

Chinese Bureaucracy Promotes Reactionary Nationalism Resurgent Japanese Imperialism Sparks Protests in China

APRIL 26—For the past month, tens of thousands of protesters have marched in anti-Japanese demonstrations in cities throughout China. The protests were sparked by Tokyo's approval of new junior high school history textbooks that whitewash past atrocities carried out by Japanese imperialism. The 1937 Rape of Nanjing, in which 300,000 Chinese were slaughtered by Japanese troops, is now described as "an incident." The enslavement of more than 200,000 Korean and Chinese so-called "comfort women," who were forced to serve as sex slaves in Japanese army brothels during World War II, has been erased from history.

The Japanese textbook whitewash is a provocation not only against the Chinese deformed workers state, but workers throughout Asia, and, in fact, it has sparked protests in South Korea. It is the latest in a series of provocations by Japanese imperialism against China, including Japan's recent statement that it will drill for oil and gas around the Diaoyutai Islands, which are claimed by China. Most significant was the issuing of a joint policy statement in February between the U.S. and Japan avowing that Taiwan is "a mutual security concern." Most of the protests in China, which for now have largely stopped, were tacitly organized or approved by the government as a response to the provocations by Japan. The bureaucracy had allowed the protests to continue—while anxiously seeking to keep them from getting out of hand—to provide a distraction from the deepening social turmoil tearing at the fabric of Chinese society. As one Shanghai demonstrator put it, "People are taking part in this march because they aren't allowed to protest anything else" (*New York Times*, 17 April).

However, the protests, which continued longer than any major public demonstrations in China since the 1989 Tiananmen revolt, have promoted a nationalist response to Japan's provocations—i.e., not against the capitalist rulers of Japan, but rather against the entire Japanese population, workers no less than their capitalist oppressors. "Japanese pigs get out!", shouted Chinese protesters as they trashed Japanese-owned shops. One expression of the nationalism has been calls for boycotting Japanese businesses and goods.

The nationalist poison being promoted



Chinese protest in front of Japanese-owned store in Guangzhou, China. Nationalist poison pushed by Stalinist bureaucracy poses deadly danger to Chinese deformed workers state.

**Down With U.S./Japan
Counterrevolutionary Alliance!**

**For Unconditional Military Defense of
Chinese Deformed Workers State!**

by the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy poses a grave danger to the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution itself. As opposed to class unity between the Chinese and Japanese proletariat, the bureaucracy is pushing unity of all Chinese people, including Chinese capitalists from Taiwan and Hong Kong, against all Japanese people. This was expressed in a recent demonstration in Hong Kong, where anti-Japanese protesters carried the Taiwanese flag of the Guomindang, which represents the capitalists and landlords who fled the Revolution. The Chinese government recently hosted a delegation of the Guomindang from Taiwan for the first time since the Civil War, a display of Chinese "unity" against the pro-Taiwanese-independence Democratic Progressive Party that expresses the deep nationalism and class collaborationism of the Chinese Stalinists.

The gains of the Chinese Revolution—above all the nationalized, collectivized economy—represent a historic advance not only for Chinese workers and peasants, but also for the entire world proletariat. The expropriation of the capitalists and the setting up of a socialized economy represented a great advance over the imperialist subjugation and horren-

dous oppression once suffered by China's masses, laying the basis for a tremendous leap in economic development. And, with the internationalist extension of the revolution, it could lay the basis for the eventual construction of a socialist society.

However, China from its inception has been a deformed workers state, in which a conservative caste of bureaucrats, ruling in its own narrow interests, blocks development toward a classless, socialist society. Ever since (and including) Mao Zedong, these bureaucratic rulers have championed the nationalist Stalinist dogma of building "socialism in one country." Flatly repudiating Marxism, the Stalinists have historically preached the idiocy that socialism could be built in a single country—even one as materially backward as China—if only imperialist military intervention were thwarted.

One aspect of the recent protests in China has been opposition to Japan's attempts to gain a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council. For the Chinese government, this question is part of its maneuvering, within the framework of "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism, between so-called "progressive" and "reactionary" imperialist powers. For example, China supports Ger-

many's bid for a permanent seat. The truth is that the UN is nothing but an imperialist den of thieves and their victims. From the Korean War to the sanctions against Iraq, which killed over 1.5 million people, the UN has shown itself to be an enemy of working people and the oppressed internationally.

Revolutionary proletarian internationalism, not nationalist class collaboration, is essential to advance the interests of the Chinese workers in defense of the gains of the Chinese Revolution, and Japanese workers in their struggle against revanchist Japanese imperialism. As we wrote in a 13 March joint statement between the International Communist League's Japanese and American sections against the counterrevolutionary agreement between the U.S. and Japan over Taiwan (*WV* No. 844, 18 March):

"The Spartacist League/U.S. and the Spartacist Group Japan...stand for the unconditional military defense of China and North Korea—as we do for the other remaining deformed workers states, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution...."

"Since the 1949 Chinese Revolution, from which the Chinese deformed workers state emerged, Taiwan has been an outpost for U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary schemes, military threats and interference in Chinese internal affairs through the puppet Chinese bourgeoisie. Taiwan has been since ancient times a part of China, and we Trotskyists will stand with China in the event of any military conflict with imperialism over Taiwan...."

"We are opposed to the Stalinists' plan of reunification with Taiwan embodied in 'one country, two systems.' Instead, we advance a program for the revolutionary reunification of China, which requires a workers political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy on the mainland, a proletarian socialist revolution in Taiwan to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie, and the expropriation of the Hong Kong capitalists."

For Revolutionary Internationalism!

The dogma of "socialism in one country" means opposition to the perspective of workers revolution internationally and accommodation to world imperialism. The recent protests, for example, have aimed their entire fire against Japan, whitewashing the crimes of U.S. imperialism. (Apparently, Beijing considers Tokyo the easier target in the U.S.-Japan military alliance.) This reflects and feeds into an illusion in China that the U.S. is a more benign imperialist power. Yet it was the U.S. that in 1945 became the only country ever to use atomic weaponry, causing the death of several hundred thousand Japanese civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These bombings served

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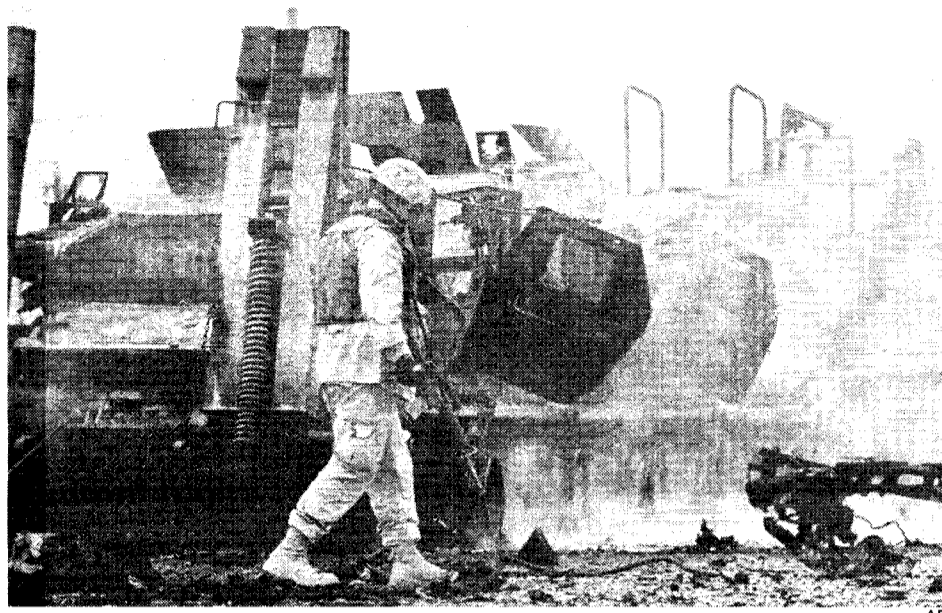


An Exchange on the Iraq "Resistance"

6 November 2004

Dear editors of Workers Vanguard,

I am writing to take issue with WV's position of military support for the "resistance" against the U.S.-led "coalition" in Iraq. I do not think that the workers have any interest in the present Iraqi "resistance." I think that the position of military support for any "resistance," despite the political nature of such military opposition, against imperialist power, a position taken by Trotsky in the 1920s-'30s (Ethiopia), is not applicable to the present situation in Iraq, and is a historically specific and bounded politics that was based on geopolitical as well as class-struggle estimations that no longer apply today, after the destruction of the Soviet Union. For better or worse (for worse), we have been thrown back into a situation of potential anti-capitalist social-politics that resembles the pre-1917 world. More so than in the Soviet era, each particular configuration seems to demand a case-by-case social-political analysis and evaluation. Whereas one could broadly understand "anti-imperialism" of various forms in the Soviet era as objectively favoring



American Army vehicles destroyed by car bomb near Baghdad, April 20.

revolutionary anti-capitalist political possibilities, I think that this is no longer the case after the destruction of the Soviet state, and given other social-political realities locally and globally.

Similarly, whereas it might have made sense to call for the defense of Iraq and for an objective military bloc with the Saddam Hussein/Baathist state in Iraq against the U.S., the destruction of that state fundamentally changes the character of the social politics of military positions on the ground in Iraq. For example, it is my understanding that the (remnant) Iraqi Communist Party, while officially "opposing" the U.S. military occupation, supports the "interim government" and politically (and militarily) opposes the "resistance." In perspective, the first Iraq war was fundamentally related to and facilitated by the destruction of the Soviet state, and raised the specter of inter-imperialist war: the object of the 1st Iraq war was as much the USSR and the U.S.'s imperialist competitors as it was Iraq. Now, the French-German opposition to the U.S. has become the most salient social-historical feature of the 2nd Iraq war.

The situation vis-a-vis Iran raises another, related matter. The Mujahideen Al-Khalq [MEK] has been instrumental in making public and providing intelligence to the U.S. and European powers on the mullahs' nuclear weapons program. As part of their "negotiations" with the mullahs, the EU powers have agreed to maintain the MEK's official status as "terrorists." If Mordechai Vanunu is to be commended for revealing Israel's nuclear weapons program, shouldn't an ostensibly Leftist organization such as the MEK be commended—and defended—as well? The duplicity of the European powers as well as the U.S. as regards groups such as the MEK, as well as the Kurdish nationalist organizations (despite their support for the U.S.-led Iraq war), seems clear. The mullah's nuclear weapons program seems likely to make actual what WV has in the past called the Zionist state's "death trap for Jews."

Unlike North Korea, which seeks to acquire nuclear weapons for purely defen-

sive purposes, Iran would be likely to use nuclear weapons on a "first-strike" basis: their attempts to acquire them present the very real possibilities of Israel or the U.S. striking first. The Iranian nuclear weapons program is deliberately provocative, and must be seen in light of the social-political character of the Iranian state, which is at least quasi-fascist, in nature, history and present reality. While not wanting to make a fetish of nuclear weapons, nor qualitatively to distinguish between nuclear and non-nuclear (euphemistically termed "conventional") military violence, I think that the mullahs getting hold of them does nothing to further anti-capitalist social political possibilities, not locally nor globally. This must be distinguished from acquisition of nuclear weapons by (however deformed) workers' states such as North Korea (or, historically, by the Soviet Union and China).

While indeed our "main enemy is at home," that does not mean that we should defend or call for the defense of the mullah's clerical-fascist state, nor of the present Iraqi "resistance." Al-Sadr's followers, for instance, have already laid down their weapons. One must distinguish between the social politics of military opposition that seeks bargaining power and that of fascist reaction. We in the "belly of the beast" should take positions that are at least acceptable to those on the ground in Iraq. To hold U.S. and (also E.U.) imperialism ultimately responsible for the social-politics of Islamist fascism should not mean defending it. Rather, the Iranian mullahs and the U.S. imperialists deserve each other, and both are to blame for the suffering of the people who are their subjects. Any anti-capitalist social-political possibilities are not qualitatively reduced by U.S. occupation of Iraq (or of Iran...), and are only very dubiously furthered by military "resistance" that is not interested in defending anyone's lives and whose political aims are only furthered by the slaughter. Would Trotskyists have supported fascist-supported military resistance to U.S. occupation in post-WWII Germany or Italy or France? I think not. In that instance, the U.S. was more interested in disarming their erstwhile Communist-aligned anti-fascist resistance fighters. And, since then, political possibilities have only changed for the worse.

