



AP

Pelican Bay “supermax” prison, scene of desperate hunger strike protesting inhuman conditions.

JULY 29—For three weeks, inmates locked in the solitary concrete isolation chambers of the Security Housing Unit (SHU) at California’s notorious Pelican Bay “supermax” prison starved themselves simply in order to be accorded some vestige of humanity from their jailers. At its height, the hunger strike, which began on July 1, was joined by 6,600 inmates at 13 other prisons in the state. The prisoners’ demands—for an end to group punishment and enforced “snitching”; for access to educational and other programs; to be allowed human contact, weekly phone calls, access to sunlight and nutritional food—were strikingly minimal. This fact is itself testament to the dehumanizing torture of solitary confinement.

As Pennsylvania death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal put it in a solidarity statement, “These men are killing themselves potentially for fresh air and sunlight.” SHU prisoners are locked in windowless concrete cells for 22 and a half hours a day under the incessant glare of fluorescent lights and behind solid metal doors that do not even allow eye contact with fellow inmates. The only “reprieve” is a possible 90 minutes a day in a 26-by-10-foot recreation yard surrounded by 20-foot-high walls. As an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (17 July) titled “Barbarous Confinement” noted: “Many of these prisoners have been sent to virtually total isolation and enforced idleness for no crime, not even for alleged infractions of prison regulations.... Since it is not defined as punishment for a crime, it does not fall under ‘cruel and unusual punishment,’ the reasoning goes.”

To be branded a “gang member”—a tag that can be applied at whim—is a one-way ticket to the SHU, where many prisoners have languished for years and some for decades. One way out, besides death, is “debriefing”—snitching out other prisoners as gang members, itself a possible death sentence for not only the prisoner

but his family as well. As the hunger strike spread, a spokesman for the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) railed that the willingness of thousands of prisoners to starve themselves was further evidence of “the power, influence and reach of prison gangs”!

The strike at Pelican Bay ended on July 21 with the CDCR agreeing to allow SHU prisoners to have wall calendars and woolen caps to wear in freezing cells during the winter, as well as promising some educational programs and a review of the “debriefing” procedures.

The super maximum jails like Pelican Bay, begun in the 1980s, were designed, in the words of one journalist, for “psychological emasculation, to crush the spirit, strip a man of the last vestige of defiance and force him to conform to the most punitive system the courts will allow” (London *Sunday Times*, 23 May 1993). High-tech sensory deprivation chambers like the SHU throw into stark relief the nature of the bourgeois state as an apparatus of organized violence to preserve the rule and profits of racist American capitalism.

The prisons are the concentrated expression of the depravity of this society, a key instrument in coercing, torturing and brutalizing those who have been cast off as the useless residue of a system rooted in exploitation and racial oppression. Elementary humanity demands that the SHU and all other solitary confinement chambers be abolished. But it will take nothing short of proletarian socialist revolution to destroy the capitalists’ prison system and sweep away all the barbaric institutions of the bourgeois state.

From Attica to Pelican Bay

The Pelican Bay hunger strike took place on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the murder of San Quentin prisoner and Black Panther Party spokesman George Jackson, who was gunned down by prison guards who alleged that he was “trying to escape.” The murder of Jackson was the spark that ignited the multiracial rebellion of inmates at Attica prison in upstate New York in September 1971. Declaring: “We are *men*! We are not beasts and we do not intend to be beaten or driven

as such,” the Attica prisoners demanded decent medical care, a minimum wage for prison work, rehabilitation and education programs and an end to censorship of reading material.

In their struggle against the conditions in America’s prisons, Jackson and the Attica inmates reflected the mass social struggles that were taking place outside the prison walls, from the “black power” movement to the protests against the Vietnam War. One of Jackson’s comrades was Hugo Pinell, who became a leader of the prisoners’ rights struggle in the late 1960s while incarcerated in California. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have long fought for freedom for Pinell, a Pelican Bay SHU prisoner who took part in the hunger strike. Pinell has been locked in solitary for some *40 years* but remains unbroken and unbowed.

George Jackson was killed and the Attica revolt crushed with particular vengeance because the capitalist rulers feared that the prisoners had come to understand their repression in political terms. When New York governor Nelson Rockefeller moved in for the kill at Attica, he declared that the “revolutionary tactics of militants” were a “serious threat to the ability of free government to preserve order.” Four days after the revolt began, the state unleashed a 1,000-strong assault team. Twenty-nine inmates were killed. After the slaughter, hundreds of naked, overwhelmingly black prisoners were lined up in the yard like slaves at an auction in the Confederate South. Here was a searing image of the reality of black oppression in the U.S. Built on the foundation of black chattel slavery, the forcible segregation of the majority of the black population at the bottom of this society endures as a fundamental prop for preserving capitalist rule in the United States.

Forty years after Attica, America’s prisons are overflowing with black and Latino youth, the majority of them rounded up under the “anti-crime” crusade and especially the “war on drugs.” Republican president Richard Nixon launched a “war on crime” that was centrally aimed at the

continued on page 10



Getty

Inmates packed into double and triple bunk beds in gymnasium at California’s Chino State Prison.



