

Zionist Massacre in Gaza

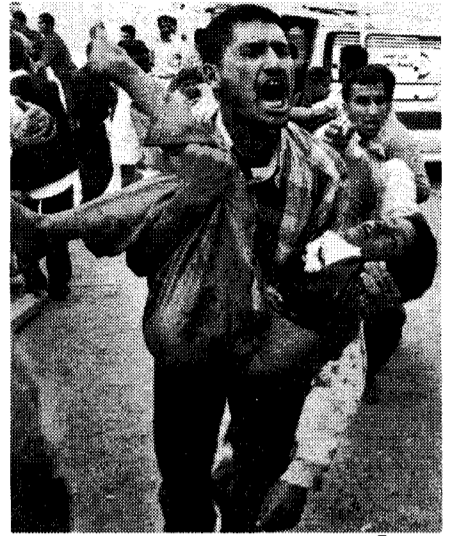
MAY 24—As part of Israel's bloody campaign of terror against the Palestinian population, an Israeli helicopter gunship and a tank fired rockets and artillery shells at a protest march in the southern Gaza city of Rafah on May 19, killing at least ten people, almost half of whom were children, and wounding dozens more. With ambulances overflowing, bodies of the dead and injured were carried in donkey carts to the hospital. The slaughter in Rafah took place in the context of an Israeli military offensive in Gaza that has killed over 45 Palestinians and demolished scores of homes. The bloody incursion was triggered by clashes the previous week

between Palestinian fighters and the Israeli military in which up to 13 Israeli soldiers, and many more Palestinians, were killed.

Roundups, assassinations and house demolitions—this is the reality of Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon's much-vaunted "withdrawal plan" from Gaza. Earlier this month, the right-wing Likud party handed Sharon a defeat by voting against his withdrawal proposal. Two weeks later, a massive May 15 rally of at least 150,000 people was held in Tel Aviv demanding that troops and settlers be pulled out from Gaza and that negotiations with the Palestinian Authority begin.

Increasingly, Gaza resembles a concentration camp where 1.3 million Palestinians are squeezed into an area no larger than five miles by 25 miles. With Gaza surrounded by an electronic fence, the only people who have any freedom of movement are the 7,500 fascistic Zionist settlers who control whole swaths of the area and are protected by Israeli soldiers. Unemployment is over 50 percent and malnutrition is rampant, especially among children and the aged. The pretext Israel is using for the latest incursions into Gaza is to shut down tunnels between Rafah and the Sinai desert in Egypt. But as Israeli journalist

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Reuters
Palestinian man carries child killed by Israeli rocket attack against protest march in Gaza, May 19.

"War on Terror" Targets Everyone

The monsters who just wantonly blew away over 40 men, women and children at a wedding party in Iraq near the Syrian border are the same U.S. forces who authorized vicious tortures and killings around the world. Daily new Internet pictures from Abu Ghraib reveal fresh glimpses of hell, a combination of the techniques of Southern racist terror with pornographic humiliation and the CIA's "scientific" infliction of pain. Now that some of the photos are out, the capitalist media admit that the White House and Pentagon had their bureaucrats and lawyers advise on just how much murderous terror they could get away with.

This world of fear is what the government wants to apply to any "dissenters" here at home. Since September 11, 2001 the U.S. government has cynically manipulated the population's horror at the heinous attack on the World Trade Center to massively intensify an assault on civil liberties and vastly expand police powers. Untold thousands have been swept up in racist roundups of mainly Near Eastern, South Asian and Muslim people, detained without charges, tortured and abused in prisons across America. Thousands more have been deported, often to torture and death. The anti-terror laws are now being used to prosecute people who have nothing even allegedly to do with "terrorism." This May a Mexican street gang in the Bronx was indicted on 70 counts, including murder and robberies, under New York's new anti-terror law; the Bronx district attorney said the terror stipulation was justified while noting the statute is "to protect society against acts of political terrorism."

This April the U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments in three important "war on terror" cases challenging some of the

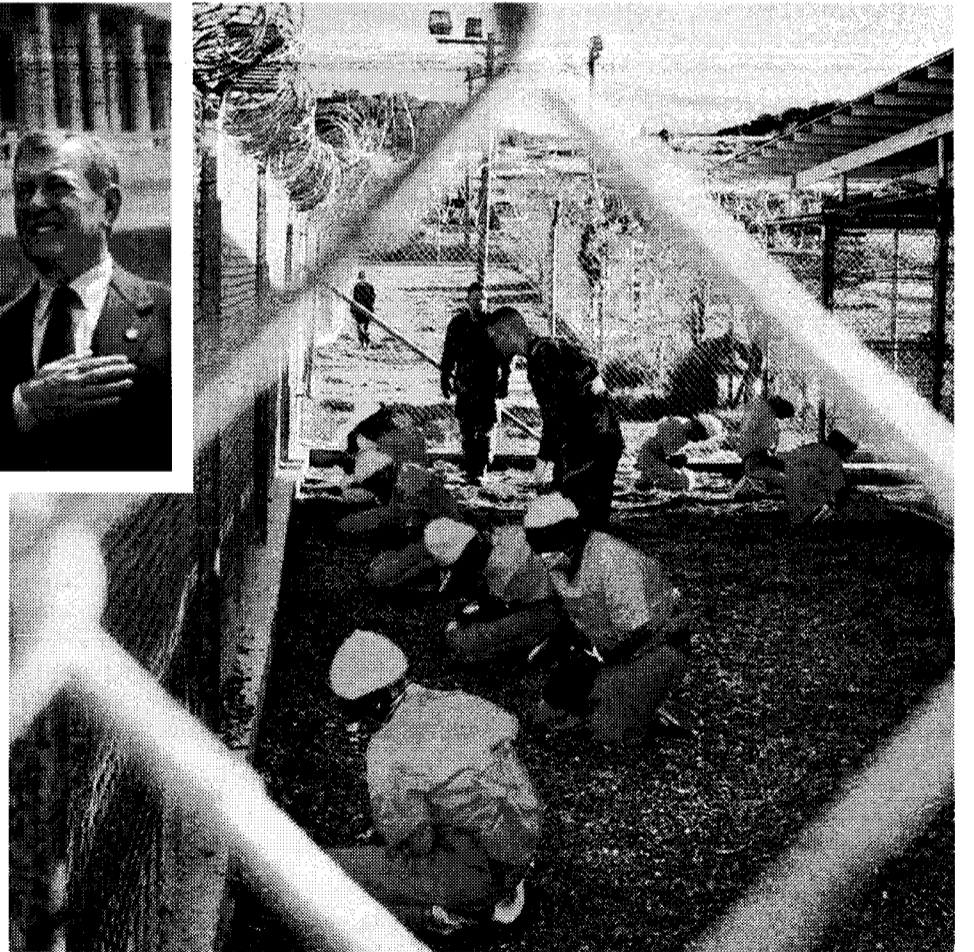


Reuters

Commander in Chief Bush and top cop Ashcroft—"war on terror" equals torture, concentration camps like Guantánamo (right).

government's most aggressive efforts to shred civil liberties. The stakes in these cases are high, for what the government is asserting is nothing less than its right to disappear citizens and strip them of their formal and fundamental democratic rights. There has always been a wide gulf between formal bourgeois legality and the race- and class-biased repression and violence that are routine to capitalist rule. If the government does away with even the formal nods to democratic rights, then "justice" in this country is going to resemble the rule of reactionary juntas and dictatorships propped up by American imperialism around the globe. If they can effectively abolish citizenship rights, then the plight of immigrants here and foreign victims of U.S. policies will be even worse.

On April 28, appeals were presented on behalf of two American citizens held indefinitely as "enemy combatants" without charges or a hearing. One of these prisoners, Yaser Esam Hamdi, was detained in Afghanistan in late 2001. The other, Jose Padilla, was arrested in May 2002 at Chicago O'Hare airport on a material witness warrant and then turned over to military authorities. This year, on



AP

April 20, lawyers presented the appeal of foreign nationals arrested in Afghanistan and dragged to the hellhole U.S. military camp in Guantánamo, Cuba, where over 600 are now detained. The Guantánamo prisoners are seeking the right to challenge their captivity in American courts through a *habeas corpus* petition. With supreme arrogance, the government asserts that American courts have no right to review a presidential decision, and that the U.S. has no jurisdiction over Guantánamo prisoners because the American army base is on Cuban territory! We Trotskyists suggest then that the Cuban government assert its authority over this imperialist beachhead on the Cuban deformed workers state. U.S. out of

Guantánamo! Free all the detainees, from Guantánamo to Iraq to the U.S.!

The Padilla Case: Evisceration of Citizenship

"Today the government asks this court for a broad ruling that would allow the president unlimited power to imprison any American anywhere at any time without trial simply by labeling him an enemy combatant," warned Padilla's attorney, Jennifer Martinez, in the Supreme Court hearing. On April 9, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee filed a brief of *amici curiae* (friends of the court) on Padilla's behalf, just as we did in July 2003 when his case was argued in the

continued on page 8



The RCP and the "Anybody But Bush" Bandwagon

New York City
6 May 2004

To *Workers Vanguard*:

The short polemic against the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the RCP-backed Not In Our Name (NION) in the article titled "International Communist League in Worldwide Protests" from *Workers Vanguard* No. 824 (16 April) could very easily be misinterpreted. The section of note reads as follows:

"The RCP/NION claims to oppose the 'electoral black hole,' yet as the Spartacus Youth Club pointed out in a polemical leaflet directed to the RCP at March 20 protests, they call for 'more than a million people in the streets of NYC at the time of the Republican National Convention to say NO to the whole Bush agenda!'"

This section is indeed taken from the very fine leaflet directed to the RCP, reprinted in the *Workers Vanguard* of 2 April. However, the leaflet puts the RCP's call into context. Certainly there is nothing wrong with protesting Bush and saying "NO" to his agenda—doing such does not neces-

sarily mean that one is for the "electoral black hole." However, communists would similarly want to say "NO" to the whole Kerry agenda, and, might I mention, the whole Nader agenda. Differences that exist between each policy (often slight) are simply disagreements over the best way to defend the interests of the American *bourgeoisie*—in other words, it is *in every case* directed squarely against the working class and the oppressed the world over.

At the March 20 New York protest against the occupation of Iraq sponsored in part by NION, Dennis Kucinich was a featured speaker and the NION contingent looked like a Kucinich support group, brandishing campaign stickers and buttons. Kucinich spoke in front of a banner reading "The World Still Says No to War!" Fake socialists do their biggest disservice to honest activists in the antiwar movement by stating that someone who actively defends the capitalist system like Kucinich or Nader could genuinely have a program against war. Then-Trotskyist James Burnham

(under the pseudonym John West) put it best in *War and the Workers* (1936):

"To suppose... that revolutionists can work out a common 'program against war' with non-revolutionists is a fatal illusion. Any organization based upon such a program is not merely powerless to prevent war; in practice it acts to promote war, both because it serves in its own way to uphold the system that breeds war, and because it diverts the attention of its members from the real fight against war."

The RCP's program of promoting the false possibility that the Democrats can be pressured/won to take the side of the workers, justified with the call to "unite with all who can be united," proves that, despite their anti-electoral rhetoric, the RCP actually *builds* the "electoral black hole."

Comradely,
E. Abramovitch



March 20: SL/SYC contingent at Chicago anti-occupation rally raised call to break with Democratic Party.

The State: Instrument of Class Repression



TROTSKY

The 1917 Russian Revolution brought the working class of that country to power, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the article excerpted below, which he subsequently expanded into the 1918 polemical pamphlet against German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, Lenin described how the bourgeois state—even the most democratic—is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and needs to be replaced with a workers state, pointing to the experience of the young Russian workers republic.



LENIN

Kautsky has renounced Marxism by forgetting that every state is a machine for the suppression of one class by another, and that the most democratic bourgeois republic is a machine for the oppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletarian state, which is a machine for the suppression of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat, is not a "form of governing," but a state of a different type. Suppression is necessary because the bourgeoisie will always furiously resist being expropriated....

Bourgeois democracy, which is invaluable in educating the proletariat and training it for the struggle, is always narrow, hypocritical, spurious and false; it always remains democracy for the rich and a swindle for the poor.

Proletarian democracy suppresses the exploiters, the bourgeoisie—and is therefore not hypocritical, does not promise them freedom and democracy—and gives the working people genuine democracy. Only Soviet Russia has given the proletariat and the whole vast labouring majority of Russia a freedom and democracy unprecedented, impossible and inconceivable in any bourgeois democratic republic, by, for example, taking the palaces and mansions away from the bourgeoisie (without which freedom of assembly is sheer hypocrisy), by taking the print-shops and stocks of paper away from the capitalists (without which freedom of the press for the nation's labouring majority is a lie), and by replacing bourgeois parliamentarism by the democratic organisation of the Soviets, which are a thousand times nearer to the people and more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois parliament.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky" (1918)

On March 20 London Protest

London
20 April 2004

Dear WV,

I was surprised to see the sentence in the *Workers Vanguard* article "International Communist League in Worldwide Protests" (WV No. 824, 16 April) that reads: "In London's Trafalgar Square, Labour 'left' Jeremy Corbyn said that Labour prime minister Tony Blair's right-wing domestic agenda was dictated by the U.S., underlining the dominant theme of English nationalism" (my emphasis).