Comradely,
Chris C., Chicago

WV replies:

Chris C. raises many issues in his letter, and there is no way in this reply to respond to all of them. The main issue we aim to take up is the question of the Iraq "resistance" and what attitude revolutionaries should have toward it.

In Iraq today, we have a side against the U.S., its allies and Iraqi lackeys. Our starting point is to demand the immediate,

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TROTSKY

For International Proletarian Class Unity!

In response to recent Japanese provocations, including attempts to deny Japanese imperialism's crimes in Asia, large-scale protests have erupted in China and South Korea. Throughout the protests, the ruling Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has actively promoted poisonous nationalism, which is counterposed to the proletarian internationalism needed to defend and extend the 1949 Chinese Revolution. In its 1922 program, the then-revolutionary Communist Party of



LENIN

Japan laid out the perspective of international working-class unity while opposing the imperialist designs of its "own" ruling class.

The Communist Party of Japan is resolutely opposed to every species of the Imperialist policy. It is opposed to the intervention, open and secret, in China and Siberia, the interference with the government of these countries, the "Sphere of Influence" and "Vested Interests" in China, Manchuria, and Mongolia, and all the other attempts and practices of similar nature.

The most infamous of all the crimes of Japanese Imperialism has been the annexation of Korea and the enslavement of the Korean people. The Communist Party of Japan not only condemns the act but takes every available step for the emancipation of Korea. The majority of the Korean patriots, fighting for the Independence of Korea, is not free from bourgeois ideology and nationalist prejudice. It is necessary that we act in cooperation with them—necessary not only for the victory of the Korean Revolution but also for winning them over to our Communist principles. The Korean Revolution will bring with it a national crisis in Japan, and the fate of both the Korean and Japanese proletariat will depend on the success or failure of the fight carried on by the united effort of the Communist Parties of the two countries.

The three principal nations in the Far East, China, Korea, and Japan, are most closely related to one another in their political, social, and economic life, and thus bound to march together on to the goal of Communism. The international solidarity of the proletariat, and particularly of these three countries is the condition indispensable to the Victory and Emancipation of the Proletariat, not only of the respective countries but of the whole world.

—"Program of the Communist Party of Japan" (September 1922), reprinted in *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 58, Spring 2004

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29 April 2005



U.S. troops brutalize civilians in Falluja, November 2004.

Columbia Administration Report Retails Zionist Lies

The following leaflet was issued by the Columbia Spartacus Youth Club in New York City on April 9 in defense of Professor Joseph Massad, who has been the target of an ongoing Zionist witchhunt. For more information about this case see "Right-Wing Thought Police Assault Free Speech on Campus" (WV No. 842, 18 February).

However loudly pro-Zionist students are howling at its conclusions, the recently released Ad Hoc Grievance Committee Report at bottom imbibes in the ongoing right-wing witchhunt of the MEALAC Department and above all Professor Joseph Massad. Not only does the report in effect label Massad a liar by finding credible an account of classroom "intimidation" by one of his former students, paving the way for official punishment by the administration, but it also whitewashes the systematic harassment of Massad himself over the past three years—the infiltration of his classes by snoops, the routine heckling there by Zionists, the numerous death threats directed at him. The focus of a sinister campaign to silence dissent on campus, Massad did nothing wrong! The Spartacus Youth Club demands: **Hands off MEALAC! No reprisals against Professor Massad!**

The administration, the agent of the ruling class on campus, gave legitimacy to the witchhunt by launching an investigation that should not have occurred in the first place! For [university president] Bollinger, it is all about safeguarding Columbia University as an oh-so-liberal institution, while at the same time throwing Massad to the wolves. At the October 28 faculty meeting, Bollinger even provocatively said that the First Amendment does not apply to Columbia because it is a private institution and has since indicated that there are limits to freedom of speech in the classroom. **Down with the attack on the right to free speech on campus!**

From the time of the early organizing meetings of MEALAC's supporters, the SYC argued against relying on the administration to defend Massad. We wanted the investigation dropped, not made more "evenhanded." The report, which dresses

Fight the Ongoing Witchhunt! No Reprisals Against Professor Massad! Hands Off MEALAC!



Young Spartacus

Spartacist supporters at Columbia press conference, December 2004, in defense of Professor Joseph Massad (right).



Jason Bello/Columbia Spectator

up the vicious witchhunt with its professed concerns for "civility" and "mutual respect" on campus, proves our point. In contrast, the International Socialist Organization, now attempting to cover its tracks by writing of "Bollinger's damaging role" (*Socialist Worker*, 8 April), has consistently reinforced illusions in the administration as a potential ally of besieged minorities on campus, including by imploring the administration to "take a stand against the attacks on its own professors" (*Socialist Worker*, 3 December 2004) after Bollinger had already initiated the investigation.

The racist witchhunt against Massad and the other professors—exemplified by a Zionist professor grotesquely baiting Massad as "a pathetic typical Arab liar" in an e-mail—is not in essence about "academic freedom," but is part of a well-organized political campaign to intimidate and purge faculty who speak out against the crimes of U.S. imperialism and its Israeli allies. As Massad recently noted: "My crime is not only that I'm Palestinian. What galls them most is that

I'm a pro-Jewish Palestinian critic of Zionism" (*New York Times*, 8 April). The Committee report even admits that the vast majority of the complaints against MEALAC were about the "content" of lectures, not "intimidation." Zionist students have routinely railed about getting Massad fired when coming across our campus lit tables. Now, with the report out, the Zionists have vowed to carry on their fight. As we wrote in our earlier leaflet (26 November 2004), "Key to defeating the witchhunt against Columbia professors and MEALAC is forthrightly taking up the defense of the Palestinian people." **Down with the Zionist witchhunt!**

The witchhunt is fueled by U.S. imperialism's bloody neocolonial occupation of Iraq, the post-September 11 bipartisan "war on terror" and Zionist state terror against the Palestinian people. As such, it transcends the campus, as the recent

exclusion of Professor Rashid Khalidi from a New York City Department of Education program shows. Its principal instigators nationally, like Daniel Pipes and David Horowitz, are closely linked to the Bush government. Democrats also have joined in, including those in the City Council who earlier announced their intention to conduct another investigation if Columbia's "comes up dry." In its 7 April editorial, the "respectable" bourgeois *New York Times* endorsed the campaign for political censorship by bemoaning the Committee's "limited" mandate and calling for Columbia to "follow up on complaints about politicized courses and a lack of scholarly rigor." Indicative of the depths of this reactionary campaign, legislatures in almost a dozen states are considering bills to give conservative students the "right" to sue their "intolerant" professors—such as biologists who teach evolution as scientific fact!

At this critical juncture, militant protest by students, faculty and workers demanding that the Columbia administration keep its hands off Professor Massad and MEALAC is as urgent as ever. Not only the campus community, but also working people and minorities everywhere have a stake in defeating this onslaught on our democratic rights. The same forces that want to keep the elite universities dissent-free and all-white (recall the racist "affirmative action bake sale" provocation against blacks, Jews and other minorities last year) are all for union-busting and increasing U.S. imperialism's stranglehold on the world. Those students seeking the best means to defend Massad should link their struggles to the working class, the ultimate target of this right-wing offensive, as it is the working class which has the interest and the social power to strike a blow against the wave of reaction, and in the end shatter the capitalist order itself. **For a class-struggle fight for all our rights! ■**

CORRECTION

In "Independence for Chechnya! Russian Troops Out Now!" (WV No. 840, 21 January), we wrote: "Estimates of the number of Chechen civilians killed in the first Chechen war of 1994-96 and the second war launched in 1999 range from about 100,000 to 200,000—out of a total population estimated at 300,000 to 450,000!" The estimate of Chechens killed by Russian forces over the past decade was correct. However, the population estimate was misleading, implying that up to 45 percent of the population might have been killed.

Due to the war, population estimates—as well as estimates of casualties and refugees—vary drastically from the 1990s to the present. According to a 1989 Soviet census, the total population of Chechnya was 1.3 million, of whom some 735,000 were Chechens (most of the rest were Russians). The figure we cited of 300,000 to 450,000 comes from an official estimate by the Danish Refugee Council in early 2000—after years of war had driven the population to a low point. Later in 2000 after further research, the Danish Refugee Council arrived at an estimated Chechen population of approximately 715,000, which is probably more accurate than the number we cited. Other estimates include

that of the International Helsinki Federation, which in 2002 estimated Chechnya's population to be less than half a million; and the Russian government, which that same year ludicrously claimed Chechnya's population had undergone a "miraculous expansion" to nearly 1.1 million. Although establishing Chechnya's current population is difficult, it is clear that Russia's assault has driven out an extremely high number of Chechens—approximately 150,000 according to the Danish Refugee Council—while slaughtering a high percentage of those remaining.

The same article also incorrectly referred to the Soviet Union as a "deformed workers state." Before its collapse, the Soviet Union was a *degenerated* workers state, as the Bolshevik-led October Revolution of 1917 underwent degeneration under a parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy that seized political power in 1924. The term "deformed workers state" is used by Trotskyists to characterize China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba (as well as East Europe before capitalist counterrevolution), where capitalism was overthrown but where the workers states were bureaucratically deformed from their inception.

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Leonard Peltier Becomes PDC Stipend Recipient Free Leonard Peltier!

This article is reprinted from the Partisan Defense Committee's Class-Struggle Defense Notes No. 33, Spring 2005. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

The Partisan Defense Committee announces that it has recently added Leonard Peltier to its class-war prisoner stipend program. Leonard Peltier is known throughout the world as one of the most prominent political prisoners in America. His nearly three decades of incarceration because of his activism in the American Indian Movement (AIM) has come to symbolize this country's racist repression of its indigenous people, the survivors of centuries of genocidal oppression.

In a March 28 letter to the PDC, Peltier asks that his stipend money be donated to his defense committee. The PDC was happy to oblige and sent a check to the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 583, Lawrence, KS 66044. We encourage our readers and supporters to likewise donate to the cause of Peltier's freedom.

Leonard Peltier needs no introduction to subscribers of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* or *Workers Vanguard*, the Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League, with which the PDC is associated. Peltier is now 60 years old; he was born on the Anishinabe Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota. He faced the brutal racism and grinding poverty of working-class Native American Indians, working variously as a migrant farm worker, an automobile mechanic, a welder, a carpenter and a community counselor. In response to the hideous oppression he experienced and saw all around him, he

became involved in struggles for Native American rights and joined AIM. As an AIM member he joined in the 1972 Trail of Broken Treaties caravan to Washington, D.C., where he participated in the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) building. It was in his capacity as a trusted and respected AIM activist that he came to assist the Oglala Lakota people of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in the mid '70s.

At that time, AIM fell within the government's cross hairs because it was attempting to combat the enforced poverty of Native Americans and the continued theft of their lands by the Feds and the energy companies, which were intent on grabbing the rich uranium deposits under Sioux land in western South Dakota. Pine Ridge became a war zone as the hated BIA and the FBI trained and armed thugs to terrorize and crush Indian activists. Between 1973-1976, these killers carried out more than 300 attacks, murdering at least 69 people.

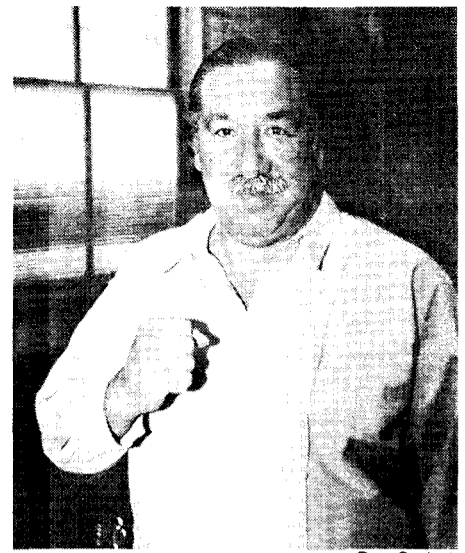
When 250 FBI and BIA agents, SWAT cops and local vigilantes launched an assault against Pine Ridge in June 1975 and the FBI came up two agents short, Peltier and three others were charged with their deaths. Charges were dropped against one of them, while AIM supporters Dino Butler and Bob Robideau were acquitted in a trial in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, as jurors stated that they did not believe the government witnesses and that it seemed "pretty much a clear-cut case of self-defense" against the murderous FBI raid.

