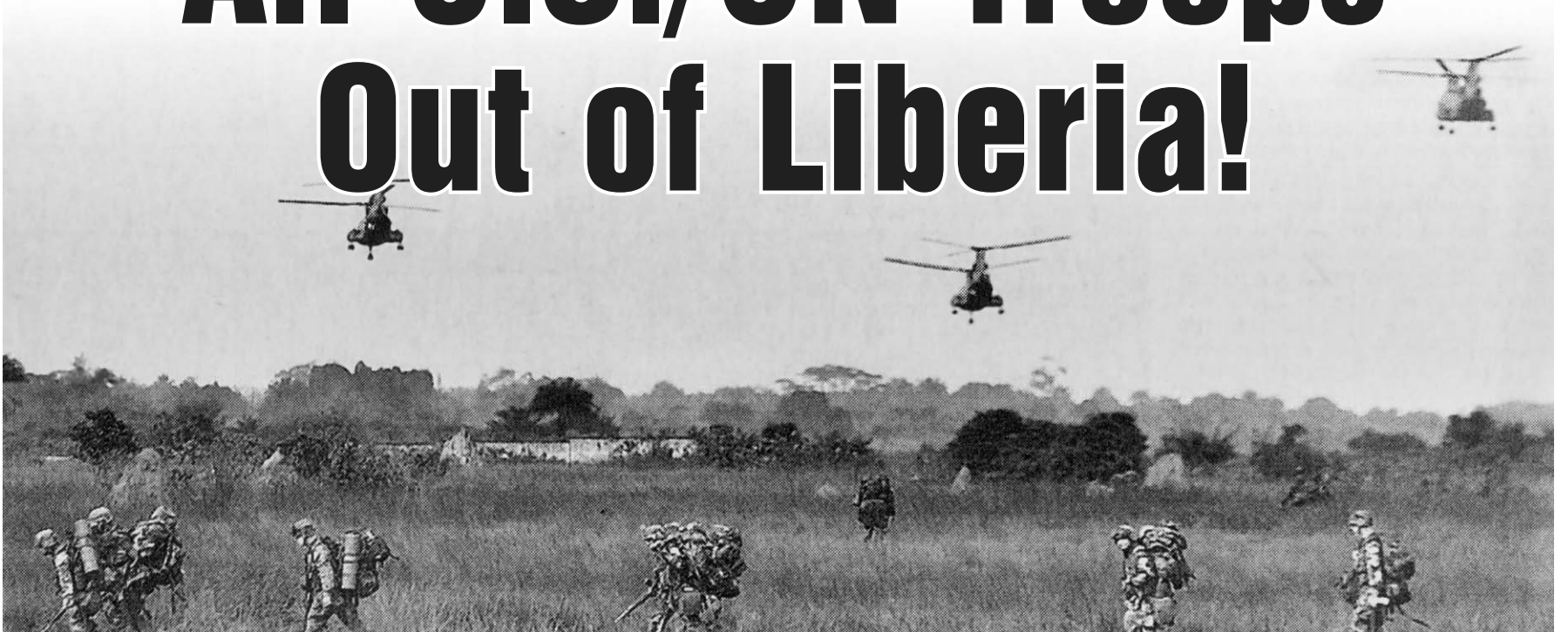


Black Democrats Push Racist U.S. Intervention

All U.S./UN Troops Out of Liberia!



U.S. Marines outside Liberian capital of Monrovia. U.S. troops are overseeing Nigerian “peacekeeping” intervention force.

AUGUST 26—The West African country of Liberia is today among those slated for direct imperialist overlordship. In the guise of bringing peace to that country’s desperately embattled population, a force of more than 1,500 mainly Nigerian troops, overseen by 100 U.S. Marines, has moved into the capital, Monrovia. This is the advance guard of a larger UN force, projected to occupy the country this fall and turn it into a UN trusteeship, a thin cover for direct domination by the would-be masters of the universe in Washington.

The U.S./UN occupation of Liberia will do nothing to ease the terrible suffering of the Liberian people after more than a decade of all-out civil war and

can only pave the way for even greater bloodletting—at the hands of various rebel gangs and by the racist imperialists as well as their Nigerian henchmen. The U.S.-trained and U.S.-supplied Nigerian army, which already occupied Liberia during much of the 1990s, actively helped perpetuate the bloodshed there through widespread trafficking in drugs and arms, while plundering the country of everything down to the scrap iron from destroyed buildings. Today, these same forces are being touted in the capitalist media as “peacekeepers.”

By far the strongest advocates of U.S. military intervention in Liberia have been the black Democrats. The best-known of

them, Jesse Jackson, is calling not just for a short-term “peacekeeping” operation but a long-term colonial-type “reconstruction” of Liberia, parroting the language of Bush & Co. in Iraq. In arguing for a U.S. occupation of Liberia, Jackson is openly pushing Bush’s global agenda, specifically targeting the two countries besides Iraq on Bush’s “axis of evil” list: “The president already has put 2,500 Marines on ships off the coast. If we don’t have enough troops to sustain them, then countries across the world from North Korea to Iran are likely to draw stark conclusions” (Chicago *Sun-Times*, 5 August).

The Bush administration was initially half-hearted about sending U.S. troops to

Liberia and many Pentagon generals were opposed. With daily American casualties in Iraq, Marine Corps General Peter Pace warned that Liberia “is potentially a very dangerous situation” (New York Times, 25 July). Many of these American military men remember being burned by the Somalia adventure in the early 1990s. In response to the Pentagon’s hesitance about sending troops to Liberia, New Jersey Democrat Donald Payne, a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, said: “It’s because they’re African, and they’re black, and they don’t count.” The attitude of America’s ruling circles toward black Africa is certainly one of racist

continued on page 8

PDC/LBL Speaker

“Only Class Struggle Can Break Chains of U.S. Imperialism”

On July 20 the Bay Area Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense held their annual summer fund-raising barbecue. This year all proceeds will be donated to the defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal. We print below the speech, edited for publication, of Spartacist League supporter Don Cane, who spoke on behalf of the PDC and LBL.

I am speaking on behalf of two organizations, the Partisan Defense Commit-



tee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense. The LBL is a fraternally allied organization of the Marxist Spartacist League, of which the PDC is the legal and social defense arm. Also within our revolutionary camp is the dynamic Spartacus Youth Club, a communist training school for tomorrow’s workers leaders. Most of you are famil-

iar with our organizations. Some of you may not be fully familiar, so I will give you a basic introduction to them.

The organizational names speak for themselves, indicating the content of the organizations. The PDC takes up causes in the interest of the working class as a whole. It is non-sectarian and at the same time partisan—partisan on

the side of the workers and oppressed and non-sectarian in its united-front defense work. The LBL is an activist organization based on a 10-point program that encapsulates the perspective of the Leninist tribune of the people—mobilizing the social power of labor on behalf of all the oppressed, challenging

continued on page 9

Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Down With U.S. Occupation of Iraq!

Toussaint Finks for NYC Transit Bosses

NEW YORK CITY—In an outrageous move, Roger Toussaint, president of New York City's Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, released internal union documents to the transit bosses' Labor Relations department, resulting in the suspension of a union member who now faces termination. The incident began on April 30, when two members of the union's executive board, Clarence Little, a critic of Toussaint and a supporter of the *Rank and File Advocate* faction of the bureaucracy, and Eladio Diaz, a Toussaint-loyal staffer, got into a physical altercation inside a union office at NYC Transit's (NYCT) headquarters. Claiming he was punched in the neck, Diaz called on company security and the NYPD, and then filed a criminal report with the police. Within days, Little was not only out of his job as a train operator but also arrested on a misdemeanor assault charge and barred from the union hall.

When the company's Labor Relations went into motion as a consequence of the altercation, they got nowhere because union witnesses rightly, as an act of elementary union principle, refused to give statements to the company's "plantation

Hands Off Clarence Little!

justice" machine. But not Toussaint, who faxed Labor Relations information from the union's internal investigation of the incident. Toussaint's only purpose in doing so was to sic the company on a critic of his regime. This is an act of class treason!

The cops are the racist, strikebreaking thugs of the capitalist rulers, who suppress class struggle and terrorize the ghettos and barrios. It's no accident that thousands of cops were deployed to intimidate and attack the TWU during the heated union contract meetings and rallies of 1999 and 2002. Under the rubric of the "war on terror," cops have increasingly been unleashed on workers, black people and immigrants—witness the NYPD killings of Alberta Spruill, Ousmane Zongo, Calvin Washington and José Mateo this year alone. It's even become a frequent occurrence for NYCT bosses to call the cops on union reps and militants on whatever pretext they can dream up. Transit

security guards are the NYCT's police force within the company and, like the cops, have no place inside workers organizations.

Toussaint's latest crime should come as no surprise—it is the bitter fruit of a program of class collaboration. A glaring example of that program was the presence of the head of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association speaking on the platform of the 15 December 2002 union rally at the very moment Toussaint was signing the sellout contract.

The victimization of Little takes place with union elections approaching this December. Toussaint's leadership of the union has become increasingly discredited following last year's sellout contract, as well as revelations that the Metropolitan Transportation Authority was hiding hundreds of millions of dollars while pleading poverty during contract negotiations and then ramming through a 33 percent fare hike. This contract shafted not only the transit workers but all city workers, who are now working without a contract. Toussaint's enlisting the company and the cops in order to attack his opponents within the union is a gift to the MTA at a time when it is widely despised, and plays right into the company's anti-union assaults. Whatever happened between Diaz and Little, as in all such disputes between workers, it should have been resolved *within the union*. Labor must clean its own house—**cops and courts out of the union!** At the same time, violence has no place in working-class debates and disputes. Thuggery is intended to create an atmosphere of intimidation and fear, poisoning the potential for unified class struggle.

In *Rank and File Advocate* (June 2003), *RAFA* writes: "Regardless who was right or wrong, this should have been handled within the union." However, *RAFA* shares the same program as Toussaint—reliance on the mythical good graces of the Democratic Party and the courts, instead of reliance on Local 100's enormous union power. They, too, have invited the cops into the union. In the very same issue, *RAFA* reports on a confrontation in mid-May between their supporter, Josh Fraidstern, a train operator who was handing out their newsletter, and a Toussaint-loyal staff rep, Kevin Barnes. Barnes allegedly pushed Fraidstern to the ground. In retaliation, the *RAFA* supporter later filed a police report against him! Though *RAFA* lamely writes that Fraidstern "has chosen not to press charges," the fact remains that he *finked*, turning in the name of a union member to the cops.

The New Directions (ND) faction of the union bureaucracy brought Toussaint to power in January 2001 with empty gestures of "militancy," having repeatedly dragged the union into the bosses' courts via lawsuits and Labor Depart-

ment "investigations." Since then, Toussaint has even more actively than the prior Willie James leadership worked to turn Local 100 into a "political machine" for the Democratic Party, stifling struggles that would put him in hot water with the capitalists and their politicians. In doing so, he has gained a reputation for brooking no opposition to his personal rule, sidelining and purging many of his former "left" waterboys who have gone on to form *RAFA*.

With his cringing loyalty to NYC's political bosses, Toussaint has been receiving accolades from the City Council to the State Assembly and beyond. *The Chief-Leader*, a civil service newspaper, even praised Toussaint for his actions against Little, claiming that "Gangster unions believe that assault and intimidation are private matters" and "Mr. Toussaint did what he is supposed to do...by turning over information to investigators." All this preaching about "gangster unions" is nothing but an invitation for government intervention. And that's exactly what happened with the Teamsters union, with the help of the then-"opposition" Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), when a 1989 "consent decree" placed that powerful union under the thumb of the capitalist government.

The capitalists once deemed every union a "criminal conspiracy" and still seek to criminalize any real measures the unions need to take in their own defense. As we said in "NYC Transit: Government Out of the Union!" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 691, 22 May 1998) in response to ND's use of the capitalist courts against its bureaucratic rivals:

"The capitalist state—the courts, cops and prisons—is the enemy of the working class, organized to prevent the workers from struggling in their own interests and particularly from smashing this system of private property and taking power themselves. Appeals by phony 'oppositionists' like ND to the bosses' state degrade the consciousness of the working class. Every class-conscious worker must demand the complete and unconditional independence of the labor movement from the capitalist government!"

In order to break the union bureaucracy's cycle of deception and betrayal, workers need a class-struggle leadership that will fight for workers power against the capitalist rulers, their cops, courts and politicians. Working people need their own party, a multiracial revolutionary workers party, that can mobilize the social power of labor in the struggle to end this system of capitalist exploitation and oppression through a victorious socialist revolution.