A demonstration today that was dominated by English nationalism would be in support of the occupation of Iraq and the attendant imperialist slaughter, not, in any muted or refracted sense, opposed to it. There were, to my memory, no Union Jacks or St. George's Crosses on display at the demonstration—the presence of which, for one thing, would certainly have deterred many Muslims, blacks, Irish, Scottish or Welsh from participating. Rather, there were a few

common themes from the speakers at the end-of-march rally in Trafalgar Square, which were in general characterised by little England nationalism and anti-Americanism.

In short, this meant that the "little Englishers" who spoke in the main clothed in pacifistic or antiwar rhetoric their opinion that Britain's (i.e., British imperialism's) interests would be best served by ending the historic alliance with the U.S. Many people also partake of this worldview as a misguided form of opposition to U.S. imperialism. Jeremy Corbyn was one of the many speakers who held up the example of Spain as a country where a pro-American government had been thrown out (in favour of the Zapatero government, which sees Spain's interests as aligned with the European imperialist powers). Obviously such a perspective has nothing to do with proletarian, internationalist opposition to British imperialism.

Comradely,
Edward W.

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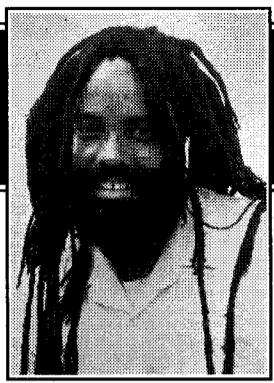
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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

In the Shadows of Abu Ghraib Prison



The color photos coming out of the dreaded Abu Ghraib prison on Baghdad's outskirts are racing around the world, silent yet eloquent testament to what Americans really think about the people they allegedly came here to "liberate."

The photos, especially in the age of the internet, are racing through the Arab and Muslim world, and showing a side of the American character that seldom gets to be seen, especially abroad.

The photos of naked Arab men, some posed with laughing, jeering US women, is the height of humiliation, and tells everyone who can see, that Americans hold the Iraqis, and by extension, other Arabs, in utter contempt.

"This is not America," a politician huffs.

"I am appalled!," yet another exclaims.

Yet, what is truly appalling, and perhaps more chilling than the naked, human pyramids shown, is the sheer glee shown in the faces of the Americans.

The photos flashed in British tabloids, of soldiers urinating—pissing!—on naked Iraqis, tells the same baleful tale.

These are the actions of contempt, hatred, disrespect—and conquest.

Are the Americans and the British liberators or occupiers?

One need look no further than the faces in the

photos of Abu Ghraib for the answer.

When speaking recently with Emory Douglas, the celebrated former Minister of Culture of the Black Panther Party, and chief graphic artist of its famed newspaper, *The Black Panther*, Emory brought to mind an image that is almost lost in history.

He reminded me of a police raid on the West Philadelphia offices of the Black Panther Party, on August 31, 1970, when the police, armed with automatic weapons, stripped men in the streets.

I also thought of the infamous Charles Stuart case, from Boston, when a white man claimed a Black man killed his wife. The cops descended on Roxbury, Black Boston like a plague. They stripped men in the streets of Beantown.

Many of the Americans working in the prisons of Iraq, especially in the reserves, are cops or prison guards in their civilian lives. Indeed, one of the men identified as a suspect in the brutal mistreatment of people in Abu Ghraib, indeed a corporal in the Army, works here, at SCI-Greene!

The horrific treatment of Iraqis at Abu Ghraib has its dark precedents in the prisons and police stations across America.

Journalist Seymour Hersh, of *The New Yorker* magazine, has alleged that there have been cases of sodomy against Iraqis there at Abu Ghraib, and

even killing. Does the name Abner Louima ring a bell?

If you hate someone; if you disrespect them; if you fear them, how can you "liberate" them?

As we have said from the very beginning, the Iraq Adventure is not, and never has been, about "liberating" an oppressed people. Indeed, a recent CNN/USA Today poll suggests Iraqis have come to that conclusion, with 71% stating Americans are "occupiers."

Americans may call it "liberation," but they are bringing torture, humiliation, and domination.

Nor are these events the work of people who are "untrained," "poorly trained," or the always useful, "bad apples."

As we have suggested above, many of those who are there in Iraq, and hundreds of the people working in Abu Ghraib prison, were reserves, and came from jobs as prison guards and cops in civilian life. They are perhaps better trained than the average M.P.

Don't buy it.

It is somehow fitting that these depraved acts have happened in one of the most dreadful gulags of the Hussein regime; it shows the continuity of torture and terror.

Now, let us prepare for the inevitable whitewash.

Those of us who know history are certain—it is sure to come.

3 May 2004

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Send urgently needed contributions for Jamal's legal defense, made payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" and earmarked for "Mumia" to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 130 Morningside Drive, Suite 6C, New York, NY 10027.

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Supreme Court Turns Down Jamal Appeal

Free Mumia Now!

On May 17, the U.S. Supreme Court turned down death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal's petition for a writ of certiorari (review). Filed in March by Jamal's attorney, Robert Bryan, the petition sought to overturn last October's Pennsylvania Supreme Court decision upholding Jamal's conviction and death sentence.

Still pending in the federal courts is Jamal's application for *habeas corpus* relief. Over two years ago, federal district court judge William Yohn overturned Jamal's death sentence while affirming the conviction, condemning him to a life of prison hell. Jamal's attorneys appealed that decision, seeking to overturn the conviction. The state appealed as well, seeking to uphold Jamal's death sentence. With this latest Supreme Court denial, Jamal's case goes back to the federal appeals court to rule on those appeals.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man! His case is a textbook example of a classic racist political frame-up. Jamal was convicted in 1982 on frame-up charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981. An outspoken champion of the oppressed, Jamal had been a target of the Philadelphia police and J. Edgar Hoover's FBI from the time he was a Black Panther Party spokesman at the age of 15. An award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" and a supporter of the predominantly black, back-to-nature MOVE organization, Jamal continues to speak out from death row, in commentaries carried in *WV* and other papers across the country, condemning racist cop atrocities, denouncing imperialist war and voicing his support for the battles of striking workers.

Nearly 150 years after the infamous Dred Scott decision, a fighter for black freedom like Jamal has no rights which the capitalist courts are bound to respect. For nearly three years both Pennsylvania state courts and federal courts have refused to even consider testimony from Arnold Beverly that he, not Jamal, shot and killed Officer Faulkner. As raised in Jamal's Supreme Court petition, these courts have rejected as well evidence discovered only two years ago of the sworn account of court stenographer Terri Maurer-Carter of a conversation she overheard in the courthouse where Mumia was tried. In that conversation, Judge Sabo, who sentenced Jamal to death, declared in regard to Jamal's case, "I'm going to help 'em fry the n----r."

The second ground cited by Mumia's petition is the refusal of Pennsylvania Supreme Court justice Ronald Castille to recuse himself from participating in that court's deliberations and last year's decision denying post-conviction relief (PCRA) to Jamal. As Philadelphia District Attorney from 1986 to 1991, Castille was in charge of the state's successful effort to uphold Jamal's conviction and death sentence. He went on to become a member of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, where he joined in turning down Jamal's appeal of Sabo's denial of his PCRA in 1997. Jamal's petition highlighted, "For the same person to function as both prosecutor and judge in a capital case violates the due process clause and mandates that the conviction be reversed."

As we wrote at the time the papers were filed ("New Papers Filed in U.S. Supreme Court: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" *WV* No. 822, 19 March): "These papers de-

scribe courts where even the formal distinction between judge and prosecutor is totally obliterated; where the trial judge blithely pronounces his racist animus toward Jamal; where one of Jamal's key prosecutors becomes one of the appellate judges who rules on whether Mumia is to live or die. They paint a picture of courts more commonly associated with those of the Deep South of the Jim Crow era."

The capitalist rulers want to see Mumia dead because they see in this eloquent journalist, MOVE supporter and former Panther spokesman the spectre of black revolution, defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression. They seek to execute Jamal in order to send a chilling message to all those who challenge vicious cop repression in the ghettos, who stand up for labor's rights on the picket lines, who protest imperialist mass murder from the Balkans to Iraq.

We seek to mobilize working people, minorities and all opponents of racist capitalist repression in protest actions centered on the social power of the labor movement to demand Jamal's freedom. Our fight to free Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty is part of our perspective of winning workers to the understanding that the bourgeois state, with its cops and courts, is not some "neutral" agency that serves society as a whole, but rather exists to defend the class rule and profits of the capitalists against those they exploit. To put a final halt to the grisly workings of capitalism's machinery of death—be they the guardians of death row or the cops who operate as "judge, jury and executioner" in gunning down minority youth on the street—requires sweeping away this entire system based on exploitation and oppression. The social power to do that lies in the hands of the multiracial working class, with its numbers, organization and discipline—and most importantly its capacity to bring the wheels of the profit system to a grinding halt. **Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now! Abolish the racist death penalty!** ■

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

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50¢ (16 pages)

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CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Number 32 50¢ Spring 2004

New Papers Filed in U.S. Supreme Court

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!



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Bolshevik Tendency:

Kneeling Before the Body of General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham

Toronto
12 March 2004

To the editor:

The 5 March 2004 issue of *Workers Vanguard* (WV) contains a useful report on the recent "hot cargoing" of parts shipped on Canadian National (CN) trains by members of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) at Ford's Southern Ontario plants in Oakville, St. Thomas and Windsor. They took this action in solidarity with their fellow CAW members who are on strike against CN. The 24 February issue of the union's *Railfax* wrote: "Special thanks go out to CAW auto workers who placed themselves at risk yesterday in order to support their striking brothers and sisters at CN Rail." As WV correctly observed, these courageous unionists "showed the kind of militant solidarity that's needed to win labor's battles." The capitalist media has largely ignored this action, presumably because they don't want any repetitions.

The same issue of *Railfax* also reported that, "CN moved over the weekend to secure injunctions in Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal." These injunctions were aimed at crippling the strike, but at least in Montreal the workers took no notice. According to a 5 March report on the Montreal website of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (montreal.cbc.ca) 75 CAW pickets blocked the entrance to the rail yards in St. Laurent for several hours and prevented trucks from entering. Eventually the riot squad appeared and attacked the workers, one of whom complained: "We have a right to go on strike, we have the right to be here, but the police are beating the shit out of us to make sure that we leave."

The fact that militant workers in both English Canada and Quebec have been prepared to defy bourgeois legality in the course of this strike seems to us a good reason for you to reconsider the proposition that: "The recognition by the workers of each nation that their respective capitalist rulers—not each other—are the enemy can only come through an independent Quebec" (Spartacist Canada, September-October 1995). The fact is that the current CN strike fits the same pattern of joint struggle by Anglo Canadian and Quebecois workers that we have seen in strikes by rail, postal and civil service workers over the past several decades. There is no question that the Anglo-chauvinism, social-democratic reformism and petty-bourgeois Quebec nationalism pushed by the labor bureaucrats represent important obstacles to the development of a class-conscious workers' movement and must be vigorously combated. But the fact is, the current rail strike parallels previous ones (including the one featured on the front page of WV No. 28, 14 September 1973) in that workers on both sides of the national divide are engaged in common struggle against a common enemy.

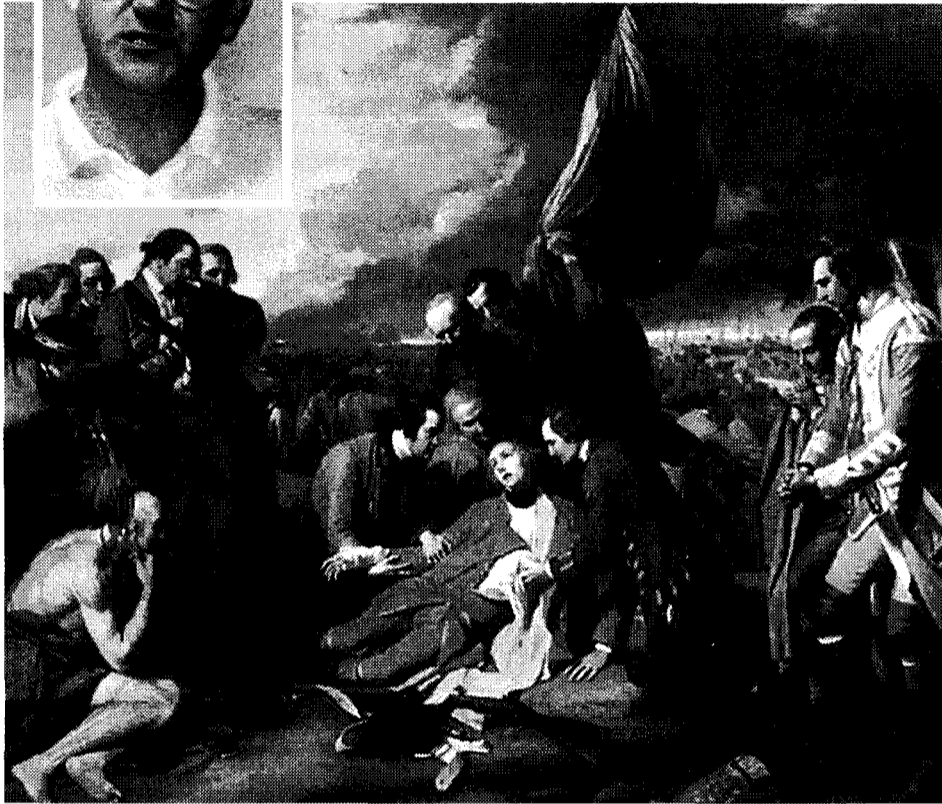
As you know, we uphold the position initially developed by the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) in the mid-1970s in contradistinction to various ostensibly Trotskyist organizations

WV Photo



Bill Logan (inset). Below: General Wolfe, British commander in Canada during French and Indian War, lies dying after 1759 battle on Quebec's Plains of Abraham that clinched British domination over Canada.

detail of painting by Benjamin West



which invested petty-bourgeois Quebecois nationalism with some inherently revolutionary dynamic. The iSt position combined a resolute defense of the inalienable right of the Quebecois to separate and form their own state with an advocacy of common working-class struggle across national lines. Contrary to the allegations of the Pabloites, there was no shred of Anglo-chauvinism in this position. The current rail strike demonstrates that the perspective of bi-national class struggle remains a valid one.

