black people and the murderous attacks on abortion providers. While the Republicans have escalated their howls of anti-Muslim bigotry, the Democrats are exploiting the massacre to push for more gun control. For the first time in 95 years, the *New York Times* (5 December) ran an editorial on its front page, “The Gun Epidemic.” Leading the pack is the Obama White House, with Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders likewise calling for stronger background checks on gun buyers. They are whipping up an orchestrated panic over guns, this time with the added spectre of Muslims with guns. In his December 6 Oval Office address, where he reiterated that the U.S. is “at war with terrorists,” Obama called gun control “a matter of national security.”

The right to bear arms must be defended. The intent of gun control legislation is to disarm the population and to enforce a monopoly of violence in the hands of the capitalist state. Gun control kills, and it kills black people in particular. The earliest 20th-century gun control laws were passed in states like South Carolina, Tennessee and Mississippi as a way to disarm blacks in the face of KKK terror. In the 1960s, gun control laws were passed in New York and California to target Malcolm X and the Black Panthers. While Obama and the *Times* editors portray those standing up for Second Amendment rights as the racist, anti-immigrant, right-wing fringe,



Ishikawa Koyo

Left: Charred remains of some of the 100,000 civilians killed in U.S. firebombing of Tokyo on night of 9-10 March 1945. Right: Japanese foreign minister signs surrender aboard USS *Missouri*, September 1945.



Army Signal Corps

Democratic Party but also includes such figures as Uichiro Niwa (ex-boss of the trading giant Itochu and former ambassador to China) and LDP former honcho Makoto Koga. While at present they have little direct influence on government policy, this could change. In fact, the Democratic Party is no less militaristic than the LDP, but it prefers to maintain the fiction of a “defensive” military and fears becoming drawn into far-flung military conflicts by the U.S. Thus the Democratic Party together with the right-wing bourgeois “Japan Restoration Party” had introduced militarization bills into the last parliamentary session, seeking to

strengthen the collaboration of the SDF and coast guard in waters surrounding Japan, targeting China.

Some elements on the right of the bourgeois spectrum are criticizing Abe for *not* seeking open revision of the Constitution. They are represented by such academics as Keio University professor Kobayashi Setsu, who is concerned that Abe’s method is causing “instability in law”—i.e., that any government might be able to change the “interpretation” according to its whim (as Abe has done). The JCP was explicit in seeking to bloc not only with the Democratic Party but even with openly pro-militarist academics based on common opposition to Abe changing the Constitution. The day the government passed the new laws, the JCP leadership issued a call for a new “People’s coalition government” with the sole aim of rescinding them. This includes an offer of electoral collaboration.

The SEALDs are also aggressively pushing for an “alliance of opposition parties.” Thus, they held a meeting on November 19 with the heads of five opposition parties including the Democratic Party, the JCP and a hardcore neoliberal party. In Marxist terms, this is a popular front—a bloc containing both reformist working-class groups and bourgeois political formations, which aims to take over the reins of a capitalist government. Naturally the bourgeois elements will ensure that the program of any such class-collaborationist formation will be a capitalist program.

In pursuit of this appetite, the JCP assures the bourgeoisie that if it were ever allowed to participate in government, it would fully support Japanese imperialism. Thus JCP leader Kazuo Shii, in a major interview in the bourgeois daily *Nikkei Shimbun* (October 3), pledged *not* to make any moves against the U.S.-Japan military alliance (although abrogation of that treaty is in the JCP’s program). Shii also pledged: “We will co-exist with the Emperor system. There is no need to worry.” The JCP has missed no opportunity to repeat how they don’t want “our” SDF forces in “harm’s way”; i.e., the SDF should only “defend” Japan and “not get involved in the U.S.’s

war.” In this vein, JCP head Shii gave a major press conference at a critical time of the protests in June, stressing that “Even if the JCP takes over the reins of government, we will maintain the SDF.”

The Chukaku group postures to the left of the JCP and has been running polemics against the JCP’s social-patriotic declarations (*Zenshin*, 6 July). Chukaku attacks the JCP position that the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands are “Japanese territory,” correctly noting that this places the JCP on the same plane as Abe in using the supposed “Chinese threat” as justification for further militarization. However, to point to these facts without taking a position in defense of the Chinese workers state is a capitulation to Japanese imperialism.

Chukaku also puts forward the position that the Constitution, which enshrines capitalist private property and the reactionary emperor system, is not bourgeois. It says the Japanese constitution as represented by Article 9 “was a by-product of revolution, forced on the ruling class in exchange for the defeat of the post-war revolution.” Chukaku claims that the purpose of the constitutional revision that the LDP has sought for decades is “to establish the absolute rule by capital”—as though the present system had any other class character! Their occasional use of “revolutionary” rhetoric is a veneer to obscure their real program, which is merely to fight for defense of the Constitution, which is also the central concern of the JCP.

In political struggle against reformism, what is needed is a revolutionary workers party. Such a party would fight to win the working class and youthful protesters to the understanding that to defeat militarism and break the power of imperialism there is no road short of workers revolution which will expropriate the capitalists as a class and establish a workers state as part of the construction of an internationally planned economy. This program of international revolution animated the Russian Revolution of October 1917 and the early Communist International under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky. This is our tradition and the program we stand on today. ***Reforge the Fourth International! ■***

Smoking Ban...

(continued from page 3)

workers, splitting the ranks of the proletariat, the only social force with the power to overturn the bosses’ rule through socialist revolution.

The inhabitants of public housing are not without resource. Many have relatives who are in the large and often heavily black public unions that run this country’s major cities (some are even union members themselves). These unions could spearhead a mobilization of labor power to end the jail-like conditions imposed on public housing residents. But the misleaders of America’s unions, rather than mobilizing class struggle to defend their members against layoffs and cuts to wages and benefits, have been complicit in the bosses’ drive to slash budgets and boost profits. We need a new class-struggle

leadership committed to a working-class fight back against the capitalists’ all-sided class war against working people, the poor and oppressed.