The government went into overdrive to assure a conviction against Peltier after the Feds had dragged him back from refuge in Canada. The prosecution con-

cealed ballistics tests which showed that Peltier's gun could not have been used in the shooting, while the trial judge ruled out any possibility of another acquittal on grounds of self-defense by refusing to allow any evidence of government terror against Pine Ridge activists. At the trial, the prosecutors claimed that Peltier shot the agents at close range; by the time of a 1985 appeal hearing the lead government attorney admitted, "We can't prove who shot those agents."

The Feds' conspiracy against Peltier and other AIM leaders was orchestrated right from the top, through the FBI's notorious "Counter-Intelligence Program." COINTELPRO was launched against the Communist Party and was then deployed to "neutralize" radical organizations in the 1960s, particularly the Black Panther Party, whose members were framed up and imprisoned by the hundreds while 38 were killed in cold blood. Despite the massive evidence of Peltier's innocence, the courts have repeatedly turned down his appeals, just as his requests for parole have been denied again and again since he became eligible in 1993. At a hearing in June 2000, the parole officer outrageously turned Peltier down cold without even bothering to look at the materials his lawyer submitted. The following year, outgoing Democratic Party president Bill Clinton turned down Peltier's petition for executive clemency.

And there is no end to the bourgeois courts' trampling on Peltier's rights. On March 31, U.S. District judge William Skretny rejected a request by Peltier's lawyers to release FBI documents that they believe would provide evidence of government attempts to place sources near Peltier's original legal defense team.



Ben Corbett

Incredibly, Skretny acknowledges the admissions of the Eighth Circuit Court that the jury could possibly have acquitted Peltier had the records improperly withheld from the defense been made available. He also found no disagreement with the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals which ruled in November 2003 that

"Much of the government's behavior at the Pine Ridge Reservation and in its prosecution of Mr. Peltier is to be condemned. The government withheld evidence. It intimidated witnesses. These facts are not disputed."

But still Skretny turned down the defense requests and, like the courts which have acknowledged the frame-up of Peltier, continued the long history of governmental cover-up of official misconduct in the service of racist repression.

Peltier's attorneys have sought to use the Freedom of Information Act to uncover the volumes of secret FBI files pertaining to Peltier's frame-up prosecution. Attorney Michael Kuzma said that the total of the illegally withheld government evidence in Peltier's case amounted to a staggering 142,579 pages. Clearly the U.S. ruling class has much to hide in its ongoing criminal prosecution of this courageous fighter for Native Americans. There is no justice in the capitalist courts for class-war prisoners like Leonard Peltier and Mumia Abu-Jamal. The Partisan Defense Committee reiterates its decades-long commitment to justice for Leonard Peltier. **Free him now!** ■

Free Ohio 7 Prisoner Tom Manning!

Earlier this month, the Partisan Defense Committee added Tom Manning to the list of recipients of its monthly stipend as part of the PDC's class-war prisoners program. Support for class-war prisoners is not social work but an act of solidarity.

Tom Manning is part of the Ohio 7, leftist activists convicted for their role in a radical group that took credit for "bank expropriations" and bombings in the late 1970s and '80s against symbols of U.S. imperialism such as military and corporate offices. Manning is one of three remaining Ohio 7 activists still in prison and, if the U.S. government has its way, he will spend the rest of his life behind bars. As Tom states in "A Short Biography" posted on his Web site (www.geocities.com/tom-manning), he was sentenced in 1985 to 53 years in federal prison:

"for a series of bombings carried out as armed propaganda against apartheid in South Africa, U.S. imperialism in Latin and Central America, including a concerted campaign against Mobil Oil and U.S. military targets in solidarity with the FALN's [Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation] campaign for the release of the five Nationalist prisoners. And against racist, genocidal capitalism here, in the belly of the beast. I'm also sentenced to 80 years...in New Jersey for the self-defense killing of a state trooper."

Like Ray Luc Levasseur, another member of the Ohio 7 who was released from



December 16th Committee

prison last year, Manning grew up poor and working class and was sent to Vietnam, where he saw the atrocities of American imperialism up close. In the 1970s and '80s, he worked with other leftist radicals in community organizing, prisoner support and welfare advocacy. In a 7 June 1999 statement, Manning wrote: "I am a Freedom Fighter who took up arms to support and defend an International Movement for Human Rights, Self Determination, Justice and Dignity for all Peoples."

Manning spent years in continual lockdown in some of the worst hellholes of

the prison system—USP Marion (Illinois) and USP Florence ADMAX (Colorado), a sensory deprivation unit of steel and concrete with no sound and minimal human contact, designed to break prisoners. Manning is currently at USP Leavenworth (Kansas). In 1999, he was moved to the U.S. Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield (Missouri) for hip surgery and, even though he returned to Leavenworth in 2002, it took another two years for him to get back his legal and medical records.

From the standpoint of the working class, the actions of Manning and the

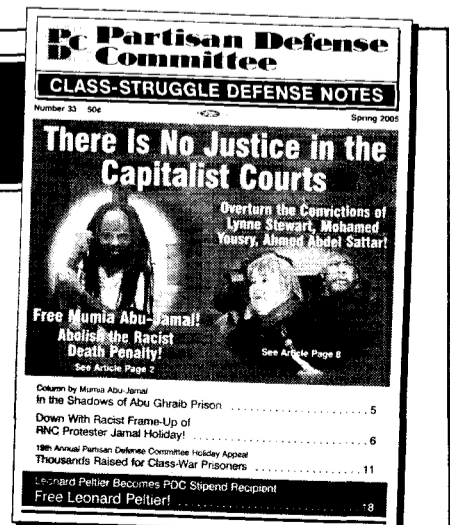
other Ohio 7 activists are not crimes. We salute the courage and integrity of class-war prisoners like Manning, but we reject the strategy of "armed propaganda," as he puts it. This strategy substitutes isolated individual actions for the mobilization of the power of the proletariat. Instead, we seek to win the working class to the perspective of sweeping away the whole capitalist system through socialist revolution.

We urge readers of *Workers Vanguard* to write to Tom Manning and express their solidarity with him. Write to Tom Manning at: 10373-016, P.O. Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048. ■

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German Taaffeites Exclude Defenders of Michael Jackson

We print below a translation of a leaflet published by our comrades of the Spartakist-Jugend, youth group of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (SpAD), German section of the International Communist League. The leaflet was distributed at the Berlin "Socialism Days" of March 25-27. This event was hosted by the Sozialistische Alternative Voran (SAV), the sister group of Socialist Alternative, which is associated with Peter Taaffe's Committee for a Workers' International.

The SAV leaders don't want revolutionary politics at their "Socialism Days" this year. They don't want any "impure" thoughts to pollute the virgin minds of their membership. So the SAV's leader Sascha Stanicic wrote us the following e-mail on March 23:

"As we've already told you, you will not have the possibility this year of setting up an information stand at the Socialism Days. Your position of relativizing child abuse, which you defended last year at Socialism Days, led to great indignation among many participants. Many declared that they don't ever want to hear such positions again.

"For years we have tolerated your untruths and distortion of the SAV's positions, because we assumed that those who attend our meetings could come to their own conclusions. The fact that no one who came to Socialism Days has ever joined your group confirms this assessment. However, with your behavior at the women's political event at Socialism Days last year, you have crossed a line, which we cannot tolerate.

"We therefore inform you that you are excluded from the forum on the theme 'new sexism,' and that you are not allowed to have an information stand or to sell newspapers at the event."

The self-appointed "morality police" of the left lay it down: "Who's Bad?" Those who don't conform to the narrow, prudish and social-democratic worldview of the SAV leaders get banned. **No to this political censorship!**

The SAV leadership is hell-bent on defending the family values of their members and sympathizers against us communists. We reported in our article (under the seductive title, "Why the Rejection, SAV?") on the moralist "outrage" which greeted our comrade's intervention in the forum on "Globalization & the New Sexism" at "Socialism Days 2004" (*Spartakist* No. 155, Summer 2004). She attacked the SAV's prudish moralism and counterposed our Marxist position of opposition to state intervention in consensual sexual and other personal relations. That includes so-called pedophiles who are victims of state persecution for having sex with minors on the basis of *effective consent*—meaning consensual sex as opposed

An Instance of Victorian Racism

to being forced to do something you don't understand or don't want to do. SAV cadre flipped out over this and also over our defense of Michael Jackson—a black man being targeted yet again by the racist U.S. courts. We wrote:

"While it is possible that Michael Jackson has been thoroughly asexual in his relationships with boys, as he steadfastly maintains, to us that is irrelevant. Jackson has been charged under part of the California penal code involving a 'lewd

its own politics. Why else ban a group from selling its paper at their event? In fact, the SAV's "outrage" against and censorship of our revolutionary opposition to the bourgeois state's persecution of sexual minorities are further proof of what we have always said: they are social democrats (with a little militant rhetoric occasionally). The SAV's frenzy is not just cynical demagoguery. The whole affair reflects a deep-seated backwardness on



Michael Jackson with supporter at Santa Barbara County Superior Court during trial.

act upon a child.' It prohibits acts with the intention of arousing, appealing to, or gratifying the lust, passions or sexual desires of the person or the child. The state clearly and willfully does not distinguish between coerced and consensual acts."

—"Stop Vendetta Against Michael Jackson!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 818, 23 January 2004

The SAV disgustingly slanders this position as "defense of rapists" or, as Stanicic now puts it, "relativizing child abuse." With this slander of Jackson, *the SAV leadership embraces the racist, reactionary values of the neoconservative fundamentalist Bush government, whose henchmen are witchhunting Jackson!*

Stanicic accuses us of spreading "untruths and distortions" to cover up the fact that the SAV is too cowardly to defend

questions of personal—particularly sexual—freedom. This backwardness has everything to do with anti-communist Social Democracy, which the SAV currently subordinates itself to in the form of the "Electoral Alternative" ASG [Arbeit & soziale Gerechtigkeit—Work and Social Justice organization]. For the bourgeoisie and their political police in the workers movement, the Social Democracy, it is of course of elementary importance that the workers (and the rest of the population) be regimented by hypocritical bourgeois morality—church, "ethics" courses in school and family. The family—the central institution in class society for the oppression of women and children—serves to transmit this morality and regimentation to the next generation of workers. That is why every form of sex which questions the monogamous "norm"—homosexuality, pedophilia, etc.—is branded as "deviant" and "sinful."

And of course the highest principle of all social democrats is that the capitalist state, as protector of the "general welfare," plays the role of enforcing this hypocritical morality. The same state, guardian of private ownership of the means of production and the reactionary family, is the source of all the reactionary persecution of gays, lesbians and minorities in general. The ASG wants to support and build up this state, which means proving their ability to govern. That is the reason for their witchhunt against the SAV and other leftists who use socialist rhetoric. By using similar methods of censorship and exclusion against us, the SAV expresses its own narrow prudery and supports the state and its reactionary interference in people's private lives. In this

way, they present themselves as respectable to the ASG bureaucrats. Here is an organization whose "Socialist Women's Program" calls for trade-union mobilizations against pornography! Pornography is *not* rape or violence against women, as the feminists and SAV preach. It is a private matter, exciting or interesting according to taste. The capitalist state criminalizes it in order more strictly to regiment people's lives. The SAV program for "trade-union censorship" amounts to a social-democratic call to turn the workers organizations into auxiliaries for the state's moral code. Such an outlook is opposed to the most basic socialist (and humanist) strivings for a society where *people can live in freedom*.

The first step to such a society—workers revolution to expropriate the bourgeoisie—was made with the 1917 October Revolution. The new government of workers and soldiers soviets took a decidedly different view from the SAV:

"Soviet legislation bases itself on the following principle:

"It declares the absolute non-interference of the state and society into sexual matters, so long as nobody is injured, and no one's interests are encroached upon...."

"Concerning homosexuality, sodomy, and various other forms of sexual gratification, which are set down in European legislation as offences against public morality—Soviet legislation treats these exactly the same as so-called 'natural' intercourse. All forms of sexual intercourse are private matters."