Youth Fights Victimization for Sagging Pants

Flying While Black

On June 15, Deshon Marman, a 20-year-old black University of New Mexico student, boarded a US Airways flight to Albuquerque at San Francisco International Airport. While Marman was getting on the plane, a flight attendant ordered him to pull up his sagging pants. Marman, who was carrying two bags, agreed to do so once he had put down his luggage. After he was seated, the pilot, backed up by police, came to Marman's seat to demand that he get off the plane for supposedly ignoring flight crew instructions. A cell phone video taken by another passenger shows Marman as resolute but respectful in insisting that he had complied, had paid for his ticket and was minding his own business "like everybody else." The pilot responded: "You're not like everybody else."

In racist America, Deshon Marman's dreadlocks and sagging pants, styles popular among black youth, made him a "thug" not deserving to be treated with human decency. When all the other passengers were ordered to get off the plane, Marman had had enough and agreed to take a different flight. But that's not what happened. As soon as he had stepped off the plane, Marman was handcuffed, put in leg restraints and taken away to San Mateo County jail.

Marman was held overnight on suspicion of trespassing, resisting arrest and a felony count of assaulting a police officer. The latter charge was based on one cop complaining that he had twisted his knee in the process of assaulting the student. Indeed, the charges were so transparently manufactured after the fact that the county District Attorney struggled to come up with a legal basis to prosecute Marman, finally deciding to drop the charges on July 13. Marman has since sued US Airways over the outrageous treatment he received.

A star football player with a 3.0 grade point average, Deshon Marman made it out of San Francisco's impoverished Bayview-Hunters Point ghetto by winning a scholarship to the University of New Mexico. When he boarded the US Airways flight, he was returning from the funeral of his best friend, who had been gunned down in the violence endemic to a society that has written off the lives of black ghetto youth as expendable. But as a young black man in America, Marman was still a marked man. He was a target because his clothes and hairstyle were seen as a statement of defiance of white racist authority. Rest assured that a white guy wearing pajama pants, or a butt-crack-revealing construction worker, would not

have faced the same treatment.

Marman's ordeal will be familiar to Muslims or anyone with brown skin or a Near Eastern-sounding name who might have flown since September 11, 2001. Under the so-called "war on terror," airports are virtual armed security camps where passengers are subject to everything from full-body scans to being groped in humiliating body searches that have come to be referred to as "gate rape." At the same time, the drive for profit in the airline industry has meant not only increased misery for the passengers but intensified union-busting assaults on airline workers unions. As for passengers' "security," safety standards have been thrown overboard by airline companies in the name of cutting costs.

Now, pilots are encouraged to use their prerogative to arbitrarily remove anyone they consider to be "endangering" a flight or they otherwise view as an "undesirable." In this racist country, such decisions depend on the particular prejudices,



Deshon Marman

KGO/CNN

or not, of the flight crew and pilot. After Marman's arrest, a US Airways spokesman said that the airline's dress code forbids "indecent exposure or inappropriate" attire. But days later it was revealed that a different US Airways crew had no problem letting on a transvestite with barely any clothes on at all. Nor should they have had a problem!

The all-sided bigotry enflamed by the capitalist rulers is used to divide and weaken the working class while increasing the destitution of blacks, immigrants, the poor and all those consigned to the bottom of this society. Rather than acting as cop auxiliaries, airline workers should be championing the defense of all the oppressed, which is fundamental to a genuine fight for everyone's well-being against the rulers of the decaying, barbaric U.S. capitalist order. ■



TROTSKY

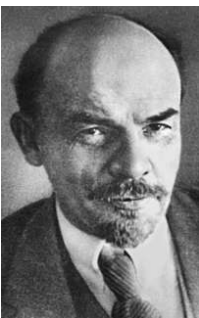
Inequality and the Capitalist Economy

A key premise of social-democratic reformism is that wealth inequality under capitalism is fundamentally a matter of unequal distribution of goods, to be remedied by "tax the rich" schemes and other such measures. As Karl Marx pointed out, the distribution of wealth is determined by the capitalist mode of production, in which the bourgeoisie owns the factories, land, etc., while the working class sells its labor power in order to survive. To eliminate scarcity

requires a series of proletarian revolutions internationally, through which the working class will collectivize the means of production and create and develop a global planned economy.

Any distribution whatever of the means of consumption is only a consequence of the distribution of the conditions of production themselves. The latter distribution, however, is a feature of the mode of production itself. The capitalist mode of production, for example, rests on the fact that the material conditions of production are in the hands of non-workers in the form of capital and land ownership, while the masses are only owners of the personal condition of production, of labour power. If the elements of production are so distributed, then the present-day distribution of the means of consumption results automatically. If the material conditions of production are the collective property of the workers themselves, then there likewise results a distribution of the means of consumption different from the present one. The vulgar socialists (and from them in turn a section of the Democrats) have taken over from the bourgeois economists the consideration and treatment of distribution as independent of the mode of production and hence the presentation of socialism as turning principally on distribution. After the real relation has long been made clear, why retrogress again?

—Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (1875)



LENIN

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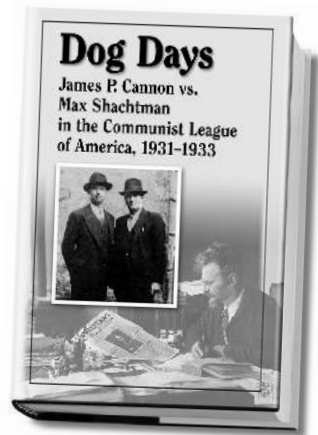
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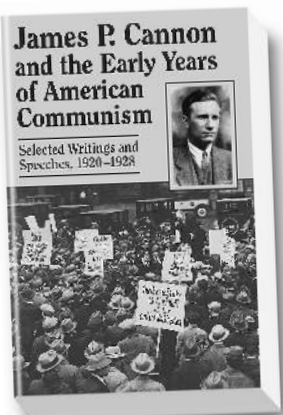
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Our comrade Carl Lichtenstein, a 40-year member of the Spartacist League and archivist for the Prometheus Research Library, died unexpectedly of a cerebral hemorrhage on July 7 at the age of 68. To lose an actively engaged and apparently healthy comrade in this way is a shock and an anguishing loss. Our hearts go out to Carl's wife Alice, his son Lee and all his family, and to all Carl's friends, colleagues and comrades around the world.