To provide for even the elemental needs of all will take the revolutionary overturn of capitalist property relations, which requires the building of a party committed to socialist revolution and centered on working-class militants devoted to that purpose. The proletarian government that will arise on the ashes of this decaying capitalist system would quickly develop low-cost, integrated quality housing with the best schools and cultural institutions to provide for the education and well-being of all. Workers rule in the U.S. and internationally—based on a centrally planned, collectivized economy—will provide the building blocks for socialist society, the banner of which will be “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.”■

Subject Index...

(continued from page 12)

Cannon, James P.—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement; Quote of the Week**. See also **History of the Marxist Movement; Partisan Defense Committee**.

Catalonia—See **Spain**.

CATHOLIC CHURCH—And see **Cuba**. See also **Britain; France**.
Enough Papal Bull, #1075, 2 Oct. (2)

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)—See **Australia; U.S.: International Relations**.

CHARLESTON

Walter Scott Gunned Down in Charleston—Racist Cop Terror: Time for Labor to Take a Stand, #1067, 1 May (1, 2, 3)
On 2003 Charleston Cop Killing of Asberry Wylder (L), #1068, 15 May (2)
Racist Terror and the Legacy of Slavery—Bloody Charleston, #1071, 10 July (1, 7, 8)
On the Charleston Massacre: Who’s Next? Hate Your Enemy!, #1071, 10 July (1, 6)

Charlie Hebdo—See **France**.

CHICAGO—And see also **Auto Workers**.
Obama’s Hatchet Man Beats “Progressive” Rival—Democrats’ Segregation City Elections, #1066, 17 Apr. (1, 10, 11)

Chicago Teachers Union (CTU)—See **Chicago**.

CHINA—And see **Indonesia; Japan; Vietnam**. See also **Australia; Canada; North Korea; Ukraine**.
Hong Kong Protests: Spearhead for Capitalist Counterrevolution [#1054, 17 Oct. 2014] (C), #1064, 20 Mar. (3)
South China Sea: Defend China Against U.S. Military Provocations!, #1070, 12 June (1, 10)
On China’s 1989 Tiananmen Upheaval, #1070, 12 June (8, 9)
China and the World Economy: Fact vs. Fiction, #1076, 16 Oct. (6, 7)
Trans-Pacific Partnership: Down With U.S. Imperialism’s Anti-China Trade Pact!, #1078, 13 Nov. (12, 9, 10)*
Correction on North Vietnamese Military (C) (L), #1080, 11 Dec. (2)

Citizenfour—See **Civil Liberties: General**.

City College of New York—See **Israel/Palestine**.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

- **General**—And see **Canada; Death Penalty; France; U.S.: International Relations**.
Hail Edward Snowden! *Citizenfour*: A Review (by A. Stevens) (R), #1060, 23 Jan. (7, 8)
Hastert Hoist on Own Petard—Prosecuted for Withdrawing His Money (E), #1070, 12 June (5)
- **Cases**—And see **Abortion; Abu-Jamal, Mumia; New York City; Obituaries; Partisan Defense Committee; Transit Workers**. See also **Prisons**.
U.S. Black Militant in Exile in Cuba—Hands Off Assata Shakur!, #1059, 9 Jan. (4)
Oakland: Drop All Charges Against Black Friday 14! (CSDN), #1061, 6 Feb. (9)
Free Sundiata Acoli! (CSDN), #1061, 6 Feb. (11)
Sacramento, California: Cops Charge Black Activist with “Lynching”—Defend Maile Hampton!, #1064, 20 Mar. (2)
Palestinian Activist Rasmea Odeh: Overturn Conviction! No Deportation! (CSDN), #1065, 3 Apr. (5)
Polish Judge Denies Extradition to U.S.—Defend Roman Polanski!, #1079, 27 Nov. (2)
- **Woodfox, Albert**
Free Albert Woodfox Now! (CSDN), #1065, 3 Apr. (5)
Albert Woodfox Must Be Freed!, #1071, 10 July (3)
Vindictive Retrial of Former Black Panther, #1079, 27 Nov. (3)

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT—And see **Malcolm X**. See also **Black Question**.
Selma: The Movie and the Real Story (by Brian Manning and John Perry) (R), #1060, 23 Jan. (12, 10, 11)
On Federal Troops in Little Rock [by Richard S. Fraser], #1061, 6 Feb. (2)
Police Terror and Black Oppression—Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement (S)
Part One, #1063, 6 Mar. (12, 6, 7)
Part Two, #1064, 20 Mar. (6, 7, 8, 9)

Colonialism—See **Britain; Puerto Rico**. See also **Canada**.

Colorado—See **Abortion**.

Committee for a Workers’ International—See **Greece; History of the Marxist Movement; Ireland; U.S.: General**. See also **China; Europe/ European Union; Ukraine**.

Communist International—See **History of the Marxist Movement**. See also **Black Question**.

Communist Party (U.S.)—See **Art; History of the Marxist Movement**. See also **Black Question; Civil Rights Movement**.

Communist Party of Germany (KPD)—See **History of the Marxist Movement**. See also **Archives of the Marxist Movement**.

Communist Platform—See **East Germany**.

Confederate Flag—See **Black Question; Charleston; Obituaries**.

Corbyn, Jeremy—See **Britain**.

Cromwell, Oliver—See **Britain**.

CUBA—And see **Civil Liberties: Cases**. See also **Gay Rights; Puerto Rico**.
U.S. Imperialists Open Diplomatic Relations—Defend the Gains of the Cuban Revolution!, #1059, 9 Jan. (1, 4, 5)
Castro Regime Welcomes Reactionary Vatican, #1077, 30 Oct. (4, 5)

DEATH PENALTY

Feds Push Tsarnaev Execution—Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!, #1070, 12 June (12, 11)

Debs, Eugene V.—See **Black Question**. See also **Archives of the Marxist Movement; U.S.: General**.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

1965 U.S. Invasion of Dominican Republic—“Hands Off the Dominican Revolution!” [*Spartacist* supplement, 6 May 1965], #1070, 12 June (2, 3)

Donetsk—See **Ukraine**.

Douglass, Frederick—See **Quote of the Week**.

EAST GERMANY

After the Fall of the Berlin Wall—The ICL’s Fight for a Red Soviet Germany [*Spartakist*], #1059, 9 Jan. (6, 7, 8, 9, 10)

Economy—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement; China**.