As we sought to explain in Trotskyist Bulletin No. 7, the link between the historically more militant Quebecois working class and their English-Canadian sisters and brothers (and through them the powerful U.S. proletariat) is a potentially highly significant factor in the development of revolutionary consciousness within the North American working class. We urge the comrades of the International Communist League, on the basis of this most recent experience, to reassess your organization's position and reject the pessimistic estimation that joint class struggle is not possible prior to the establishment of an independent capitalist Quebec.

Bolshevik Greetings,
J. Decker,
for the International
Bolshevik Tendency

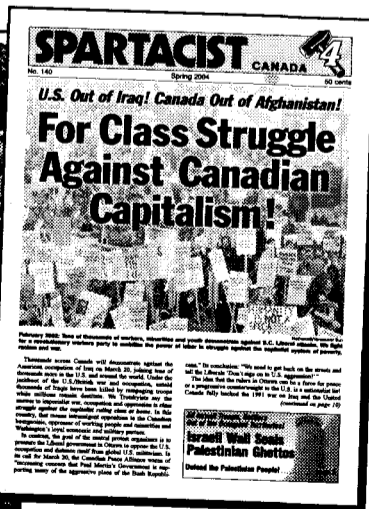
WV replies:

Since its creation more than 20 years ago by a handful of embittered ex-members, the group now calling itself the International Bolshevik Tendency (BT) has reviled our organization as a maniacal "political bandit obedience cult." Just a couple of months before we received the above letter, the BT's German adherents came out with an issue of their

occasional press, *Bolschewik* (January 2004), which was heavily devoted to regurgitating the BT's slander of the International Communist League and our German section, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), for "vulgar chauvinism" against the Kurds. Now the Canadian BT sends us this oh-so-comradely letter addressing us as serious socialists. The BT has two—counterposed—lines on the ICL. This is an acute and grotesque contradiction.

The BT salutes *Workers Vanguard* for its coverage of actions taken by members of the Canadian Auto Workers. Because workers in both English Canada and Quebec have engaged in struggle, the BT beseeches us to "reconsider" our

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position and join them in *opposing independence* for Quebec. No thanks. We leave to the BT the distinction of being *the* "socialists" officially invited to a Montreal "Canadian unity" rally on the eve of a 1995 referendum on Quebec sovereignty. It's no accident the BT was invited to this "We love Canada" rally organized by top business leaders—because the BT's leaflet on the referendum (issued only in English!) also called on Quebec workers to vote No to independence. When the BT's only Québécois member quit, he protested their "de facto bloc with the Canadian bourgeoisie."

The BT glibly claims to uphold our initial position combining "resolute defense of the inalienable right of the Quebecois to separate and form their own state with an advocacy of common working-class struggle across national lines." Hardly. In the first ten years of its existence, the BT wrote all of *one sentence* about Quebec (and we really had to hunt for it!). In contrast, from its very beginnings our Canadian section, the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyiste, *actively championed* Quebec's right to independence.

However, by 1995 we recognized that it had become necessary not only to defend Quebec's right to secede but to *advocate* its independence. We concluded that our previous perception—that national antagonisms had not yet become so intense as to make independence the only means of cutting through them—was "at best based on a superficial appreciation of the evolution of a self-conscious Quebec nation and the class struggle within it." This reappraisal was the result of extensive international discussion, study and our experience of intervention in the struggles of the working class in Quebec and English Canada. A motion adopted by the Central Committee of the TL/LT in July of that year noted:

"For Leninists, the advocacy of an independent Quebec is the means to get this question 'off the agenda,' particularly to combat the orgy of Anglo chauvinism in English Canada, but also to foil the aims of the bourgeois nationalists in Quebec who seek to tie the historically combative Québécois proletariat to their coattails. This is the only road to bringing to the fore the real social contradictions between the working class and their 'own' bourgeoisie in either nation, and thereby laying a genuine basis for common class struggle in the future."

We recognized that if we had not changed our position we would have been finished as a Marxist organization in Canada. But the BT was never premised on the Marxist fight to win the proletariat to the cause of international socialist revolution. Its arid appeals to "bi-national class struggle" are merely an echo of the Anglo-chauvinist union bureaucrats who also argue that independence for Quebec would be harmful to "labor solidarity."

From the BT's letter, one would have

no idea that the CN strike occurred amid the biggest outburst of anti-Québécois chauvinism in the last 15 years. This in turn is fueling a predictable rise in pro-independence sentiment in Quebec, with polls showing support for sovereignty back up to 47 percent. Most Quebec unions are quite separate from those in English Canada. Even the CN strike—one of all too few examples of common labor struggle—testified to the depths of the national divide: in English Canada, picket lines were festooned with the Maple Leaf flag; in Quebec, with the *fleur-de-lys*.

The ruling Liberals' funneling of millions in government funds to friendly advertising agencies in Quebec has produced an uproar in English Canada. When New York TV talk show host Conan O'Brien brought his *Late Night* show to Toronto, the mere mention of the word "Quebec" brought a chorus of boos from the audience. The tabloid *Toronto Sun* made a virtual anthem of O'Brien's sick "joke"—"You're French and Canadian? Then you must be obnoxious and dumb!"—after it elicited guffaws of approval from his studio audience. In Quebec, anglophones in bourgeois Westmount and the middle-class suburbs on Montreal's West Island are agitating to withdraw from the largely French-speaking city and re-establish separate, privileged enclaves. Recent revelations that the federal government was ready to send troops to Quebec if the 1995 sovereignty referendum had carried underline again how the forcible retention of Quebec in a "united" country is a cornerstone of capitalist Canada (see "Anglo-Chauvinist Provocations on the Rise: Independence for Quebec!" *Spartacist Canada* No. 139, Winter 2003/2004). The BT makes no mention of any of this.

A *Persilschein* for the Father Confessor?

One can assume from the BT's letter that they are sufficiently concerned that we have caught them out on their Maple Leaf chauvinism as to sense they cannot approach us as a deranged cult over the Quebec question without inflicting further damage to themselves. On the other hand, their German branch continues the BT's slander campaign against us for "great power chauvinism" supposedly directed against the Kurds, with some new embellishments as absurd as they are disgusting. Run under a large picture of cops arresting a Kurdish protester in Berlin, their chauvinist-baiting diatribe is designed to convey a not-so-subtle amalgam between our comrades and the racist oppressors of the Kurds. Particularly in a country with a large Kurdish population, this is a blatant appeal that we should be dealt with as enemies of the Kurdish people. And this poison is spewed by an outfit that stridently *opposes* the Kurds' exercise of their right to self-determination in an independent Kurdistan and whose own revolting indifference to the oppression of the Kurdish people is captured in its headline, "Polemics with SpAD/ICL: With Love from Absurdistan."

We already shredded this chauvinist-baiting Big Lie last year, documenting the BT's role as a walking provocation against the ICL and exposing the manipulative sociopath, Bill Logan, it embraces as its leader (see "BT: Renegades for Hire," *WV* No. 807, 1 August 2003 and "BT: A Walking Provocation," *WV* No. 808, 29 August 2003). We do so not simply for purposes of elementary political sanitation, but because a new generation of leftists must be made aware that the likes of Logan have no place in the workers movement. It was for similar reasons that we took the unusual step of publicly releasing our three internal bulletins "On the Logan Regime" after we expelled him from our international organization (then the international Spartacist tendency) in 1979.

In late 1978, there was a fight to

remove Logan as national chairman of our British section, where he had been running a brutal and nasty regime. The exposure of Logan's sadistic manipulation of comrades in Britain led to further charges against him from his former victims in the more isolated Australian section. The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand Central Committee charged Logan "with systematic and conscious violations of communist morality during his tenure as national chairman of the SLANZ between the years of 1972 and 1977" and "with repeated, conscious intervention into comrades' personal lives as part of a pattern of calculated personal and sexual manipulation, pass-



Chauvinist 1995 "Canadian unity" rally in Montreal, which BT was officially invited to attend.

ing off intimate managing of comrades' personal lives as a legitimate and central function of the national chairman" (see "On the Logan Regime Part III," *International Information Bulletin* No. 16, November 1983). The charges itemized 18 specific counts, including six attempts "to bring about certain sexual configurations and/or create couples through direct intervention" and three attempts "to break up certain couples through organisational/personal pressure and administrative measures." Finally, Logan was charged with "The campaign to force Vicky A to get an abortion and failing that, to foster her child (1973), using personal, social and organisational pressure."

Following a trial at our First International Conference in 1979, Logan was expelled by a unanimous vote—including those future BT members present—as a "proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism." In the case of Vicky A., the trial body found Logan "guilty of inhuman torture of a mother, rendered suicidal in his attempt to destroy and take away her baby."

These credentials were good enough for those who formed the BT, having dribbled out of our party in flight from our hard Soviet-defensist communist politics in the face of renewed Cold War in the early 1980s, to embrace the same Logan they had earlier voted to expel. In 1990, Logan (who had resurfaced as head of the New Zealand Permanent Revolution Group) emerged quite openly as the *l'ider maximo* of what was now proclaimed to be an "international" tendency. Last summer, nearly 25 years after we had expelled Logan, the BT came up with a quote ripped entirely out of context from one of our publicly available internal bulletins to slander us for "vulgar chauvinism."

The quote was taken from a 1978

report by SL/U.S. National Chairman James Robertson, a founder of our international tendency, to our New York local on the fight to remove the Logan regime in Britain. In his report, Robertson criticized another leading comrade, Reuben Samuels, for absenting himself from this fight: "Criticism of Reuben: the whole time, where was Reuben? He was off in the library, studying about the Turds for his class." Samuels had been brought to Britain to give an educational on the Kurdish question at the urging of comrade Robertson and the rest of our international leadership, a task of particular importance at the time given the recruitment of Turkish comrades to our Brit-

the quotation from comrade Robertson that they pulled out and twisted beyond recognition comes from a bulletin titled 'On the Logan Regime Part I.' How come? Why has Logan become the equivalent of that empty space on retouched photos? What is the BT hiding?" (*WV* No. 807, 1 August 2003).

Evidently, the BT left it to their German section to produce the requisite *Persilschein* (the "De-Nazification Certificate" issued to "rehabilitated" Third Reich war criminals at the end of World War II) for Logan. To this end, the German group dredges up some garbage alibis for Logan that had been gathering dust in a 1996 BT pamphlet titled *ICL vs. IBT* (which pamphlet coincidentally got posted on the BT's Web site in June 2003, just as it launched its latest smear campaign against us). Logan was just following orders, pleads the article in *Bolschewik*, claiming that he simply made "political mistakes...fully within the norms of the iSt in other places":

"Everywhere in the iSt women were pressured not to have children. The leadership of the iSt, including James Robertson himself, let it be known that women who had children were, in his opinion, on their way out of politics. It was thus standard in the iSt to pressure women to decide against children and for the party. Nothing else happened in the SL/ANZ under Bill Logan."

This is a lie as breathtaking as it is grotesque. The norm in *our* party, well known to Logan, was expressed in an exchange published in a 1972 SL/U.S. pre-conference bulletin (*Internal Discussion Bulletin* No. 20, "Comradely Greetings to the Delegates of the Third National Conference of the SL/US (and to comrades Bill, Adaire, Joel and Gene who are away)," November 1972). Responding to a misplaced concern by a prospective recruit over whether parents can function as disciplined communists, a woman comrade wrote: "I can think of no examples among the parent-comrades in the SL (there are several) myself included, who are parents first and communists second.... If a comrade (with a child) is carrying out the work required of party membership his contribution is as meaningful as anyone else's." She added, "It's not the party's job to monitor personal relationships." This was very much *not* the norm under Logan in Australia.

At the very meeting in New York where Robertson gave his report on the fight against Logan in Britain, a comrade who had returned some time earlier from a year as treasurer in our Australian section gave some sense of what would soon come out about Logan's tenure in Australia. She recalled how horrified she was to learn that the Logan regime had devised financial rules that allowed deductions from party contributions for a vasectomy but not for the upkeep of a child. "In short," she recounted, "without

continued on page 11

Special ICL Bulletins

On the Logan Regime

(Three parts)

In 1979, Bill Logan was expelled from the international Spartacist tendency for crimes "against communist morality and its substrate human decency." Logan is now the leader of the "International Bolshevik Tendency." As a service to the workers movement we have made our international bulletins documenting Logan's crimes publicly available.

Part I \$3 (82 pages)
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The International Bolshevik Tendency—What Is It?

International Communist League pamphlet, August 1995

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INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Published by the Interim Secretariat

ON THE LOGAN REGIME PART I

"Run, run, run, run, run,
run, run ... chop."

International Communist League Pamphlet

The International Bolshevik Tendency— What Is It?