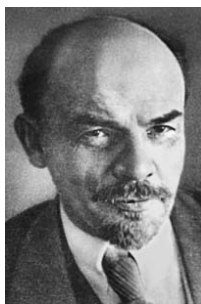
When in 1999 Roger Toussaint was being victimized by the transit bosses—with the help of the James bureaucracy—we called on all TWU members to come to his defense (see "Reinstate Victimized New Directions Supporter! Down With New Directions Anti-Union Court Suit!" *WV* No. 715, 11 June 1999). Today, it is the elementary duty of every union member to defend Clarence Little against NYC Transit and to demand that he be reinstated immediately. Hands off Clarence Little! ■



TROTSKY

Their Morals and Ours

In his battle for authentic Bolshevism and the forging of the world party of socialist revolution, the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky waged relentless war against both the murderous Stalinists and slanderous petty-bourgeois "leftists" whose preachings of "morality" cloaked their hatred of Bolshevism, which they falsely identified with Stalinism. These selections from Their Morals and Ours, written during the 1936-38 Moscow frame-up trials, demonstrate that truth is a weapon in the service of the proletariat.



LENIN

During an epoch of triumphant reaction, Messrs. Democrats, Social Democrats, Anarchists, and other representatives of the "left" camp begin to exude double their usual amount of moral effluvia, similar to persons who perspire doubly in fear. Paraphrasing the Ten Commandments or the Sermon on the Mount, these moralists address themselves not so much to triumphant reaction as to those revolutionists suffering under its persecution, who with their "excesses" and "amoral" principles "provoke" reaction and give it moral justification. Moreover they prescribe a simple but certain means of avoiding reaction: It is necessary only to strive and morally to regenerate oneself. Free samples of moral perfection for those desirous are furnished by all the interested editorial offices.

The class basis of this false and pompous sermon is the intellectual petty bourgeoisie. The political basis—their impotence and confusion in the face of approaching reaction. Psychological basis—their effort at overcoming the feeling of their own inferiority through masquerading in the beard of a prophet.

* * * * *

The liberation of the workers can come only through the workers themselves. There is, therefore, no greater crime than deceiving the masses, palming off defeats as victories, friends as enemies, bribing workers' leaders, fabricating legends, staging false trials, in a word, doing what the Stalinists do. These means can serve only one end: lengthening the domination of a clique already condemned by history. But they cannot serve to liberate the masses. That is why the Fourth International wages a life and death struggle against Stalinism.

— Leon Trotsky, *Their Morals and Ours* (Pathfinder Press, 1973)

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Agins/NY Times

December 2002: TWU Local 100 head Roger Toussaint embraces MTA chairman Peter Kalikow after announcement of contract sellout.

Jose Padilla Case

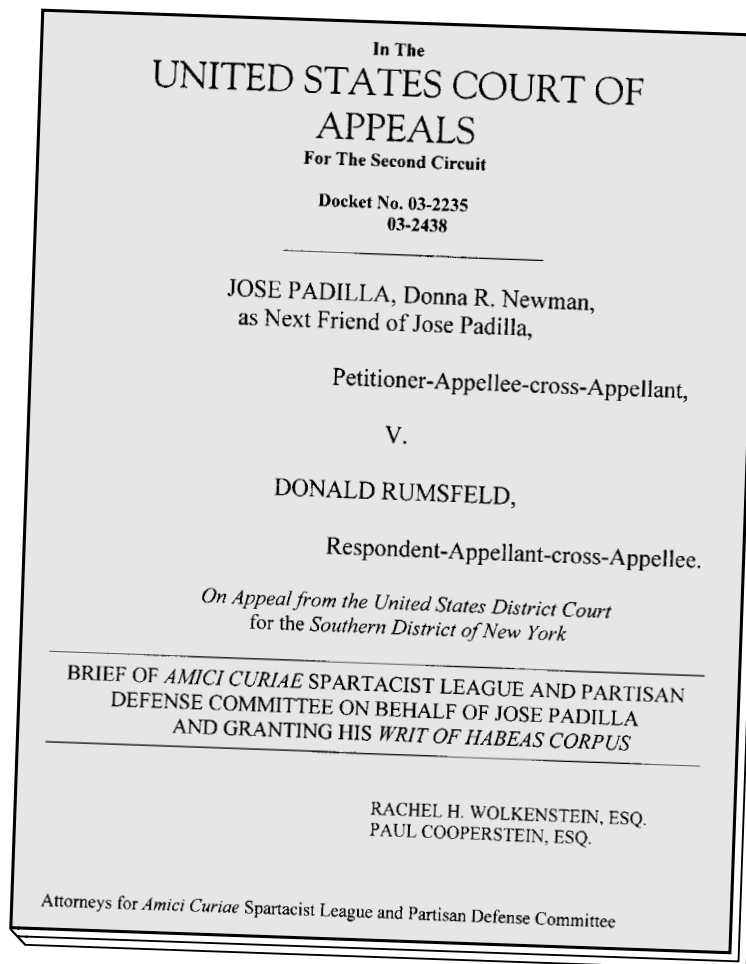
Marxists Oppose Government Attack on Citizenship Rights

On July 29, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee submitted to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit an *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief on behalf of Jose Padilla. An American citizen, Padilla was arrested on 8 May 2002 at Chicago's O'Hare airport and held as a "material witness" for a month before the Bush administration declared him an "enemy combatant" and shipped him off to a military brig in South Carolina. He remains there today without access to legal counsel, without charges being filed, without any prospect of a hearing or trial to challenge the accusations against him. The brief warns, "The Government seeks to institutionalize in the American justice system the arbitrary deprivation of rights that are the hallmarks of right-wing dictatorships propped up around the world by U.S. imperialism." The government is asserting its right to *disappear citizens*.

The Marxist SL and the PDC, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the SL, filed the brief because we are tenacious defenders of our legality and of those democratic rights won through bourgeois revolutions and revolutionary wars—the parliamentary partisans in the English Civil War, the U.S. Revolutionary War, the French Revolution and the American Civil War.

This legal brief is critical reading for defenders of immigrant rights, workers, fighters for black freedom and radical youth and all who seek to oppose the current all-sided attack on democratic rights. Using September 11 as a pretext, the government rounded up some 1,200 immigrants from Islamic countries, and enacted the Patriot Act and a panoply of executive orders under which the government's secret police have vastly expanded authority to tap your phone, search your home, scour your financial records, interrogate your librarian and place you under arrest without probable cause that a crime has been committed. And they're pushing for even greater repressive powers. The brief traces the evolution of the democratic rights under attack today and describes the history of government lies and slander to justify its wars abroad and repression at home, including pinning the "terrorist" label on leftist political opponents.

Centrally under attack in this case is the right of citizenship emerging from the defeat of the slavocracy in the American Civil War. The brief devotes an entire section to the development of citizenship rights in this country—the cumulative product of not only the American Revolution, but the Civil War and social struggles of the 19th and 20th centuries. It points out, "No aspect of citizenship is more fundamental than the rights accorded by the First Amendment," and traces how the government has consistently scrapped First Amendment protections in times of war or for "national security" in the face of revolutionary upheaval abroad or class



struggle at home. In every case the courts dutifully tagged along.

The government's "justification" for the denial of constitutional protections for Padilla and the repressive measures implemented after September 11 is the putative "war against terrorism." Piercing this pretext, the brief states, "There is 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 no more a 'war' in a military sense than 'war against cancer,' 'war against obesity' or a 'war against immorality.' Like the 'war against communism' and the 'war against drugs,' this 'war' is a pretext to increase the state's police powers and repressive apparatus, constricting the democratic rights of the population."

A consistent tool of government repression is to declare political opponents of government policy "terrorists," defining them as "outlaws" of civil society and providing the state with a license to suspend democratic rights, criminalize political activity and ultimately to engage in legalized murder. As we note, "It was the fate of the Black Panther Party (BPP) to be deemed a 'terrorist' organization and 'the greatest threat to internal security' by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and it was subjected to a Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) campaign of harassment, surveillance and prosecution; government agents killed some 38 members of the BPP."

The administration's evisceration of constitutional rights has been largely supported by the Democrats, whose main political bone to pick with Bush & Co. as the presidential campaign heats up is that the administration hasn't done enough for "homeland security." The brief cites the statement issued by the SL the day after the World Trade Center attack, which declared: "The ruling parties—Democrats and Republicans—are all too eager to be able to wield the bodies of those who were killed and wounded in order to reinforce capitalist class rule."

The "war on terror" has served as the pretext for U.S. imperialism's bombing of Afghanistan and bloody occupation of Iraq and for a war against the population at home. The domestic targets of this war, in the first instance, are immigrants particularly from Islamic/Arab countries, and ultimately minorities, blacks, labor and all perceived opponents of the government's policies. The government's objective is to smear, chill, inhibit, criminalize and penalize dissenting opinion and political action in opposition to government policy as threats to national security and support for terrorism. This was brought home with a vengeance on April 7 at the Port of Oakland, when, acting on "intelligence" in an anti-terrorism "advisory," riot-equipped police opened fire on legal observers, longshoremen, port truckers and antiwar protesters with wooden bullets and concussion grenades.

As the SL and PDC have stressed since the onset of the "war on terror," what the U.S. capitalist rulers get away with will largely depend on the level of social and class struggle in this society. It is in the urgent interests of the integrated labor movement to mobilize in defense of immigrant rights and the democratic rights of the entire population.

We reprint below the Summary which appears at the opening of the SL/PDC brief.

* * *

The issue in this case is whether the President has the authority, as Commander in Chief, to declare a United States citizen, detained in the United States outside a battlefield, an "enemy combatant" in the "war against terrorism" and indefinitely imprison him without bringing charges, holding a hearing, or allowing representation by counsel. Stripped of legalese, what the President asserts is nothing less than the right to disappear citizens.

The Executive has imposed martial law on Jose Padilla, a citizen, on the pretext of an alleged "war on terrorism" which is in fact not a military conflict but a political agenda. This is an unprecedented assertion of imperial powers by the President. The District Court's deference to the President's determination of Padilla's status as an enemy combatant relegates to the President the role of sole arbiter of the exercise and applicability of democratic, constitutional rights. This is consonant with the rationale of a police state.

The treatment of Padilla is intended as both the precursor and legal justification for application of Executive unilateral prerogatives on a broader scale, denying due process protections in criminal prosecutions, immigration proceedings and civil challenges to government policy. It is a frontal assault on the very concepts of due process and citizenship itself. Padilla is being forcibly expatriated, confined to a civil death. The imperial Presidency's objective is nullification of First Amendment rights and a qualitative diminution of all democratic rights. The target of the Executive is any and all perceived opponents of government policy, as evidenced most starkly by the secretly drafted legislation, the *Domestic Security Enhancement Act of 2003* (Patriot II), which would allow the Executive unchallengeable authority to strip citizenship from Americans who "provide material support" to an organization which at some time may be deemed "terrorist" by the U.S. government. Patriot II victims would be locked away indefinitely in military prison without any legal process.

The case of Jose Padilla tests the very existence of the fundamental rights of due process—liberty of the individual from the arbitrary, discriminatory power of the state—and the freedoms protected by the First Amendment. It poses the evisceration of the rights and privileges of citizenship embodied in the first ten Amendments to the Constitution 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." ■

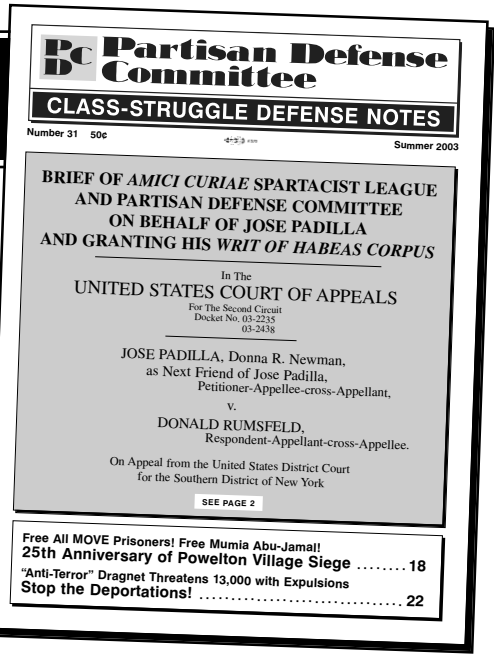
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Pedophilia, Child Pornography and State Repression

Capturing the Friedmans: An American Tragedy

Andrew Jarecki's masterful film, *Capturing the Friedmans*, documenting the disintegration of a family after a man and his teenage son are wrongly accused of molesting young boys, is now in wide release after winning the Grand Jury Documentary Prize at Sundance 2003. This controversial film exposes the vio-

A Review by Burt Richardson

lence and hypocrisy of the capitalist state—cops, courts, laws—with its brutally honest picture of how two harmless individuals were framed up and jailed, guilty of nothing, accused of imaginary crimes, their lives and their family destroyed by an anti-sex witchhunt.