Eichhorn, Emil—See **History of the Marxist Movement**.

Engels, Friedrich—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement; Quote of the Week**. See also **Britain; Canada; Housing; Woman Question**.

EUROPE/EUROPEAN UNION (EU)—And see **Greece; Immigration; Internationalist Group**. See also **Britain; France; Spain; Ukraine**.
Racist Clampdown on Immigration (*Workers Hammer*), #1071, 10 July (12, 8, 9)
No Deportations! Down With the European Union! Imperialist Mayhem Fuels Refugee Crisis, #1077, 30 Oct. (12, 11)

Family—See **Quote of the Week; Woman Question**. See also **Abortion**.

Fascism—See **Charleston; Near East**. See also **Civil Rights Movement; Greece; Internationalist Group; Obituaries; Ukraine**.

Feminism—See **Canada: Quebec; Woman Question**. See also **Civil Rights Movement**.

Ferguson, Mo.—See **Police**. See also **Civil Liberties: Cases; Civil Rights Movement**.

Finkelstein, Norman—See **Israel/Palestine**.

Fourth International—See **Quote of the Week**.

FRANCE—And see **Obituaries**. See also **Britain; Canada; Vietnam**.
“National Unity” Crusade After Paris Massacres—Down With “War on Terror” Repression!, #1060, 23 Jan. (1, 8, 9)
After Criminal Attacks on *Charlie Hebdo* and Jewish Market—Down With Anti-Muslim Repression! (*Le Bolchévique*), #1065, 3 Apr. (6, 7, 8, 9)
Hands Off Arrested Air France Strikers!, #1077, 30 Oct. (5)
Drop All Charges Against Air France Workers! No Layoffs!, #1078, 13 Nov. (4, 5)
Statement by French Trotskyists: On Criminal Attacks in Paris, #1079, 27 Nov. (1, 9)
Down With Anti-Muslim Repression! U.S., France Out of the Near East!, #1079, 27 Nov. (1, 9, 10)

Fraser, Richard S.—See **Civil Rights Movement**. See also **Black Question**.

GAY RIGHTS—And see **Britain**.
Before It Became All About Marriage... How New Left Gay Liberationists Were Won to Trotskyism (YSp), #1072, 7 Aug. (4, 5, 11)

German Revolution of 1918-19—See **History of the Marxist Movement**. See also **Archives of the Marxist Movement**.

Germany—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement; East Germany; Europe/European Union; History of the Marxist Movement**. See also **Greece; Internationalist Group; Ukraine**.

Gray, Freddie—See **Baltimore**.

GREECE—And see **Internationalist Group**. See also **Europe/European Union; Ukraine**.
No Vote to Syriza! Vote Communist Party!, #1060, 23 Jan. (12, 9)
Imperialists Squeeze Greece, #1062, 20 Feb. (1, 3, 4)
NYC Pro-Syriza Forum: Reformists Hail Greek Ruling Party, #1062, 20 Feb. (3)
Syriza Tries to Appease EU Imperialists—European Union Turns Screws (*Workers Hammer*), #1065, 3 Apr. (12, 9, 10, 11)
Greek Trotskyists Say: Syriza Is Class Enemy of Workers!, #1068, 15 May (12, 8, 9, 10)
Greece Votes No to EU Austerity, #1071, 10 July (12, 11)
For Workers Struggle Against EU Starvation Diktat, #1072, 7 Aug. (1, 10)
Greek Trotskyists Initiate Call: Repudiate Syriza’s Sellout to the EU!, #1072, 7 Aug. (10)
Greek Elections: No Vote to Syriza or Popular Unity!, #1074, 18 Sept. (12, 9)
Open Letter to the Greek Communist Party—Why We Are Not Giving Critical Support to the KKE, #1074, 18 Sept. (9)
For Workers Struggle Against Austerity! (S)
Part One, #1077, 30 Oct. (6, 7)
Part Two, #1078, 13 Nov. (6, 7, 8)

Greenwald, Glenn—See **Civil Liberties: General**.

Gun Control—See **Abortion; U.S.: General**.

Hampton, Maile—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

Harpers Ferry—See **Quote of the Week**.

Hastert, Dennis—See **Civil Liberties: General**.

Hawkins, Cleophas C. (Hawk)—See **Obituaries**.

HEALTH CARE—And see **Abortion; Obituaries**. See also **Abu-Jamal, Mumia; Auto Workers**.
Measles in the U.S.—Anti-Vaxxers: A Rash of Irrationality, #1062, 20 Feb. (2)

Higgins, Jeff—See **Obituaries**.

HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT—And see **Archives of the Marxist Movement; Art; Black Question**.
A Correction to Our *Militant Labour* Pamphlet—The Police and the 1918-19 German Revolution [*Militant Labour’s Touching Faith in the Capitalist State*, 1994], #1060, 23 Jan. (3, 5)*
A Correction to Our *Militant Labour* Pamphlet... (C), #1062, 20 Feb. (2)
A Correction to Our *Militant Labour* Pamphlet... (C), #1071, 10 July (2)
Upholding the Revolutionary Legacy: *The Communist International and U.S. Communism, 1919-1929*—A Review (R), #1067, 1 May (6, 7, 10)
Book Launch: *The Communist International and U.S. Communism, 1919-1929* by Jacob A. Zumoff (S)
Part One, #1072, 7 Aug. (6, 7, 8)
Part Two, #1073, 4 Sept. (4, 5, 7)
What Is To Be Done? Origins of the Leninist Vanguard Party (*Workers Hammer*), #1079, 27 Nov. (4, 5, 6, 7)

Homelessness—See **Los Angeles**.

Hong Kong—See **China**.

Horowitz, David—See **Campus Repression**.

HOUSING—See also **Los Angeles; New Orleans**.
As de Blasio Launches “Affordable Housing” Scam—Real Estate Barons Devour New York, #1078, 13 Nov. (1, 10, 11)
No to Public Housing Smoking Ban!, #1080, 11 Dec. (3, 8)

Hurricane Katrina—See **New Orleans**.

Ignatin, Noel (Ignatiev)—See **Black Question**.