Carl Lichtenstein was a scientist. He earned a Ph.D. in high-energy nuclear physics at Cornell University and went on to post-doctoral work at Harvard University's cyclotron laboratory. He authored or contributed to over 30 published scientific studies, 19 of them in *Physical Review D* or *Physical Review Letters*, the top journals in the field of physics. He had the intellect, training and requisite meticulousness to test Nobel Prize-winner Richard Feynman's theory of quantum electrodynamics and was the first author of a published study about this ("Wide-Angle Bremsstrahlung," *Physical Review D*, 1 February 1970). Carl loved physics and he clearly could have gone far in academia and lived comfortably. But he decided to devote his time and mind to the cause of workers revolution.

Carl and Alice joined the Spartacist League's youth organization in Boston in 1971. Shortly thereafter, Carl joined the party. Carl was a member of Spartacist League branches successively in Boston, Los Angeles, Ann Arbor and New York. In Los Angeles, he served on the local executive committee, as education director and as party representative to both the youth organization and an industrial fraction. He was also a member of the Militant Caucus of AFSCME Local 2070.

Carl was truly a declassified intellectual who rejected metaphysical idealism and the arrogant false dichotomy between mental and manual labor. He was good with his hands and understood labor and maintenance projects as thinking work. He served on party defense squads at demonstrations and was a valuable contributor to *Workers Vanguard* articles on science. But Carl's most significant and enduring contribution was his role in establishing and sustaining the Spartacist League's central archive, the Prometheus Research Library, as a working research facility for a wide range of Marxist studies.

Carl was selected by the Spartacist League's 1974 National Conference to serve on the Archival Commission. The central document adopted by the National Conference noted the purpose of this new party body:

"One of the crucial tasks of the vanguard of the proletariat is the struggle to function as the memory of the working class. An important component of this struggle for continuity is the systematic assembling, propagation and critical assimilation of the primary documentary history of the workers movement. Given the passage of time and the accumulation of distortions and vulgarizations, only the precise, verified reconstruction of past realities can serve as a true compass."

Although he was outside the New York center at the time, Carl was a driving element of this work. Carl wrote letters to all locals suggesting interviews with historic cadres of the revolutionary movement who lived in their areas (e.g., "You should try to hunt down the Spartacusbund [1919] member in NYC mentioned in my earlier letters") and wrote careful notes on how to research, conduct and record this work. His antenna picked up news of archival openings and finds at libraries and bookstores around the country. The Archival Commission sent out national circulars with Carl's suggestions, informing locals that "Carl's letters to locals and individual comrades carry the same authority as those sent from the CO [Central Office]. Our work has been hindered by his 3,000 mile separation from the center. We look forward to working more closely with him in the not too distant future."

In an August 1975 letter, he wrote:

"What we seem to be becoming is an activist research library operation. I believe this is appropriate, but it is a big job. We still must have a primary task of gathering documents and other materials, but it is also clearly our responsibility to see that these materials are made known and available to cdes [comrades] who can use them, and to bend our efforts in accord with various organizational needs:

"(1.) This implies that we must systematize our existence as a library.... What will be happening is the creation of a card catalog arrangement of our holdings, so items and subjects can be located by someone interested."

In 1977, Carl gave a report for the Archival Commission at the Fifth National Conference of the Spartacist League.

Carl sought to make revolutionary history available to guide all aspects of party work, from the trade-union arena to youth work, in the U.S. and internation-

Carl Lichtenstein



WV Photo



1942-2011

ally. Carl noted how Spartacus Youth League members could assist Marxist scholarship: "Write relevant papers on historical topics—some could also be made into YSp [*Young Spartacus*] articles. Cdes should send in copies of such papers already written, even if they're not proud of them. Bibliographies, too."

In December 1975, Carl, Alice and two other comrades mined—and salvaged—a good deal of Leon Trotsky's archives in Mexico City, where the exiled leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution lived before he was assassinated by a Stalinist agent in 1940. Trotsky's papers were in stacks on every surface: the floor, tables, shelves, cabinets. Carl mapped the collection, directed comrades to gingerly sift through the piles, selected documents to photocopy and returned the originals to their stratigraphic location, like the senior archeologist on a dig. Carl wrote in a report to the Archival Commission:

"Being at T's house creates a mixture of awe and depression. I will not expatiate on this. We mostly kept very busy.... If we could do it without insulting them, I'd like to send a replacement for the ridiculously faded red flag over the grave....

"The lower shelves showed much evidence of mice—upsetting."

The Prometheus Research Library became a regular contributor to the upkeep of Trotsky's house and library.