Young Spartacus

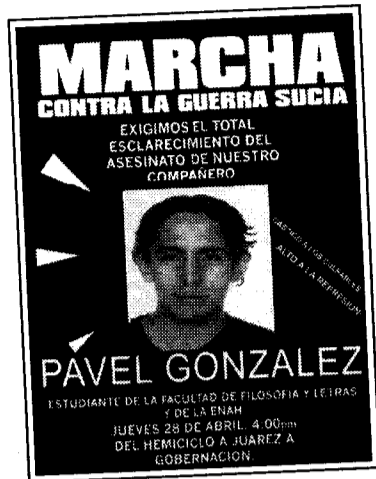
Protest Grisly Murder of UNAM Activist!

We reprint below the statement issued on May 11 by the Juventud Espartaquista, youth group of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League.

Mexico City

After having disappeared on April 19, one day before the fifth anniversary of the beginning of the UNAM [National Autonomous University] strike, the body of student and activist Noel Pável González was found hanging from a cross near the Ajusco mountain area on April 23. On his lifeless body were several injuries, signs of torture and rape and a skull fracture inflicted by his depraved murderers on the first day of his disappearance. According to students from the National School of Anthropology and History, as well as his parents and workers at UNAM, "the [murder and torture] were carried out by a group specializing in torture which calls to mind the worst periods of the *dirty war* and leads us to think of a new process of annihilation of social activists" (*La Jornada*, 26 April). We Spartacists solidarize with his family, friends and comrades in the face of this heinous crime.

Pável was an activist during the student strike of 1999-2000 at UNAM, as a member of the Strike Committee at CCH-Sur high school. More recently, he was pursuing a major both in Latin American Studies in the School of Philosophy and Letters at UNAM and in Social Anthropology at the National School of Anthropology and History, in addition to being a member of the Zapatista coffee cooperative, Smaliyel. The murder of Pável takes place in the context of a lull in the student movement, the expulsion of student activists and the emboldening of groups of right-wing thugs at UNAM. This cowardly and vile act has the characteristics



April 29 march in Mexico City demanding an explanation of murder of Pável González. Poster for rally in his honor reads: "March Against the Dirty War."



Indymedia

of a political crime. On April 26, only three days after Pável's body was found, members of the Department of Latin American Studies, the Cerezo Committee, the FARC Support Committee and various students from the School of Philosophy and Letters received a repugnant e-mail, with a return address that made a reference to the ultra-rightist group El Yunque (The Anvil) and also mentioned the thug group Apocalipsis (Apocalypse), threatening them with more acts of violence if they continued with their activities. Following this were other threats made to students by phone and e-mail (Indymedia México, 4 May).

The criminal violence against the left did not stop there. According to witnesses, on the evening of May 7, Rodolfo Hernández Gómez fired a gun pointblank at activists who were in favor of free and public education: Mayra Claudia Valenzuela, student at the National Pedagogic

University and José Luis Cordero and Noé Lucio Becerril from the National School of Social Work. Activists reported that during the elections at the School of Social Work, the director of the school, Carlos Arteaga, had threatened with expulsion several activists who were opposed to his re-election. Rodolfo Hernández, who had repeatedly expressed his support to the university authorities, arrived at the site with five other thugs armed with sticks and chains ("Stop the Aggression Against UNAM Students!", Internet leaflet by LTS-CC, undated). Likewise, eyewitnesses state that authorities from the School of Social Work helped Hernández and his gang of thugs escape after the attack was perpetrated (*La Jornada*, 9 May). Conspicuously, Hernández's whereabouts are currently unknown. The three activists remain in the hospital and in critical condition. We send them our fraternal greetings and

hope for a quick recovery.

The brutal murder of Pável, as well as the attempted murder of the three activists at the School of Social Work, are a blow against all the left and a threat to its very physical existence. The Juventud Espartaquista condemns and protests these criminal attacks and calls on the workers movement as a whole to join in protest: *An injury to one is an injury to all!*

The bourgeois state—a murderous machine that looks after the interests of the oppressors—has no interest in punishing the torturers and murderers of Pável or stopping the gangs of thugs that the authorities use as auxiliaries for keeping down leftist political dissidents. We Spartacists fight to mobilize the power of the working class in defense of activists and all the oppressed and to win students to the fight for proletarian revolution, the only way to end the repression and brutality inherent to capitalism once and for all. ■

Nader...

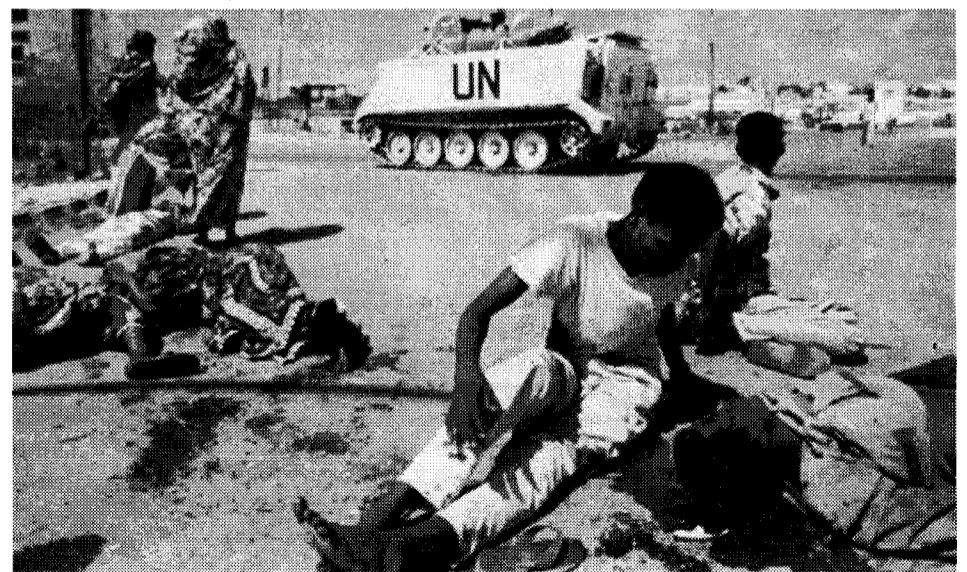
(continued from page 12)

were UN-enforced. Nader's position didn't start in Iraq—thus even the ISO was "disgusted" when his initial response to the Afghanistan war was simply that "If we're gonna do what we're gonna do, we should do it in a very constitutional way" (*Socialist Worker*, 19 October 2001).

Back in 2000, SAlt actually attempted to put into practice their scheme to build a "workers party"—which is their justification for this charade—out of the rub-

ble of Naderism. In December, as the 2000 presidential election fiasco came to a close, they whined, "Unfortunately, Nader is attempting to channel the broad momentum generated into the narrow confines of the Green Party." They continued: "Socialist Alternative is calling on Ralph Nader to help convene national, local and regional conferences of all organizations and forces that supported his campaign with the aim of creating a broad working class party" (*Justice*, December 2000-January 2001). Of course, this enemy of the working class—one who spit on the unionization drive at his own magazine shop—did no such thing.

So where did the "movement" around Nader go? Into pro-Democratic Party rallies to get Gore into office following the contested presidential elections. Today, many of his most prominent supporters, including some of the editors of the liberal *Nation* magazine, have urged him *not* to run and "spoil" the chances of the Democrats. It's not surprising that Nader supporters returned to the Democrats because in many ways they never left in the first place; they sought to pressure the Dems to be nicer, but not at the expense of having a Republican in the White House. Telling those who seek genuine social change to put their money down on a capitalist candidate like Nader can only breed demoralization and profound cynicism when such campaigns inevitably fail to bring social progress. No matter which politicians are elected, the capitalist state exists for the



Der Spiegel

True face of UN "peacekeeping": Demonstrators gunned down in street by UN troops in Somalia, 1993. Nader calls for UN troops to occupy Iraq.

maintenance of the profit system.

Back in 2000, SAlt crowed about how they had initiated campaigns for Nader (at times against the wishes of the local Greens, who knew better than they how little Nader and "socialism" had in common). SAlt even bashed the ISO for their strategy of playing it safe and only joining the campaign once it was clear it was popular. This time, the ISO may well be able to gloat about SAlt's failure in selling Nader to the radical liberal youth.

The road toward social progress lies not in preaching to the workers that they

should trust some wing of the capitalist class, but in imbuing the working class with the understanding that it must organize independently and for its own interests. We fight to build a workers party on the Bolshevik model that will raise class consciousness and ultimately lead the workers to state power through a socialist revolution. This party will not be forged through cheap tricks and electoral maneuvers but through real class struggle: strikes, massive social protest, events that pit the working class against the bosses. ■

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Open Letter to Columbia GSEU Union Tops Betray, Halt Strike at Behest of Democrats

On May 14, the nearly month-long strike by Graduate Student Employees United (GSEU) to win union recognition from the union-busting Columbia University administration was put on "hiatus" at the insistence of the GSEU/United Auto Workers Local 2110 union tops. The union leadership was acting on a request from two Democratic Party politicians, the New York City Council speaker Gifford Miller and New York state senate minority leader David Paterson, who advanced an empty offer to mediate the conflict in exchange for a halt to the strike. Frequently posturing as "friends of labor," the Democratic Party in fact variously works to contain, quell and suppress class and social struggle. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy and its president John Sweeney, who spoke at a GSEU strike support rally on April 28, preach reliance on the Demo-

cratic Party, chaining workers to the capitalists and their state. In this election year, the Democrats are attempting to reclaim the imperial U.S. presidency so that John Kerry can call the shots in the brutal colonial occupation of Iraq and anti-immigrant, anti-labor "war on terror." The Spartacus Youth Club argued to shut Columbia down, intervening at union events and on the picket lines with our revolutionary, class-struggle program throughout the GSEU strike (see "Columbia Graduate Students Battle Union-Busting Administration," WV No. 826, 14 May). We reprint below a May 21 open letter written by an SYC supporter to the membership of the GSEU.

* * *

I am writing this letter to object in the strongest possible terms to the abject

surrender to the university that is being euphemistically called a "strike hiatus." Hardly a "hiatus," the vote on Friday gave Columbia its graders, its commencement, and a status quo more or less identical to that of mid-April.

The Spartacus Youth Club rightly argued from the outset that the strike would not be won through shaming the university, through reliance on Democratic Party politicians, or through the oxymoron of the "porous picket line." The union tried to keep things "respectable," so respectable in fact that all the Democrats had to do was ask for an end to the strike for the administration to win.

And who are these Democrats, anyway? A bunch of machine politician bottom-feeders who look on the union ranks as voting cattle for a capitalist party that has signed on to the war on Iraq, that backs the slave-labor Taylor Law here in New York. The only thing these "allies" (!) have given GSEU is exactly the same seemingly interminable deadlock that faced us on April 18. I joined the GSEU when it first started organizing on campus in order to get a graduate student union at Columbia, *not* to become a cog in the Democratic Party.

The union can break the administration, but it has to wage the sort of fight it consciously avoided in the strike. It has to shut down the campus. It has to make systematic attempts to block deliveries and call on students to boycott classes. The university *functioned* throughout our strike, brothers and sisters. The Columbia administration weathered it. The union needs the broad support of campus labor and the student body to win, not just in words, but in deeds. The union will not win by coddling scabs and unduly worrying about causing offense to strikebreakers, but by broadening its fight among its



Young Spartacus

Union leadership courted Democrats like New York state assemblyman Scott Stringer, speaking at Columbia strike rally, May 14.

real allies. The UAW 2110 support staff's one-day sympathy strike was a welcome step in the right direction, but it was only a step. If the union refuses to fight the university with tenacity and with every means at its disposal, it is accepting defeat in advance. Our bosses at Columbia love it when we play by their rules.

To my knowledge, there has been no attempt to fight the university's moves to dock the pay of sympathy strikers. In addition, Angie Sanders, a member of the SSA [Support Staff Association] up at Health Sciences, has lost her job for holding to a basic pro-labor position: You don't go to work in a struck shop. Many members know Angie from her frequent presence at our picket lines. We should demand Angie's reinstatement.

Strikes are won on the picket lines, not in the courtrooms or at City Hall. GSEU should, by whatever possible means, defend its *real* allies, our brothers and sisters, from the administration against which we have struggled for years.

Fraternally,
Quincy Lehr

Marcus Dixon Freed!

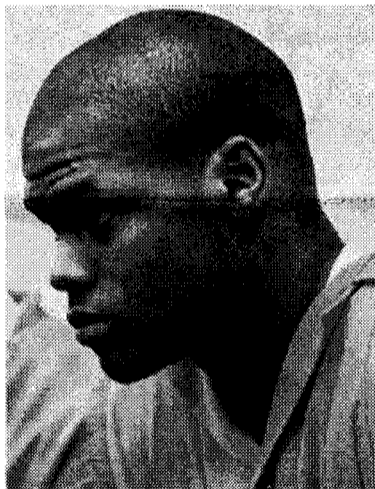
On May 3, the Georgia Supreme Court overturned the May 2003 conviction for aggravated child molestation against Marcus Dixon by a four-to-three vote. A black high school football star from Rome, Georgia, Dixon had a 3.96 GPA and a scholarship to attend Vanderbilt University in the fall of 2003. We welcome the freeing of Dixon, but this cannot make up for the injustice he has suffered. He never should have seen the inside of a jail—not for one day, much less one year. He never should have been hauled before a court or had his life so cruelly disrupted.

Marcus Dixon is free, but his future is still in doubt. The county D.A. who secured his original conviction says she intends to get the Georgia Supreme Court decision overturned. Vanderbilt, which revoked his scholarship upon his conviction, has as of yet not offered to reverse that decision—and a second conviction of statutory rape Dixon received for the same incident remains on his record. *Hands off Marcus Dixon!*

Dixon, 18 at the time of his arrest, had sex with a 15-year-old white girl. The young woman, reportedly fearing repercussions from her racist father, accused Dixon of rape. In the course of the trial, it became clear that the sex in question had been consensual. But the D.A., playing on the explosive intersection of race and sex that cuts to the quick of racist America, railroaded Dixon into a mandatory ten-year sentence under one of the "seven deadly sins" in Georgia law: aggravated child molestation. This law defines "child molestation" as any sex act occurring in which one party is over 16 years of age and one under.