—*The Sexual Revolution in Russia*, Grigori Batkis, director of the Moscow Institute of Social Hygiene [1923], quoted in J. Lauritsen and D. Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement, 1864-1935* (1974) [emphasis in original]

The decisive factor was Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, which guided the revolution to success—a party which declared irreconcilable war on all aspects of capitalist oppression and every expression of state violence and arbitrariness against persecuted minorities. With their censorship and reactionary support for anti-sex prudery, the SAV shows once again that they have nothing to do with the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky. We fight in this tradition, for the party of world socialist revolution to fully realize the hopes for human progress and freedom already awakened by the Russian Revolution. **Government out of the bedroom! Down with anti-communist exclusion at "Socialism Days"! No to the "morality police" of the left!** ■

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Stop Racist Violence Against Immigrants, Blacks!

Long Island, NY

In recent years, Long Island has seen an outbreak of anti-immigrant and anti-black attacks. Anti-immigrant groups such as the Sachem Quality of Life Organization (SQL) in Farmingville have organized to force immigrants, primarily Mexican day laborers, out of their communities and the country. When SQL, along with the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), defeated a resolution to provide a hiring hall for day laborers in 2001, fascist groups, such as the World Church of the Creator, took an interest in recruiting in Farmingville.

Fascist and racist thugs have been targeting immigrants in Long Island since before the hiring hall resolution. In September 2000, two Mexican immigrants were attacked with a knife and beaten with shovels and a posthole digger after racists, including one covered with racist tattoos, lured them from Farmingville with the promise of work. On 5 July 2003, five white racists used fireworks shot from a car to burn Mexican immigrants out of their home in Farmingville. The driver, one Kyle Mahler, had pictures of KKK members and anti-Latino literature in his car. Many of these racist attacks are documented in the 2004 film, *Farmingville: Welcome to the Suburbs, Home of the New Border Wars*.

Making it clear that anti-immigrant reaction and anti-black racism go hand in hand, last November fascists burned a cross outside the home of an integrated couple in Lake Grove. This was the latest in a string of racist attacks against black people in heavily segregated Long Island. In 1998, a black family in Amityville returned home from church to find a burning cross on the lawn. In 1994, the home of a black family moving into Nesconset, a predominantly white enclave west of Lake Grove, was burned down. In 1997, the KKK planned a recruitment rally at the Smith Haven Mall in Lake Grove.

Democrat Steve Levy, a member of the Suffolk County executive, has been in the forefront of the drive against immigrants in the area, proposing to grant police the power to jail anyone they arrest on other charges if the cops suspect them of being an "illegal" immigrant. He has also proposed to give police broader powers to enforce immigration laws and have them trained by the Department of Homeland Security.

At a March 30 showing of the *Farmingville* video in New York City organized by District Council 37—which organizes hospital, municipal and other workers—it was reported that Levy was forced to back down from his proposal. But Levy's objectives are being carried out under the cover of a campaign against "gangs" and "sexual predators." The code words for the racist campaign of mass



Mexican immigrant Sergio Perez outside his Farmingville home, which was fire-bombed by white racists, July 2003.

black incarceration are now being used to deport immigrant day laborers. In recent months, cops in Nassau and Suffolk counties have arrested and slated for deportation dozens of Hispanic youth on sweeping criminal conspiracy charges, accusing them of being "gang members." Evidence in these cases can be as flimsy as wearing tattoos or bandanas of a certain color. Being deported to a country like El Salvador, where right-wing death squads have for years targeted accused gang members arriving from the U.S., can constitute a virtual death sentence. Suffolk County police signed an accord last fall with El Salvador's notorious national police, providing for joint training and sharing of information on deportees.

Meanwhile, George Graf, the new mayor of another suburb, Farmingdale, has increased fines against drivers who stop to pick up immigrant day laborers. His administration has also renewed a plan to spend \$6 million to \$14 million to buy the property from under homes where immigrants currently live. Once ownership is secured, they plan to raze these houses, throwing the inhabitants into the streets.

Immigrant day laborers are among the most vulnerable sections of the working class in this country. Many are undocumented, with few rights or social benefits, and live in constant fear of being rounded up and deported. That threat is a weapon in the hands of the employers to prevent unionization and drive down wages for all workers. Holding tenuous jobs as day laborers on small, suburban construction projects or as gardeners, cooks and chauffeurs for rich families, these workers lack much of the social power of the urban and industrial proletariat.

The fact that, as depicted in the *Farmingville* documentary, many working people on Long Island have voiced opposition to racist persecution of immigrant workers is important. It means these immigrants do not stand isolated and without allies. Unions in the New York metropolitan area should build on this and dispatch labor defense groups to Long Island to make it clear that the unionized workforce is prepared to provide whatever protection it can for foreign-born workers from bands of racist thugs and fascists.

The fight for *full citizenship rights* for

all immigrants is a critical struggle that all labor must take up. Immigrant workers, bringing with them traditions of labor struggle in Latin America and elsewhere, can play a key role in revitalizing U.S. labor. The attacks on immigrant workers on Long Island are by no means isolated. Day laborers in Freehold, New Jersey are facing threats similar to those faced by Long Island workers. In Arizona, a group

subordinating workers to the capitalists' anti-strike laws; wasting millions of hard-earned union dues to line the pockets of Democratic Party politicians rather than using the financial muscle of organized labor to support strikers and their families; abandoning effective means of class struggle in favor of building illusions that capitalist Democratic Party politicians are "friends of labor"; refusing to take on the task of confronting the racist open shop South with a hard-hitting union organizing drive. It means refusing to aggressively unionize immigrant labor.

The fight to build a labor leadership that recognizes that the interests of capital and the interests of labor are irreconcilable is critical to reversing the AFL-CIO's current disastrous course. The working class needs its own political party based on a program of socialist revolution, a party that will be the voice of all those oppressed by capitalist society.

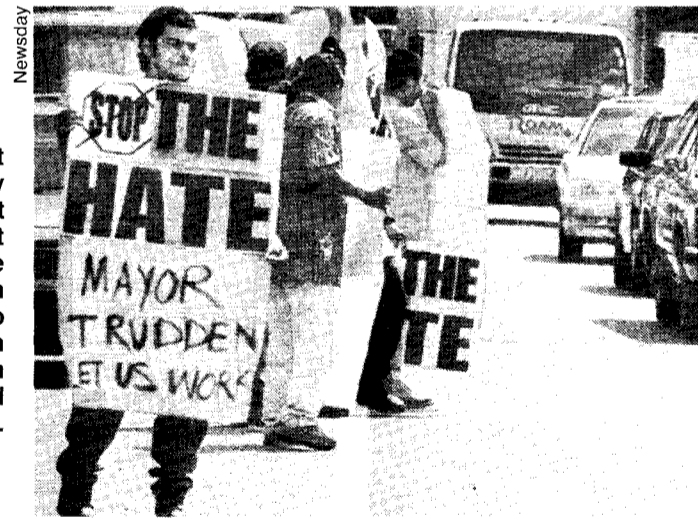
Long Island: A Long History of Racism

Long Island is one of the most segregated suburbs in the U.S. Some 80 percent of blacks in Nassau County are concentrated in a mere 10 percent of the county. A recent report by Erase Racism, a Long Island advocacy group, noted that over the past decades, segregation patterns have changed little in the area. The only places more segregated than Long Island are cities like Detroit, where the segregation rate stands at about 85 percent of black people.

There have been black communities on Long Island going back to the early 19th-century settlements of black freedmen, a number of whom were landowners. Around the turn of the 20th century, the establishment of rich estates on

calling itself the "Minutemen" is organizing armed vigilante patrols at the U.S./Mexico border, targeting immigrants desperately seeking work in the U.S. Meanwhile, the capitalist media have been whipping up an anti-immigrant frenzy, complaining that immigrant workers are "stealing American jobs."

Instead of waging a real struggle for immigrant rights, the AFL-CIO tops have used the plight of immigrant workers to promote illusions in the Democratic Party, as they did with the 2003 Immigrant Worker Freedom Ride, which consisted of little more than election rallies for



June 2001 protest by Latino day laborers against racist harassment by Farmingdale mayor Joseph Trudden, who was arrested in January 2005 on grand larceny and other charges.

Democratic politicians courting the Hispanic vote. A 9 February 2002 labor-centered united-front mobilization in Oakland, called by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League, provides a modest example of the kind of struggle that the labor movement must lead. Over 300 people, including a large contingent of overwhelmingly black longshoremen, came out in defense of immigrant rights and against the government's "war on terror" legislation, which, in the first instance, targets immigrants but is ultimately aimed at black people and the entire labor movement.

The unions have failed to mobilize in defense of immigrant rights because the primary allegiance of their leaders is not to the proletariat but the capitalist system of exploitation. In upholding the supposed alliance of capital and labor, the union tops sacrifice the interests of labor to keep class peace. This means slavishly

the North Shore's "Gold Coast" and summer resorts on the South Shore brought some (woefully insecure and underpaid) employment opportunities for increasing numbers of blacks. The intersection of rural backwardness and haughty, upper-class enclaves underlay a nasty, racist climate in Long Island, exemplified in the mid '30s by "Camp Siegfried," the summer retreat of the Hitlerite Bund. There, in the heart of Suffolk County, tens of thousands of fascists paraded in Nazi regalia, sporting swastikas and giving stiff-armed salutes.

As large numbers of middle-class white families moved to the suburbs, especially following World War II, there was a determined drive on Long Island—as in cities and suburbs across the country—to demolish and relocate black communities in the name of "urban renewal." The black neighborhood of Freeport, a suburb of commuters and

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Horwich/Minnesota Public Radio

Ted Ludwig displays piece of a shattered brake part at March press conference.

Northwest Airlines Union President Suspended for Protesting Unsafe Planes

On March 30, Northwest Airlines suspended the president of the Minneapolis/St. Paul local of the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA) for holding a press conference where he questioned the safety of third-party maintenance shops. Ted Ludwig must go 60 days without pay for holding up a few pieces of metal and saying: "These are parts off a brake that was overhauled by a third-party vendor.... This brake blew up when it was on taxi to the gate...pieces went into the engine" (Minnesota Public Radio online, 18 March). Labor and anyone who flies has an interest in fighting to overturn this suspension, which clearly shows that public safety is jeopardized by the airline bosses. *Drop the suspension and give Ted Ludwig all lost pay!*

Airlines have increasingly looked to third-party maintenance shops both in the U.S. and abroad for cheap, non-union labor. When located in the U.S., often in the "open shop" South, such shops operate under little federal supervision and have just a few licensed mechanics to sign off repairs. In essence, customers are flying in planes maintained by auto mechanics, if that! The 1996 crash of ValuJet flight 592, which killed all 110 people on board, and a 2003 US Airways Express accident, were attributed to faulty maintenance from third-party shops.

Ted Ludwig is not the only worker the airline bosses have gone after for being concerned with passenger safety. In 1998, Northwest fired mechanic Thomas Regner, who kept tabs on safety issues cropping up in his shop by keeping a copy of the maintenance records that would normally be thrown out—so-called "blue cards." When serious maintenance problems kept recurring, he went to the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) with his blue cards. Northwest accused him of a work slowdown; it took three and a half years of fighting in the courts for

Regner to get his job back with all back pay. Now, Northwest requires the blue cards be placed into a locked box after use. In 2000, United Airlines mechanic George Davis was fired for writing up two mechanical problems. (He has since successfully fought for reinstatement.) Tim Hafer, a warranty coordinator with United, in charge of extracting information from United's Aircraft Maintenance Information System, was fired in 2001 after he submitted to the FAA a stack of evidence documenting numerous incidences of unlicensed persons at third-party contractors—often office workers—illegally signing off on repair work. And United mechanic Mark Sassman in Indianapolis was fired after he told the FAA that management distributed a letter there threatening "termination" of mechanics for "excessive write-ups" (CBS News, 16 June 2003).

The Northwest suspension of Ludwig comes amid a campaign by management to break the back of the union. In retaliation for the union's refusing to grant the company concessions, Northwest decided to lay off thousands of workers (3,700 mechanics alone since the end of 2000), retiring many planes but also sending much of the maintenance work to non-union third-party contractors. In response, AMFA began its current campaign of exposing the poor maintenance practices at these facilities. In July 2004, members of AMFA and the Professional Flight Attendants Association at Northwest held an "informational picket" against the outsourcing of maintenance. After learning of this, management distributed a memo which stated in part:

"Disparagement of the safety, security, or quality of Northwest's operations, would constitute a violation of Northwest's longstanding Rules of Conduct.... Such conduct would, therefore, subject any Northwest employee responsible for that conduct to discipline up to and including

discharge. The United States Supreme Court has upheld discharges under similar rules, finding that employees owe a duty of loyalty to their employer and are subject to discipline for disparagement of the products or services of their employer, or to hamper the business."