In 1987 a sting operation by the U.S. Postal Service entrapped Arnold Friedman, a high school teacher in Great Neck, Long Island, who'd been purchasing gay child pornography from the Netherlands through the mail. The investigators used the fact that Arnold also taught computer and piano to neighborhood kids at his home to accuse him of child molestation, since they equated looking at child porn with child abuse and "knew" he must be guilty of raping his students. Within days the cops were interviewing every former student, compelling parents to conjure up signs that their kids had been abused. Soon kids were coerced into saying what the cops and parents wanted to hear; parents of kids who'd denied being molested were shunned and told they were "in denial." Absurd charges of impossibly frequent and sadistic molestations snowballed into a 107-count indictment against Arnold Friedman and a 245-count indictment against 19-year-old Jesse, Arnold's youngest son, who had helped him in the classroom. After enormous pressure from his wife and attorney, Arnold pleaded guilty, in hopes that it would make things easier for Jesse in his trial; he was sentenced to 10 to 30 years. Realizing that there was no way he could win a trial, Jesse Friedman felt compelled to invent a story of sexual abuse by his dad just so he could plead guilty and be able to cut a deal in which he could get out of prison before his death. Arnold committed suicide in prison in 1995, riddled with guilt over somehow being responsible for his son's imprisonment. Jesse was eventually released on parole in 2001, after serving 13 years of a 16-year sentence.

The Third Great American Witchhunt

Arnold and Jesse Friedman were victims of America's third great witchhunt, the massive anti-sex panic that gripped the nation in the 1980s. This was a veritable witchhunt, much like the Salem witch trials of 1692 and the McCarthy anti-communist scare of the 1950s. Beginning in the late 1970s a mass panic,

manipulated by the state in collusion with the religious fundamentalists and anti-sex feminists, engulfed society for well over a decade. People across the nation were led to believe that there was an epidemic of child molestations, satanic ritual abuse of children and sexual predators hiding behind every teacher's desk. Hundreds of men and women ended up behind bars for crimes that never happened, when the real criminals sat comfortably in their blue uniforms and black robes.

The most infamous of those cases was the McMartin Preschool case in Manhattan Beach, California, which began in 1983. Day-care workers were accused of engaging in satanic sex rituals with children (the case was portrayed in the powerful HBO movie *Indictment: The McMartin Trial*). During the six years of trials—during which the state failed to uncover a single piece of credible evidence—an intense hysteria rampaged through the country; many day-care centers were shut down due to child abuse allegations, and a generation of children was brought up to "identify" signs of child molestation, inducing kids to fear being touched by adults. From coast to coast, there was a series of vicious state prosecutions on charges of "satanic sex rings"; tales of "inappropriate touching" of genital areas and sodomy were laced with accounts of naked dancing, objects shoved up vaginas and anuses, robbed figures spiriting children off in airplanes, ritual cannibalization of babies, the drinking of blood—all testimony from the mouths of children, some as young as two, who were invariably treated as unimpeachable witnesses. The accusations veered into the magical, feasting on Americans' appalling embrace of superstition and religious backwardness; soon



WV Photo

March for abortion rights, San Francisco, 1992. Marxists oppose reactionary "age of consent" laws.



George Argerolos

Long Island, May 1989: Arnold Friedman (right) and his 19-year-old son Jesse, victims of vicious anti-sex witchhunt, arrested on fabricated charges of child molestation.

the whole country had been taught to believe and even expect such things to be happening everywhere around them.

Amidst this frenzy, a man like Arnold Friedman, who enjoyed looking at child pornography and was sexually attracted to boys, did not stand a chance once these maniacs got him in their clutches. As we at the time said in "The Uses of Abuse," "The violent abuse and rape of children is a terrible crime. The problem is that once the question of 'child abuse' has become a political football, the state willfully will not tell the difference between Jack the Ripper and Lewis Carroll" (*Women and Revolution* No. 29, Spring 1985). The bourgeois state foments these mass panics to promote "obedience" to its moral codes and regiment the population behind its agenda of social reaction. After the social upheaval of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s and the Vietnam War, the bourgeoisie was desperate to bottle it all up again.

Documenting a Witchhunt in Real Time

Jarecki used a lot of home movie footage taken by David Friedman, Arnold's oldest son, during the events, as the media frenzy outside their cozy suburban home beat the drums to his father's and brother's arrest. He captures the unraveling of his own family, showing almost unbearable pain and sorrow, but also a willingness by him and his brothers, Jesse and Seth, to fight against the frame-up, understanding at the very least that

Arnold's proclivities did not make him a rapist. The footage also shows how his mother, Elaine, doubted Arnold's innocence on the rape charges, since she believed Arnold was at least "guilty" of being a pedophile and possessing child porn. Jarecki intersperses David's footage with interviews he had with many of those involved, from cops to the judge to former students and their parents, to show eloquently how the accusations were a big web of lies engineered by the Nassau County Sex Crimes Unit to prove that this rather sweet old man was a violent sexual predator.

Arnold and Jesse were accused of engaging in forced anal sex with a plethora of kids, often in front of the whole class, using violence and verbal abuse, drawing blood and leaving them traumatized, yet the police could produce no physical evidence like bloody underwear or clothes—not even a bruise! No parents or children ever mentioned anything even remotely strange until the cops interrogated the kids about being abused. In the movie, Anthony Sgueglia, a detective with the Nassau County Sex Crimes Unit, allows that indeed "there was a dearth of physical evidence." He continues, "I don't even recall whether there was any physical evidence" to back up the preposterous claims. And preposterous they were: many of the kids who were supposed victims of violent abuse day after day re-enrolled in the class semester after semester. Jesse tells of one example, where a 10-year-old boy attended class once a week for ten weeks and testified to being forced to have anal and oral sex 31 times. Then the next year the same boy re-enrolled in the class—and for ten more classes he claimed to have had 41 sexual acts forced on him! One parent of a former student, whose child convinced him that nothing ever happened at the Friedmans', says that the police outright told his son, "We know what happened to you." And in an interview not shown in the movie, one of Friedman's former piano students says that the detectives told him he'd grow up gay if he didn't confess to being abused (*Village Voice*, 21 May).

In another series of interviews, a young man speaks of the horrors he was supposedly subjected to, seemingly corroborating the official account of the story. But then this "witness" gets embroiled in obvious contradictions in his testimony, until he admits that he no longer remembers any of the actual abuse, nor had he until a hypnotist made him realize he had been "repressing" traumatic memories. That's what the prosecutors used as "evidence"!

In fact, this "recovered memories" fad,

used especially to “uncover” incestuous abuse and rapes, has been scientifically debunked. Jarecki interviews Debbie Nathan, a journalist who was contacted by the Friedman family because she was following other cases of supposed sexual abuse in the country at the time, and had become convinced, through inspecting the evidence and analyzing the testimonies, that people were being convicted for no reason at all. In her book, *Satan’s Silence: Ritual Abuse and the Making of a Modern American Witch Hunt* (Debbie Nathan and Michael Snedeker [Basic Books, 1995], reviewed in “Satan, the State and Anti-Sex Hysteria,” *W&R* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996), she talks about the many cases where people were accused of satanic ritual abuse and child molestation based on children’s fantastical testimonies that either were coerced or came after leading questioning that impressed on them what it was that the adults wanted to hear. Often parents or the cops, not satisfied with the kids’ inability to think up horrifying abuses, would send them to disreputable “doctors” who’d use hypnosis to “unlock the doors” of their memories, as though the human brain were a molecular VCR where a simple push of the button could recover memories forgotten but never lost.

Child Porn: “Obscene” Is in the Eyes of the Beholder

In the press, this movie has generally received rave reviews, though the critics almost unanimously insist that viewers cannot know whether the Friedmans are guilty or innocent of the charges. Kenneth Turan, in an atypically negative review of the movie, lays this “ambiguity” bare: “But the fact that satanic orgies did not take place in Great Neck computer classes is not the same thing as saying that absolutely nothing anyone could object to took place” (*Los Angeles Times*, 13 June).

But Arnold Friedman committed no crime! The “crime” for which the state had substantiated proof was possession of child pornography. So what? Child pornography is, as is any kind of pornography, images and words intended for entertainment. Nothing more, nothing less. There’s nothing wrong with getting off with visual aids, whether they portray naked women, young boys or monkeys going at it. One person’s turn-on is another person’s turn-off—who is going to decide what is “obscene”?

Until portions of the Child Pornography Control Act were recently struck down by the courts, it was illegal to show anyone who even *appeared* to be a minor in pornography. Currently the law

defines any sexual depictions featuring at least one person who’s under 18 as child pornography, irrespective of whether they have consented to having sex—or whether they even had sex to begin with, since such laws also cover “sexually suggestive” underage nudity!

Anti-pornography laws legitimize state censorship and interference in people’s private lives. It’s worth remembering that “obscenity” laws were used in this country for decades to ban the dissemination of birth control devices and information. And now that the “war on terror” is well under way, Attorney General John Ashcroft is focusing on “targeted obscenity prosecutions that will deter others from



James Schnepf

producing and distributing obscene material” (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 August). The Justice Department is charging Extreme Associates, a company that produces fantasy rape porn, with selling obscene material across state lines through the postal system—a federal crime in this Orwellian hellhole. The company’s executives now each face 50 years in prison and \$2.5 million in fines! *Drop the charges!*

Pedophilia: The Ultimate Taboo

Critics like Kenneth Turan want to claim that Arnold’s admission of pedophilia means that something “objectionable” could have happened. But outside of the fantastic “recovered memories” recounted in the film, no child ever accused Arnold Friedman of sexual abuse. There is no evidence that his “sexually arousing experiences” with boys that took place *outside* the classroom (not related to the charges) were not consensual. The bigots seek to stigmatize all sexual encounters between adults and younger people as wrong by definition. They certainly don’t have any problem

with violence—they are the ones shooting abortion practitioners and inciting murderous terror against gays and other “deviants,” such as Matthew Shepard and Gwen Araujo (see “Transgender Youth Murdered in Brutal Attack,” *WV* No. 791, 15 November 2002).

The only guideline that ought to exist in sexual relations is the rule of effective consent, that is, as long as both parties are *at the time* consenting to the act, nobody, least of all the state, has any right to tell them they can’t do it. Obviously things become murkier when you have very young children with adults, and the question of whether the child has effectively consented to the act must be



Gamma

Sex and the state: Federally funded “abstinence only” programs in public schools deny education on birth control, disease prevention (left). Laws that require publicizing whereabouts of “sex offenders” are incitement to terror.

looked at on a case by case basis. What matters is whether someone is forcing them to do anything they don’t want to do with their own bodies.

The twisted nature of age of consent laws is exactly in denying the scientific fact that young people *are* sexual, and many are having sweaty, gratifying, *consensual* sex right now, as you read this. Those laws artificially specify an age at which kids—all kids—magically mature physically and mentally; one day you’re terrified at your little boner, à la Jake Gyllenhaal in *Bubble Boy*; the next, you’re a certified stud. But the human body is not a time-released sexual grenade. These laws are really about outlawing any sexual interaction for youth, preparing them for a life of repressed urges and unfulfilled desires. We are opposed to any such age of consent laws, a logical extension from our uncompromising opposition to any state intervention in the private realm of human relations. *Down with all reactionary age of consent laws! Government out of the bedroom!*

Anti-Sex Hysteria and the State

Although today news about “satanic abuse” no longer dominates the front pages as it did in the 1980s, many of the victims are still in jail, and the witchhunt’s nationwide apparatus of sex cops, prying social workers and medical quacks, bolstered with millions of dollars, prestige and power, remains firmly in place. As we said in “Satan, the State and Anti-Sex Hysteria”:

“Much of this persecution aims to strengthen the bourgeois state in its regulation of the population and to spread panic as a diversion from the real brutality of life in this twisted, mean, bigoted, racist society. The Spartacist League has consistently opposed the outrageous intrusion of the government into private life, and demands an end to all laws against consensual ‘crimes without victims’ such as prostitution, drug use and pornography.”

The state has absolutely no right to set limits, regulations or judgment on the private goings-on in people’s lives. We reject the *a priori* criminalization of incest and have always fought against the vicious persecution of the North American Man/Boy Love Association, which defends the rights of adults and youth to mutually consensual sexual relations (see “Hands off NAMBLA! Reinstate Peter Melzer! Protest Thought Crime Firing of Teacher!” *WV* No. 807, 1 August).

Despite the propaganda that the state is there to mitigate problems in society as a neutral arbiter, as Marxists we know it exists solely to enforce the rule of one class, the bourgeoisie, over all others, especially the working class. The bourgeois state is not interested in protecting children, since it represents the system that denies them basic needs like food, shelter and education. After all, this is the same government that arrests their parents in racist “war on drugs” or “war on terrorism” campaigns, and above all enforces the class exploitation that creates the real misery in this world.