Carl moved to New York, where he was needed to build the party's "activist library." En route, he interviewed Hugo Oehler, an important Communist Party (CP) trade-union organizer who was won to the Left Opposition following the expulsion of James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, from the CP. Carl Lichtenstein is, to the best of our knowledge, the *only* researcher to record an interview with Hugo Oehler. Carl recalled, "He had I guess what you would call a security fetish." Carl looked for the man reading the *New York Times* in the Denver, Colorado, public library and followed him to a public park, where they discussed the early years of American Trotskyism. Their discussion was covered by traffic noise and occasional squawking by Lee, six months old, sitting on Carl's knee.

The Oehler interview was part of a deliberate party effort to piece together the history of an internal struggle in the American Trotskyist movement that prefigured the 1940 split in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) on the Russian question. This extensive research culminated years later in the publication of the Prometheus Research Library's second book, *Dog Days: James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America, 1931-1933* (2002).

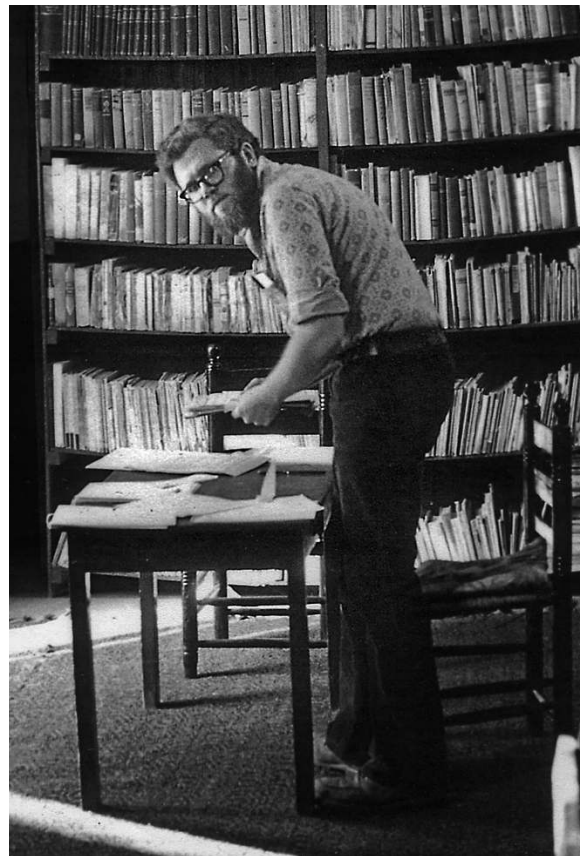
The PRL's collection grew out of the intentionally collected and organized holdings of James Robertson, founding cadre of the Spartacist League. As PRL archivist, Carl substantially filled out the archives, carefully compiling and annotating internal documents of the early CP and the American Trotskyists. Wandering library stacks with eagle eyes, he located rare and important records, such as the internal bulletins of the Communist League of America, predecessor of the SWP.

Carl's knowledge of the history of the Marxist movement and his attention to detail made him a superb archivist. In November 1991, the SWP published an article in the *Militant* appealing to readers to help them fill out their holdings of their own history with missing bulletins and documents. Carl leapt at the opportunity for archival collaboration with the notoriously proprietary SWP. He informed the SWP that we indeed had and would provide copies of bulletins they sought. Through meticulous cross-checking of the SWP's indexing with actual documents and with Louis Sinclair's bibliography of Trotsky's writings, Carl figured out and notified the SWP that they had mislabeled and conflated a few items. The SWP replied: "Your letter was the only reply we have received thus far to our appeal for missing materials." A second letter to Carl stated: "We thank you for calling these errors to our attention and we will pass the information along to the appropriate editors at Pathfinder for correction in upcoming reprintings." In good turn, the SWP provided the PRL with documents Carl requested. Carl excelled at archival collaboration with opponent political organizations and individuals, based on the understanding that the history of the workers movement belonged to the workers movement internationally.

Along with the PRL's librarian Diana Kartsen (1948-2007), Carl Lichtenstein was centrally responsible for the preparation and production of two of the PRL's books (*James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* [1992] and *Dog Days*). He was also central to

production of the six *Prometheus Research Series* bulletins. Carl took pride and satisfaction in the increased use of the PRL and developed a "patron's tour" to teach party cadre how to use the library's database, which he helped develop, as well as where to locate and how to handle archives.

We have suffered a terrible loss and will keenly miss Carl's knowledge, kindness and wit. The Prometheus Research Library embodies Carl Lichtenstein's lifework. Those who wish to honor Carl's memory and legacy by assisting the purpose of the PRL—to collect, preserve and make available the historical record of the international workers movement—are invited to make contributions to Spartacist, earmarked "In memory of Carl." Mail to: Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. A memorial meeting is planned for early fall in New York City. Please phone (212) 732-7861 for details.



Lichtenstein Family

Carl in 1975 at work in the Trotsky Museum in Coyoacán, Mexico City.

Peruvian Elections and the Shadow of Fujimori

The second round of Peru's presidential elections on June 5 produced a narrow victory for the bourgeois populist Ollanta Humala, a former military officer during the darkest days of the country's internal war in the 1980s and early '90s. Humala, who was backed by Peru's trade unions and reformist left groups, defeated Keiko Fujimori, the daughter of disgraced former president Alberto Fujimori. During his decade in power (1990 to 2000), Fujimori unleashed brutal terror against workers, peasants and the poor, using the excuse of the peasant-based insurgency of Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). Nearly 70,000 people were killed in this bloody conflict. At the same time, Fujimori's economic "shock therapy" sharply increased poverty among the rural and urban masses. Later sentenced to 25 years in jail on murder, kidnapping and corruption charges, the ex-president was regularly visited by his daughter at his exclusive prison in Lima during the election campaign.