—Letter to Jeff Mathews by Julie Hagen Showers, Vice President of Labor Relations for Northwest, 18 June 2004

Northwest has been seeking large concessions from its work force for upcoming contracts—currently \$1.1 billion—and AMFA has so far refused to grant them any. On January 4, Northwest Airlines forced the issue, getting the National Mediation Board to declare an "impasse" in contract negotiations. This means that after a 30-day "cooling off" period imposed by the Railway Labor Act (RLA), the union can take a strike authorization vote; it also means that after the 30 days, the company can impose a contract on the union.

Airline bosses clearly care little for the safety of their workers or paying passengers; their main concern is that the profits keep flowing. For example, the National Transportation Safety Board ruled that the 31 January 2000 Alaska Airlines flight 261 crash, which killed all 88 aboard, was caused when a critical control mechanism driven by a defective jackscrew assembly broke apart in flight. A lead mechanic had ordered that the \$60,000 jackscrew assembly be replaced in 1997, but the company did not change it.

More often than not, when the government and FAA intervene, they do so to protect the bosses and not safety. For example, following the ValuJet crash in '96, the inspector general of the Department of Transportation resigned after her scathing reports of the FAA ignoring massive safety violations were themselves ignored. The workers must understand that the capitalist government and state exist to defend the interests of the bour-

geois rulers against working people. A clear example of that is the anti-labor RLA, which makes it extremely difficult for airline workers to strike. Safety lies in the hands of aviation workers. And their power to resist the dictates of management and the government, including the RLA, lies with their unions and, ultimately, with their ability to withdraw their labor power.

While noting the lack of federal oversight and the fact that the subcontractors are non-union, AMFA has also demonized these facilities for hiring "illegal" immigrants and for being located outside the country, including in countries "where terrorists are known to operate." Such America-first protectionism and anti-immigrant chauvinism, buoyed by the "united we stand," "war on terror" propaganda of the bosses, is the very opposite of what workers need to fight the bosses' attacks. It only serves to divide workers and create a false unity between American bosses and American workers. Against the increasingly vicious attacks of the airline bosses, what is needed is international labor solidarity. Organized labor must fight for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants and to unionize the third-party contractors and non-union airlines like JetBlue!*

AMFA has gained popularity in recent years because of its posture as more militant and "democratic" than the IAM machinist and other AFL-CIO unions. But AMFA's craft-union orientation plays into the unceasing attempts by the bosses to set one work group against another. What airline workers need is a single industrial union of all workers—from baggage handlers and cleaners to pilots—at all companies. Such would facilitate united, industry-wide strike action to defend jobs and extend hard-fought gains. For their part, passengers must realize that airline management and the government, left to their own devices, would ensure the skies won't remain so friendly. ■

resort homes on the South Shore, was declared "the worst rural slum in the state" and was torn down in favor of a car dealership and U-Store-It rental units. Levittown, the celebrated archetype of postwar suburban housing developments, had covenants barring sales to non-whites.

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

The growth of Mexican immigration is evidence of the impoverishment of workers and farmers in Mexico as a result of imperialist "free trade" agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). Capitalist politicians heralded NAFTA, which went into effect on 1 January 1994, as the means whereby "developing" nations would lift themselves out of poverty. However, in the first two years of NAFTA, more than 2.3 million Mexicans lost their jobs while the cost of basic necessities such as gas and electricity skyrocketed. During the ten years since "free trade" has gone into effect, Mexican workers who work minimum-wage jobs have lost 50 percent of their buying power. This has forced millions to face either starvation or migration.

As Marxists, we oppose NAFTA because it represents the free-trade rape of

Mexico by the U.S. imperialists. However, many trade-union tops oppose NAFTA on the basis of protectionism, claiming that Mexican workers are "stealing American jobs." This protectionist poison serves to obscure the fact that workers in Mexico and the U.S. face a common capitalist enemy and therefore must be allies in the struggle against capitalist exploitation on both sides of the border.

The capitalist integration of the Mexican, U.S. and Canadian economies demands the organization of workers from the Yukon to the Yucatan. With Ford pickup trucks being assembled in Mexico, using engines from Ontario and transmissions from Ohio and Michigan, it is apparent that any significant labor action against a company like Ford requires the coordination of workers actions throughout North America. Anti-immigrant bigotry is deadly poison in the labor movement, and it stands as an obstacle to waging successful class struggle. Only the overturn of capitalist rule through socialist revolutions throughout the Americas can, through rational economic planning of production for human need rather than capitalist profit, provide jobs and decent living conditions for all.

The key to unlocking the power of labor in the U.S. is the fight for black liberation. The color bar is a fundamental

dividing line in American society, a key prop for obscuring the irreconcilable class divide between labor and capital. The united struggle of black, white and immigrant labor against race and class oppression across the North American continent can turn the tide of labor defeats and result in decisive victories. It is in the interests of the capitalist class to derail united struggle of this type by promoting the kind of anti-Mexican and racist filth as has erupted on Long Island. The fact that fascist groups like the KKK benefit from the growth of anti-immigrant chauvinism demonstrates the threat that this poison poses to black people.

Proclaiming that immigrants take jobs from black people, pro-capitalist black nationalist and Democratic Party dema-

gogues have whipped up hostility to immigrants within the black population. However, the responsibility for disproportionately high black unemployment doesn't lie with the immigrant worker; it lies with the racist American capitalist class. Black workers must join with their immigrant class brothers and sisters in the struggle for *jobs for all at union wages!*

While black workers must break through anti-immigrant chauvinism in order to win future class battles, immigrant workers must break with all forms of anti-black racism. The struggle of the Mexican worker in the U.S. as well as in Mexico is increasingly linked to the struggle of all North American labor. As Karl Marx proclaimed more than 150 years ago: *Workers of all countries, unite!* ■

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LOS ANGELES

Boston...

(continued from page 12)

University in Illinois. The next year, the Chicago Spartacist League mobilized 200 people to successfully drive Hale off the Northwestern campus. These fascists are *killers*. They can be defeated now, crushed in the egg by the workers movement while they are still small; they must not be ignored.

The Klan, Nazis and fascist skinheads are *not* ideologues of the David Horowitz variety, but action groups, who recruit on the basis of genocide and murder. President George Bush, though a reactionary bourgeois, is not a fascist. In "normal" times, when the bourgeoisie feels secure in its own class rule, it keeps its unruly fascist dogs on the leash. But in periods of deep social crisis, when open class warfare explodes, the bourgeoisie lets loose its fascist gangs to try to crush the workers movement with blood and terror. The fascists are the organized expression of the despair and fury of the petty bourgeoisie, hopelessly squeezed between the two classes with real social power, the capitalists and the working class.

These violent scum target black people; they are the poisonous and violent expression of the deep racism that characterizes American society. The 2004 presidential election was marked by the whipping up of terrorism hysteria, anti-immigrant bigotry and all kinds of religious and sexual backwardness by both Democrats and Republicans. In Boston, as elsewhere, the fascists have a symbiotic relationship with the crazed Christian fundamentalist and Catholic ranks who seek to ban gay marriage and shut down the few remaining abortion clinics.

When Hitler came to power in 1933 in Germany, the working class wanted to fight, but they were prevented from doing so by their leaders in the Social Democracy (SPD) and the Communist Party (CP). The CP leadership refused to make a united front with the SPD against the fascists until it was too late. The bitter price paid is well known: the Holocaust and the crushing of the workers

Reformists and liberals today argue that we should rely on the institutions of the state to "ban the Klan" (the line of the Communist Party) or outlaw "hate speech," as though this could alter the poisonous social contradictions that give rise to fascist terror. The "fight the right" *Boston Antifascist* (June 2004) states that "while beat-downs may keep fascists in hiding for a little while, nothing can compare to a long prison sentence when it comes to keeping nazis off the street." The line that prison is the way to stop the fascists is another way of placing confidence in the capitalist state.

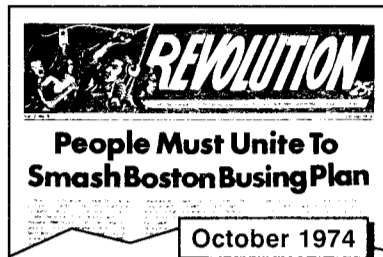
Our strategy is based on the understanding that the capitalist state is not neutral. It is the instrument for organized violence to ensure the rule of one class, the capitalists, over another class, the proletariat. The bourgeois state at its core consists of armed bodies of men—the cops, the military, the prison system and the whole "justice system"—whose job is to protect the profits and rule of the capitalists and to repress the workers. This state cannot be made to defend the interests of the oppressed, because it is a government of, by and for their oppressors. This is the same state that has a long, sordid history of aiding the fascists in terrorizing and murdering their victims, as in the 1963 Birmingham church bombings and the 1979 Greensboro massacre.

Racists, Liberals and the Battle for Boston Busing

You can't talk about racism and reaction in Boston today without understanding the explosive battles over busing in the 1970s, which marked the final defeat of the civil rights movement nationwide. The battle over school busing in the 1970s was a magnet for fascists. Then as now, the Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan gathered in Boston, hoping to add muscle to the anti-busing movement centered on racist outfits like ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) and the South Boston Marshals. A big obstacle to the Klan's ability to recruit in Boston was their historic terror against Catholic immigrants. Now some Klan organizations accept Catholic members. Moreover, many local



Boston, 1974: Spartacists fought for labor defense of busing to integrate schools (above). RCP's predecessor, Revolutionary Union, blocked with racist anti-busing forces (below, left), while SWP youth group pushed reliance on federal troops.



facade blown to pieces—while of course *their* children remained serenely undisturbed in their lily-white suburbs. But busing wasn't killed just by the racists. The truth is, it was the liberals, along with the racist mobs, who killed busing nationwide. When it came down to actually defending black schoolchildren in the streets, the liberals ran. When the politicians and courts, on which the liberals relied, turned from false friends to outright reactionary opponents, the liberals had no answer. And then, as now, those in the left and workers movement who capitulated to liberalism and preached reliance on the state share the blame.

Incredibly, there were leftists and self-proclaimed socialists who actually aped the same line as the white racists. Groups like the Revolutionary Communist Party (then called the "Revolutionary Union"), which followed Chairman Mao in claiming the Soviet Union, a degenerated workers state, was "Soviet social imperialist" and sided with the American bourgeoisie against the USSR, also capitulated to the racist mobs. They headlined in their press: "People Must Unite To Smash Boston Busing Plan" (*Revolution*, October 1974). The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Workers World Party—which today has taken over the role of the SWP as "best builder" of big antiwar demonstrations limited to reformist politics in order to appeal to liberal Democrats—were then doing the donkey work for local black Democrat Bill Owens. The WWP put out a pamphlet, *Busing and Self-Determination*, which stated: "Separation or Assimilation—It's Up to the Oppressed." So they simultaneously tailed the petty-bourgeois liberals of the NAACP and the separatist Black Muslims.

At that time, the Socialist Workers Party was calling for federal troops to Boston to implement busing. Along with Workers World, the SWP, then a somewhat more influential left group than it is today, organized mass demonstrations on behalf of the NAACP and black Democrats, who also made the demand for federal troops a major focus in Boston. The Spartacist League opposed this, pointing out that it created illusions that the state could serve the working class and that "by raising this demand, the reformists take the responsibility (whether they want it or not) for a possible invasion by the bourgeois authorities which would clamp martial law on the ghetto and prevent any independent mobilization" ("No Troops to Boston, For Labor/Black Defense!" *WV* supplement, December 1974).

We demanded the busing plan be implemented as an elementary demo-

cratic right of blacks to equal education. We made urgent appeals to the trade-union movement and black and socialist organizations to mobilize in mass demonstrations around the common slogan, "Stop the Racist Attacks Against Black School Children!" We were in the forefront of fighting for mass, integrated labor-black defense of black schoolchildren against the howling racist mobs in Southie. We also linked the struggle to defend busing to calls for low-rent, racially integrated public housing; we called for quality, integrated education for all, and for the extension of busing to the suburbs as *minimal*, albeit inadequate, steps toward black equality. Obviously, this didn't happen—in good part because the trade-union misleaders didn't lift a finger so as not to alienate the Democratic Party so-called "friends of labor" like Teddy Kennedy (who basically ducked the whole issue).