IMMIGRATION—And see **Australia; Canada; Europe/European Union; France; Police; South Africa**. See also **Britain; Canada: Quebec; Greece; Internationalist Group**.
Obama, Congress Squabble Over Immigration Reform Scam—No Deportations! Full Citizenship Rights!, #1063, 6 Mar. (1, 11)
On Imperialism and Refugees (L), #1074, 18 Sept. (3)

Imperialism—See **Afghanistan; Britain; Europe/ European Union; Immigration; Near East; Puerto Rico; Russia**. See also **France; Greece**.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>Indiana—See Abortion; Auto Workers.</p> <p>INDONESIA Fifty Years Since Anti-Communist Massacre in Indonesia (<i>Australasian Spartacist</i>), #1079, 27 Nov. (8) Indonesia: Lesson in Betrayal [reprinted from <i>Spartacist</i> No. 5, November-December 1965], #1079, 27 Nov. (8, 9)</p> <p>Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)—See Archives of the Marxist Movement.</p> <p>International Communist League—See Canada: Quebec; East Germany; France; Greece; History of the Marxist Movement; Internationalist Group; Obituaries; Police. See also Australia; Bolshevik Tendency; Britain.</p> <p>International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU)—See Longshoremen. See also Australia; Charleston.</p> <p>International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA)—See Charleston; Longshoremen.</p> <p>International Marxist Tendency—See History of the Marxist Movement.</p> <p>International Monetary Fund (IMF)—See Greece.</p> <p>International Socialist Organization—See Greece; U.S.: General; Woman Question. See also Chicago; Cuba; Police.</p> <p>INTERNATIONALIST GROUP (IG) IG on Greece: Bridge to Fourth Reich, #1075, 2 Oct. (4, 5) IG Smear Job, #1075, 2 Oct. (4) <i>The Interview</i>—See North Korea.</p> <p>Iran—See Near East. See also Obituaries.</p> <p>Iraq—See Near East. See also Afghanistan.</p> <p>IRELAND—And see also Britain. Irish Taafeites Back Call for Cop “Union” (<i>Workers Hammer</i>), #1072, 7 Aug. (2, 3) Ireland: Racism Against Traveller Minority (<i>Workers Hammer</i>), #1080, 11 Dec. (2)</p> <p>ISRAEL/PALESTINE—And see Campus Repression; Civil Liberties: Cases. See also Near East. City College of New York: SYC Defends Marxism at Finkelstein Talk (YSp), #1062, 20 Feb. (8, 10) Israel Out of East Jerusalem, West Bank! Defend the Palestinians!, #1077, 30 Oct. (1, 10)</p> <p>Islamic Fundamentalism—See Canada; France; Near East.</p> <p>Islamic State (ISIS)—See France; Near East. See also Afghanistan; Canada.</p> <p><i>Jacobin</i>—See Black Question.</p> <p>JAPAN Protests Against Militarism, #1080, 11 Dec. (6, 7, 8)</p> <p>Japanese Communist Party—See Japan.</p> <p>John Reed Clubs—See Art.</p> <p>Jones, Judy—See Longshoremen.</p> <p>Jones, William P.—See Black Question.</p> <p>King Jr., Martin Luther—See Civil Rights Movement. See also Black Question; Malcolm X; Police.</p> <p>Kirschbaum, Stevan—See Boston.</p> <p>KKE (Communist Party of Greece)—See Greece. See also Internationalist Group.</p> <p>Kohler strike—See Labor: General.</p> <p>Kurdish Question—See Near East. See also Europe/European Union.</p> <p>LABOR • General—And see Charleston; China; Los Angeles; Oil Workers; Police. See also Baltimore; Black Question; Chicago; Civil Rights Movement; New York City; U.S.: General. For Class Struggle Against Poverty Wages!, #1067, 1 May (12, 11) Pension Robbery—Bosses to Workers: Slave Away, Drop Dead, #1072, 7 Aug. (12, 9) Victory to the Kohler Strike!, #1079, 27 Nov. (11) • History—And see Archives of the Marxist Movement. See also Auto Workers; Longshoremen. New Spartacist Pamphlet: <i>Then and Now</i>, #1072, 7 Aug. (9)</p> <p>Labor Black Leagues—See Obituaries.</p> <p>Lavender and Red Union—See Gay Rights.</p> <p>Lenin, V.I.—See Archives of the Marxist Movement; History of the Marxist Movement; Quote of the Week; Woman Question. See also Australia; Britain; Greece; Spain.</p> | <p>Levellers—See Britain.</p> <p>Little Rock, Ark.—See Civil Rights Movement.</p> <p>LONGSHOREMEN—And see Australia; Charleston. Semi-Lockout on West Coast Ports—Shipping Bosses Escalate Offensive Against ILWU, #1062, 20 Feb. (12, 11) ILWU Contract: Shipping Bosses Buy Labor Peace, Undermine Union, #1069, 29 May (12, 11) New Jersey Docks: Death Trap, #1073, 4 Sept. (12, 10)</p> <p>LOS ANGELES—And see Campus Repression. LAPD Guns Down Homeless Man, #1064, 20 Mar. (1, 9) L.A. Union Tops Minimize Minimum Wage—How Low Can You Go, #1071, 10 July (3, 8) Homeless Hell in the City of Angels, #1078, 13 Nov. (1, 5)</p> <p>Louisiana—See Black Question; Civil Liberties: Woodfox Case; New Orleans.</p> <p>Luhansk—See Ukraine.</p> <p>Luxemburg, Rosa—See Archives of the Marxist Movement. See also History of the Marxist Movement.</p> <p>Madison, Wis.—See Police.</p> <p>MALCOLM X Malcolm X: Courageous Fighter for Black Liberation [reprinted from <i>Young Spartacus</i> Nos. 115 and 116, February and March 1984], #1063, 6 Mar. (4, 6) Malcolm X: The Man, the Myth, the Struggle [reprinted from <i>Black History and the Class Struggle</i> No. 10, February 1993], #1069, 29 May (2, 3)</p> <p>Maoism—See Indonesia.</p> <p>Marx, Karl—See Archives of the Marxist Movement; Quote of the Week. See also Britain; Canada; Greece.</p> <p>McKay, Claude—See Quote of the Week. See also History of the Marxist Movement.</p> <p>Measles—See Health Care.