The state upholds in every way it can the inherently oppressive institution of the

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Lessons of the Antiwar Movement

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(Wilshire/Vermont Redline Station)
For more information: (213) 380-8239
e-mail: slsycla@cs.com

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San Francisco
(16th/Mission BART)
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e-mail: slbayarea@compuserve.com

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e-mail: slbayarea@compuserve.com

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(above St. George Station)
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ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

BT: A Walking Provocation

In “BT: Renegades for Hire” (WV No. 807, 1 August), we documented the Bolshevik Tendency’s role as a walking provocation against the Spartacist League and exposed the manipulative sociopath it embraces as its leader, Bill Logan. Defending its “chauvinism” slanders against our party, the BT replied with a letter posted on the Internet titled “The Truth Hurts” (8 August). It sure hurts them. Despite being at the center of the events they distorted to spin their lies, Logan, the *líder maximo* of the BT since 1990, still remains the black hole in their latest “reply.”

As detailed in our last article, in a “postscript” to its 12 June letter nominally on the Kurdish question, the BT presented a short quote dragged out of context from a presentation the SL’s national chairman, Jim Robertson, made **25 years ago** to our New York local. Reporting on the party’s fight to remove the brutal and nasty regime Logan had been running as leader of our British section and the manifold ways in which Logan manipulated the internalized oppression of particularly young women and minority comrades, Robertson raised a criticism of a 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. Right? He wasn’t playing any role. George and I looked at each other and we said, ‘We don’t think it’s going to be exactly the kind of educational weekend that we had in mind...’. We’re going back next month to have the educational. Good educational.”

As we wrote in our last article, “Only in the minds of those genuinely inspired by chauvinism could ‘turds’ be seen as referring to Kurds!” For all its oh-so-indignant and consummately disingenuous charges of “vulgar chauvinism,” the BT introduces this quote by saying, “Robertson teased Samuels for having been left out of the loop and missing the excitement.” Far from teasing, this was a serious indictment of a senior leader of our international for having his head in the toilet when what was posed was a fight to save our British section from Logan. Now the BT opines that the proof that we are covering for “vulgar chauvinism” is demonstrated by the fact that our last article didn’t mention that Samuels “had been flown in from Toronto specifically to give his talk on the Kurds.” The latter is absolutely correct. Robertson and the rest of the international leadership saw to it that our best-informed comrade on the question, Samuels, flew to London, not once but twice, in order

to give a “good educational” on the struggle against Kurdish oppression—a need particularly posed by the recent recruitment of Turkish comrades to our British section. And that’s what the BT calls “chauvinism.”

More than a hundred opinionated, argumentative young communists of many different ethnic backgrounds heard Robertson’s presentation. They understood it for what it was: a powerful indictment of the all-sided oppression of capitalist class

BT’s own “founder-leaders,” who were around at the time of Robertson’s New York presentation and said not a peep? They indict themselves on the charges they falsely fling at us.

For the 20 years of its existence, the BT has specialized in lying diatribes against our organization. The bulletin containing Robertson’s presentation was made publicly available by us over two decades ago. Yet only now has the BT surfaced its “recovered memory” that the

brant” and “counsellor” for baby funerals and “partnership break-up” among other things—on his Web site (bl.co.nz), which also features a link to a “Folksong Index” where you can listen to such “folk” classics as “Deutschland Über Alles,” “The Swastika Song” and “Come All Ye that Hold True Communion with Southern Confederates Bold”! Here is a leader of a putative “Bolshevik” organization whose Web site speaks not of the influences of Marx, Lenin or Trotsky but of the “Anglican and Presbyterian influences of my childhood.”

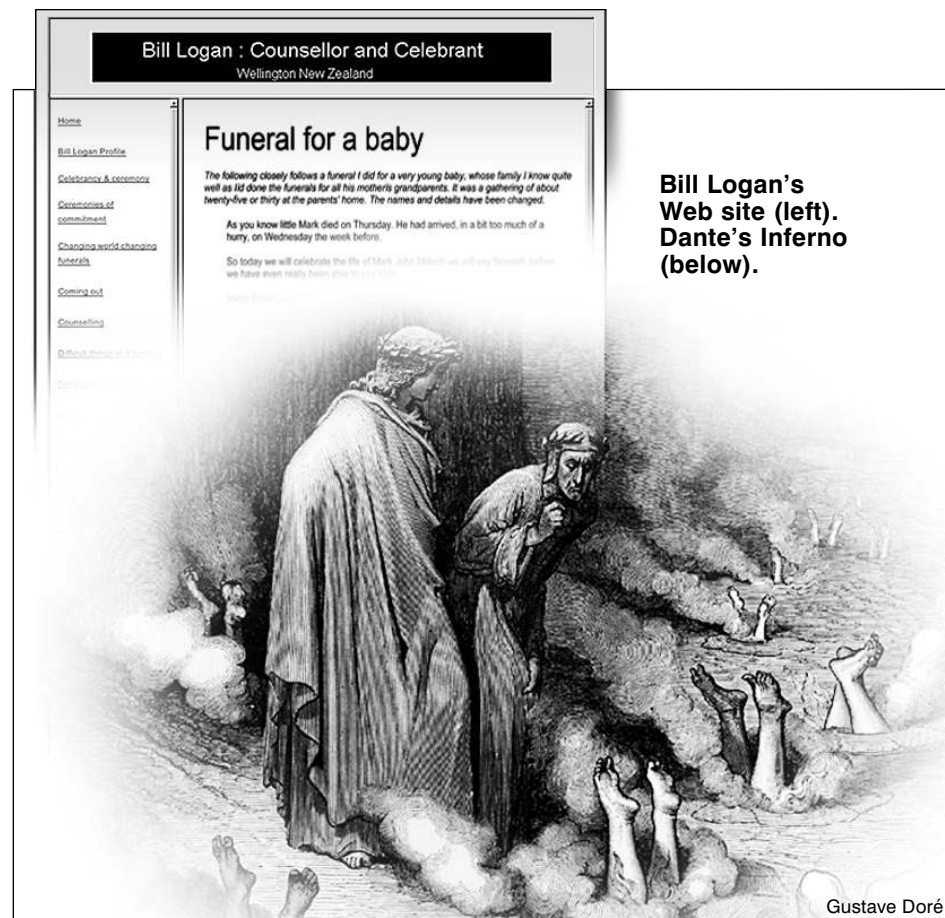
Now, as part of its escalating provocations, the BT claims that our last polemic “recalls the 1973 pronouncements of Lyndon LaRouche (then known as Lynn Marcus) when he was winding up his devotees for their ‘Operation Mop Up’ vendetta against the Communist Party.” “Operation Mop-Up” was a campaign of murderous violence against Communist Party supporters by the LaRouchites as the latter exited the workers movement on their way to the fascistic right and links with various state agencies. So the BT is insinuating that we’re crazed thugs and on our way out of the workers movement altogether.

We wrote in the 1987 SL/U.S. national conference document:

“The tiny Bolshevik Tendency (formerly External Tendency) composed largely of embittered Reagan-years quitters from the SL is not so much an opponent as a sinister threat of provocation. The Bolshevik Tendency (BT) exhibits an apparent disinterest in questions of importance to the working class except to go after the SL.... “Mainly the BT is a highly dubious and potentially extremely dangerous pest of the COINTELPRO type.”

In the Editorial Statement we published last issue, we acknowledged our mistake in excising the BT’s “P.S.” rather than exposing it for the contemptible lie it is when we published the exchange “BT Doth Whine Too Much” (WV No. 806, 4 July). In this statement, the BT can see only a “*mea culpa*” and a “public slap-down of the editorial board.” The idea of basic communist honesty and integrity, the fundamental concept of speaking the truth and openly admitting a mistake to the working-class public, is something wholly alien to the BT charlatans. For them, it is simply evidence of “Obedience Training in the SL,” as they called it in their luridly anti-communist 1985 account of the supposed Spartacist gulag, “The Road to Jimstown,” a reference to Jonestown, Guyana, where a religious cult under Reverend Jim Jones carried out a mass suicide in 1978. In their latest letter, they write that the SL is a cult whose “central organizing principle is that founder/leader Robertson can never be wrong (unless he says so).” This is beyond stupid—since when do cult leaders admit to being wrong?

The BT acknowledges that the ICL preserved “the thread of revolutionary continuity after the degeneration of Cannon’s party,” i.e., the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, but claims that we in turn have degenerated. Well, we wrote in “From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning” (WV No. 349, 2 March 1984): “Yes, comrades of the ET, sooner or later and if we do not take state power first, a revolutionary Marxist organization outlives the effective political lifetime of its founding cadre; the defense of the party’s original purpose and intent characteristically involves organizational discontinuity (i.e., split on behalf of the new revolutionary generation). But not yet for us, ETs, and in any case you stand in no relationship to that process.” That was in 1984; today you stand among the enemies of revolutionary Marxism and of working-class victory. ■



Bill Logan's Web site (left). Dante's Inferno (below).

society, and a record of the struggle against a sick character who tried to destroy comrades. Those who were in the room recall being elated at the end of the report, because we had won a fight to save our British section and prevented a serious setback in our struggle to build an international. To assert that a hundred communists would not have reacted with hostility and indignation to a chauvinist slur is a slander of all of our comrades. To believe the BT, the members of the International Communist League to whom it makes its unctuous appeals to break with the ICL are worthless as any kind of communists but are rather merely obedient tools, fools and perhaps racists themselves. But then what does that make the

fight against Logan was really a cover for anti-Kurdish chauvinism.

In our article last issue, we noted that the BT had omitted any mention of Logan either in its “P.S.” or in a 4 July leaflet titled “Robertson’s Vulgar Chauvinism” distributed for the benefit of Stalinophobic thugs and Spartacist-haters at the British Socialist Workers Party’s “Marxism” event in London. The BT couldn’t even manage to give the main title of the *International Discussion Bulletin* it quoted from, “On the Logan Regime Part I.” “Why has Logan become the equivalent of that empty space on retouched photos?” we asked. “What is the BT hiding?”

The BT’s latest letter mentions Logan’s name a few times in passing, including the enigmatic statement that Robertson “had decided to topple the Logan regime.” Why was Logan “toppled”? Not a word. The BT is also silent on the monstrous crimes that were reported by comrades in our Australian section, where Logan had previously been national chairman, once the lid had been pried open by the fight in Britain. Logan willfully broke up couples and pressured comrades into sexual relationships. He pressured a young comrade to have an abortion, and when she refused, he made her put the child in a foster home, ultimately driving her to an attempted suicide. We convoked a trial body at our first international conference in the summer of 1979. Logan was expelled by a unanimous vote of the membership (including, again, those who would later form the BT). We made our bulletins on the Logan regime public in order to warn the rest of the workers movement about this sociopath.

The BT did not respond to our exposure of Logan’s current vocation as a New Age snake oil salesman who peddles his grotesque services—as a “cele-

Special ICL Bulletins

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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.

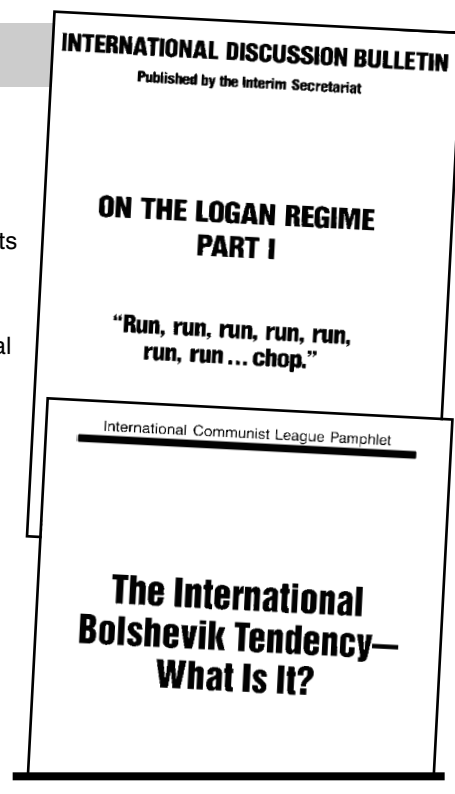
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Con Artists Get Conned

Chickens Come Home to Roost in Kiev

A couple of years ago, a plethora of opportunist “internationals” proclaimed their new Ukrainian sections on the Internet. We smelled a rat. Now, a new round of announcements has appeared on the Internet by many of these groups complaining they’d been hoodwinked. Typical was the following admission by the Bolshevik Tendency (BT) in a 21 August statement titled “IBT Conned in Kiev”:

“The International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT) is one of a number of left-wing organizations fooled by a gang of con artists in Kiev, who fraudulently posed as supporters of different international political tendencies....