At least some jurors from Dixon's trial were shocked at the severity of the sentence and said they would not have convicted him had they known the consequences. "I can honestly say, and talk for the other ten jurors, that we had no intention of sending him to prison for ten years," said juror Robert Williamson. "We were sure he would go home that day" (CBSNews.com, 19 January).

The legacy of slavery clings to the South. Georgia only took its anti-miscegenation law banning interracial sex off the books in 1972 and only abolished its "fornication" law—which banned all extramarital



AP

sex and was historically used against interracial couples—in 2003. Allegations of black men raping white women—overwhelmingly spurious—were a frequent pretext for lynchings as well as for legal repression of black people up to the racist death penalty. Dixon's story attracted national attention. The NAACP held a 1,000-strong rally at the Georgia State Capitol on March 1 to demand Dixon's freedom. But the Democrats, to whom the NAACP looks for justice, bear no small degree of culpability. For example, black Democrat Tyrone Brooks co-sponsored the law under which Dixon was sentenced (see "Free Marcus Dixon!" WV No. 819, 6 February).

We oppose reactionary "age of consent" laws. Far from protecting youth in a racist, class-based society, such laws give the capitalist state yet another means to socially regiment the population. We say that who sleeps with whom is none of the government's business. The defining guideline of sexual relations should be that of effective consent.

Marcus Dixon did nothing wrong, nothing that teenagers across the country don't do all the time. But he fell afoul of a racist order that unleashes terror in the ghettos and transforms increasingly segregated urban schools into virtual prisons. Marcus Dixon's case, even now that he is out of prison, shows how fragile democratic rights can be under capitalism. Only by shattering the capitalist order through a workers revolution will the sort of racist repression meted out to Dixon be relegated to a barbaric past. ■

Protest Cop Repression Against Anti-DNC Activists!

As America's twin parties of capital gear up to nominate their candidates for U.S. imperialist Commander in Chief later this summer, the state has increasingly moved to clamp down on planned protests outside both the Democratic and Republican National Conventions (DNC/RNC). In the Boston area, cops already are rounding up "suspected anarchists" as the local bourgeois media whip up bogus "anti-terror" hysteria over anti-DNC protesters. On April 14, eight activists were arrested by the Cambridge police while planting flowers on an abandoned property, and six face trumped-up felony charges of breaking and entering and possession of tools for burglary. Among those arrested was a member of the BI(A)ck Tea Society, a coalition of liberal and anarchist groups organizing the anti-DNC protests; in the first week of May, a BI(A)ck Tea Society meeting on the MIT campus was shut down by the police. Meanwhile in New York City, Mayor Michael Bloomberg and his cronies have denied the liberal United for Peace and Justice coalition a protest permit outside the RNC for August 29, the day of mass worldwide protest against the "Bush agenda." We reprint below a May 17 Partisan Defense Committee letter to MIT

president Charles M. Vest protesting the cop repression against anti-DNC activists.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee strongly protests MIT's assault on the basic civil liberties of the BI(A)ck Tea Society. On Wednesday, May 5, 2004, MIT campus security and armed Cambridge police officers (one of which illegally refused to identify himself) physically prevented a meeting of the BI(A)ck Tea Society from taking place in their legitimately reserved room. We are told that this reprehensible infringement of constitutional rights occurred at the behest of Democratic Party frontrunner John Kerry's Secret Service.

This attack takes place in the context of the bipartisan USA-Patriot Act's bogus "war on terror" and heightened police surveillance and harassment of Boston activists in the lead-up to the Democratic National Convention—including draconian restrictions on march and rally permits and the infiltration of the BI(A)ck Tea Society's February 13-15 meeting [in Boston] by the New York police. We demand an end to this pattern of harassment and intimidation. ■

War on Terror...

(continued from page 1)

U.S. Court of Appeals in New York. Our brief argues that this case "tests the very existence of the fundamental rights and privileges of citizenship embodied in the Bill of Rights and secured on the battlefield of the Civil War and in class and social struggle over the past hundred and more years. If the imperial President is upheld, Padilla's detention threatens to become the *Dred Scott* case of our time, a declaration that 'Citizens have no rights that the government is bound to respect'."

Born in Brooklyn of Puerto Rican background, Padilla grew up in Chicago and as a young man converted to Islam, changed his name to Ibrahim and moved to Egypt, where he now has a wife and two children. In May 2002 he was traveling back to Chicago to visit his family, but was seized at the airport on vague claims that he is associated with Al Qaeda, and involved in a "plot" to detonate a "dirty bomb" in the U.S. No charges have been presented against Padilla, and government officials have admitted that it is a "weak case." Yet Padilla has been denied any ability to challenge his detention, and has not been allowed to see a lawyer since he's been in military detention except for one visit a month ago, with military brass watching and taping the whole discussion so that no confidential legal defense could be discussed.

Meanwhile, as the *New York Times* (13 May) reported, Padilla's name was extracted under "intensive questioning" (a euphemism for torture) of a man captured by the CIA. Authorized "intensive questioning" techniques include strapping down a prisoner and pushing him underwater until he nearly drowns. As the *Times* noted, "These techniques were authorized by a set of secret rules...that were endorsed by the Justice Department and the C.I.A. The rules were among the first adopted by the Bush administration after the Sept. 11 attacks for handling detainees and may have helped establish a new understanding throughout the gov-



May 12: Iraqi women demonstrate outside Abu Ghraib prison, desperate for information on imprisoned relatives.

ernment that officials would have greater freedom to deal harshly with detainees."

Another extremely ominous case brought by the government seeks to shut down free speech, using the USA-Patriot Act, which was passed with bipartisan support after the September 11 attacks. Sami Omar al-Hussayen, the father of three children, has been in prison for over a year. He is a doctoral candidate in computer science at the University of Idaho, where he led a candlelight vigil the night of September 11 to condemn the World Trade Center attack. Now al-Hussayen, a leader of the university's Muslim Student Association, is accused of "terrorism" based *solely* on the fact that he set up some Islam-oriented Internet Web sites and e-mail discussion groups on which people posted arguments for—and against—"jihad." It is not even clear, or relevant in the government's view, whether al-Hussayen even knew these postings were being made.

Such attempts to prove guilt by Internet association could target anyone who ever logged on to any site with any link

to anything, whether the content is known or not. The USA-Patriot omnibus witchhunting act outlaws "material support" to "terrorists," but this "crime" is so vaguely defined that it could include giving money to a bake sale to fund health clinics in Turkey or Sri Lanka, if the recipients were affiliated with groups such as the Kurdistan Workers Party or

the Tamil Tigers, both designated "terrorist" by the U.S. government. The U.S. government's "terrorist" label is to be applied as broadly as suits its nefarious purposes.

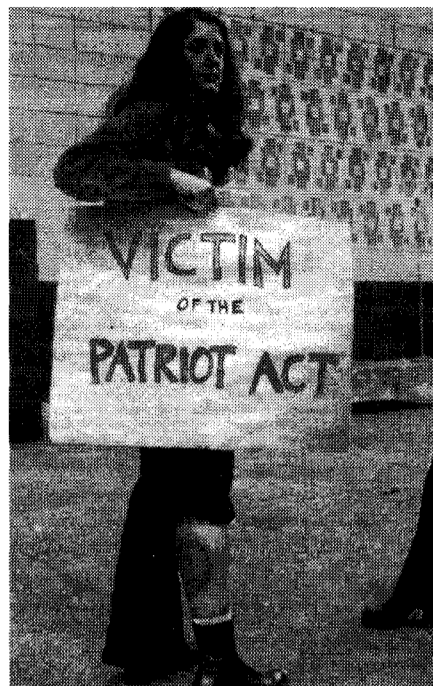
"War on Terror": Phony War

The SL and PDC's brief on behalf of Jose Padilla to the Supreme Court argues, "It is in fact no war by any military definition. There is no shooting war and no battle between state powers. The 'war against terrorism' is a fiction, a political construct, not a military reality. It is a political crusade conducted in the name of ridding society of a perceived evil." With the Soviet Union gone, the U.S. rulers had to invent a new enemy to replace the fight against "godless communism." As U.S. vice president Cheney said, "When America's great enemy suddenly disappeared, many wondered what new direction our foreign policy would take.... The threat is known and our role is clear now" (*New York Review of Books*, 26 September 2002). The new bogeyman was international "terrorism."

Victory! Charges Dropped Against Port Protesters

OAKLAND—On April 22, an Alameda County judge dismissed all criminal charges against the Oakland 25, victims of last year's police rampage against antiwar protesters and longshoremen at the Port of Oakland in California. At the 7 April 2003 protest, in a premeditated attack planned by port bosses and the Oakland police, riot-equipped cops fired wooden bullets and concussion grenades at picketers protesting the "war merchants at the Oakland docks." Among the dozens of those injured were nine longshoremen and many leftists, including supporters of the Spartacist League; the 31 arrests included ILWU Local 10 business agent Jack Heyman, who was jailed for trying to protect his union members.

The Partisan Defense Committee issued an immediate call to "Drop all the charges!" (reprinted in WV No. 801, 11 April 2003). Statements of protest were sent by unions from around the world, including Italian dockworkers, the Brazilian labor federation CUT and the All Japan Dockworkers' Union. This violent police assault on antiwar protesters was even cited by the United Nations Human Rights Commission. While the city dragged the case out for months, unionists (including long-



Jakob Schiller

Protester wounded by police attack on antiwar demonstration at Port of Oakland, 7 April 2003.

shoremen from Charleston, South Carolina), leftists and civil libertarians rallied at the courthouse to show their support for the Oakland 25. The main

Bay Area labor councils also protested the attack and turned out in defense. This solid defense led to the victory.

A civil case brought against the city and the police department by the ILWU and many of those injured in the assault is still pending, asking for monetary damages and an injunction to restrain the police from future "excessive, indiscriminate and/or arbitrary force." It wasn't until just before this class-action lawsuit was filed last June that the city vindictively pressed charges against 25 of those arrested on April 7. The Spartacist League stands in solidarity with those who have brought the suit, but we warn against illusions in police-reform schemes. As our spokesman said at the 7 November 2003 courthouse rally, "The police are the armed force of the capitalist state, and the state is not a neutral body and cannot be made to do right by the workers and oppressed, no matter how much pressure we try to put on it." It's labor's enormous social power that must be brought to bear now to stop the hideous slaughter and torture inflicted on the Iraqi people by the bloody U.S. colonial war and occupation of Iraq.

Workers Vanguard thanks its readers for their support to this important case.

That the "war" is only a pretext was vividly exposed during the April 20 Guantánamo argument, when Solicitor General Theodore Olson, in response to a question from Justice John Paul Stevens, acknowledged that "the existence of the war is really irrelevant to the legal issue." According to Olson, the government would deny the detainees access to the courts even if "the war had ended."

If the administration has its way, it would eviscerate 200 years of American constitutional law giving the courts judicial oversight of executive branch decisions. Our legal brief argued, "The Executive asserts that it has the unchallengeable authority to decide who is a terrorist and subject such persons to martial law, demanding absolute and complete deference by the judiciary. This demand of unfettered power by the Executive is a move toward bonapartism, a police state, and requiring a compliant judiciary." The war against terrorism literally means the right to assassinate anyone, anywhere, including in the United States. Our brief states, "Following the Executive's own logic, Padilla could have been shot to death in the Chicago O'Hare airport, just as well as being taken into custody."

Even members of the Supreme Court were taken aback by the Bush administration's assertion of sweeping executive power. Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg asked, referring to the torture or shooting of detainees, "What inhibits that if the law is what the executive says it is?" Only a day or two later, the hideous tortures at Abu Ghraib became public knowledge.

Snapshots of Domestic Repression

Padilla's lawyer told the Supreme Court that the administration's efforts to impose martial law on a U.S. citizen would be okay—if only Congress passed a law allowing it! "Were this court to rule that Congressional action was required," she added, "I have no doubt that Congress would step into the breach very quickly to provide whatever authorization the executive branch deemed necessary" (*New York Times*, 29 April). The SL and PDC *amici* brief argued just the opposite point, that "more fundamentally, Congress is no more empowered than the Executive to order that citizens

be disappeared without due process of law" (emphasis added).

The capitalist politicians, Democrat and Republican, in Congress have their own long history of authorizing the detention of leftists, immigrants and ethnic minorities in times of war. In 1942, when Democratic president Franklin Roosevelt issued his notorious order to imprison Japanese Americans in concentration camps for the duration of World War II, Congress immediately ratified that order. In the late 1940s and early 1950s Congress spearheaded the McCarthyite witchhunt, including passing the Internal Security Act which created an elaborate system for registering "subversive" organizations and deporting immigrants found to have been Communists at any time in their lives.

The 1950 Emergency Detention Act also provided for detention of suspected "subversives" in "times of emergency." The government's roundup lists of "subversives" included *nearly 30,000 people!* In 1983 the FBI's Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines falsely implied that the Spartacist League was a terrorist organization. We fought back, sued the FBI and won, forcing the FBI to acknowledge that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or terrorism. We said at the time that we had no illusions this would stop the dirty tricks and terror for which the U.S. government is known worldwide. Today, the Justice Department has a new "criminal information" database called Matrix, whose developers sold it based on a list of 120,000 people with a "high terrorism factor"—a purely speculative list which, however, the government "apparently acted on," according to the *New York Times* (21 May).