</p> <p>Minimum Wage—See Labor: General; Los Angeles.</p> <p>Minneapolis—See Black Question.</p> <p>Montreal—See Canada: Quebec.</p> <p>MOVE Massacre—See Black Question.</p> <p>MOVE 9—See Obituaries.</p> <p>Multiemployer Pension Reform Act (MPRA)—See Labor: General.</p> <p>Muslims—See Canada; France; U.S.: General.</p> <p>National Democratic Institute—See China.</p> <p>National Question—See Spain; Ukraine; Vietnam. See also Bolshevik Tendency; Canada; Greece; Israel/Palestine; Puerto Rico; South Africa.</p> <p>National Security Agency (NSA)—See Civil Liberties: General.</p> <p>Native Americans—See Canada.</p> <p>NEAR EAST—And see Afghanistan; Campus Repression; France; Israel/Palestine; Yemen. See also Europe/European Union. Imperialists Stoke Religious Fires—U.S. Out of the Near East Now!, #1065, 3 Apr. (1, 4) On ISIS and U.S. Imperialism (L), #1073, 4 Sept. (3, 11) Once Again on ISIS and U.S. Imperialism (L), #1078, 13 Nov. (3)</p> <p>New Jersey—See Civil Liberties: Cases; Longshoremen.</p> <p>NEW ORLEANS Ten Years After Katrina—Still Racist Hell, #1074, 18 Sept. (1, 5)</p> <p>NEW YORK CITY—And see Greece; Housing; Police; Transit Workers. Amid Protests Against Racist Police Terror—NYC Cop Backlash, #1059, 9 Jan. (12, 11) Drop All Charges Against Anti-Police Brutality Protesters!, #1059, 9 Jan. (11)</p> <p>New York State—See Prisons.</p> <p>North Charleston—See Charleston.</p> <p>NORTH KOREA—And see also Japan. Dimwit Film Fans the Flames—U.S. Provocations Target North Korea, #1059, 9 Jan. (3)</p> <p>Northites—See East Germany.</p> <p>Oakland—See Civil Liberties: Cases. See also Charleston.</p> | <p>OBITUARIES—And see Australia. Phil Africa, 1956-2015, #1060, 23 Jan. (11) Cleophas C. (Hawk) Hawkins, 1934-2015, #1061, 6 Feb. (3) In Memory of Samiya (Goldii) Davis Abdullah (CSDN), #1061, 6 Feb. (8) Jeff Higgins, 1949-2015, #1063, 6 Mar. (3)* Jeff Higgins... (C), #1064, 20 Mar. (3) Hugo Pinell Assassinated—Unbroken and Unbowed Fighter for the Oppressed, #1073, 4 Sept. (6, 7) Oliver Sacks: An Appreciation (L), #1074, 18 Sept. (3) Myriam (Fetneh) Benoît, 1949-2015, #1077, 30 Oct. (3)</p> <p>Odeh, Rasmea—See Civil Liberties: Cases.</p> <p>Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW)—See Oil Workers.</p> <p>OIL WORKERS Victory to Oil Workers Strike!, #1062, 20 Feb. (1, 5)</p> <p>Okinawa—See Japan.</p> <p>Palestinians—See Campus Repression; Civil Liberties: Cases; Israel/Palestine.</p> <p>PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE—And see Abu-Jamal, Mumia; Civil Liberties: Cases. See also Black Question; Obituaries. 29th Annual Holiday Appeal: Free All Class-War Prisoners! (CSDN), #1061, 6 Feb. (8, 9, 11) Greetings from the Class-War Prisoners (CSDN), #1061, 6 Feb. (9) 30th Annual PDC Holiday Appeal (CSDN), #1080, 11 Dec. (4)</p> <p>Party for Social Equality (Germany)—See East Germany.</p> <p>Patel, Purvi—See Abortion.</p> <p>Pensions—See Labor: General.</p> <p>Philadelphia—See Black Question. See also Abu-Jamal, Mumia.</p> <p>Pinell, Hugo—See Obituaries. See also Partisan Defense Committee.</p> <p>Planned Parenthood—See Abortion.</p> <p>Poitras, Laura—See Civil Liberties: General.</p> <p>Poland—See Civil Liberties: Cases.</p> <p>Polanski, Roman—See Civil Liberties: Cases.</p> <p>POLICE—And see Baltimore; Black Question; Canada; Charleston; Civil Liberties: Cases; Civil Rights Movement; History of the Marxist Movement; Ireland; Los Angeles; New York City. See also Partisan Defense Committee. “The Strikebreakers Go on Strike... Police Militancy vs. Labor” [reprinted from <i>Workers’ Action</i> No. 8, April-May 1971], #1059, 9 Jan. (2, 10) Ferguson and the Feds—Another Whitewash of Cop Terror, #1061, 6 Feb. (12) Pasco, Washington: Mexican Worker Shot Dead by Cops, #1063, 6 Mar. (1, 11) Ferguson, Madison, Nationwide: Capitalist Rule Means Racist Cop Terror, #1064, 20 Mar. (1, 11) Sandra Bland’s Death: The Police Are Guilty, #1072, 7 Aug. (12, 8)</p> <p><i>Pride</i>—See Britain.</p> <p>PRISONS—And see also Abu-Jamal, Mumia; New Orleans; Obituaries. Attica: The Nightmare That Never Ends, #1065, 3 Apr. (3) On Crime and Punishment (L), #1071, 10 July (2, 10)</p> <p>Prometheus Research Library—See History of the Marxist Movement.</p> <p>Protectionism—See China. See also Australia; Auto Workers; Oil Workers.</p> <p>PUERTO RICO U.S. Colonialism Chokes Puerto Rico—Cancel the Debt!, #1075, 2 Oct. (1, 6, 7)</p> <p>QUOTE OF THE WEEK U.S. Capitalism and Black Oppression (Max Shachtman), #1062, 20 Feb. (2) Reforge the Fourth International (<i>New International</i>), #1064, 20 Mar. (2) Civil War and Social Revolution (V.I. Lenin), #1065, 3 Apr. (2) Communism and the Family (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels), #1066, 17 Apr. (2) May Day Greetings! (Claude McKay), #1067, 1 May (2) The Bombing of Black Tulsa (African Blood Brotherhood), #1068, 15 May (2) Socialism and Art (Leon Trotsky), #1069, 29 May (2)</p> |
|---|---|---|

Fight Capitalist Misery! (Karl Marx), #1071, 10 July (2)

In Memory of Leon Trotsky (*Socialist Appeal*), #1072, 7 Aug. (2)

For New October Revolutions! (James P. Cannon), #1078, 13 Nov. (2)

Honor John Brown and Harpers Ferry Uprising (Frederick Douglass), #1079, 27 Nov. (2)

Marxism and Religion (Karl Marx), #1080, 11 Dec. (2)

Railroad Workers—See **U.S.: General**.