Our revolutionary strategy is to mobilize the power of the working class *independently* of the state and independently of its class enemies, the capitalist parties of racism and war, Democrats as well as Republicans. The working class needs to gain strength and self-confidence in organizing for its *own* interests, learning how, in action, it can lead all sectors of the oppressed in common struggle. We fight for burning necessities, like the need to smash racist segregation, in such a way as to show that the only genuine solution is the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a workers government. The role of liberalism has always been to keep the struggle for black social equality within capitalist bounds.

For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop the Fascists!

By the early 1980s in Boston, demoralized black parents were backing away from busing after a decade of attacks on their children. Boston's black people continued to face official cop terror, a crumbling economy and segregation that showed no sign of abating. In October 1982, "imperial wizard" Bill Wilkinson appeared on a Boston television station. During the show, members of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) rose from the audience and pelted Wilkinson's pinstriped suit with eggs, whereupon the humiliated KKK terrorists vowed to parade in downtown Boston in full regalia. PL is well known for such individualistic acts. But, however courageous individual PLers may be, PL rejects the strategic necessity of organizing the working class independently of the bourgeoisie and the need for united-front mobilizations.



Fascists (with flag in background) stage provocation at Palestinian rights protest, 9 June 2002. ANSWER marshals protect fascists from efforts by Spartacists and others to drive them out.

movement in Germany for a generation. Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky and his followers fought the rise of fascism tooth and nail, but were unable to win over the left and working class in time. Trotsky analyzed the reasons for Hitler's triumph:

"The petty bourgeoisie swung over in its overwhelming majority to the side of National Socialism only because the proletariat, paralyzed from above, proved powerless to lead it along a different road. The absence of resistance on the part of the workers heightened the self-assurance of fascism.... The inevitable demoralization of the Communist detachment, increasingly isolated from the proletariat, rendered impossible even a partial resistance. Thus the triumphal procession of Hitler over the bones of the proletarian organizations was assured."

—"The German Catastrophe: The Responsibility of the Leadership," 28 May 1933, in *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* (Pathfinder Press, 1971)

Democratic Party politicians were *already* leading the anti-busing mobilizations and didn't care to cede that leadership to the fascists. Local politicians like Louise Day Hicks ("You know where I stand"), Billy Bulger (brother of notorious South Boston gangster "Whitey" Bulger, who was thick as thieves with the Boston FBI) and Ray Flynn, who later became mayor, built political careers presenting themselves as "populists" instead of the racists they were.

The violent mobs in the streets of Boston starting in the fall of 1974 were mobilized by racist demagogues to prevent black schoolchildren from being bused to urban schools in white areas like Southie (which were themselves about as run-down as the black ghettos). Meanwhile, the upper-class "Boston Brahmins," who occasionally prided themselves on their city's reputation as an abolitionist center before the American Civil War, saw this

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as a warning to the Soviet degenerated workers state. During the Korean War in the early 1950s, U.S. imperialism was responsible for the death of some three million Koreans. China's heroic sacrifices defended the North Korean deformed workers state and stopped U.S. forces—fighting under the flag of the United Nations—from grabbing the entire Korean peninsula and turning it into a neocolony of the U.S. During the Vietnam War, which ended in 1975, more than three million Vietnamese were murdered by U.S. imperialism's losing attempt to smash the social revolution there.

Many in China have illusions about the nature of U.S. imperialism because it fought against Japan in World War II. The Stalinists, presenting World War II as a "war against fascism," sided with the bourgeois-democratic imperialist powers—centrally the U.S. and Britain—against Germany, Italy and Japan.

In contrast, Trotskyists understood that the interimperialist slaughter in World War II was a conflict for redivision of the world's sources of cheap labor and raw materials in the interest of capitalist profits. During World War II, the Fourth International, founded by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky, basing itself on proletarian internationalism, fought for the revolutionary defeat of all the imperialist nations. Simultaneously, it stood for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and championed the self-determination of the colonies against their subjugation by the Axis and Allied imperialists alike.

During the occupation of China by Japan beginning in the early 1930s, Trotskyists gave military support to the Chinese resistance forces, while politically opposing Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois Guomindang forces. With the entry of the U.S. into the Pacific War, the war effort of Chiang's Guomindang was decisively subordinated to the interests of U.S. imperialism, to the point that U.S. officials had the final say on how Guomindang forces were to be deployed.



Japanese war crimes in Nanjing, 1937: Chinese prisoners used for bayonet practice. New Japanese textbooks describe rape of Nanjing as an "incident."

Under these conditions, it became necessary to advocate a revolutionary defeatist position—for the defeat of both sides through proletarian class struggle—toward both the U.S./Guomindang and Japanese forces, while giving military support to Mao's Communist Party forces, which were *not* militarily subordinate to U.S. imperialism (see "Permanent Revolution vs. the 'Anti-Imperialist United Front'—The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997).

A central tenet of the Stalinist bureaucrats' nationalistic outlook is that workers in the advanced capitalist countries are so bought off by their exploiters that revolutionary class struggle there is a utopian (or Trotskyist) pipedream. Yet, in Japan there have been signs of opposition to resurgent militarism, including within the organized working class. In 2001, some 200 dock workers at Sasebo port in Nagasaki refused to load armaments and military supplies onto Japanese navy ships headed to assist the U.S.-led war of terror on Afghanistan. More recently, hundreds of teachers have been fired or otherwise disciplined for refusing to stand for the *Hinomaru* (national flag) and sing the *Kimigayo* (national anthem), symbols of Japanese

militarism. These actions were taken in defiance of the pro-imperialist leaders of the three main trade-union federations—including those affiliated to the Japanese Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party—and are a direct challenge to the "national unity" appeals of the Japanese bourgeoisie.

With the outbreak of anti-Japan protests in China, the administration of Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi engaged in one anti-China provocation after another. Koizumi haughtily admonished the Chinese people to be "more grown up" and keep "a cool head" and echoed President Bush in successfully pressuring the European Union to retain the arms embargo of China.

The provocations by Japanese imperialism have been egged on by U.S. imperialism. Last summer, then-secretary of state Colin Powell declared U.S. support for Japan's bid to have a seat on the UN Security Council while noting that Article 9 of the U.S.-imposed constitution, which prohibits Japan from engaging in warfare abroad, "would have to be examined in that light" (AFP English edition, 13 August 2004). More recently, there has been a proposal to transfer the command headquarters of the U.S. Army's 1st Corps from the U.S. main-

land to Yokohama, south of Tokyo, where, in the words of the *London Guardian* (19 April), "the primary focus of its forward deployment is likely to be the defence of Taiwan, regional challenges posed by China's military expansion, and the nuclear standoff with North Korea."

Right-wing chauvinists in Japan took the provocations by Japan and the protests in China as a green light to terrorize Chinese residents. Chinese diplomatic offices and other Chinese-related institutions were either attacked or vandalized. There were bomb threats at the Chinese Consul General in Fukuoka, an anthrax scare at the Chinese embassy in Tokyo and a spent bullet casing sent to the Chinese consulate in Osaka with a letter threatening violence against Chinese citizens. On April 10, shots were fired at a Bank of China branch office in Yokohama.

Finally, at the April 22 Asia-Africa summit meeting in Indonesia, Koizumi sought to defuse tensions with China by offering a vague apology for the "tremendous damage and suffering" caused by Japanese colonial rule. (The same day, a member of Koizumi's government joined 80 other politicians in a pilgrimage to the Yasukuni Shrine, a symbol of Japanese militarism where war criminals from World War II are among those enshrined.) Prominent voices in Japan had complained last week that continued tension would hurt Japanese business, while China's Ministry of Commerce declared that boycotts of Japanese goods would harm both countries' economic interests. China is now Japan's number one trading partner, and some 18,000 Japanese companies have set up operations in China. As the *New York Times* (23 April) put it, the "growing economic interdependence" between China and Japan "has mollified their positions in recent days."

Japanese imperialism is determined to throw off the constraints of the "defeated nation" syndrome with which it emerged from World War II. To accomplish this, the ruling class seeks to impose a policy of economic austerity domestically, whip up nationalist poison and reinforce the repressive apparatus needed to maintain capitalist law and order. The new defense guidelines not only target the Chinese and

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On only 24 hours' notice, the Boston Spartacist League and other leftists including the Workers World Party and PL launched counterdemonstrations to stop the Klan, all focused on the KKK's threatened march site. So when Wilkinson and his KKK terrorists appeared, they were routed by 1,500 protesters who ran the white-sheeted Klansmen off the streets (see "KKK Run Out!" *WV* No. 316, 29 October 1982). It was the first solid anti-racist stand after years of unrelieved racist terror for black people in Boston. Irish from South Boston and Dorchester, Italians from East Boston and Somerville, students from Cambridge, blacks from Roxbury and Mattapan, unionists and others stood together against the Klan that day.

The KKKers were shown on national television cringing and being whisked away by the Boston cops, who then rioted against the anti-fascist demonstrators and local press. For hundreds of anti-Klan protesters, the bloody cop riot—which nonetheless failed to disperse the protesters—was a useful lesson: the cops protected the Klan and tried to smash those who sought to resist. The cops were just doing their job for their capitalist bosses. This is a lesson that must not be forgotten today, when many leftists and even so-called socialists look to the state to stop the fascists.

The Klan tried again in 1991. That March, KKKer David Duke of Louisiana vowed to speak in the hallowed hall of Boston's Old South Meeting House. Behind Duke's "respectable" suit and surgically enhanced Aryan look was the fascist agenda of genocide for black people, Jews, Catholics, immigrants, Hispanics, Asians, gays, unionists, leftists. But if

Duke thought he could goose-step into Boston unopposed, he was wrong. Boston is a large metropolitan area, and is best known as a student center. Though it has lost many industrial jobs, the urban transportation sector remains vital, even with the passing of the city's shipyards and machine shops. However, it is still the labor movement that is key to repelling fascist threats, because unions represent the unity of all working people against the fascist race-haters and because workers have tremendous social power as producers of the wealth of society.

The Partisan Defense Committee, a non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, appealed to Boston labor as well as everyone else targeted by fascist terror. The PDC called a united-front demonstration to "Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke," which was endorsed by a number of union officials, as well as the Vulcans Society, a group of black firefighters who also acted as marshals at the protest, and by minority groups and student organizations. The anti-Duke demonstration turned out 1,500 in protest outside the Old South Meeting House, while Duke, sweating and unnerved, spoke inside behind massive cop protection.

Among those who answered our call were large numbers of black and Latino youth from Boston schools and neighborhoods. One youth after another—from ACT UP, from the Haitian community, from black and women's groups—addressed the crowd. The demonstration was built as a genuine united front, based on unity around the main slogan for the action. We mobilized the many intended victims of the white-supremacist Klan—everybody from the Boston Unit of the

Irish Northern Aid Committee to "Gays, Lesbians, Bisexuals and Friends at MIT"—along with sectors of the labor movement, while allowing all participants the right to express their own views and debate others. This is the same strategy that the Spartacist League and PDC have used to successfully mobilize working-class power to stop the fascists from rearing their heads in many major metropolitan centers, from San Francisco to Detroit to New York City.

Today, because the class war on the working masses has been largely one-sided during the last three decades, many activists tend to see only the painful reality of the racism which pervades all sectors of society in "normal" times. But Boston today is a multiethnic "majority minority" city, where the potential exists for united class struggle against the whole

system of racist capitalist oppression and race hatred that seeks to divide and conquer. The history of this country shows that when powerful social struggles erupt, racist ideology among working people will be pushed aside by the developing consciousness of shared class interest. As the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense wrote in greetings to our Boston anti-Duke protest:

"We need labor/black mobilizations to clean out the fascists. David Duke deserves the kind of welcome that this city used to reserve for the 'fugitive slave' catchers before the Civil War. When those dreaded mercenaries tried to kidnap black people and drag them to slavery, the decent citizens of Boston drove them out of town! Mobilize the independent power of the labor movement. Then we could do something to address the unemployment, homelessness, education cut-backs and police terror that is capitalist America right now." ■



Boston, 28 March 1991: Partisan Defense Committee rallied 1,500 against fascist David Duke.

China...

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North Korean deformed workers states but also strengthen the state's arsenal of repression against the workers movement. There is considerable anger among the working people of Japan and a real desire to fight against economic austerity, discrimination, increased state repression and war. This anger and militancy must be directed toward the building of a revolutionary Trotskyist party that would link the fight for socialist revolution in Japan with the unconditional military defense of the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states.