In the years since the fall of Fujimori, Peru has seen an economic boom under presidents Alejandro Toledo and Alan García. Mineral exports—including copper, zinc, gold and silver—have surged, while the country has signed free-trade deals with the U.S., the European Union and China. Tall buildings and fancy restaurants, hotels and shopping centers have proliferated in Lima. But there has been little or no progress at all for the majority of Peruvians, who live in the shantytowns of the capital or in the country's rural areas. As of 2009, 62 percent of the population was still trying to survive on less than \$3 a day.

The backdrop to Humala's election was an explosion of protest among the rural poor. Spain's *El País* (7 June) newspaper reported that there are "more than 230 active or latent social conflicts" in Peru, notably protests by indigenous communities against land seizures. In 2009, a clash between police and the indigenous peoples inhabiting the northern Amazonian province of Bagua left 33 dead, 23 of them cops, and hundreds injured. This followed months of protests against government decrees opening the area to imperialist investment, which the García regime was forced to withdraw. This June, clashes between indigenous Aymara people and police over concessions to the Canadian mining company

Reformist Left Backs Bourgeois Populist Humala

Bear Creek left at least six people dead and 30 wounded in the southern region of Puno, near the Bolivian border. The government was again forced to back down, canceling Bear Creek's mining license.

Humala received his strongest vote in the largely indigenous rural areas, while Keiko Fujimori got a majority of the vote in Lima and other coastal cities. In the first round, where Humala won 32

Toledo and the acclaimed right-wing writer (and former presidential candidate) Mario Vargas Llosa, who proclaimed that Humala would "defend democracy in Peru" and prevent "the ridicule of a new dictatorship" (EFE, 19 May). Meanwhile, many who voted for Keiko Fujimori did so based on persistent imputations that Humala was a radical leftist or even a communist, and to more or less maintain the status quo.



July 6: Peru's President-elect Ollanta Humala meets with Hillary Clinton at State Department in Washington, D.C.

percent and Fujimori 24 percent, the main candidates of the ruling establishment were all eliminated, including an ex-president, a former cabinet minister and Lima's former mayor. The candidate of the ruling APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance) quit early in the campaign, and APRA itself won only four of the 130 seats in the Congress.

The votes for Humala and Fujimori were not so much for them as against their counterpart. Many of those who voted for Humala in the second round did so to prevent the comeback of "fujimorismo." Among the bourgeois forces who backed him were ex-president

Some commentators noted that Humala probably won the election because Keiko Fujimori made more mistakes. She went from defending her father's government as "the best Peru has had in its history" to apologizing for his crimes. Among the crimes that received widespread attention were those perpetrated by the nefarious Colina Group, an army death squad linked to the highest levels of the regime. It was responsible for atrocities like the 1991 Barrios Altos massacre, in which 15 people accused of being supporters of Sendero Luminoso were killed in downtown Lima, and the 1992 La Cantuta massacre, in which nine students and a university professor were kidnapped and killed. Also in 1992, the Colina Group assassinated union leader Pedro Huilca, secretary general of the General Central of Peruvian Workers (CGTP), and then framed up members of Sendero Luminoso for the killing.

Another issue received widespread attention during the campaign: the forcible sterilization of more than 300,000 women as part of a government campaign from 1993 to 1999. This followed an International Monetary Fund "recommendation" to control population growth. The Fujimori government implemented several sterilization plans, being particularly aggressive in indigenous rural areas. Several documents have surfaced showing that the authorities established minimum numbers of sterilizations per week. Over 25,000 men, again mainly indigenous, were also sterilized. Many women have come forward to denounce these barbaric acts, which had serious effects not only physically (they suffer from severe and constant pain and can no longer work their land) but also psychologically;

many ended up being abandoned by their husbands.

Break with Bourgeois Populism!

Humala, whose Nationalist Party is essentially a personal vehicle, campaigned at the head of an alliance called Gana Perú (Peru Wins) that included reformist left groups like the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) and the Socialist Party, among others. These reformists continued their perpetual policy of tying the working class to bourgeois forces; for example, they supported Alberto Fujimori for president in 1990 against Vargas Llosa. But this time they were an integral part of a victorious "left" slate, running their own candidates for Congress under the Gana Perú banner. For ostensible socialists to push a program of collaboration with bourgeois forces is always and everywhere a betrayal of the interests of the proletariat.

The labor bureaucracy—including in the CGTP, the Workers Unitary Central (CUT), SUTEP teachers union and other smaller unions—also actively supported Humala and some unions ran candidates on his slate. The Stalinist PCP and Maoist Patria Roja-Movimiento Nueva Izquierda (Red Fatherland-New Left Movement [PR-MNI]) are the driving force behind the major unions, although they are fairly weak parties. Last year the PR-MNI backed the victorious candidate for mayor of Lima, Susana Villarán of the bourgeois Fuerza Social (Social Strength) coalition. Buoyed by this success, the PR-MNI initially stood aloof from Humala's alliance, only to end up in a full-throttle campaign for the new president.

Far from being some sort of radical, let alone a communist, Humala has bent over backward to show that he will be a "responsible" leader of capitalist Peru. In the 2006 elections, which he lost to García after leading in the first round, Humala campaigned as an ally of Venezuela's bourgeois populist strongman Hugo Chávez. This provoked the ire of the Peruvian capitalists and their U.S. imperialist masters, who feared that he would move to nationalize sectors of the economy as Chávez has done in Venezuela, thereby reversing the wave of privatizations that began under Fujimori.