Red Flag Union—See **Gay Rights**.

Refugees—See **Europe/European Union; Immigration**.

Religion—See **Britain; Catholic Church; Cuba; France; Near East; Quote of the Week**. See also **Abortion; Health Care**.

Revolutionary Student Coordinating Committee—See **Israel/Palestine**.

RUSSIA—And see **Ukraine**. See also **Near East**. Is Russia Imperialist? (L), #1071, 10 July (2, 10)

Sacks, Oliver—See **Obituaries**.

Sacramento, Calif.—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

San Bernardino—See **U.S.: General**.

San Francisco—See **Black Question**. See also **Obituaries**.

Sanders, Bernie—See **U.S.: General**. See also **Black Question; Britain**.

Saudi Arabia—See **Yemen**.

School Bus Drivers—See **Boston**.

Science—See **Health Care; Obituaries**.

Scotland—See **Bolshevik Tendency**. See also **Britain**.

Scott, Walter—See **Charleston**.

Selma—See **Civil Rights Movement**.

Sexuality—See **Civil Liberties: Cases; Woman Question**. See also **Prisons**.

Shachtman, Max—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement; Quote of the Week**.

Shakur, Assata—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

Slavery—See **Black Question; Britain**. See also **Charleston**.

Smoking—See **Housing**.

Snowden, Edward—See **Civil Liberties: General**.

Socialist Alternative—See **Greece; U.S.: General**. See also **Labor: General; Los Angeles; Police**.

Socialist Party (Ireland)—See **Ireland**.

Socialist Party (U.S.)—See **Black Question**. See also **History of the Marxist Movement**.

Socialist Workers Party (Britain)—See **Greece**. See also **Britain**.

Socialist Workers Party (U.S.)—See **Civil Rights Movement; Quote of the Week**. See also **Black Question; Cuba; Gay Rights; Obituaries; Vietnam**.

SOUTH AFRICA

New Wave of Anti-Immigrant Attacks (*Spartacist South Africa*), #1064, 20 Mar. (12, 10)

South Carolina—See **Charleston**.

South China Sea—See **China**.

Soviet Union—See **East Germany; History of the Marxist Movement; Woman Question**. See also **Afghanistan; Archives of the Marxist Movement; Art; Australia; Cuba; Death Penalty; Israel/Palestine; Prisons; Quote of the Week; U.S.: International Relations**.

SPAIN—And see also **Britain**.

Independence for Catalonia and for the Basque Country!, #1066, 17 Apr. (12, 8, 9, 10)

Spartacist League—See **Black Question; Gay Rights; Greece; Obituaries**. See also **Campus Repression; History of the Marxist Movement; Partisan Defense Committee**.

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUBS—And see **Israel/Palestine**. See also **Campus Repression; Partisan Defense Committee**.

Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! (YSp), #1063, 6 Mar. (5)

Sports—See **Black Question**.

Spratly Islands—See **China**.

Stalinism—See **Art; China; Cuba; East Germany; Vietnam**. See also **Greece; History of the Marxist Movement; North Korea; Woman Question**.

Stewart, Lynne—See **Partisan Defense Committee**.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)—See **Civil Rights Movement**. See also **Black Question**.

Students—See **Black Question**.

Students for Justice in Palestine—See **Campus Repression; Israel/Palestine**.

Syria—See **Near East**. See also **Afghanistan; Europe/European Union**.

Syriza—See **Greece**.

Teachers—See **Chicago**.

Tiananmen Upheaval—See **China**.

Torture—See **U.S.: International Relations**.

TRANSIT WORKERS—And see **Boston**. See also **Civil Liberties: Cases; New York City**. NYC: Union Acts to Defend Victimized Bus Driver, #1059, 9 Jan. (10)

Trans-Pacific Partnership—See **China**.

Transport Workers Union—See **Transit Workers**. See also **New York City**.

Travellers—See **Ireland**.

Trotsky, Leon—See **Catholic Church; Quote of the Week**. See also **Art; Britain; East Germany; Greece; Woman Question**.

Trotskyism—See **East Germany; Gay Rights; Quote of the Week; Vietnam**. See also **Cuba; Greece; History of the Marxist Movement**.

Tsarnaev, Dzhokhar—See **Death Penalty**.

Tulsa, Okla.—See **Quote of the Week**.

UCLA—See **Campus Repression**.

UKRAINE—And see **Russia**. U.S. Rulers Fuel East Ukraine Slaughter, #1061, 6 Feb. (1, 10, 11)

United Auto Workers (UAW)—See **Auto Workers**. See also **Black Question; China; Labor: General; Longshoremen**.

UNITED STATES

- **General**—And see **Abortion; Black Question; Charleston; Civil Liberties: General, Woodfox Case; Civil Rights Movement; Death Penalty; France; Health Care; Immigration; Labor: General; Police**. See also **Baltimore; Britain; Housing; Malcolm X; New Orleans; New York City; Partisan Defense Committee**. Amtrak Train Wreck: Capitalist Murder on the Tracks, #1069, 29 May (1, 11) Reformist Left Plays in Bernie’s Sandbox, #1072, 7 Aug. (3) On San Bernardino Massacre, #1080, 11 Dec. (1, 8)
- **International Relations**—And see **Afghanistan; Australia; China; Civil Liberties: Cases; Cuba; Dominican Republic; France; Japan; Near East; North Korea; Puerto Rico; Ukraine; Vietnam**. See also **Britain; Civil Liberties: General; Cuba; Europe/European Union;**

Israel/Palestine; Russia. Senate Report Whitewashes White House: CIA Torture, Inc., #1060, 23 Jan. (1, 6, 7)

United Steelworkers (USW)—See **Boston; Oil Workers**.