China: For Workers Political Revolution!

Speaking for many in the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, Li Rui, a former secretary of Mao Zedong, made the following bald admission: "Nobody understands Marxism. It is ridiculous. The ideals of the past don't exist any more. So it is right to turn to nationalism. It is the means by which the party can maintain its system and ideology" (London *Observer*, 17 April). Along with the cynical defense of nationalism as an effective means for manipulating the masses, this statement reflects widespread misidentification of Marxism with Maoism. In reality, the sharp contrast that is commonly drawn between Mao's policies and those of his successor Deng Xiaoping is fundamentally false.

Within the nationalist framework of "socialism in one country," the regimes of Mao and Deng pursued different policies in different international contexts. Nonetheless, in one very important respect their policies were substantially identical: the alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. That alliance was sealed in 1972 when U.S. president



Captain C.W. Huff/National Archives

Left: American imperialists turned Seoul, Korea into wasteland. Right: Chinese People's Volunteers capture American soldiers near Wonsan, 1951. China's intervention during Korean War was key to defense of North Korea.



US News

Richard Nixon embraced Chairman Mao at the very moment that U.S. warplanes were carpet bombing Vietnam. U.S. imperialism's rapprochement with the Maoist bureaucracy on the basis of shared hostility to the Soviet Union led to U.S. recognition of the People's Republic and a seat for China in the United Nations at the expense of Taiwan.

The alliance with the U.S. was continued and deepened under Deng. In 1979, Deng ordered the People's Liberation Army (PLA) to invade Vietnam, the main Soviet ally in East Asia, with the approval and encouragement of Washington. The Vietnamese resisted effectively and inflicted 20,000 casualties on the PLA, which retreated across the border. (Speaking of doctored history textbooks, this ignominious chapter has been virtually disappeared by the Chinese Stalinists.) During the final years of the Cold War in the 1980s, China bolstered American imperialism in weakening and undermining the Soviet Union—

for example, giving aid to the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats fighting Soviet troops in Afghanistan—thereby furthering the counterrevolutionary drive which wiped out the remaining gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution.

Having destroyed the Soviet Union, homeland of the only successful workers revolution, the imperialists are today intent on restoring capitalism in China. To this end, they are pursuing a two-pronged strategy: economic penetration to build up the internal forces of capitalist counterrevolution combined with military pressure and the threat of armed intervention. The Stalinist bureaucrats are in fact encouraging the imperialists through their policy of betrayal: allowing massive capitalist investment combined with a futile quest for "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists.

But despite the bureaucracy's "market reforms," the core of the Chinese economy remains collectivized. Moreover, the economic policies of the Communist Party regime are still constrained by fear of social—especially working-class—unrest which could topple it. This came close to happening in 1989, when student-centered protests for political liberalization and against corruption triggered a spontaneous workers revolt that was then suppressed with great bloodshed by the regime.

Today, China is a tinderbox of social tensions waiting to explode. According to government statistics, the number of protests increased 15 percent last year to 58,000. Millions of impoverished farmers and urban workers have blocked roads, waged strikes or demonstrated against official corruption, land seizures, environmental destruction, layoffs and unemployment, miserable working conditions and the growing gap between urban wealth and rural poverty. In mid April residents of Dongyang in southeastern China, furious at the government's refusal to deal with the pollution from nearby

factories, drove out 1,000 riot police and seized control of the city. At the same time, nearly 2,000 former PLA soldiers staged a series of protest demonstrations in Beijing against their meager retirement benefits. Most recently, some 10,000 workers at a Japanese-funded Uniden electronics factory in Shenzhen near Hong Kong went on strike demanding the right to unionize. By April 23, the strike ended. Revealing how the Chinese bureaucracy acts as a labor contractor for the imperialist bourgeoisies investing in China, one striker told the *Washington Post* (26 April), "Some labor officials told us we had to cooperate or else the investors might withdraw and move to other places to invest, and we would all get thrown out of work."

Through their policy of "market reforms," the Chinese bureaucracy is strengthening the forces of counterrevolution by allowing the imperialists to economically penetrate the workers state. At the same time, this policy is augmenting the social power of the industrial proletariat. The alternatives facing China are capitalist counterrevolution or proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with democratically elected workers and peasants Soviets, organs of proletarian rule. A Leninist-Trotskyist party is needed to provide Chinese workers with a revolutionary proletarian internationalist strategy. There is no nationally limited road to socialism in China. The modernization of China—providing the basis for a decent life for all its inhabitants on the basis of access to the advanced technology and productive resources now concentrated in North America, West Europe and Japan—requires the international extension of socialist revolution, centrally to these imperialist powers, laying the basis for an internationally planned socialist economy. This requires the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International of world socialist revolution. ■



World Journal

Residents in Dongyang city in China's Zhejiang province walk past overturned police buses after successfully defending themselves from riot police during mass protests against stifling pollution.

Cops, Lies...

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shows, Jamal told the police who came on the scene, "He just ran over people." The next day, in standard police racial profiling, Holiday was picked up by cops who claimed surveillance cameras showed him to be wearing the same clothing (a baseball cap and T-shirt) as an individual filmed kicking the undercover provocateur. With Holiday facing up to seven years in prison on assault charges, his bail was set at \$250,000, in part because political literature was found in his home. Jamal Holiday spent seven months in Rikers Island, and after agreeing to a plea bargain, was finally released on probation under conditions of one year of "intensive supervision," but he still faces possible charges.

The camera "skills" of the NYPD have been in the news before. The NYPD VIPER Unit (Video Interactive Patrol Enhanced Response), equipped with infrared cameras, has been in place for surveillance for several years all over the

streets of the city. The VIPER unit is particularly known to spy on and monitor the tenants in public housing. VIPER types were out in full force with their high-tech, heat-sensitive equipment during the RNC protests. One VIPER unit got caught out when they took a break from filming a Critical Mass bicycle protest where hundreds were arrested to zoom in repeatedly on a couple kissing on a roof.

More recently, on April 14, the City of New York settled—to the tune of \$231,200—a contempt claim brought by 151 people detained by the cops. The city intentionally violated multiple court orders to release 560 people in order to prevent them from protesting while Bush was up on his imperial podium giving his acceptance speech.

The largely white, petty-bourgeois youth protesting the RNC got a small taste of what minority youth face every day in America's cities. For black and Latino youth in New York City, neighborhood arrest sweeps, police lies and brutality, frame-ups, detentions and prison are a daily fact of life. The racist capital-

ist state and its parties, the Republicans as well as the Democrats, are the class enemy of the working class and oppressed, from the picket lines to the ghettos.

Leading up to the convention, Bloomberg and the media whipped up "war on terror" hysteria against the protesters, most of whom were liberal Democratic Party supporters. The intention was to create a climate of so much fear of the "enemy within" that the cops could have free rein to use any means to suppress opposition to the festivities at the RNC. When the city outrageously denied a permit for a mass protest to be held in Central Park, the liberal United for Peace and Justice organizers did not even launch a fight against the ban. Their cowardly capitulation to this attack only emboldened the cops to go after the protesters more viciously.

The Parks Department is now proposing new rules on all gatherings of 50,000 or more people in Central Park that would effectively make sizable political rallies in Manhattan next to impossi-

ble. Fifth Avenue, the historic stage for political marches, is now off limits for any new permits. The Bloomberg administration has just refused a permit for a May Day march taking off from Union Square, a historic gathering place for workers and radicals. The demonstration is being built by the Million Worker March and the Troops Out Now Coalition, which is dominated by the pseudosocialist Workers World Party. According to the Troops Out Now Coalition, the rally and march will take place as scheduled.

While the American rulers wage their murderous, predatory wars around the world, their government wants to strangle protest and label all opponents "violent" and "terrorists"—categories that will provide the state a license to criminalize all political activity. Whatever rights we have under this oppressive capitalist order were won through tumultuous class and social struggle. The social power of the multiracial labor movement—welded to the struggles of black people, immigrants and defenders of civil liberties—must be mobilized in defense of our rights. ■

Iraq...

(continued from page 2)

unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and allies. We defend the peoples of Iraq against any U.S.-led attack and repression. Insofar as the forces on the ground in Iraq aim their fire against the imperialist occupiers and their lackeys, we call for their military defense against U.S. imperialism. Every blow struck against the imperialist occupiers is a blow struck against the enemy of workers and the oppressed all over the world. At the same time, we are intransigent opponents of the murderous communal violence against other ethnic, religious and national populations oftentimes carried out by the very same forces waging attacks against the occupation armies.

The bottom line of Chris C.'s letter is that one should only stand for military defense of forces that are politically "progressive." But this is a very wrong way to approach the question. Take the case of the Italo-Ethiopian war of the 1930s, referenced by Chris C. Trotsky advocated military defense of Ethiopia under Haile Selassie against Italian imperialism, even though Ethiopia was a slave-owning country.

To take another example: Genuine Trotskyists stood for military victory of the petty-bourgeois nationalist FLN in the Algerian War of independence against French imperialism (1954-62), not because we considered the FLN "progressive" per se, but because colonial and neocolonial oppression obscures the class lines within any given society. The work-

Deadly communal violence: over 100 Shi'ite holiday worshippers were killed in bomb attacks in Karbala, March 2004.



In fact, the insurgencies in Iraq are a throwback to many anti-colonial struggles during the early part of the 20th century, when many colonial countries lacked even a working class, and religious forces dominated most anti-colonial movements, particularly in the Near East. Nonetheless, genuine revolutionaries defended these struggles against their colonial and imperialist oppressors. As Lenin put it in *Socialism and War*, written in 1915 before the Russian Revolution: "If tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just,' and 'defensive' wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory against the oppressor, slave-holding and predatory 'Great' Powers."

Today, it is in the interest of the inter-

the capitalist framework or U.S. interests. More fundamentally, imperialist occupation strengthens all local forces of reaction, allowing them to pose as the real "anti-imperialists" for the embittered masses of the region.

At the same time, it should be noted that the insurgencies in Iraq have hampered—at least temporarily—the Bush administration's efforts to extend its war and occupation to countries such as Iran or Syria. Thus a military draft has been raised as a possibility, particularly by Democrats. Recruitment to the imperialist armed forces has been made more difficult, and the recruiters have lately not been able to meet their quotas. The Bush administration has had to institute a "back-door draft," forcing soldiers to serve beyond their service contracts. There is significant discontent among the military and their families, who are of a predominantly working-class background, and disproportionately black and Latino. In the U.S., the working class and poor mainly pay the cost of the war and occupation, while social services are slashed.

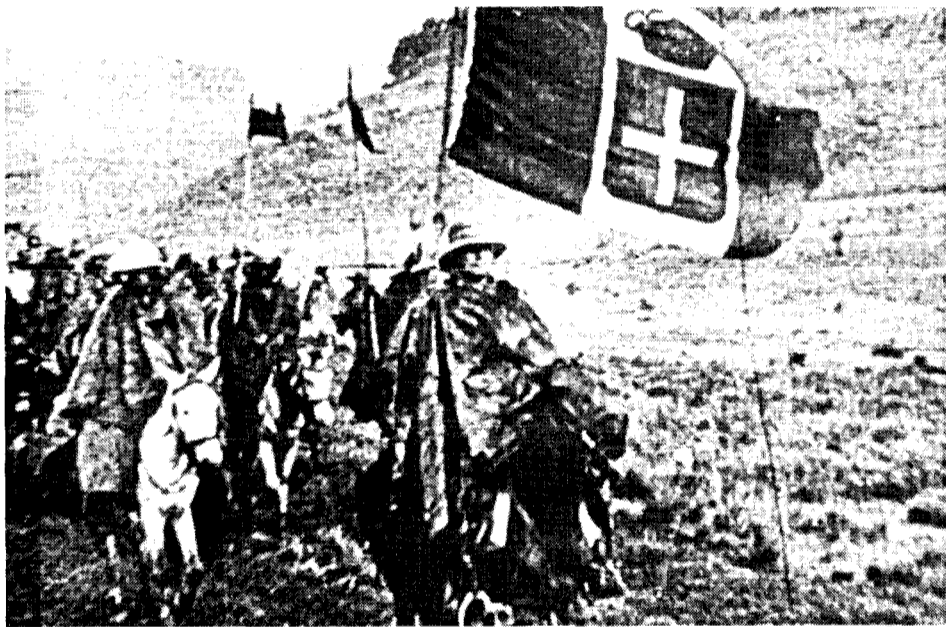
Regarding Iran, Chris C. writes that in the event of a war between Iran and the U.S. we should not "defend or call for the defense of the mullah's clerical-fascist state." In the event of war between the U.S. and Iran, we would call for military defense of Iran, as we did with Iraq. Chris C.'s reference to "Islamic fascism" reveals both ignorance and a capitulation to U.S. imperialism. To speak of "Islamic fascism" in Iran serves a political purpose: painting "democratic" U.S. imperialism as somehow more "civilized." Iran is a theocratic state, not a fascist state. Fascism represents the ultimate and most virulent expression of nationalism in the epoch of imperialist decay. Islamic fundamentalism, which is certainly colored by the national terrain of each country, is a fundamentally transnational movement, a reaction to imperialist subjugation that harks back to 7th-century obscurantism. And, as Chris C. acknowledges, imperialism is "ultimately responsible" for Islamic reaction. U.S. imperialism direct-

ly promoted such forces, especially as allies against the Soviet Union, and imperialism as a system enforces the conditions of economic and social oppression that breed religious fanaticism.