This time around, Humala made every effort to distance himself from Chávez, pledging not to undertake nationalizations and to maintain a "free-market economy," albeit with "a better and more just distribution of resources." He promoted the "Brazil model," where a popular-front regime centered on the Workers Party (PT) has overseen capitalism for the past nine years. The PT sent Luis Favre (former pseudo-Trotskyist and brother of Jorge Altamira, leader of the Argentine Partido Obrero) to help Humala's campaign. On the other side, Keiko Fujimori surrounded herself with her father's circle and hired as a consultant Rudolph Giuliani, the former mayor of New York City who was infamous for unleashing police terror in the ghettos and barrios.

After the vote, the losing camp speculated how they could have prevented Humala's victory and the winners repeated incessantly that they "respect private investment and private property." All agreed that it was necessary to "keep the markets calm" and "reconcile the Peruvian family." Humala's first foreign visit after his victory, before being sworn into office on July 28,



June 2009: Deadly police attack on indigenous protesters in oil-producing area of Bagua Province.

Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

New Move to Reinstate Death Sentence for Mumia

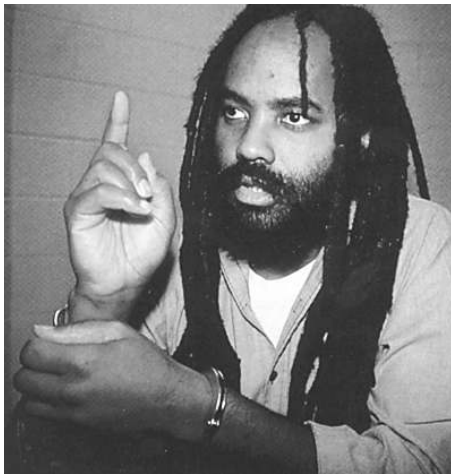
The Philadelphia district attorney’s office recently petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court to reinstate the death sentence for black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The D.A. is seeking to reverse an April 26 ruling by the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, which for the second time upheld a 2001 decision by District Court judge William Yohn overturning the sentence on the grounds of faulty jury instructions (see “Federal Appeals Court Orders New Sentencing Hearing,” WV No. 980, 13 May). Yohn simultaneously upheld every aspect of the frame-up conviction that sent Mumia—a former Black Panther Party spokesman and later a MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist—to death row on false charges of killing Philly police officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981. From top to bottom, the courts have repeatedly refused to hear the overwhelming evidence of Mumia’s innocence, including Arnold Bev-

erly’s confession that he was Faulkner’s killer.

The D.A.’s petition reviles the Third Circuit for obstructing the legal lynching not just of Mumia but also of many others, largely black and poor, railroaded to death row “up South” in Philadelphia. The brief rants that the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, signed by Bill Clinton to speed up the pace of executions, “will remain ineffective in the Third Circuit until the circuit court enforces it.” The prosecution calls on the Supreme Court to order the Third Circuit to apply the 1996 law to foreclose virtually any federal *habeas corpus* challenge to Pennsylvania death sentences. Where the Supreme Court stands on ruthless application of the death penalty was seen on March 28, when it turned down the appeal of Troy Davis, a black inmate in Georgia, despite overwhelming evidence of his innocence.

In its own way, the D.A.’s brief highlights that Mumia’s case is crucial in the struggle to abolish the death penalty. The ultimate sanction wielded by the capitalist rulers in their repression of workers and minorities, the death penalty is a barbaric legacy of medieval torture. In the U.S., capital punishment can be traced directly back to chattel slavery, when black people could be put to death for any act deemed “insolent” or a challenge to slaveholders. Since then, the death penalty has gone hand in hand with KKK lynchings and summary executions carried out by cops on the street. Over 3,200 sit on death rows across the U.S., 54 percent of them black or Latino.

The cops, prosecutors, lawmakers and their mouthpieces in the bourgeois press will not rest until Mumia is strapped onto an execution gurney. Mumia’s fight for life and freedom is not for him alone. By executing this eloquent spokesman for