University of Missouri—See **Black Question**.

Vaccines—See **Health Care**.

VIETNAM—And see also **Australia; China**. Vietnam 40 Years Ago: U.S. Imperialism Defeated, Capitalist Rule Smashed [reprinted from WV No. 68, 9 May 1975], #1067, 1 May (4, 5, 9) On China, Vietnam and Nationalism (L), #1075, 2 Oct. (3, 5)

“War on Terror”—See **Canada; Civil Liberties: General; France; U.S.: General, International Relations**. See also **Australia**.

Washington State—See **Police**.

What Is To Be Done?—See **History of the Marxist Movement**.

“White Skin Privilege”—See **Black Question**.

Whitlam, Gough—See **Australia**.

Whitney Plantation—See **Black Question**.

WOMAN QUESTION—And see **Abortion; Canada: Quebec; Quote of the Week**. See also **Afghanistan; Civil Rights Movement; France**. In Honor of International Women’s Day [by V.I. Lenin], #1063, 6 Mar. (2) Communism and the Family (W&R) (S) Part One, #1068, 15 May (4, 5, 6, 7) Part Two, #1069, 29 May (6, 7)

Woodfox, Albert—See **Civil Liberties: Woodfox Case**.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive Week One Totals, #1073, 4 Sept. (3) Week Three Totals, #1074, 18 Sept. (3) Week Five Totals, #1075, 2 Oct. (7) Week Seven Totals, #1076, 16 Oct. (2) Final Totals, #1077, 30 Oct. (9) Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation, #1076, 16 Oct. (10) *Workers Vanguard* Welcomes New Readers, #1079, 27 Nov. (3)

Workers World Party—See **Boston**. See also **Los Angeles**.

Workplace Safety—See **Longshoremen; U.S.: General**. See also **Oil Workers**.

YEMEN—And see **Near East; U.S.: International Relations**. See also **Britain**. Down With Saudi-led War in Yemen!, #1070, 12 June (3, 4, 5)

Zhao Dingxin—See **China**.

Zionism—See **Campus Repression; Israel/Palestine**.

Zumoff, Jacob A.—See **History of the Marxist Movement**. See also **Black Question**.

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2015 SUBJECT INDEX

Issues No. 1059 (9 January) through No. 1080 (11 December)

Abdullah, Samiya (Goldii) Davis—See **Obituaries**.

ABORTION

- Free Purvi Patel Now! Imprisoned for Miscarriage in Indiana, #1066, 17 Apr. (1, 2)
- Defend Planned Parenthood! For Free Abortion on Demand!, #1074, 18 Sept. (1, 4, 5)
- Anti-Abortion Terror in Colorado, #1080, 11 Dec. (1, 5)

ABU-JAMAL, MUMIA—And see **Obituaries**.

- Medical Crisis: Mumia’s Life in Danger—Free Him Now! (CSDN), #1066, 17 Apr. (3)
- Mumia Still Gravely Ill, #1068, 15 May (3)
- Court Blocks Medical Treatment—Free Him Now!, #1075, 2 Oct. (3)

Acoli, Sundiata—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

AFGHANISTAN—And see also **Israel/Palestine**.

- Imperialist Atrocity in Kunduz—U.S. Out of Afghanistan and the Near East!, #1076, 16 Oct. (1, 8)

AFL-CIO—See **Los Angeles; China**. See also **Police**.

Africa, Phil—See **Obituaries**. See also **Partisan Defense Committee**.

African Blood Brotherhood—See **Quote of the Week**. See also **History of the Marxist Movement**.

Amtrak—See **U.S.: General**.

Angola 3—See **Civil Liberties: Woodfox Case**.

ANSWER Coalition—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

ARCHIVES OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT—

- And see **Civil Rights Movement; History of the Marxist Movement; Police; Woman Question**.
- Honor Rosa Luxemburg! From *Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg* by Max Shachtman, #1060, 23 Jan. (2, 4)
- James P. Cannon on the Legacy of the IWW, #1070, 12 June (6, 7)
- “Karl Marx” by V.I. Lenin (S)
 - Part One, #1073, 4 Sept. (2)
 - Part Two, #1074, 18 Sept. (2, 11)
 - Part Three, #1075, 2 Oct. (2, 8)
 - Part Four, #1076, 16 Oct. (2, 8, 9)
 - Part Five, #1077, 30 Oct. (2)
 - Part Six, #1078, 13 Nov. (2, 3)

ART—And see **Quote of the Week**.

- Stalinists and Artists in the U.S. “Red Decade”—NYU’s *Left Front* Art Show (by Helen Cantor) (R), #1069, 29 May (4, 5)

Attica—See **Prisons**.

AUSTRALIA

- Dirty Deeds Down Under, #1061, 6 Feb. (4, 5)
- Australia’s Gough Whitlam, 1916-2014: The CIA, the Queen’s Agent and the Man Who Got in the Way, #1061, 6 Feb. (5, 6)
- Down With War on Refugees! (*Australasian Spartacist*), #1064, 20 Mar. (5)
- Class Struggle and the 1975 Ouster of the Whitlam Government (*Australasian Spartacist*), #1069, 29 May (8, 9, 10)
- Longshore Union Under Attack, #1074, 18 Sept. (12, 10, 11)

AUTO WORKERS—And see also **Black Question; China; Labor: General; Longshoremen**.

- Lear Auto Contract Sellout—UAW Tops Tout Two-Tier Bait and Switch, #1064, 20 Mar. (3, 4)
- Auto Workers Oppose Sellout Contract, #1075, 2 Oct. (1, 11)
- UAW Tops Push Repackaged Sellout, #1076, 16 Oct. (12, 9)
- UAW Tops Force Through Sellout Contracts, #1080, 11 Dec. (3)

BALTIMORE

- Black Baltimore’s Justified Rage, #1067, 1 May (1, 11)
- Racist Cop Terror and Capitalist Decay, #1068, 15 May (1, 10, 11)

Basque Question—See **Spain**.