Although the government has primarily aimed its fire at Muslims and immigrants, the ultimate targets of the U.S.'s attempted detention measures will be the multiracial labor movement and black people. Ominously, in justifying its right to disappear Padilla, the government has cited the 1909 case called *Moyer v. Peabody*, involving the governor of Colorado's declaration that a miners strike for the eight-hour day was an "insurrection." Some 400 miners were forcibly deported from the state, and over 175 miners were thrown in local jails, includ-

Gaza...

(continued from page 1)

Amira Hass noted in *Ha'aretz* (19 May), "Merchants invented the system. The tunnels are not only for weapons and drugs, but for medicine, basic food commodities and cigarettes, at prices much more suitable for poverty-stricken Rafah."

The images of Palestinians in Gaza looking for belongings in their demolished homes drove Yosef Lapid, *the justice minister in Sharon's own government*, to declare, "I saw on television an old woman picking through the rubble of her house in Rafah, looking for her medicine, and she reminded me of my grandmother who was expelled from her home during the Holocaust" (*Financial Times*, 24 May). Needless to say, Sharon immediately denounced these remarks as "unacceptable and intolerable."

Meanwhile, the building of the apartheid wall in the West Bank is moving apace, carving up the West Bank into isolated Palestinian enclaves while grabbing up whole chunks of the West Bank for the more than 200,000 settlers there. Israel's rulers are making life unbearable for the Palestinians so as to force out those who can leave while suffocating the rest. **Defend the Palestinian people! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories now!**

The day of the Rafah massacre, the U.S. rulers switched from their more typ-

ical veto to abstention on the ritual United Nations Security Council vote to condemn Israel's actions. Bush and company are facing international outrage in response to the horrendous torture and killings at Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison. On the same day as the UN vote, Iraqi officials announced that the U.S. military had butchered over 40 people at a wedding party in western Iraq. In April Bush publicly promised Sharon that he would support Israel's West Bank land grab if Israel gave up Gaza. Continued Zionist atrocities in Gaza are troublesome for the U.S. imperialists' plans for the Near East.

For decades, Israel has received nearly uncritical support from U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of working people and the oppressed across the world. From some \$5 billion a year in loans and grants to direct military aid—including the fighter jets and helicopters that fire on Palestinian civilians—U.S. imperialism has armed the Zionist state to the hilt. **Down with U.S. aid to Israel! Down with the colonial occupation of Iraq! U.S. troops out now!**

The Palestinians are caught in a truly terrible vise—while facing the relentless onslaught of the Zionist military and its settler auxiliaries, they have been utterly betrayed by the bankruptcy of the secular-nationalist Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), especially with the signing of the treacherous Oslo accords in 1993. It is under such circumstances that thoroughly reactionary religious obscuran-

tist groups like Hamas have gained widespread support among Palestinians, particularly in the Gaza Strip. The proliferation of the criminal suicide bombings that have cost the lives of hundreds of Israeli civilians is a measure of the increasing hopelessness that the Palestinians feel.

In the 1980s, Israel encouraged the growth of the anti-Jewish fundamentalist outfit Hamas as a counterweight to the secular-nationalist PLO of Arafat. Now, the Zionist rulers are carrying out systematic assassinations of top Hamas leaders, like the March 22 killing of "spiritual leader" Ahmed Yassin and the assassination of his replacement, Abdel Aziz Rantisi, three weeks later. And the threats against Yasir Arafat's life continue unabated. Israel's rulers have long had a policy of targeting Palestinian leaders of any stripe.

On May 20, an Israeli court convicted Palestinian leader Marwan Barghouti of being responsible for the murder of five Israeli civilians through directing Palestinian terror attacks. He is to be sentenced next month and faces up to life in prison. Barghouti—a prominent Palestinian who supported the Oslo accords and was viewed as a potential successor to Arafat—has steadfastly denied any involvement with any of the attacks against Israeli civilians, emphasizing that he is a Palestinian political leader. The arrest and imprisonment of Barghouti is an attack on all Palestinians, smearing any resistance to the Israeli occupation as "terror-

ism." We demand Barghouti's freedom and the freedom of all Palestinians indiscriminately rounded up by the Zionist state.

The Palestinian masses have nowhere to turn within the limits of decaying imperialist capitalism. The national liberation of the Palestinians is intertwined with the fate of the Hebrew-speaking people—two interpenetrated populations that lay claim to the same small piece of land. The right of national self-determination for both the Hebrew and Palestinian peoples can only be secured through the struggle for Arab/Hebrew workers revolutions and the building of a socialist federation of the Near East. It will not be easy to break the Hebrew proletariat from Zionism. But it is the task of revolutionaries to use every means to split the working class of Israel from the Zionist rulers.

Notably, some 500 Israelis protested on May 19 and 20 against the Rafah massacre, calling for an immediate withdrawal from Gaza; eight demonstrators were arrested. Any cracks in the Israeli fortress state are welcome to those who want to fight for the national liberation of the Palestinian people. What is most urgently posed is the construction of internationalist working-class parties, sections of a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International, in opposition to Zionism, Arab nationalism and all manner of religious fundamentalism. This is the task to which the International Communist League is committed. ■

ing union leader Charles Moyer, who was held as a military prisoner for three months. In response to a petition for *habeas corpus*, militia general Sherman Bell declared, "*Habeas corpus*, hell! We'll give 'em post mortems."

What the government can get away with will be determined by class and social struggle. The rights of citizenship and other civil liberties that the government is trying to shred are the products of generations of revolutionary class struggle, including Cromwell's struggle against the Crown in the English Civil War, the American Revolution and the bloody Civil War that overthrew slavery. The McCarthy-era "anti-subversive" detention laws were repealed in 1969 as the result of the Vietnam antiwar movement and the massive civil rights struggles which rocked this country.

U.S. Out of Iraq Now!

With the U.S. occupation of Iraq turning into a political nightmare for the Bush administration, increasing numbers of Americans are disaffected from the war and especially bitter about the lies that led to it. The bloody spectacle of U.S. troops firing on Muslim holy sites in Karbala and Najaf, the revelations of widespread killing and torture of helpless prisoners, must horrify and nauseate anyone not utterly poisoned by racist imperialist arrogance. The U.S. media and Congressional investigations play up the prosecution of low-level Abu Ghraib guards for the real purpose of the propaganda war: to hide the mass murder of civilians carried out by the U.S. in Iraq; as the *London Independent* (23 May) headlines, "Ordinary Iraqis Killed: 11,500 and Not Counting." For a generation just coming to political consciousness—one that did not directly experience a



WV Photo

Oakland, 9 February 2002: PDC-initiated labor-centered mobilization in opposition to Patriot Act, in defense of immigrant rights.

full-scale, long drawn out U.S. imperialist war, like Vietnam—this is an eye-opener into the realities of the export of "democracy."

The point that has to be driven home is that these people—the U.S. ruling class—*knew exactly what they were doing* when they set up the torture camps. Such places are the necessary creations of imperialist policy, as we pointed out in "U.S. Torture, Inc." (WV No. 826, 14 May). Since then a host of journalistic exposés prove the torture policy goes all the way to the top of the government. Seymour Hersh's *New Yorker* article "The Gray Zone" (24 May) gets right to the point in its opening sentence: "The roots of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal lie not in the criminal inclinations of a few Army reservists but

in a decision, approved last year by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, to expand a highly secret operation, which had been focussed on the hunt for Al Qaeda, to the interrogation of prisoners in Iraq." Interrogation techniques included "physical coercion and sexual humiliation of Iraqi prisoners," as Hersh noted.

As the neocons' crazed dream of a quick victory on the cheap in Iraq collapsed in bloody chaos, the brutal torture increased: Major General Miller, who oversaw the Guantánamo hellhole detention center, was sent into Abu Ghraib, first to implement the torture program, and then later, when it looked like it was going to spiral out of control, to take direct charge. "His job is to save what he can," one of Hersh's "former intelligence official" sources said. "He's there to protect the program while limiting any loss of core capability."

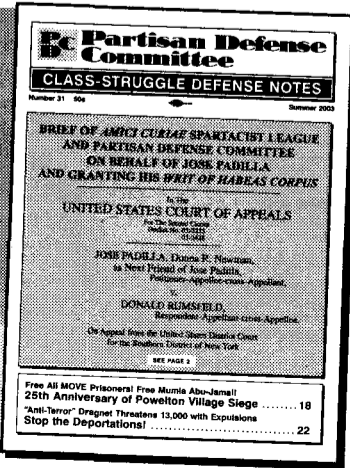
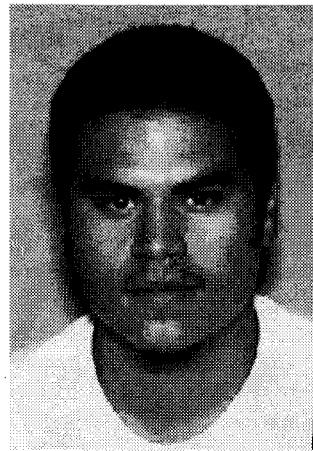
The Spartacist League forthrightly states that every blow against the imperialist occupiers is a blow struck against the enemy of workers and the oppressed all over the world. We take a side against the U.S. imperialist occupation without giving an ounce of political support to the reactionary clerics who appear to be leading much of the resistance. The key to defeating the U.S. occupation of Iraq is *class struggle at home*. What impedes this is not a shortage of discontent but the Democratic Party-loyal labor leader-

ship and the reformist left.

While numerous trade unions have passed resolutions against the Patriot Act, paper tigers can't defeat the government's rampage. What's urgently necessary is militant class struggle in defense of labor's right to strike, in defense of immigrants and all the oppressed. The ILWU longshore union leadership, for instance, is mobilizing double the number of union organizers to get out the vote for Democratic Party hopeful John Kerry than it mobilized to galvanize labor support for the ILWU when it was locked out last year. It is precisely through the subordination of the labor movement to the Democratic Party that the trade-union tops shackle the working class to the capitalist rulers. The shredding of civil liberties by the Bush gang was prepared by the Clinton administration, with, for instance, the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (for a full assessment of how the Democrats primed the pump, see "Lies, Repression and Imperialist War," WV No. 825, 30 April). Bush just had September 11 as his "godsend" to ram through a qualitative diminution of democratic rights. This year, from the "home front" to Iraq, John Kerry and the Democrats are running as the more responsible, efficacious and popular party of war and repression.

Opponents of U.S. Torture, Inc. in Iraq and the shredding of civil liberties at home must be won to the understanding that this social system based on the exploitation of labor for the profit of the capitalist class cannot be reformed. No number of peace crawls bleating "money for jobs, not for war" will change the priorities of imperialism. And the backhanded support to Democrat John Kerry pushed by even ostensible socialists pandering to the "anybody but Bush" sentiment is a recipe to perpetuate the whole system of capitalist rule, racism and war. Here in the heart of U.S. imperialism, the working class has a key task: to bring down the rapacious U.S. ruling class, which will enormously strengthen workers and the oppressed in every corner of the globe. The Spartacist League fights to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party that brings that consciousness to the working class and radical youth. There will be no justice served until *all* the war criminals and commanders, from the Pentagon chiefs and their political bosses to their underlings, are swept from power through a proletarian socialist revolution. ■

Reuters



Class-Struggle Defense Notes No. 31 reprints friend of the court brief filed in the U.S. Court of Appeals by PDC and SL in defense of Jose Padilla (left). Order for \$.50 from: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Down With Anti-Sex Witchhunt in Britain!

The article below was published in the Young Spartacus pages of Workers Hammer No. 186 (Winter 2003-2004), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.

WORKERS HAMMER

Last November, Blair, Blunkett and their cohorts in the Labour Party, in league with the anti-sex bigots across the parliamentary benches, passed the Sexual Offences Act (2003) which outlaws even *kissing* involving under-16s. In its subsection on “child sex offences,” the Act makes anything that can be deemed as “sexual touching” illegal where one or both participants are under 16. The penalty is up to five years in prison! So you might be too young to kiss but old enough to be thrown in the slammer!

A much worse fate faces those of 18 years or over caught kissing or sexually touching a lover under the age of 16. The courts have the power to incarcerate such an “offender” for up to 14 years! For the “crime” of sexual intercourse or oral sex with an under-16, again *regardless* of consent, a person over 18 can expect to face a maximum sentence of life imprisonment! The Act also criminalises those who allow under-16s to be in the presence of or to watch a sexual act. So parents you’d better lock your doors and while you’re at it, you’d better not allow your kid to have sex at home since those who “facilitate” underage sex are also branded as criminal “offenders.”

With monumental hypocrisy this legislation was passed in the name of “child protection,” which is truly twisted coming from a Labour government that has administered the murder of hundreds of thousands of children through its filthy imperialist wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and Serbia. This is the same government that continues the oppression of Catholics in Northern Ireland today under the facade of the “peace” deal, where fascistic loyalist thugs terrorise little Catholic schoolgirls such as those of Holy Cross school. This is the government that in the name of the “war on terror” steps up the persecution of immigrants, threatening to take away and incarcerate children if their parents do not agree to deportation. But never mind this murder and terror. What the Labour government makes out to be the big evil threat facing children and youth is...sex! The party that created the “New Deal” with its pitiful pay and conditions for youth, that slashed benefits and introduced fees for higher education, that governs over one of the wealthiest countries in the world where a third of the child population lives in poverty, warns about the “danger” of youth receiving any form of sexual pleasure that may provide some comfort from the pain of this rotten society.