“We have established, beyond any doubt, that the same collection of people presented themselves as multiple groups, each with an international affiliation.”

On the same day, the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) Web site confessed that they also had been conned, writing that “a group of purported ‘revolutionaries’ in Ukraine has perpetrated a fraud upon at least ten far left organizations internationally, and probably far more.” An earlier admission was posted by the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

A “Cast List” on the BT’s Web site names five of their Ukrainian “comrades” as simultaneously belonging to the putative Ukrainian section of Jan Norden’s Internationalist Group/League for the Fourth International. As WV closes, the Nordenites have said nothing. By various accounts, other international patrons of the Ukrainian Potemkin village included the British Workers Power and Alliance for Workers’ Liberty groups and the News & Letters group and DeLeonist Socialist Labor Party in the U.S. One thing that all accounts seem to agree on is that Oleg Vernik, long the leader of the Taaffeite Committee for a Workers’ International (CWI) group in Ukraine, is a central figure in the scandal. Since early August, a statement has been circulating on various Internet sites, purportedly in the name of the Committee for a Workers’ International, claiming that their Ukrainian section has been suspended, pending an investigation.

We are not privy to the sleazy details, and we have no confidence in anybody’s account of what happened. But by their own words these so-called “victims” stand condemned as utter frauds and co-conspirators with their Kiev con men! Now they scream, “We wuz robbed!” But they were more than happy to perpetrate their con on the left public by trumpeting their fraudulent Ukrainian sections. Proclaiming the Ukrainian “fusion” as the centerpiece of its “Third International Conference” two years ago, the BT sang the praises of its supposed comrades for their “grasp of the complexities of the national question” and for “seriously studying the issues confronted by revolutionaries during the past six decades.”

For its part, the LRP loudly crowed that “joining forces with a large group of young revolutionary workers from the former Soviet Union, the land of the Russian Revolution, is an inspiring step. It confirms our confidence in the correctness of our struggle” (“RWO-Ukraine Joins COFI,” *Proletarian Revolution* No. 67, Spring 2003). The LRP boasted:

“The RWO is now, after the CWI and LRCI [Workers Power’s international], the third-largest left group in Ukraine (outside of the open Stalinists). The RWO consists of several dozen workers not only in the center in Kiev, but also with groups of several workers each in no less than half-a-dozen other key cities.”

It all brings to mind the movie *Billion Dollar Brain*, where a group of Baltic

hustlers sucker a Texas billionaire into a plot to invade the Soviet Union. These cyberspace internationals who conduct fusions in virtual reality didn’t care what their “sections” were actually doing in Ukraine—what they wanted was a new Internet address to impress unwary people far away from the scene of the crime. The BT still hasn’t even bothered to remove documents from their Ukrainian and Russian Web pages that they now denounce as fraudulent!

W.C. Fields once observed that “You can’t cheat an honest man.” Con men prey on desperate people and those who want something for nothing. These phony “internationals” obviously never so much as bothered to ask if anybody in Ukraine or Russia had ever heard or seen their Ukrainian “section.” The BT now says it noticed its Ukrainian group’s “failure to produce any substantial original propaganda, and the marked absence of internal political and perspectives documents,” moaning that “we certainly could have moved sooner to tighten up what appeared to be a largely dysfunctional organization.” And the LRP now meekly confesses that “reports and articles that we have published by or about the RWO of Ukraine, as well as its affiliate, the RWO of Russia, are at best unreliable.” The LRP lamely adds, “Its ‘members’ and ‘leaders,’ some of whom we had met more than once [!], were part of the overall scam.”

Perhaps we should congratulate the Ukrainian con artists for having the perspicacity to see that these disparate groups belong together. All these renegades unite around the rejection of Trotskyism on the Russian question and they unite in slanders and hatred for the Spartacists. We follow James P. Cannon’s injunction in his 1939 “Speech on the Russian Question” (*The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*): “‘Who touches the Russian question,

touches a revolution.’ Therefore, be serious about it. Don’t play with it.”

In contrast to the Potemkin village bargain hunters, we fought to the last barricades against Yeltsin-Bush capitalist counterrevolution and fought to build a real organization in the USSR. And we paid the price. The Kremlin bureaucracy and then the capitalist regimes that replaced it knew the ICL was for real and witchhunted us with a vengeance. Our comrades were arrested, terrorized, attacked and hounded by the fascists and Stalinists alike. In 1992 the senior leader of the ICL’s Moscow Station, Martha Phillips, was murdered at her post; the authorities stonewalled while we tried in vain to find out who killed her. In 1995, we were repressed and officially banned from Ukraine.

Precisely because we are serious about the question of revolution and forging a truly democratic-centralist International on a solid programmatic basis, we suspected something was up when this “Cambrian explosion” in Kiev first emerged two years ago. On 20 August 2001, an ICL comrade from the former East German (DDR) deformed workers state with extensive political experience in Ukraine noted in a letter:

“I wonder whether P. and his lieutenant got access to the internet and posted on eBay something like ‘Trotskyist group in Ukraine for sale. Make your financial offers to the following email address.’ P. certainly was keen on getting money and I wonder whether he’s the Ukrainian section of WP, ITO [International Trotskyist Organization], IG and BT at once.”

The ICL sent an e-mail dated 31 August 2001 to Oleg Vernik in Kiev to see if he could provide any information on the sudden emergence of numerous new “Trotskyist” groups in Ukraine. Vernik apparently knew who were likely customers for what he was selling and who weren’t; he never replied to our letter.

Friedmans...

(continued from page 5)

The bourgeois state will not refrain from using its armed thugs, the cops, to make sure no deviation, ideological or moral, is permitted in the private lives of citizens. The very existence of sex crimes units in police departments is a graphic reminder of that. It’s enough to note that, until the Supreme Court ruling this summer that voided all anti-sodomy laws, many of these great “democratic” United States considered it criminal for gay adults to have sex. The government works hand in hand with the religious right wing to promote abstinence-only campaigns, seeking to ensure that teenagers who don’t conform to their puritanical norm are maximally punished with unwanted pregnancies, lack of access to abortion and vulnerability to AIDS.

Today teenagers suspected of being gay are forced into therapy or boot camps to “convert,” while 9-year-old boys are charged with sexual assault for fondling their classmates, and juveniles are being locked up for statutory rape. Children are simply not allowed to touch one another, while any affectionate adult/child interactions are completely stigmatized. Today with the Internet a new “thought police” has been formed with cops luring unsuspecting pedophiles into setting up dates with imaginary teens to arrest them on “child molestation” charges—think about it, now you can be charged with an imag-

inary crime against an imaginary victim! Talk about *Minority Report*—dystopia, thy name is America. And even in Hollywood such sexual persecutions continue, with Roman Polanski, the acclaimed director of *The Pianist*, unable to set foot in this country this past spring to accept his Academy Award because of a warrant for his arrest for statutory rape of a 13-year-old girl who *consented* to having sex with him 25 years ago (see “Stop the Puritan Witchhunt Against Roman Polanski!” WV No. 192, 10 February 1978).

Free the Victims! Overturn the Trials!

If this were just a simple movie review, I’d say that this was one of the best movies of the year. But precisely because *Capturing the Friedmans* is not a work of fiction, but the tragic portrayal of a real family’s destruction by the bourgeois state’s sinister forces and motives, it’s one of the most depressing movies you could see. If anything, it’s a powerful indictment of this rotten, oppressive society—and an even more powerful impetus to fight for a different world where someone like Arnold Friedman would not have felt compelled to live a miserable life, hiding and burying his most intimate desires, to fit into a pre-determined mold that does not take into account the true possibilities of human sexual expression. We can only hope that Jesse Friedman can get his life back, some peace of mind, and hopefully lots of money from Nassau County for wrongful imprisonment. But the fight is



WV Graphic

For all their protestations of being “shocked, shocked,” this is hardly the first time the anti-Spartacist opportunists have knowingly bought tainted goods. In March 1990, the German section of the ICL issued a public warning about a couple of ex-DDR hustlers who had left our organization, taking with them various assets, including a car and money. The BT’s German allies, the GIVI, rushed to embrace these bandits, even issuing a joint May Day statement with them. A few weeks later, the GIVI announced a break in relations, complaining that “principles of the revolution were sold for a contemptible petty-bourgeois project” in which “a lot of party money is involved.” What made these hustlers irresistible to the BT in the first place was their shared anti-Spartacism. At the 1990 Lutte Ouvrière Fete in Paris, the GIVI circulated a letter that makes clear what attracted them to these elements:

“The stand taken for workers democracy against the bureaucratic Robertson regime, your subsequent rightful actions against the ICL slanders—these were your only connection to Trotskyism.”

Today the BT complains that their Kiev partners in crime “are so thoroughly corrupted and cynical that they can only serve as an instrument for the enemies of the workers movement.” Well, they should know! ■

still on to free the countless others who are still in jail, rotting away for crimes they did not commit, and to defend those under attack by the never-ending searches, porn dragnets, entrapments and state harassment for consensual sexual activities. **Overturn the trials! Free the victims!** ■



Women and Revolution No. 43

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Liberia...

(continued from page 1)

disdain. But Payne’s purpose in condemning racism with regard to sending troops to Liberia is to help strengthen and extend the global reach of American imperialism. It’s like complaining that the U.S. ruling class does nothing to stop the KKK when many of this country’s police forces are infested with Klan types. Black Democratic politicians claim, of course, to speak on behalf of all blacks. However, the *New York Times* (3 August) cites an opinion poll by that newspaper showing that, when asked if the U.S. should intervene “to change a dictatorship to democracy,” “82 percent of African-American respondents wanted America to mind its own business, as opposed to 58 percent of all others.” The *Times* observed: “For some African-Americans, distrust of the Pentagon is palpable. Blacks, they say, end up fighting other men’s wars.” Indeed, in order to escape the hellish conditions of the inner-city ghettos, young black men and women have joined the U.S. armed forces in disproportionate numbers. Why are leading black Democrats pushing so hard for U.S. military intervention in Liberia? The Democratic Party, no less than the Republicans, represents this country’s capitalist ruling



Children in Liberia. Poverty, starvation and disease: the reality under imperialist domination.

class which requires military forces abroad to protect and further its global interests. In this regard, the particular role of black Democrats is to convince blacks to support U.S. global military power, in other words, American imperialism. To do that they maintain the U.S. armed forces can and should be used to protect the lives and livelihood of oppressed and impoverished dark-skinned peoples around the world, especially in Africa. We’ve heard all this before from the same parties. Let’s look back at the last U.S. military intervention in Africa, in Somalia in 1992-93. Initiated by Bush Sr. and continued by his Democratic successor Bill Clinton, this was presented as a purely “humanitarian” mission. Oper-

ating under the banner of the UN, American, European and Asian troops (dubbed “peacekeepers”) were there, it was said, to prevent evil Somali “warlords” from stealing international food aid to this famine-stricken East African country. When the U.S. Marines first landed in Somalia, we wrote: “U.S. rulers, Republican and Democrat alike, are using starving black babies in Somalia as a backdrop to assert American hegemony in a ‘New World Order’” (“U.S. Out of Africa!”, WV No. 567, 15 January 1993). Within a few months, U.S. helicopter gunships had turned the streets of Mogadishu into a killing field while Belgian troops gunned down hundreds in the port of Kismayu and Canadian soldiers subjected Somalis to sadistic tortures. Finally, in October a Somali clan militia successfully ambushed an elite unit of U.S. Rangers, killing 18. (This incident was recently dramatized in the Hollywood film *Black Hawk Down*.) Public opinion in the U.S. then turned sharply against the Somalia adventure, and Clinton pulled the U.S. troops out. To minimize the risk of American casualties in Liberia, Bush & Co., in complete agreement with the black Democrats, are mainly using troops from the Nigerian-dominated Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The Nigerian and other ECOWAS forces are a gang of mercenary butchers. The liberal Human Rights Watch group docu-