Benoît, Myriam (Fetneh)—See **Obituaries**.

Black Friday 14—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 2015, from issue No. 1059 (9 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 1080 (11 December). During this time, WV was published biweekly except for three alternate issues in June, July and August and skipping the last issue in December.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows. Corrections to articles from previous years indicate the issue number and date of the corrected article in brackets.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:
 - Dirty Deeds Down Under, #1061, 6 Feb. (4, 5)means the headline of the article, issue No. 1061, dated 6 February, beginning on page 4 and continuing on page 5.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross-references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross-references are of two types: those following the word “see” deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words “see also” are related articles. Subject heads in cross-references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:
 - Oakland—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**. See also **Charleston**. means that articles about Oakland can be found by going

to the subject head **CIVIL LIBERTIES** and looking under the subcategory **Cases**. Related articles can be found by going to the subject head **CHARLESTON**.

- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not a subject heading unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are generally cross-referenced to their appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.

- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not normally under any other subject heading. Articles relating to Israel and the Occupied Territories will be found under the subject head **ISRAEL/PALESTINE**. Articles that deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy will be found under **U.S.: International Relations** or under the relevant geographical heading, for example, **CHINA**.

- Articles under the *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* (CSDN) masthead are by the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League.

- Abbreviations used in entries are:

- C: Correction
- CSDN: *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* article
- E: Editorial Note
- L: Letter
- R: Review
- S: Series
- YSp: *Young Spartacus* article
- W&R: *Women and Revolution* article

- Entries for articles that first appeared in the press of another section of the International Communist League indicate the name of the press in parentheses, for example: (*Le Bolchévik*).

Black Lives Matter—See **Police**. See also **Canada**.

Black Panther Party—See **Black Question; Civil Liberties: Cases, Woodfox Case**.

The Black Panthers—See **Black Question**.

BLACK QUESTION—And see **Baltimore; Charleston; Civil Liberties: Cases; Civil Rights Movement; Malcolm X; New Orleans; New York City; Obituaries; Police; Prisons; Quote of the Week**. See also **Canada; Chicago; Death Penalty; History of the Marxist Movement; Los Angeles; U.S.: International Relations**.

Louisiana Museum Shows Horrors of Slavery (L), #1065, 3 Apr. (2)

13 May 1985 MOVE Massacre—“Philly Inferno: Racist Murder!” [reprinted from WV No. 380, 31 May 1985], #1068, 15 May (3, 7)

San Francisco 1984—We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery!, #1071, 10 July (6)

Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom (S)

- Part One: The Roots of Black Oppression, #1073, 4 Sept. (1, 8, 9, 10)
- Part Two: Marxism vs. the Myth of “White Skin Privilege,” #1074, 18 Sept. (6, 7, 8)

The Black Panthers: Movie Review (by M.J. Clancy) (R), #1076, 16 Oct. (12, 10, 11)

The Communist Fight Against Black Oppression—Leninism vs. Debs’s Socialist Party, #1076, 16 Oct. (3, 5)

Campus Racism Sparks Protests—Missouri and Beyond, #1079, 27 Nov. (12, 11)

Racist Terror Attacks in Minneapolis, #1079, 27 Nov. (12)

Bland, Sandra—See **Police**.

BOLSHEVIK TENDENCY (BT)

On the BT’s National Chauvinism (L), #1060, 23 Jan. (3)

BOSTON—And see also **Death Penalty**.

- Workers Plowed Under (L), #1063, 6 Mar. (2)
- Stevan Kirschbaum Acquitted—Reinstate Boston School Bus Union Leaders Now!, #1064, 20 Mar. (5)

BRITAIN—And see **Bolshevik Tendency**. See also **Australia; Canada; Europe/European Union; Greece; Near East**.

Guys and the 1984-85 British Miners Strike—*Pride: A Celebration of Solidarity*, A Review by Len Michelson [*Workers Hammer*] (R), #1061, 6 Feb. (7, 10)

The Rise of British Imperialism (*Spartacist Canada*) (S)

- Part One: The Protestant Reformation to the English Revolution, #1062, 20 Feb. (6, 7, 11)*
- Part Two: Capitalism and Slavery, #1063, 6 Mar. (8, 9, 10)

Correction on Cromwell and Calvinism (C), #1064, 20 Mar. (2)

British Elections: No Choice for Workers, Minorities (*Workers Hammer*), #1067, 1 May (3, 10, 11)

On Cromwell and the Levellers (L), #1068, 15 May (2)

Labour Party Fight Rocks Britain—Jeremy Corbyn: Tony Blair’s Nightmare!, #1073, 4 Sept. (12, 11)

British Labour Party Elections: Corbyn Landslide, Blairite Backlash (*Workers Hammer*), #1075, 2 Oct. (12, 10, 11)

Brown, John—See **Quote of the Week**.

Brown, Michael—See **Police**. See also **Civil Rights Movement; Partisan Defense Committee**.

California—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**. See also **Obituaries**.

Calvinism—See **Britain**.

CAMPUS REPRESSION

From Los Angeles to Amherst—Zionist Smear Campaign Targets Pro-Palestinian Students (YSp), #1063, 6 Mar. (5, 10)

CANADA

Marxism and the Fight Against Native Oppression in Canada (*Spartacist Canada*), #1066, 17 Apr. (4, 5, 6, 7, 11)

Canada’s Creeping Police State (*Spartacist Canada*), #1067, 1 May (8, 9)

Cops Terrorize Black Toronto (*Spartacist Canada*), #1075, 2 Oct. (12, 9)

British Columbia, Canada: Labor Must Combat Anti-Asian Racism (*Spartacist Canada*), #1076, 16 Oct. (4, 5)

Canadian Mining in Latin America: Blood, Plunder and Profit (*Spartacist Canada*), #1077, 30 Oct. (8, 9)

• Quebec

Montreal: Campus Feminists Fail to Gag Marxists (*Spartacist Canada*) (YSp), #1062, 20 Feb. (9, 10)

Montreal May Day Leaflet: Mobilize the Working Class Against Capitalist Austerity! (*Spartacist Canada*), #1071, 10 July (4, 5, 10)

continued on page 9