This draconian legislation with its creation of new crimes and extension of pun-

ishments regarding “child sex offences” is part of Labour’s wholesale attack on democratic rights and augmentation of the powers of the state, its cops, courts and prisons. There have been twelve new “Criminal Justice” bills since Labour came to power in 1997, with 700 new offences being added for which one can be imprisoned. Under the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 the state has the legal power to detain individuals indefinitely without public trial, while the new Civil Contingencies Bill gives the government the authority to do practically anything it wants in a situation it deems to be an “emergency.” As we wrote in “Anti-terror laws target immigrants, workers—Down with Labour’s racist witch hunt!” (Workers Hammer No. 185, Autumn 2003): “The intent of these augmented police powers is to regiment the population, to accustom people to the restriction of democratic rights, to accept ID checks and surveillance as ‘normal,’ to create a climate of fear aimed at quashing in advance any social and political struggle.”

“New” Labour—Deranged Puritans on the Loose

Blair’s “New” Labour government threw itself into an anti-sex witch hunt upon coming to power with legislation passed in its first term that extended police monitoring of former and even suspected “sex offenders,” requiring them to be part of a “police register” for life. During the summer of 2000 reactionary “anti-paedophile” mobs rampaged throughout Britain, following the notorious *News of the World*’s “name and shame” campaign, terrorising those on the paper’s hit list of “suspected paedophiles,” and even ludicrously targeting a woman paediatrician. In October 2003 judges were told by the Attorney General and the Court of Appeal to toughen up their sentencing of child “sex offenders” in particular.

The big scare story of recent years has been the use of the Internet by “paedophiles.” Amidst lurid stories of paedophiles using chatrooms to lure children for “grooming,” police are hunting down people who merely download pornography featuring children. According to the police they are tracking some 7,300 such “suspects”! Such hysteria was cleverly captured by Channel 4’s satire *Brass Eye* in a mock special on paedophilia in July 2001. In one sequence Labour MP Barbara Follett, seriously thinking the show to be sincere, read a warning off an auto-cue about the danger of a computer game used by “paedophiles.” Follett sanctimoniously intoned: “In this shot, Pantou the dog has told the boy to press his face on to the screen. Online paedophiles use special gloves to feel and palpate the child’s face.” For such satire the programme received 1,500 complaints, making it one of the most controversial programmes ever broadcast on British TV, this in itself a demonstration of the extent of the frenzy.

As we wrote at the height of this frenzy (in “Labour’s witch hunt against ‘sex offenders’ unleashes vigilante terror,” *Workers Hammer* No. 174, Autumn 2000): “‘Paedophilia’ simply means sexual desire towards children. To equate this with child murder and rape is grotesque and partakes of the same reactionary bourgeois bigotry which declares all sex other than heterosexual monogamy to be ‘deviant.’” This capitalist society must deny that children can experience a legitimate sexuality, even though they obviously do. There is no other rationale for age of consent laws. As for child pornography, like any other kind of pornography, whether portraying naked women, young boys or donkeys, it is merely images and words designed for entertainment. One person’s turn-on is another person’s turn-off—who is going to decide what is “obscene”?

For us the guiding principle for sexual relations should be that of *effective consent*, nothing more and nothing less than mutual agreement and understanding, as opposed to coercion. *We vehemently oppose state intervention into people’s sexual activities, entertainment and private lives. Down with the “age of consent” laws! State out of the bedroom!*

Central to explaining the deranged frenzy over youth having sex with anyone, including even people their own age, much less older, is an understanding of the centrality of the family to the maintenance of capitalist class rule. The family is the key institution for the regimentation of the population, instilling respect for authority and inculcating “obedience” to the moral codes of bourgeois patriarchal society—which, for one, is important for taming the inherently anarchic nature of youth.

The family is the instrument not just for the subjugation of youth but also for women’s oppression and is the origin of anti-gay bigotry. For the bourgeoisie the patriarchal subjugation of women in the family is meant to ensure the “rightful” inheritance of property. In working-class families the role of women is to raise the next generation of wage slaves for capitalist exploitation. Like child sexuality, homosexuality represents sexual relations outside the confines of the family structure of one man on top of one woman for life. By the same token attacks on gays, laws banning sex for youth and the witch hunt of “paedophiles” are all aimed at strengthening the family, a horrible strait-jacket of violence, misery, guilt and enforced moralism.

The racist, anti-working-class, anti-woman and anti-youth capitalist state has no business legislating people’s consensual sexual activity. We recall that the origins of “age of consent” laws are in the days of the “bride-price,” guaranteeing a woman’s virginity in arranged marriages. We oppose leaving it up to the capitalist state that upholds the oppressive nuclear family and enforces sexual repression, to decide *on behalf* of youth when they are able to engage in sexual activity and with whom.

A Revolutionary Workers Party—Tribune of the People

As a Marxist-Leninist youth group we fight to train and educate the future cadre to build a proletarian revolutionary vanguard party that acts as a tribune of the people. V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, described the tasks of the revolutionary vanguard in his book, *What Is To Be Done?* (1902) as follows:

“[The] Social-Democrat’s [Communist’s] ideal should [be] *the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalise all these mani-

festations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat.”

We in the International Communist League have proudly taken up the defence of victims of the capitalist state’s anti-sex witch hunt. In the U.S., our comrades have fought against the vicious persecution of the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), which the state has attempted to frame up, bankrupt and crush for its courage in opposing “laws that punish consensual relationships” of whatever sexuality and age. In Britain we defended the British Paedophile Information Exchange, whose leaders were jailed in 1984 for advocating the right of youth under the “age of consent” to have sex with adults. *Down with Labour’s reactionary “anti-paedophile” campaign!*

Outrageously, other groups who call themselves “socialist” have responded at best with ambivalent passivity and even with outright support to puritanical bigotry and state intervention. The Socialist Party actually endorsed the state’s “paedophile register” installed in 1997 and bemoaned cutbacks in the repressive probation and prison services (*Socialism Today*, September 2000). Taking his lead from the “anti-paedophile” scaremongering, the Socialist Workers Party’s Paul Foot supported a police operation against child care workers amidst wild accusations that children’s homes had been infiltrated by “organised groups of paedophiles” in an article carried by the *London Review of Books* (4 July 1996). More recently, SYG [Spartacus Youth Group] members have been baited by *Socialist Worker* salespeople trying to inflame their own witch hunt against us by screaming that our staunch defence of consensual sexual relations against state persecution is a defence of “child abuse.” It is a real statement of their own small-minded backwardness that these organisations end up on the side of bigoted bourgeois morality.

To their credit Revo, the youth affiliate of Workers Power (WP), oppose the “age of consent” laws. But this is pretty cheap when they cannot bring themselves to say a word in opposition to the persecution of adults involved in consensual sex with under-16s. Meanwhile their Workers Power parents, while rightly acknowledging that children’s sexuality develops at different ages, still manage to give credence to the bourgeois myth that all children are sexless innocents. *Workers Power* (June 1998) declared: “If we rightly recognise that young children generally lack the powers of comprehension and the skills necessary for a range of activities then equally we recognise that they cannot give informed consent to sexual activity with an adult.” WP goes on to argue that “penetrative sex between adults and pre-pubescent children [is] physically harmful to children” and call for bourgeois state intervention in the form of “protective legislation for children.” Obviously things become murkier when you have very young children with adults and the question of effective consent must be looked at on a case by case basis. But even at that, contrary to WP, state legislation has nothing to do with “protecting” children but with strengthening its own consummately violent and oppressive rule.

In contrast, our model is the young Soviet workers state that issued out of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, whose law on sexual affairs was based on “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.” The purpose of the SYG, youth auxiliary of the Spartacist League/Britain, is to build a party like the Bolsheviks that can lead the working class in a victorious socialist revolution that will destroy the inherently oppressive capitalist state. Such a revolution will open the road to providing the material basis to *replace* the repressive nuclear family, opening the way to true sexual equality and freedom. ■

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BT...

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making a membership rule in the organization which said that if you have a baby you'll be expelled, they said if you have a baby you will be driven out because you will not be able to survive."

Again relying on the BT's 1996 pamphlet, the *Bolshevik* article also invokes Edmund Samarakkody, a longtime Sri Lankan Trotskyist with whom we had sought to fuse at the 1979 conference and who served on the trial body, intoning that "Logan never strove for personal advantages—as Edmund Samarakkody confirmed." Jack the Ripper's murder of prostitutes in London didn't bring him any demonstrable "personal advantage" either! While Samarakkody had his own reasons for provoking a break in political relations with us at the 1979 conference,

his imputations of violence could only serve to harm and defame us.

Nor has Logan changed his sadistic spots, as was made clear some years ago when some defectors from the BT and Logan's Permanent Revolution Group (PRG) published materials regarding Logan's practices of "Communist Criticism" in his own New Zealand fief. In the minutes of a 19 January 1993 PRG membership meeting, Logan described this "Com Crit" as putting each member in the "hot seat" in turn, "to be the subject of three rounds of analysis." After *three days* of such meetings, an organizer with a child finally resigned, confessing in a 19 February 1993 report to not showing enough "vigour and consistency" because of changed "personal circumstances—I now have a demanding job and also a young baby—and so I have less time for politics" (reproduced in *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* No. 8, "The

mittee—the central organization that had been fighting for others to take up Jamal's case—as associated with a crazed "cult." The *Journal* (16 June 1995) wrote: "The Spartacists are led by a man named James Robertson, prompting the International Bolshevik Tendency, a group of former Spartacists, to deride their old party as 'Jimstown,' a takeoff on Jonestown in Guyana, the jungle site of mass suicide." This mouthpiece for the American ruling class certainly got the point of the BT's lurid smear of our party as an "obedience cult" and its allusion to the notorious 1978 mass suicide by an evangelical religious cult.

The BT's politics, such as they are, are fully in keeping with its hoary "darkness at noon" depiction of our communist organization as a Stalin-style gulag and personality cult. So central and intertwined are social-democratic anti-

and, in an article headlined "Robertsonites in Wonderland," to sneer that we had invented an "imaginary political revolution" (1917, Third Quarter 1991). Only those in thrall to the anti-Communist myth that "Stalinist totalitarianism" had rendered the workers in the bureaucratically deformed workers states mindless automatons incapable of struggle could so blithely dismiss any outcome other than capitalist counterrevolution.

The BT's abiding complaint (retailed again in the latest *Bolshevik*) is that we did not offer to provide a platform for the Social Democratic Party (SPD) at the 250,000-strong united-front protest in East Berlin's Treptow Park on 3 January 1990. That united front, initiated by us and taken up by the ruling Stalinist party, was called to protest the fascist desecration of a memorial to Soviet soldiers who died liberating Germany from Hitler's Nazis and was premised on defense of the workers states. What place did the openly counterrevolutionary SPD have at such a protest?!

More recently, the BT has extended its embrace of counterrevolution to take in not only the German SPD but the CIA's favored "god-king," the Tibetan Dalai Lama, arguing in the latest issue of *1917* (2004): "By agreeing that the Tibetans or Uighur have the right to control their own domestic affairs, a revolutionary government in China would signal its willingness to coexist with Tibet's traditional ruling caste and Xinjiang's mullahs as long as they retain popular support." Where the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy promotes "one country, two systems" in maintaining Hong Kong as a capitalist enclave, the BT goes the extra mile—to "coexist" with feudalism!—or, in other words, "one country, three systems." Such respect for the devotion of benighted peoples to their religious leaders has much in common with images purveyed by apologists for class and race oppression of an earlier era—including reactionary stereotypes of the "humble, devout" French serf before the 1789 French Revolution or the supposedly "carefree, contented" black slave in the U.S. South before the American Civil War.

From Canada to Germany, inasmuch as the BT raises political questions, it reflects the "values" of the ruling class as refracted through its own national social democracy. More provocateur than political opponent, the BT is centrally animated by subjective malice toward our party. As such they are open to anyone's bidding. Their lies and slanders are the weapons of choice for a bitter and vicious gang of renegades. Their purpose is to seal us off from thinking leftists and subjectively revolutionary youth, while giving ammunition to the forces of reaction arrayed against us. The BTs are real political garbage, and as we've said of them many times in the past, garbage doesn't walk by itself. ■



WV Photo

As SL and PDC mobilized during worldwide protest campaign to stop execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1995, capitalists' mouthpiece picked up BT's "cult" smear to vilify Mumia's supporters.

he is not quite the witness for the defense the BT would have him be. In his minority report of the trial body to the conference (also published in "On the Logan Regime Part III"), Samarakkody concluded: "I have not exonerated Logan, that monster. I have placed this monstrosity in the proper context. You can totally disagree with me; you can tear this and put it in the wastepaper basket. But please do not think that I functioned in the trial body as the attorney of that monster."

As befits its arrogant, elitist contempt for the struggles of the oppressed, the BT partakes of a "Great Man" theory of history. According to the BT, it was Robertson who "had decided to topple the Logan regime" ("The Truth Hurts," 8 August 2003 Internet posting). Logan, as a truly Great Man, cannot conceive of having been humbled, humiliated and brought down by anything other than the whim of a supposed "cult leader." The fight in Britain had undermined Logan's grip over the comrades he had tormented in Australia and unleashed a torrent of painful testimony. It was these comrades—largely young and inexperienced but extremely dedicated—who demanded Logan's head.