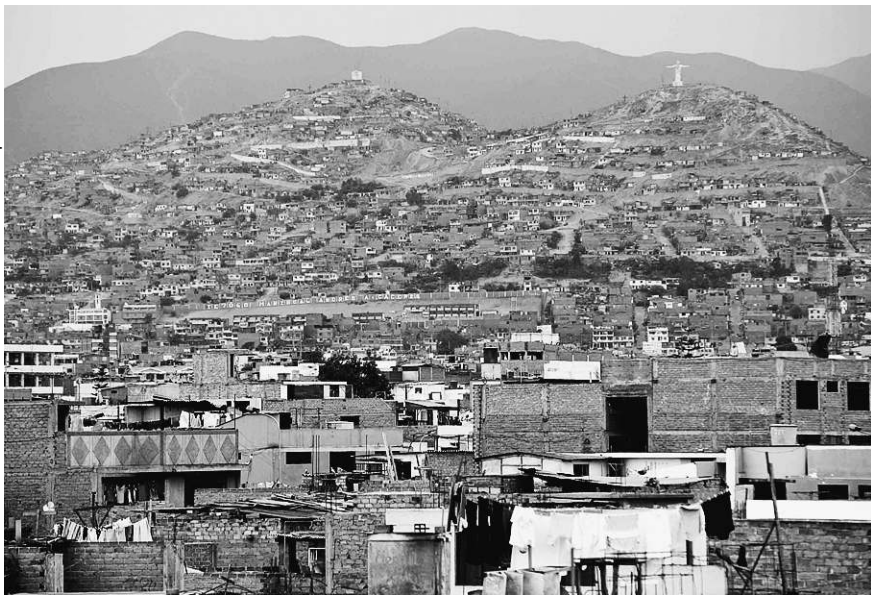
Terry/Gamma-Liaison
Mumia Abu-Jamal

the oppressed, the forces of the state want to send a message to all who would fight against the exploitation, oppression and imperialist war inherent in the decaying capitalist system that they, too, are in the state’s gun sights. The only “alternative” to execution held out by the courts is that Mumia rot in prison for the rest of his life, without the possibility of parole. As the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have always insisted, fighters for Mumia’s freedom must place no reliance on the racist capitalist courts but must look instead to link Mumia’s cause to the class struggles of the multiracial proletariat. To put a final halt to the grisly workings of the capitalist rulers’ machinery of death will take nothing less than proletarian socialist revolution. ■



All South America

Lima’s modern city center contrasts with its impoverished slums.



Spartacist Canada

was to Brazil. Meeting with PT president Dilma Rousseff, he saluted that country’s “successful model of growth.” (After nearly a decade of PT rule, Brazil remains one of the most unequal countries in the world, with an immense gap in living standards between the elite at the top and the worker and peasant masses.) He then went on to hold friendly meetings in Washington with Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama. And now a conglomerate of U.S. and Peruvian capitalists has announced the largest mine investment in Peru’s history.

Among the tiny pseudo-Trotskyist organizations in Peru, the Nuevo PST (New Socialist Workers Party, follow-

ers of the late Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno) unashamedly supported Humala. In an online article, they called to “respect the hope that vast sectors of workers and the people have put in Ollanta Humala,” adding that “we are ready to join them in their experience of voting critically for him” (litci.org, 17 May). The Corriente Marxista Revolucionaria, supposedly a left split from Alan Woods’ International Marxist Tendency, advised Humala to “adopt a socialist program which will openly call to eliminate capitalist private property and replace the bourgeois state with a workers democracy” (militante.org, 9 June). While sometimes posturing in defense of Peru’s poor and indigenous masses, Humala is a bourgeois politician who will necessarily defend the brutal and exploitative profit system against any threat to capitalist rule.

Fujimori’s Bloody Legacy

During the rule of Alberto Fujimori, the International Communist League denounced the government’s bloody war against workers, peasants, the poor and leftist groups like the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) guerrillas. In April 1997, an army death squad staged a coldblooded mass execution of 14 MRTA members who had occupied the Japanese ambassador’s residence, where they had held various military butchers, high-ranking businessmen and government officials hostage in an attempt to win freedom for some 450 of their comrades in Fujimori’s prisons. The ICL organized protests internationally against

this massacre, calling to “Free all victims of Fujimori’s terror!”

While criticizing the MRTA’s guerrillaist strategy as incapable of eliminating capitalist exploitation and oppression, we saluted the valor of its militants, who had won broad sympathy among the Peruvian workers and peasants. We contrasted the MRTA to Sendero Luminoso, whose activities generally merited nothing but revulsion. Despite the leftist rhetoric it espoused, Sendero was known for its pathological violence, from publicly executing prostitutes to murdering political opponents, including MRTA supporters and union organizers. As we wrote: “This repulsive group appears to have parallels with Pol Pot’s genocidal Khmer Rouge in Cambodia with its primitivist, anti-urban ideology, cult of personality, and gangster operations” (“Peru: For Workers Revolution to Smash Fujimori Dictatorship!” WV No. 659, 10 January 1997).

As for the remnants of Sendero today, the wing around jailed leader Abimael Guzmán calls for “national reconciliation.” Guzmán’s lawyers formed a party, the Movimiento por Amnistía y Derechos Fundamentales (Movement for Amnesty and Fundamental Rights), with the idea of participating in the elections. In the end, a couple of their supporters ran on the Justice, Technology and Ecology Party list. Sendero’s other, still clandestine, wing was blamed by the authorities for the killing of five soldiers during an ambush of a military patrol that was headed to supervise the elections in the Apurímac and Ene Rivers Valley area of

southeastern Peru. This is a historic Sendero base that has continued to see periodic rebel activity.

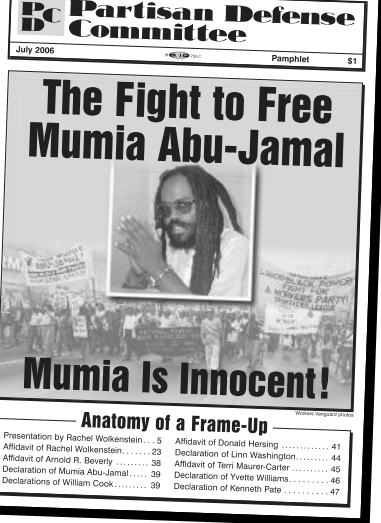
For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

To the class-collaborationist perspective of the Peruvian left, we Trotskyists counterpose the fight for *proletarian revolution* as the only road to liberate the masses. While the reformists give a left cover to Latin American bourgeois populism, we seek the independent mobilization of the working class against

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For Workers Republics on Both Sides of the Irish Sea!

Down With the Monarchy and the “United Kingdom”!