As for nukes, Chris C.'s strange assertion that "Iran would be likely to use nuclear weapons on a 'first-strike' basis" seems based more on an acceptance of imperialist and Zionist propaganda than reality. It is the U.S. that has proclaimed its right to "pre-emptive" war, including the use of nuclear weapons. And in the Near East, the *only* state with a nuclear arsenal is Israel, and the Zionist rulers have had no compunction about threatening to unleash nuclear holocaust on the region. We reject any comparison between Mordechai Vanunu—the heroic Israeli nuclear technician who revealed the extent of Israel's existing nuclear arsenal, which was aimed as much at the USSR as at the Arab states—and the Mujahideen al-Khalq. Any group that actively provides "intelligence to the U.S. and European powers on the mullahs' nuclear weapons program" as the U.S. threatens war with Iran is highly dubious.

Ultimately, the solution to the suffering of U.S. imperialism's victims depends on the struggle of the American proletariat at home. We fight to instill in the working class the consciousness that the same profit-lusting rulers who smash their unions, drive down wages, destroy health care and education, massacre Iraqis in the interests of capital. To win the proletariat to that understanding requires a tenacious struggle against its misleaders in the labor movement, the trade-union tops who keep the working class chained to the capitalist system through an alliance with its political representatives, particularly the Democrats. As we wrote in "Marxism, War and the Fight for Socialist Revolution" (WV No. 795, 17 January 2003):

"Capitalism, by its very exploitative nature, creates its own gravediggers in the proletariat, which alone has the social power to bring about the downfall of capitalism—by virtue of the fact that it has its hands *directly* on the means of production—and the objective class interests to do so. Military defeats abroad certainly help to bring about an extreme sharpening in the class contradictions of a particular country—war is the mother of revolutions. But it is fundamentally the working class that has the power to accomplish this historic task. We do not raise the call for class struggle at home with the pollyannaish belief that this particular war is going to meet its end in immediate social revolution in the U.S. We raise it in order to cut through the 'national unity' mongering of the ruling class, to bring the working class to the understanding that it alone has the power to defeat the American imperialist system through workers revolution. Out of working-class and social struggle and through the intervention of revolutionary Marxists, the workers party essential for workers to take power will emerge." ■



Dickinson College

Italian troops march into Ethiopia. Trotsky called for military defense of Ethiopia, where slavery was practiced, during 1930s Italo-Ethiopian war.

ers in an oppressor state cannot overthrow their bourgeoisie without opposing their rulers' subjugation of another nation. At the same time, the workers in an oppressed nation can be broken from nationalism and fundamentalism and won to communist internationalism only by a communist party that champions class unity with the working masses in the imperialist countries.

In his letter, Chris C. points out that since the destruction of the Soviet Union, "we have been thrown back into a situation of potential anti-capitalist social-politics that resembles the pre-1917 world." There is an important element of truth to that statement. The collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state was a world-historic defeat for the working class that has set back political consciousness, albeit in an uneven and contradictory way. In Iraq, those who are leading insurgencies against the occupation are largely Islamic reactionaries or former Ba'athists. Unlike the FLN or other anti-colonial movements of that period, there is no socialist rhetoric, no group claiming the mantle of secular nationalism, much less communism. The insurgency reveals a propensity to sharpen ethnic/religious divisions in Iraq—between Arabs and Kurds as well as Sunnis and Shi'ites—through, for example, communal terror attacks.

national working class, particularly the American proletariat, to *militarily* defend those who take up arms against the occupation. To not do so would only serve the interests of the U.S. imperialists, whose ambitions mean *more* death and misery to the world's peoples. At the same time, the international proletariat must be *politically* hostile to the insurgency forces that have revealed themselves thus far. As we wrote in "The Left and the 'Iraqi Resistance'—U.S. Out of Iraq Now!" (WV No. 830, 6 August 2004):

"We do not imbue the forces presently organizing guerrilla attacks on U.S. forces with 'anti-imperialist' credentials and warn that in the absence of working-class struggle in Iraq and internationally against the occupation, the victory of one or another of the reactionary clerical forces is more likely to come about through an alliance with U.S. imperialism....

"The so-called 'national resistance' in Iraq is a myth promoted by U.S. and Western imperialism and cynical leftists.... There isn't a unitary 'resistance' force in Iraq but rather disparate groupings organizing guerrilla attacks on U.S. forces—and often against rival groupings and random civilians."

In his letter, Chris C. writes: "Any anti-capitalist social-political possibilities are not qualitatively reduced by U.S. occupation of Iraq (or of Iran...)." This is dead wrong. The U.S. occupation provides a military force ready to pounce on any struggle in the region that could challenge

Spartacist Forums

Finish the Civil War! Harriet Jacobs: A Black Woman's Fight to Smash Slavery

Speaker: Carla Wilson, Spartacist League Central Committee

Saturday, May 21, 3 p.m.

L.A. Public Library, Cahuenga Branch
4591 Santa Monica Blvd. (1 block east of
Vermont/Santa Monica Red Line station)

For more information: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum

The Vietnamese Revolution: A Victory Against Imperialism

Saturday, May 14, 7 p.m.

U of T, OISE, Room 2212
252 Bloor Street West
(above St. George station)

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

TORONTO

WORKERS VANGUARD

New York City: RNC Protesters Framed Up

Cops, Lies and Videotape

Last summer, the Republicans spent a week celebrating the prospect of another four years as the favored party of the bloody American ruling class. Outside on the streets, New York City cops were running rampant, sweeping up over 1,800 people who were there to protest, as well as others who were just trying to go about their business. Protesters were banned from rallying in virtually every public gathering place; they were rounded up, bound up in orange plastic webs throughout the city during the convention week. Hundreds were detained for days under filthy, hazardous conditions in makeshift cages at Pier 57.

After eight months, some of the arrestees finally had their day in court, and a few of the lies, dirty tricks and outright tearing up of constitutional rights that the state uses all the time to suppress dissent have come to light. Alexander Dunlop's case demonstrates to what lengths the police went to frame up people. Dunlop was arrested on his way to pick up some sushi during the RNC protests—i.e., he wasn't even protesting. He was handcuffed and hauled off to Pier 57. Later, he was informed that he was being slapped with four different charges, including resisting arrest. Dunlop's lawyer received a videotape from the district attorney's office,

which the D.A. claimed was complete.

Eight months later, a member of "I-Witness Video," a project that assembled hundreds of videos during the convention week, received some police videotape for another, unrelated case and spotted Dunlop. It was the same footage that the lawyer had been given, but there was an additional sequence. This uncut



New York prosecutors removed a section of videotape, including these frames, and pressed false charges of resisting arrest against Alexander Dunlop.

version demonstrated that the charges against Dunlop were totally fabricated! All charges were dropped. On April 14, Dunlop's lawyer, Michael Conroy, told Amy Goodman of *Democracy Now!* that the tape he had received directly from the D.A.'s office was doctored to exclude the evidence of his innocence. The D.A.'s office claimed the tape was edited by "mistake" (i.e., they were caught). Who

knows how many videos were spliced and diced by "mistake" by the prosecutor's office and given to defendants? This case shows how the courts and cops, the entire apparatus of the capitalist state, act in collusion as agents of repression for the ruling class. At least 162 arrestees have either pleaded guilty or were convicted after a trial, and dubious police video-

police officers to subdue him. One day after the cop's graphic testimony, before the defense even made its case, the prosecution abruptly dropped all charges. What had happened? During a recess, a video of the arrest was played which showed that the charges were false, and the cop who testified was nowhere to be seen in the footage.

Yusuke Joshua Banno, a college student from Arizona, was arrested on August 29, charged with assault and reckless endangerment, accused of igniting a papier-mâché dragon. He faced seven years in prison. After months of battling the city, he fortunately came across time-sequence photos taken by a newspaper photographer showing him far from where the fire occurred. All charges were dropped. However, Banno has lost a semester at school, and his family has spent some \$30,000 for bail, legal fees and other expenses.

Jamal Holiday is a young black man arrested during the RNC protests. On August 30, Holiday was part of the Poor People's March when a plainclothes cop drove an unmarked motor scooter into the crowd of demonstrators, striking at least one woman. The protesters reacted in defense against the apparently crazed individual. As the video of the incident

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Boston: Reformist Left Ignores Fascist Danger

For a Working-Class Strategy to Fight Fascist Provocations

Fascists from the World Church of the Creator, the National Alliance, Volksfront, White Revolution and various racist skinhead groups have been emerging recently from their rat holes in the Boston area. This past November, the neo-Nazi terrorists of the National Socialist Movement announced the "official creation of the Boston chapter, led by local resident John Gray" (*Phoenix*, 10-16 December 2004). Over the past several years, these latter-day little Hitlers have attempted to harass or even insert themselves into leftist rallies. At past events sponsored by ANSWER, including a demonstration last year in support of gay marriage rights and a rally on Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday this January, fascists showed up. They have also been seen next to pro-Palestinian demonstrations and lurking around antiwar rallies. But the organizers of these rallies have refused to take this threat, a very real physical danger, seriously—in fact, they have tried to ignore these deadly scum.

At the July 25 "National March on the Democratic Convention/Bring the Troops Home Now!" rally called by the Workers World Party-initiated ANSWER coalition on the Boston Common, a crazed anti-

abortion, anti-gay bigot raised a sign with a graphic photo of a fetus and a putrid anti-gay slogan on the other side. When our comrades mobilized with other leftists to drive this pig away from the demonstration, a fascist skinhead rushed to his defense, and was correctly repelled (see "Anti-Abortion Bigot Driven Out; Fascist Provocation Spiked" WV No. 830, 6 August 2004).

The fascists, though few today, must not be ignored. They must be stopped—driven away through mass labor/black mobilizations of all the fascists' intended victims, centrally relying on the power of the working class. This perspective, which the Spartacist League has fought for, has successfully kept the fascists from gaining ground in a number of metropolitan areas. Our strategy has repeatedly faced obstacles from liberals and reformist leftists, in Boston and elsewhere, who preach reliance on the capitalists' cops to protect them against fascists or else try to ignore the race-terrorists.

tapes have bolstered the cases in some.

The proliferation of video cameras in the hands of amateurs as well as the cops themselves has exposed a lot more than the cops ever banked on. Back in December, Dennis Kyne was the first to have his case taken to a jury trial on charges of inciting a riot and resisting arrest. A cop, lying through his teeth, testified that Kyne put up such a fight it took four

been spray-painted with "KKK" and "White Power" and "kill n---rs." After enduring months of racial epithets and death threats while working on overhauling the Boston Edison plant in Everett, several black construction workers finally sued their employer, the Washington Group. Leaflets signed "KKK" and vowing bodily harm to the workers' families were left at their job sites while supervisors threatened these black workers with firing.

This past December, white-supremacist Dimitri Long was arrested for a brutal attack on a white Norwood man who dated a black woman. Long and two others kidnapped the victim and taunted him as a "disgrace to his race," then beat, burned, stabbed and stoned the poor man. They drew a swastika on his forehead and left him unconscious on train tracks to be run over. Fortunately, he regained consciousness and escaped.

Others have not been so lucky. A supporter of the World Church of the Creator, whose founder Matthew Hale is now in prison, went on a deadly rampage in 1999, wounding nine people and killing a South Korean student and a black former basketball coach from Northwestern

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