Even before his expulsion, Logan spread lies to those outside our organization that he had been subjected to threats of violence. In an obituary in the BT's *1917* (1998) on Myra Tanner Weiss, a veteran of the early American Trotskyist movement, Logan is quoted openly admitting that he violated our democratic-centralist discipline while a suspended member awaiting trial. Claiming to perceive "a threat to use physical violence against me after my expulsion," Logan continued, "I broke the discipline of the Spartacist tendency. I looked up Myra in the telephone book, gave her a call, and made arrangements to have a talk with her." Whether Logan was simply being provocative or undergoing paranoid delusions, projecting from his depraved grooving on inflicting misery on others,

Bolshevik Tendency: From the Snake Pit of Anti-Spartacism," July 1993).

Now Logan advertises his services as a professional "counsellor, narrative therapist and celebrant" on his Web site (bl.co.nz). The man who tried to force a young woman communist to have an abortion now provides sample texts for funerals for babies and boasts, "I've done ceremonies for Hindus and atheists, Christians and Buddhists, followers of Krishnamurthy and Christian Science."

Under the heading "Ceremony & Celebrancy," Logan intones: "Ceremony is important to our lives, from the dinner table to a coronation or presidential inauguration"—perhaps he's angling to be a "celebrant" at the coronation of the next HRH (His/Her Royal Highness). On his Web site, Logan speaks of the "Anglican and Presbyterian influences of my childhood." Far from being inspired by Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, Logan does not even look to the left wing of Protestantism during the English Revolution under Oliver Cromwell, but to the Presbyterian right wing and the monarchist Anglicans! That this man is the veritable high priest of a putatively Marxist organization should tell you just about all you need to know about the BT.

Garbage Doesn't Walk by Itself

The BT is not so much a political opponent as a sinister threat of provocation. In 1983, the BT (then calling itself the External Tendency) launched an international campaign labeling us as "violent," lying that we had assaulted one of their members—just as we were engaged in a serious legal fight against the FBI for targeting our organization as "violent"! Some years later (and numerous sinister incidents in between), the *Wall Street Journal* tried to undercut a growing international protest movement in defense of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1995, using the BT as an authority for smears to depict the Partisan Defense Com-

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL 16 June 1995

Not Much Left:
'The Movement' Is
Pretty Still Nowadays

Despite the GOP Revolution,
Radical Groups Can't Win
Converts to Their Brand

...ed by Angela Davis...
... Communist Party USA member...
The Spartacists are led by a man named James Robertson, prompting the International Bolshevik Tendency, a group of former Spartacists, to deride their old party as "Jimstown," a takeoff on Jonestown in Guyana, the jungle site of mass suicide.

Communism and a hostile obsession with us to the BT's existence that, by its own admission, the "focal point" of the German group's fusion with the tiny Gruppe Leo Trotzki in 2002 was shared hostility to any possibility of a revolutionary outcome in East Germany in 1989-90 and to the one organization that fought to realize this, the ICL. As hundreds of thousands of workers took to the streets of East Germany to demand a genuinely egalitarian socialist society, we mobilized our resources internationally in the effort to provide Trotskyist leadership to that incipient political revolution and to fight for revolutionary reunification—for a red Germany of workers councils. We didn't prevail but we fought!

The BT's "intervention" into those revolutionary events was to smear the ICL as a bureaucratic cult akin to the Stalinists

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Ralph Nader, ISO and Socialist Alternative: Unsavory at Any Speed

In four years of drooling over Ralph Nader, preaching to the working class that it should place its hopes in a representative of the class enemy, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Socialist Alternative (SAIt) prove that they are “socialists” whose politics lead far from socialism. Now SAIt has again called for a vote to Nader, and a debate

helping Democrats recapture the House of Representatives in ‘key swing districts.’” But Nader talked about that in 2000 too. Even the ISO wrote at the time that “he also expresses hope that his cam-

form Nader put forward then.

Now, the ISO has “discovered” Nader’s populist appeals to conservatives. He is guilty of what they admit and more. As far back as 2001, shortly after George W.

the campuses, communities, and in the unions, not only will we be able to maximize Nader’s vote, but we will have taken an important step toward rebuilding a fighting left wing—and yes, a socialist—movement in this country” (*International Socialist Review*, October-November 2000). To talk of building a “movement” that could advance the cause of workers and the oppressed based on a capitalist politician, as the ISO and SAIt both do, is the antithesis of Marxism and a cynical hoax!

The truth is that these “socialists” will back almost anything—even if it is completely the opposite of their purported beliefs—just to gain popularity. And what if Nader is more widely embraced in 2004? Well, the ISO has left the door open: “Nader needs to address the same important questions facing working people today—from the war and occupation of Iraq to the continuing attacks on workers—and commit himself to presenting a left-wing alternative” (*Socialist Worker*, 9 April).

SAIt members have claimed that they lend Nader “critical support.” This is a complete perversion of the Leninist tactic of critical support, which is support in an election to a *representative of the workers movement* who advances the political independence of the working class, even if crudely. In so doing, the workers candidate attracts the more class-conscious workers, but the program put forward offers no solution to the problems of the capitalist system. Revolutionary socialists seek such opportunities to exploit the contradictions of the reformists and raise the consciousness of the working class. For an example of the use of this tactic, see our article on critical support to SAIt’s French affiliate, Gauche Révolutionnaire (GR—Revolutionary Left), a campaign which was possible because they “took a clear position against the racist headscarf campaign and drew a crude class line by running against the out-of-power popular front.” The tactic provided a platform to polemicize against GR’s reformist program (“French Elections: Trotskyists Give Critical Support to Gauche Révolutionnaire,” WV No. 826, 14 May).

However, in addition to the fact that Nader is not a part of the workers movement but a representative of the ruling class, SAIt’s campaign for Nader is far from “critical.” In their article “Why You Should Support Nader in 2004” (*Justice*, March-April 2004), the only criticism to be found is that he has “mistakenly not highlighted his opposition to the occupation and is calling for the UN to take over Iraq.” What SAIt alibis as a mistake is really a direct application of Nader’s *program*—that U.S. imperialism can best pursue its interests under the fig leaf of the UN and by claiming to fight for “human rights.” Nader isn’t even for an immediate end to the U.S. occupation, just an “expeditious” one. He supports an occupation with more international troops, which would still be a colonial occupation! Let’s not forget that the first Gulf war was fought with the blessing of the UN, and the subsequent sanctions—with a death toll of over 1.5 million—

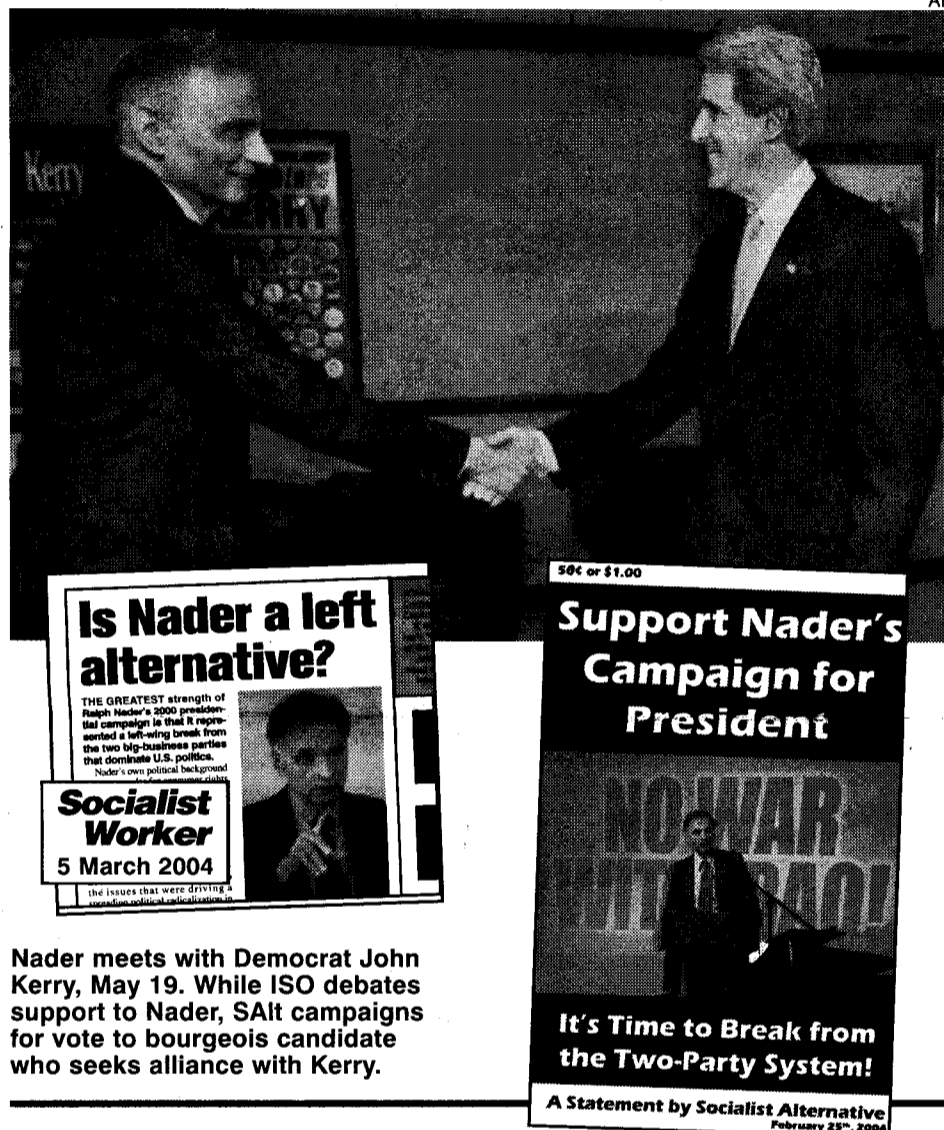
continued on page 6

Young Spartacus

has unfolded in the pages of the ISO’s *Socialist Worker* over whether or not to support him this time.

In 2000, Nader ran as a liberal bourgeois reformer on the Green Party ticket. The stated purpose of his campaign was to revive the Democrats and push them to the left, in his words “to pull them in the right direction” (*LA Weekly*, 30 June 2000). Simultaneously, he spouted protectionist anti-China and anti-Mexico rhetoric about American jobs for American workers and argued that the U.S. didn’t go to war soon enough in Serbia. His positions are such because he *defends the capitalist system*. He seeks to refurbish the tarnished image of the bourgeois electoral system and channel those discontented with it back into the fold of the Democratic Party. At the time, the ISO and SAIt both endorsed Nader; we said: “Break with the Democrats! No support to the Greens! Build a revolutionary workers party to fight for socialist revolution!” (WV No. 739, 28 July 2000).

By lending “socialist” credence to Nader’s mission, the ISO and SAIt act as *obstacles* to raising the consciousness necessary to mobilize workers in their own interest against America’s racist rulers. These phony socialists fawned over Nader last time, desperately rushing to prove themselves as his best campaign builders in the name of bolstering the “new radicalization.” While complaining about pro-Democratic Party “lesser evilism,” they simply took up a call for the *lesser* lesser evil. And now a letter to *Socialist Worker* (5 March) worries that in his 2004 bid, “Nader talked about



Nader meets with Democrat John Kerry, May 19. While ISO debates support to Nader, SAIt campaigns for vote to bourgeois candidate who seeks alliance with Kerry.

campaign will improve the electoral chances for Congressional Democrats. He has also endorsed Democratic candidates for Senate races in New York, Vermont and Washington” (*International Socialist Review*, October-November 2000). And hence the vote-swapping plans (where a Nader supporter in a “contested” state votes Democrat, and a Dem in an uncontested state votes for Nader) hatched in 2000 and set up for 2004—that is, vote Nader and still help the Dems win!

Even the ISO admits that Nader has recently campaigned on platforms with Dennis Kucinich. In fact, Nader postponed his decision to run until it was clear that Kucinich would not receive the Democratic Party nomination. Why? Because the differences between Kucinich and Nader are not fundamental but *tactical*—Nader wants to reform the Democratic Party from the outside; Kucinich wants to do it from within. Nader made this link between himself and the Dems even clearer last week when he met with John Kerry. He reported of the meeting that “I told him of my belief that I would take more votes away from Bush than from him” (Associated Press, 19 May). In other words, Nader is offering himself as a tool for Kerry’s election campaign. While these recent moves may be more explicit than in 2000, they directly flow from the same reform-the-Dems plat-

Bush was inaugurated, Nader sought to appease Bush, co-writing an op-ed piece in the *Wall Street Journal* (7 March) headlined “Ending Corporate Welfare as We Know It—Two Cheers for the President.” Furthermore, Nader recently received an endorsement from the Ross Perot-inspired anti-immigrant Reform Party. Nader has “stated agreement with “most points on both platforms”—that of the Greens and of the Reform Party, whose national chairman stated is “sick and tired of this country being flooded by immigrants” (*Hartford Courant*, 3 April). Nader even went so far as to praise Perot’s “undeniable patriotism” (www.voteNader.org, 26 February). However, the ISO seems to have been too busy distributing campaign flyers in 2000 to notice when a Reform Party splinter group supported Nader that year.

We suspect the real reason for the ISO’s trepidation over Nader has less to do with any change on his part, and more to do with the shifting winds of liberal (and reformist leftist) opinion, which today howl for “Anybody but Bush.” As the ISO put it: “Aside from these political considerations, there’s the concrete question of how prominent Nader can be in this election” (*Socialist Worker*, 27 February). Their perspective in 2000 was that no matter how bad Nader is himself, “If socialists and activists use Nader’s election bid to build a strong campaign on



ISO at “Gore got more” rally in Chicago, November 2000. Reformist “movement” for Nader ended in support of Democrats.