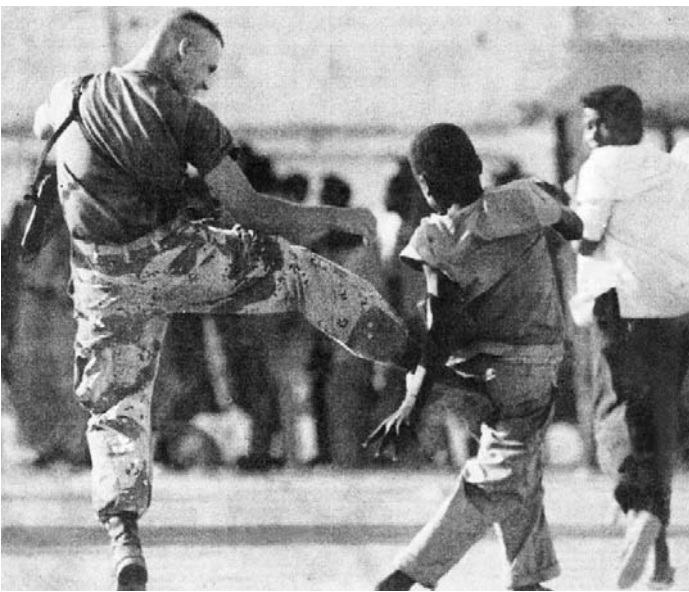
mented, from eyewitness accounts, atrocities committed by ECOWAS forces when they intervened in Sierra Leone in 1999: “Wounded rebels were dragged from their beds and executed within the hospital grounds, or shot directly in their beds or as they tried to flee on crutches and in wheelchairs. Others were executed in the morgue where they were caught trying to hide among the corpses.” — *Washington Post*, 5 August

Africa Ravaged in Post-Soviet World

Since the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 removed the restraint of any countervailing force, U.S. imperialism has launched one invasion after another. In 1991, as the USSR began to crumble, the Pentagon’s arsenal of death and destruction was unleashed against Iraq in the first Gulf War. Then came the racist occupations of Somalia and Haiti, the 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia and this year’s invasion and colonial occupation of Iraq. The justification par excellence for imperialist intervention—rescuing their colonial subjects from the consequences of “failed states”—is simply the modern version of Rudyard Kipling’s “white man’s burden.” As revolutionary internationalists, we say: *U.S. and all imperialist forces out of Africa! U.S. imperialism, get your bloody hands off the world!*

Across Africa, the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state meant that regimes which during the Cold War had been able to garner economic and military aid by playing off Moscow and Washington were now left without a dime. The International Monetary Fund, an economic arm of U.S. imperialism, was free to demand debt repayment on starvation terms from black African countries, leading to the wholesale destruction of the fragile economies of those societies. This, in turn, exacerbated existing national, tribal and clan rivalries, leading to almost

1992: U.S./UN “humanitarian” mission in Somalia meant racist imperialist terror.



continuous warfare throughout the continent, supplemented by tribal and clan massacres. In sending U.S. troops to Liberia, Bush spoke of the “unique history of the United States and Liberia.” This despicable history began in 1816, when the interests of Northern bourgeois liberals and some Southern slaveholders converged as they organized the shipping of black freedmen from the North and manumitted slaves to West Africa. The American black colonists and their descendants then subjugated and exploited the indigenous African peoples. In the 1920s, the Firestone Rubber Co. effectively bought Liberia and ran it like a slave plantation. During the Cold War, Liberia served as the main base of the U.S. in West Africa. From its headquarters in Monrovia, the CIA ran agents, subverted governments and organized coups throughout the continent. But with the destruction of the Soviet Union, Liberia ceased to have any strategic importance for Washington. While the Bush gang initially had not much interest in sending U.S. troops to Liberia, they have since incorporated this operation into their plans for dominating the West African region. The *Mail and Guardian* (11 July) reported on “a recent strategic decision to increase the United States’ military presence to bolster what Washington now sees as two important national interests on the continent—the supply of oil and the struggle against terrorism.” Of particular interest to Washington is Nigeria—a major supplier of oil to the U.S.—with the Pentagon reportedly also discussing setting up military bases in Ghana, Senegal, Mali and Equatorial Guinea. This sets up a sharpening of rivalries between the U.S. and France, for whom control of its former empire in sub-Saharan Africa is seen as key to its pretension of being more than a third-rate imperialist power. On June 14, the French daily *Le Parisien*, under the headline “The Great Return of France to Africa” published a map showing the distribution of 11,000 troops across more than half a dozen African countries. The fact that the U.S. intervention in Liberia is being carried out under the banner of a UN Security Council resolution

in no way changes its nature as a colonial occupation. The UN is a den of imperialist thieves and their victims which represents the interests of the dominant world power, the U.S., and its allies. For example, the U.S. military intervention in Congo in the early 1960s was carried out under cover of a UN resolution. The CIA engineered the overthrow of left nationalist prime minister Patrice Lumumba, who was then assassinated by Washington’s Congolese henchmen, Moise Tshombe and Mobutu Sese Seko. It is notable that Olusegun Obasanjo, the current Nigerian president, served in the UN “peacekeeping” mission that oversaw Lumumba’s assassination. In a 1964 speech, Malcolm X captured the hypocrisy of imperialist “humanitarianism” as he tore into the American media for covering up Washington’s atrocities in Congo: “You won’t write that American planes are blowing the flesh from the bodies of black women and black babies and black men. No. Why? Because they’re American planes. As long as they’re American planes, that’s humanitarian.” The atrocities committed by American imperialism in Africa and elsewhere are intended to maintain the capitalist system based on the brutal exploitation of workers and rural toilers throughout the world. What is necessary is the overthrow of this barbaric system, which has reduced Africa to starvation, chronic warfare and disease. But for countries such as Liberia—indeed, for much of the African continent—social and economic backwardness is such that there does not exist an industrial working class, the force which uniquely has the social power and the class interest to lead the assault on capitalism. The liberation of Africa must be linked to the international struggle of the working class for socialist revolution. Here an exceptionally important role will be played by the descendants of those black Africans who centuries ago were taken into slavery in North America. Black workers in the United States form a *strategically important component of the American proletariat* which can and must destroy the ultimate stronghold of capitalist imperialism *from within*. ■

CORRECTIONS

In “U.S./British Troops Out of Iraq Now!” (WV No. 807, 1 August), we referred to the fabrication of a North Vietnamese naval assault on U.S. forces as the “1965 Gulf of Tonkin ‘incident’.” The nonexistent “Bay of Tonkin attack” was claimed to have taken place on 2 August 1964 and the subsequent Congressional Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which authorized massive escalation in U.S. bombing and troops in Vietnam, was approved five days later. In “BT: Renegades for Hire” in the same issue, we omitted the word “about” (as well as a comma) in quoting from a 1978 speech by Spartacist League National Chairman James Robertson on the ouster of Bill Logan from the leadership of our British section. The complete quotation is, “Criticism of Reuben:

the whole time, where was Reuben? He was off in the library, studying about the Turds for his class. Right? He wasn’t playing any role.” Also, the article “For Workers Revolution in Iran!” displayed a *Workers Vanguard* headline “Down with the Shah! Don’t Bow to Khomeini!” with the date 17 November 1978. The correct date of the issue was 15 December 1978. The article also incorrectly dated a July 9 demonstration in Toronto as June 9. In WV No. 806 (4 July), the article “U.S. Troops Out of Iraq! Down With the Colonial Occupation!” incorrectly stated that African immigrant Ousmane Zongo was killed by the NYPD in Harlem. A resident of Harlem, Ousmane Zongo was killed in a Chelsea warehouse.

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

For a Workers Party That Fights for a Workers Government!

For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!

SEE PAGE 2

Organizational Rules and Guidelines of the Spartacist League/U.S.

SEE PAGE 30

Opponents of the Revolutionary Internationalist Workers Movement

SEE PAGE 37

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Class Struggle...

(continued from page 1)

American capitalism's bedrock of anti-black racism. You should carefully read the new newsletter of the LBL (July 2003) and the PDC's *Class Struggle Defense Notes*, as well as our main party publication, *Workers Vanguard*.

In a recent debate with our party, the centrist League for the Revolutionary Party referred to these fraternal revolutionary organizations as "Spartacist front groups." Our party, the Spartacist League, does not hide its Marxist program behind front groups with more moderate or partial programs. These fraternal organizations embody a twofold intent: first, our party's commitment to employ the united-front tactic in a class-against-class fight against the racist American ruling class; and second, to establish conscious collaboration with all class fighters who support the Marxist program, but are unable to join the ranks of the revolutionary party. Read our publications, discuss and work with us: you will see that we are what we say we are—nothing more, nothing less.

As for the LRP, it denounces its political grandfather, the renegade Max Shachtman, and embraces his main political opponent, the American Trotskyist James



AFP

June protest in Baghdad during which two Iraqis were killed by U.S. troops.

through prisons. That cause is the struggle of the workers and oppressed to defend social gains and to make new social gains under an oppressive class society. Freedom isn't free, as they used to say in the heroic civil rights movement. Mumia Abu-Jamal, America's foremost class-war prisoner, won a reprieve from death, but now faces the "living death" of life imprisonment. The big-name liberals have fled his defense. The big-name liberal lawyers have sought to sabotage

defense fund—every penny of it. Please contribute generously. Every contribution, no matter how modest, is a statement of solidarity with those who have paid the price for our cause—the cause that passes through prisons.

The "cause that passes through prisons" must rally all class-war defenders and fighters in the current period of anti-immigrant witchhunts, war on blacks and labor. The LBL/PDC organized a labor-centered, united-front demonstration in Oakland on February 9, 2002 that demanded: "Down with the anti-immigrant witchhunt! Anti-terrorist laws target immigrants, blacks and labor! No to the USA-Patriot Act and Maritime Security Act!" On a small scale we showed how a revolutionary party would fight to mobilize class forces, independent of the ruling class parties, the Democrats and Republicans, to fight racist repression in the struggle for a workers America. Our international comrades have reported on the impact of this demonstration on class-conscious workers abroad, witnessing American workers protesting the chauvinism of their own rulers. The past period of antiwar demonstrations included mass arrests, the April 7 Oakland cop assault on protesters and longshoremen, the heavy-handed cop and school administration treatment of minority and black youth. This is on top of the government's plans for the mass deportation of thousands of immigrants. All this repression is part of the cause that passes through prisons. I urge you to stand at your post in defense of our class and allies—an injury to one is an injury to all!

When Paul Bremer, the chief overseer of the U.S. occupation of Iraq, arrived in the country, he was wearing a business suit with military combat boots. I thought that this odd dress was some fluke—perhaps he had a problem with his regular dress shoes and had to borrow a pair of boots. But this was not the case. This odd dress is Bremer's trademark "fashion statement." It goes along nicely with the so-called "embedded" American journalists dressed in head-to-toe military

fatigues. And then there was Bush the Chickenhawk landing on an aircraft carrier in full military combat garb. Commenting on the rising world dominance of American imperialism, Trotsky characterized the American rulers as a very provincial people who liked to issue commands. He wondered how many of the American capitalist leaders even knew the geography of the Europe they sought to lord it over. He predicted that the British imperialist rulers, a more sophisticated and cultured ruling class, would offer themselves up as paid tutors to the Americans as the Americans crowded them, as well as the other European ruling classes, out of their share of world power.

We are living in the epoch of imperialist decay, an epoch of wars and revolutions, and we revolutionary Marxists oppose the predatory aims of the capitalist imperialist powers, above all our own ruling class. The liberals say: Truth is the first casualty of war. But truth in the imperialist epoch can find refuge only in the camp of the international working class—the fight for socialism is the only road to world peace. We are not surprised by the barrage of lies of the Bush gang, eagerly retold by the rulers' "embedded" journalists—weapons of mass destruction (where are they when you need them!), Al Qaeda bases operating undetected in the U.S./British-imposed no-fly zone, the phony Jessica Lynch rescue.

The international working class, in its fight for socialism and the defense of truth, must defend Iraq against imperialist rape. The liberal and reformist socialists will tell you to march for peace, pray for peace, vote for peace. We revolutionary Marxists say, wage the class struggle at all levels, because the interests of the workers and the capitalists are irreconcilable. You want peace? Disarm the bourgeoisie! During the period of the antiwar marches we organized revolutionary internationalist contingents on these slogans: "For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers! Defend Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack! Down with UN starvation blockade!" The American imperialists have their eye on the grand prize of Asia with China at its center. To the dismay of the liberal and reformist socialist antiwar leaders, our revolutionary internationalist contingents raised the slogans: "Defend North Korea's right to nuclear weapons! Defend China, Cuba and Vietnam!"

The provincial American imperialists have learned from the British, if not how to dress for power, at least how to wield it over their new Iraqi colonial slaves. Under the theme of "divide and rule" they reach deep into the social barrel to pull out remnants of the old ruling elite—the sheiks, the mullahs, shysters and hustlers of the old administration. They place them in prestigious positions with generous financial backing. Their underlings may be backward and feudal, brutal and corrupt; but for the imperialists these are cultural nuances that should not interfere with keeping the mass of colonial slaves

continued on page 10



WV Photo

13 May 2000: Revolutionary contingent built by SL, SYC and LBL at San Francisco rally in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Cannon, but seeks to remain in the "third camp" family of its grandfather, Max Shachtman. Shachtman must be muttering in his grave, "How sharper than a serpent's tooth is an ungrateful child."

James Cannon was also the organizer of the International Labor Defense. The Partisan Defense Committee bases itself on the traditions and principles of the ILD, championing cases that are in the interest of the working class as a whole with a non-sectarian defense. Cannon spoke well about the cause that passes

his defense. The reformist socialists who looked to the liberals for political guidance are now inactive in his defense. From the very start of Mumia's defense, the PDC sought to mobilize forces larger than ourselves—to make known the name and eloquence of the little-known Mumia Abu-Jamal to the world's working class. We succeeded in this work, but victory, the freeing of this innocent man, is not at hand.

This year's annual PDC/LBL picnic fund-raiser collection will go to Mumia's

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South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

help of antiretroviral drugs, would be leading productive lives. Can there be more compelling proof of the ANC's anti-working-class and anti-poor policies? Every working-class fighter worthy of his salt knows that the break with the ANC is long overdue.

In justifying their treacherous connivance with the political agents of the white capitalist class, the COSATU/SACP misleaders perpetuate the lie that the ANC is a classless organisation—"contested terrain"—that can be pulled to either the side of the working class or the capitalists. The ex-Stalinist, right-wing social democrats of the SACP who dominate COSATU provide political justification for this treachery by their time-worn, Menshevik theory of two-stage revolution. For decades the SACP has sought to channel the heroic struggle of the masses into putting the bourgeois-nationalist ANC into power under the lying dogma of the "national democratic revolution." They tell the workers to join the ANC in order to make their voices heard. The COSATU misleaders use "summit this" or "summit that" talk shops with the capitalists and their government to divert class struggle. The COSATU bureaucracy are agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class, making groveling statements about how the "general strike was not against the government" and that they are not against privatisation per se—they just want to be consulted! Meanwhile, their capitalist ANC bosses are intolerant of even mild criticism from their SACP and COSATU junior partners, responding by labeling them "counterrevolutionists similar to the ultra-right-wingers" and "ultra-lefts," threatening to purge them.

The Fight Against All Wings of Pro-Capitalist Labour Bureaucracy

The task facing those opposed to the treacherous privileged labour bureaucracy is forging a revolutionary Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to lead a socialist revolution against neo-apartheid capitalism. Only such a party can organise the fight to replace the labour lieutenants of capitalism within COSATU with

revolutionary class-struggle leadership. *The suspended office bearers of the CEPPWAWU Wits region are not a class-struggle leadership. In fact they manifest a different stripe of the bureaucratic response to pressure from the base.* In 1998 John Appolis said that there is "no hope of the ANC changing and that the 'battle for the soul' of the ANC has been lost." Nonetheless, he urged COSATU to put forward a "work-



1995 COSATU conference. Program of SACP-dominated union bureaucracy, which chains black workers to capitalist ANC in name of "national democratic revolution," is counterposed to struggle for socialism.

ers platform" as a "list of demands...that were supposed to be delivered since 1994. It is an approach that says to the ANC 'if you want us to vote for you, abandon the Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy and address the needs of the working class'" (*Sunday Independent*, 8 March 1998). This is a reformist programme of seeking to pressure the ANC, which represents the capitalist class. None of his actions has gone further than loyal opposition within the Alliance. He is, along with Trevor Ngwane, a prominent leader in the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF). In retaliation for its support to CEPPWAWU dissidents, the APF was recently evicted from COSATU House where it had been enconced for many years.

The APF has drawn various disaffected elements behind Ngwane, an expelled ANC councilor, into struggle over basic services like electricity, housing and clean tap water. It includes pseudo-Trotskyist groupings like Keep Left!

[associated with the Cliffite British Socialist Workers Party] and the Democratic Socialist Movement (DSM) [affiliated with Peter Taaffe's Committee for a Workers' International], formerly known as the "Marxist Workers' Tendency (MWT) of the ANC." The APF's stock in trade has been to pressure the ANC government for structural adjustments within the framework of capitalism. During the World Summit for

Ngwane from the speaker's platform begged Mbeki to "break with capitalism" in order to take a stand against the United States and Britain! Of course, COSATU refused to mobilise its members in antiwar action and acted as a brake on class struggle at home.

The APF is happy to dance and make deals with the ANC government while claiming to oppose the alliance in COSATU. This conflicted posture toward the ANC characterises much of the APF swamp. Thus, in their article defending Wits regional CEPPWAWU, the DSM in *Izwi Labasabenzi* (Socialist Voice of Workers & Youth, June-August 2003) says, "The ANC's policies are consistent with its historic mission: to create a rich black capitalist class. This was always its aim even during the most radical days of the Freedom Charter." Still the MWT forebears of the DSM stayed in the ANC for 20 years! Elsewhere in the same issue the DSM says the "MWT ceased to exist in 1996, when it was decided that the ANC, especially with the adoption of Gear was now a conscious party of capitalism." This crystallised confusion only underscores their opportunism.

The dissident labour bureaucrats, no less than the COSATU tops, are reformist obstacles to the political struggle necessary to emancipate labour and all the oppressed from capitalist slavery. They provide a worthy service to the bourgeoisie by arresting left-moving elements of the working class, keeping them within the confines of shop-floor issues and other protests which do not threaten the ANC-administered neo-apartheid capitalist framework. The misnamed Workers International Vanguard League (WIVL) in a 20 May 2003 statement on the struggle "for workers' democracy in CEPPWAWU" purports to draw the lessons from the somewhat similar "dismissal of the 1386 VW strikers" in 2000 at the huge Uitenhage Volkswagen plant in the Eastern Cape. The VW strike, involving 4,000 workers, took on not only increased exploitation of the workforce, but also the pro-capitalist leadership of NUMSA dominated by the SACP. WIVL was a leading component of the Uitenhage Crisis Committee, which defended victimised strikers disciplined for participating in the strike. At the time, we defended the strikers while sharply opposing the committee's call for medi-

Class Struggle...

(continued from page 9)

subject and profits flowing. The imperialists promise everything to everybody, but keep the lion's share for themselves. Bremer's newly appointed Iraqi "governing council," as its first act of authority, declared April 9, the day the U.S. military took Baghdad and declared victory over Iraqi forces, a national holiday. At the same time they abolished the Iraqi national holiday that commemorated the 1958 revolution that overthrew the British-backed Iraqi monarchy. We may never know how much this holiday change cost the American imperialists, but it will be peanuts compared to the billions of dollars they intend to loot of the Iraqi national wealth.

The U.S. occupation authorities have already announced their intention to put future Iraqi oil revenue as collateral for bank loans to pay for reconstruction. This is the oil wealth that the Bush gang is "holding in trust" for the Iraqi people. Meanwhile every branch of Iraqi domestic industry is collapsing in the face of an economic assault coming on the heels of the imperialist military victory. The U.S. masters have given their Kurdish allies a franchise to smuggle stolen Iraqi industrial goods. The Iraqi beverage industry is shut down, as the country is flooded with Saudi and Syrian soft drinks. The textile industry faces the same with clothing from Asian sweatshops. The anti-union

American poultry producer, Tyson, is dumping its product on the Iraqi market, shutting down the domestic industry. The only sector of the Iraqi workforce with money is the emerging government bureaucracy supported with American cash.

Trotsky remarked that the Americans are always going around the world "liberating" people. They "liberated" South America, Cuba and the Philippines from Spain. They "liberated" China from Japan. If the British had not negotiated their retreat on the world stage's center spot the Americans would have "liberated" India and the Middle East from them, too. Trotsky noted that the American rulers stand in the blood of the international working class and colonial slaves up to their elbows and present themselves to the world as "peacemakers." With two vast oceans to the east and west, weak neighbors to the north and south, an expanse of territory and abundant natural resources, the U.S. rulers had these guarantees against any encroachment from the powers of "old Europe." When they looked out upon the world they viewed it in its entirety as a colony and "old Europe" as junior partners. In Iraq this viewpoint can be seen in the words of an American soldier confronting Iraqi protesters, "We came here to give you your f---ing freedom. Back off!" The American and British occupation forces are facing 10 to 25 attacks a day in Iraq. No one is backing off. They recently requested 17,000 troops from Britain's old colony of India. The Indians said no thanks. Iraqi resistance is just, but only class struggle at home will

break the chains of American imperialism. We revolutionaries will not back off!

The PDC has done invaluable work in support of class-war prisoners, such as the well-known black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal and lesser-known trade-union strikers defending their picket line. The LBL has supported PDC work over the

years. The Spartacist League has provided the leadership. I urge you, the supporters, to dig deep into your pockets for financial contributions for the PDC. I urge you, the readers of *Workers Vanguard*, to support the party's main organizer with a subscription to WV. These are modest requests. We are modest people with a world to win!■

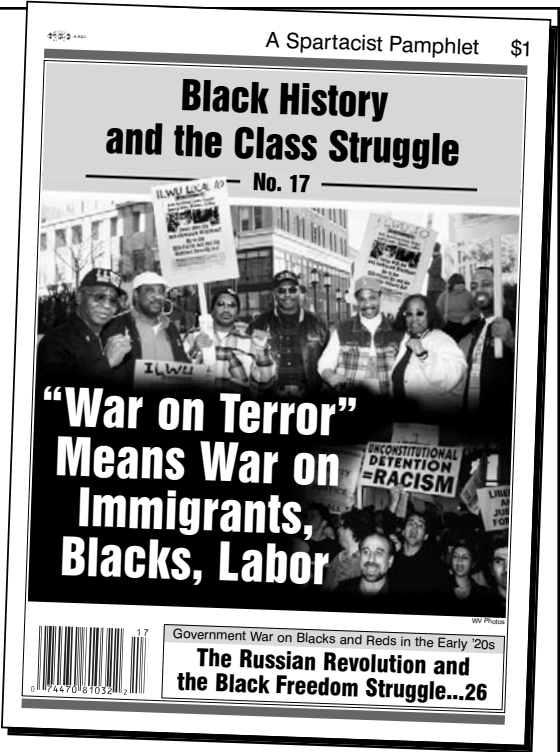
Just Out!

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- Down With Colonial Occupation of Iraq! U.S. Bloodbath in Baghdad
- South Chicago: Snapshots of Latino and Black Life
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ation and threats to sue the union (see “ANC Government Escalates War on South African Workers,” WV No. 731, 10 March 2000). Calls for independent mediation are a code word for appeals to the bourgeois courts and strikebreaking arbitrators. And, in fact, lawyers representing the dismissed workers have sued NUMSA for several hundred million rands.

None of this is even mentioned in the WIVL rendition. The WIVL centrists have a track record of spitting on the fight for trade-union independence from the bourgeois state. Spartacist South Africa is opposed in principle to WIVL’s act of class treason. Courts are not neutral but are bourgeois class instruments of oppression and coercion. This case exposes WIVL’s fraudulent pretensions of breaking the unions from the ANC. The precondition for waging a struggle against the SACP’s reformism and the bourgeois-nationalist ANC is the class independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois state. It is absurd to presume that one can fight the COSATU bureaucracy’s subordination of the unions to the state by appealing to...the courts of the ANC government.

What COSATU tops and dissidents have in common with each other and many “leftists” is this willingness to bring the cops and courts into the labour movement. To make the bourgeois courts the arbiter is to create a union leadership that owes its positions to the capitalist government. The CEPPWAWU dissident bureaucracy has taken their union to the capitalist labour court, resulting in a reversal of the suspensions. For their part CEPPWAWU top bureaucrats called on the police to stop a shop stewards’ protest march in mid-May. Moreover, they hired security guards for the Wits regional offices to ensure the suspended elected officials were denied access. These are examples of class treason. Cops and security guards are not workers, but armed thugs of the bourgeoisie to protect capitalist private property. Recently, when union dissidents went to a Gauteng regional COSATU shop stewards congress to protest their suspension, they were attacked and beaten by thugs from POPCRU, a cop “union.” This is a warning against dangerous and suicidal illusions preached by the DSM. In *Izwi Labasebenzi* (June-August 2003) they uncritically comment that the Labour Court “ruled the suspensions unconstitutional and reinstated” the dissident officials. This is no accident given their reformist position on the bourgeois state exemplified by their historical support to POPCRU and their position that cops and security guards are workers in uniform. Cops/security guards out of the unions!

Past reactions to the treachery of the labour bureaucracy have been to form breakaway unions. This is where the



Reuters

Protesters in Durban demand affordable antiretroviral drugs. ANC government denies millions of HIV/AIDS patients access to such medication.

CEPPWAWU tops pushed the Wits region. Some number of dissident elements have only recently joined an independent union called the General Industrial Workers Union of South Africa (GIWUSA). The union tops are doubtlessly relieved to rid the union of critical-minded, advanced elements that are prepared to fight for the integrity of their own working-class organisations against the sellout misleaders in the pockets of the capitalist bloodsuckers.

Small economist breakaway unions are not an answer to such betrayals. Unions are working-class defence organisations. The practice of setting up breakaway unions undercuts the principle of industrial unionism. As we have written:

“While the ANC/SACP-led Congress of South African Trade Unions is the principal organisation of black labour, another sizable trade-union grouping, the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), is politically run in bloc by the PAC [Pan Africanist Congress] and AZAPO. The division of the labour movement into two union federations led by rival nationalist parties, as well as a number of independent unions led by leftists, weakens the workers in the day-to-day struggles with the employers and is potentially very dangerous. We stand for industrial unionism. All workers in a given industry should be in one union governed by the principles of internal democracy, with one worker, one vote.”

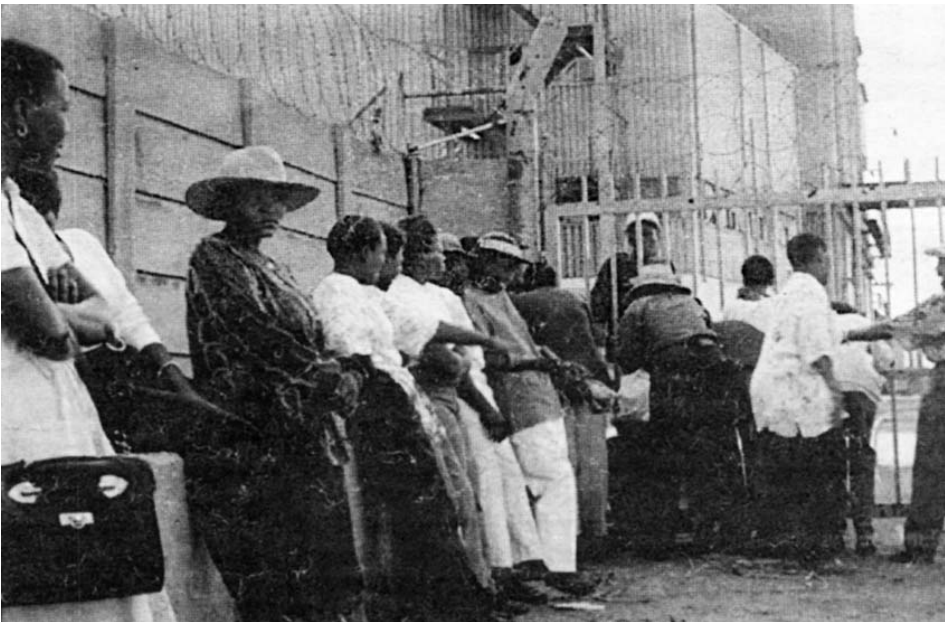
—Introduction to Spartacist pamphlet *The Fight for a Revolutionary Vanguard Party: Polemics on the South African Left* (April 1997)

Small breakaway unions are no less vulnerable to labour opportunists seeking to build their own bases of union dues they can control. One such group of opportunists is the union-suing WIVL, which itself led a breakaway. They recently conceded in the previously mentioned May 20 statement that their policy was mistaken. Unity in struggle against the bourgeoisie can be guaranteed when

unions are consciously guided by class-struggle leadership, and they can only have such leadership when their best elements find the way into and are united in the Leninist-Trotskyist party of proletarian revolution.

Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Vanguard Party That Fights for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!

Following the WSSD, unnamed members of the APF issued a statement by its “Socialist Group” that said: “It’s time for



Nadine Hutton

Under neo-apartheid ANC capitalist rule, unemployment has nearly doubled over the last eight years.

us to think of forming a Mass Workers Party that will be controlled by the working class on a Socialist platform, a party where the Capitalists will not have a say.” The idea of forming a mass workers party, centrally based on the COSATU unions or the social movements, in opposition to the ANC is not at all new. This is essentially a call for a “party of the whole class.” The model for this is the (old) British Labour Party. We have raised the call for a Bolshevik workers party in South Africa in a way clearly and sharply counterpoised to a pro-capitalist party such as the British Labour Party or the Brazilian Workers Party, which today is administering capitalism for the Brazilian ruling class. We reject the notion that the

South African working class must pass through the experience of a mass reformist party before a revolutionary party can develop out of it—a kind of two-stage theory of party-building.

A Leninist party champions the rights of those facing special oppression from the bourgeois state like women, immigrants and other minorities. Moreover, the inherent task of such a party is to expose and break workers from reformist parties like the SACP, which need to be defeated politically. What conditions in South Africa cry out for is the forging of a revolutionary vanguard party that acts as a tribune of the people. The combative and powerful South African working class, if it is to struggle for its own liberation against capitalist exploitation, must lead the fight against brutal oppression of women, immigrants, the rural poor and the millions who languish in the country’s destitute shantytowns. This is the only way to unite all the oppressed against their common enemy, ANC-led neo-apartheid capitalism.

The fundamental point is that the many-sided conditions of exploitation, oppression and backwardness cannot be significantly lessened simply through trade-union struggle. It manifestly requires a proletarian revolution such as Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolsheviks led in Russia in 1917. In South Africa that means the application of Trotsky’s theory of permanent revolution: the expropriation of the white-owned mines, factories and farms and the establishment

of a planned, socialist economy where those who produce the wealth of society rule. Genuine national emancipation and basic democratic rights like one man, one vote—without veto powers by the white racist minority—economic and land redistribution can only be achieved through the overthrow of capitalism. For socialist revolution in southern Africa to survive, it must be internationally extended to the imperialist centres in Europe, the U.S. and Japan. Spartacist South Africa, a section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), is committed to forging a proletarian, internationalist party to lead new October Revolutions worldwide. Join us! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

South Africa: Union Militants Protest COSATU Alliance with ANC

The following article was submitted by our comrades of Spartacist South Africa.

JOHANNESBURG—Tensions in the governing African National Congress-led (ANC) Tripartite Alliance are heating up again in the lead-up to the 2004 national elections. Since early May, the Wits region of the Chemical, Energy, Paper, Print, Wood and Allied Workers Union (CEPPWAWU) has battled heavy-handed bureaucratic persecution by their national leadership and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) head office. The “crime” of the dissident unionists was to question COSATU’s alliance with the ANC and the other alliance junior partner, the South African Communist Party (SACP). Four regional office bearers, John Appolis, Dan Nkotsoe, Vuyani Tayika and Nomboniso Ndlwana, were suspended for supporting their

**No to Court Suits Against the Union!
Break with ANC-Led Bourgeois Nationalism!**

that COSATU cannot fight privatisation decisively because of the Alliance with the ANC/SACP.”

COSATU *should* break its ties with the Tripartite Alliance, and to the extent the workers see the necessity of breaking with the ANC, that is the beginning of wisdom—but only the beginning. Within COSATU, there are a lot of workers fed up with the ANC government. Following the two-week national strike against South African steel giant Iscor, a top

among Africans may seem to counteract the central role of the working class, but the truth is quite the opposite. It is important to link up the most desperately impoverished sections of the black populace, those without jobs, to the power of the proletariat. Only the working class has the social weight and strategic relationship to the means of production to become gravediggers of capitalism. Led by a revolutionary vanguard party, the proletariat must fight at the head of all

revealed that “in October 1995, the average annual household income among African-headed households was R23 000. When this figure is raised to 2000 market prices, the figure becomes R32 000. In 2000, however, the actual average annual household income was R26 000.” The average annual household income for 1995 for whites was R103,000 and when adjusted for 2000 market prices it is R137,000. As the *Sowetan* (18 November 2002) reported, in 2000 the average annual income was R158,000.

A *Sowetan* (10 December 2002) article reported that “South Africans have been pretending that the food problem only haunts the other countries in the Southern African Development Community, yet it does affect South Africa. All eyes were on Zimbabwe and Zambia, while in their own backyard, in Eastern Cape, South Africans were dying of hunger.” A 3 September 2002 article of the same newspaper, headlined “1 in 10 of Our People Are Hungry,” reported findings by a market research and management company. Before then, a *Sunday Times* front-page article (28 July 2002) headlined, “Dread Diseases Hit SA’s Starving Kids,” and reported that “Three-quarters of all South Africans do not have enough food.” This is a horrifying picture of the “new” South Africa.

Privileges associated with the “gravy train” self-enrichment and corruption among top leaders of the ANC are becoming a daily feature; it is the working people who must pay with their blood for capitalism and its excesses. Meanwhile this government is perpetuating genocide against the poor by denying HIV/AIDS patients access to antiretroviral drugs. Between six hundred and one thousand people are dying daily because of AIDS-related sicknesses—people that, with the

continued on page 10



Cape Town,
1 October 2002:
Mass union rally
at start of two-day
nationwide
general strike
against
privatizations.

membership’s call for a referendum on the continued alliance and support to the ANC in the 2004 national elections. Also, the Wits region’s delegates to the National Executive Committee were underhandedly suspended.

These union developments in Gauteng Province, the economic and industrial engine of Africa, come on the eve of the COSATU national congress in September. Spartacist South Africa is opposed to the political witchhunting and suppression meted out by the CEPPWAWU national leadership. We stand for workers democracy and defend workers who don’t want to be rubberstamps for the pro-ANC policies of the COSATU tops. However, the union dissidents have taken the union to the Labour Court to reverse their suspensions. This runs counter to the necessity of the unions to be independent of the bourgeois state if they are to be instruments of struggle in defence of the working class against capitalist attacks.

The background to the call for a referendum is the two-day October 2002 COSATU general strike against the ANC government’s privatisation. A subsequent assessment by the suspended Wits region issued on 17 May 2003 noted, “Before the elections we fight battles with the ANC government. But when the national elections approach we are turned into the election machinery of the ANC.” They went on to indicate the “workers told us

National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) official at the Vanderbijlpark plant was suspended for not acquiescing to the national leadership colluding with the bosses. In April, 18,000 members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in Rustenberg tossed out their misleaders, electing a strike committee to fight the company threat to their provident (retirement) funds, thereby bringing the country’s largest platinum producer to its knees.

Trade-union militancy alone is not enough. Who can forget the heroic struggles of the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) against this government, from the national strike in 2002, which saw the Minister of Defence call the army out against the union in Durban, to the recent five-week bus strike that brought bus transportation in Johannesburg to a halt? In fact, general strike actions are forced on the COSATU/SACP bureaucrats by pressure from the base and are called as steam-blowing exercises. Privatisation can only be fought effectively and decisively as part of the struggle to overthrow the whole capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. This requires a fight to oust the pro-capitalist leadership within the labour movement and to replace it with class-struggle leaders, i.e., leaders who understand that battles are won or lost at the point of production.

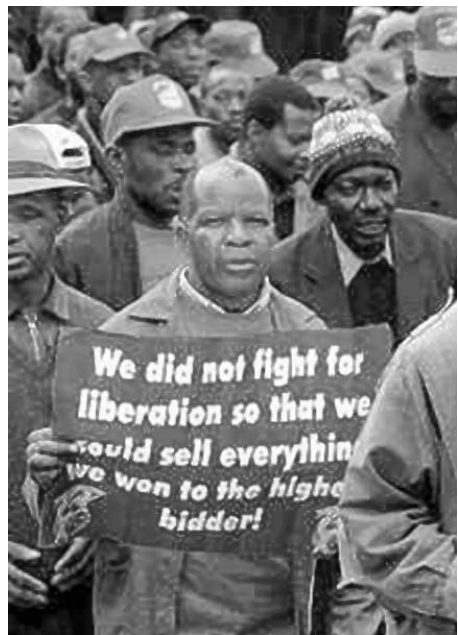
The fact of 50 percent unemployment

the oppressed—from the unemployed youth in the townships, to those demanding decent housing, to AIDS sufferers seeking quality health care and anti-retroviral treatment. This is the way forward to socialism.

The Brutal Face of Neo-Apartheid Capitalism

The “new” South Africa continues the exploitation of the old white-supremacist regime. The ANC is a capitalist party, an enemy of the workers and poor. Despite promises to the contrary, the nonwhite majority is poorer than before 1994 and the white minority is richer than before. The ANC government is just as ruthless in defending the so-called right to private property as its apartheid white National Party predecessors. The brutal killing of mine workers immediately after last year’s general strike at the ERPM mine is a case in point (see *Spartacist South Africa* No. 3, “Striking Miners Killed in the Service of ‘Black Empowerment’ Elite,” Summer/Autumn 2003). No amount of lies can hide the living reality that the ANC’s agenda is to build a black, privileged elite as part of the still-dominant white capitalist class.

According to a survey by Statistics South Africa, “The income of the average black household fell by 19 percent between 1995 and 2000 while that of the average white household increased by 15 percent.” In hard cash, the survey



Protestor during 2001 COSATU general strike. ANC nationalists front for white capitalist exploiters.