We reprint below an article from *Workers Hammer* No. 215 (Summer 2011), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League.

WORKERS HAMMER

When the starving poor of Paris demanded bread, the haughty French Queen Marie Antoinette famously said “let them eat cake.” For British working people facing the deepest economic crisis since World War II, the equivalent is “give them a royal wedding.” Hardly had the hoopla subsided over the nuptials of William and Kate in April when the whole royal circus was re-enacted in the meticulously choreographed visit of Elizabeth II to Ireland a few weeks later.

A popular joke doing the rounds in the run-up to the royal wedding went along the lines of: “Prince William says he doesn’t want the traditional fruit cake at the wedding, but Prince Philip says he doesn’t give a toss and is going anyway.” Forever the butt of jokes due to his unstoppable, bigoted ravings on royal engagements, Prince Philip is often portrayed as a senile old reactionary in contrast to a reserved, reverential Her Majesty. But whatever comparable tact the Queen may display, Prince Philip’s outbursts are an unashamed expression of the racist, class contempt that is the institution of the monarchy.

David Cameron [Conservative prime minister] and his cabinet celebrated the announcement of the royal wedding last autumn with a banging of fists on the table in the manner of those educated in public schools [elite private schools], inculcated as they are with the arrogance that they are born to rule. For Cameron & Co., the event would be a “wedding of mass distraction” in which the population would fawn over the marriage of two pampered parasites and would put the devastating cuts and job losses to the back of their minds. But that is not quite how it turned out, as Polly Toynbee reported on the “big day” itself:

“Yet despite months of coverage, rising to a crescendo of print and broadcasting frenzy this week, the country has remained resolutely phlegmatic. Cameras pick out the wildest enthusiasts camped out or dressed as brides, yet the Guardian/ICM poll and others put those expressing ‘strong interest’ at only 20%. ‘In poll after poll, more than 70% refused to be excited. Laconic, cool, only half the population said they would watch Friday’s flummery.’

—*Guardian*, 29 April

If there was little enthusiasm in England, Scotland and Wales showed even less excitement over the royal spectacle.

But we had to put up with it nonetheless: the absurd yet very real gossip about the Prince marrying a “commoner,” which says a lot about this country’s “in-your-face” class prejudice. Kate Middleton’s millionaire parents belong to the top 0.5 per cent income bracket and this “commoner” went to the same public school as the wives of the prime minister and the chancellor. In the eyes of the aristocracy, she is not high-born enough for her and her sibling to avoid the tag of “the wisteria sisters” in reference to their social climbing, or to avoid the “doors to manual” dig at her mother, a former airline stewardess. There was the endless bunting, the portrait of “Wills and Kate” emblazoned on the Union Jack—that butcher’s apron, the flag of an empire where “the sun never set” and the blood never dried



Left: Queen Elizabeth II in Dublin with Irish president Mary McAleese at memorial to fighters for freedom from British rule, May 17. Above: Protest against Queen’s visit.



Reuters photos

and of the continued imperialist slaughter of Iraq, Afghanistan and now Libya.

For those wanting to protest against the royal carnival, the message from Metropolitan Police Commander Christine Jones was that this could be deemed criminal. In a statement she declared, “this is a day of celebration, joy and pageantry” adding, “Any criminals attempting to disrupt it, be that in the guise of protest or otherwise, will be met by a robust, decisive, flexible and proportionate policing response.” In a suspension of democratic rights, dozens of people were barred from central London on the day of the wedding. Using the occasion as an excuse for a political clampdown, squats and social centres were raided.

Several student protesters were arrested and charged, including Alfie Meadows, the student who required brain surgery when he was struck down by police at a tuition fees protest in December. Scores of people were pre-emptively arrested in connection with the wedding, including several who were charged with “conspiracy to cause a public nuisance” for planning activities such as a Right Royal Orgy event, a proposed piece of street theatre in London. The bourgeoisie were taking no chances with their feudal freak

show. Some 5,000 police officers were part of the royal wedding security operation on the day, with 550 armed police put on a shoot-to-kill footing.

Abolition of the monarchy, the House of Lords and the established churches is an elementary democratic demand but one that is integral to a revolutionary programme in Britain. The continued existence of such feudal relics is an assertion that class privilege and vast inequality is part of the “natural” order of things in which each—“the rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate”—has his place. We stand in the tradition of the English Revolutionaries of the 17th century who “turned the world upside down,” overthrowing the feudal order with the king at its head, and of the revolutionary Chartists in the 19th century who disdained to bow in awe before the monarchy and marched with pikes and muskets in their hands. Opposition to the monarchy as the pinnacle of the British class system is a precondition for building a party fit to overthrow capitalist rule in this country.

The Queen “Forgives” the Irish!

The Queen’s visit was the first time that an English monarch had set foot in

southern Ireland since independence in 1921, indeed since George V’s visit in 1911. The bourgeois press in Britain and Ireland was awestruck as the Queen, accompanied by Irish president Mary McAleese, laid a wreath at the Garden of Remembrance in Dublin, dedicated to those who fought for Irish freedom against the British crown, from the 1798 United Irishmen to the 1916 Easter Rising and the 1919-21 war of Irish independence. Typical of the obsequious press coverage was the London *Independent*’s statement that “what made the appearance all the more memorable, was the Queen’s tilt of the head—apparently silencing centuries of conflict” (independent.co.uk, 22 May).

More grovelling followed when the Queen went to the national stadium in Croke Park, scene of the original Bloody Sunday when in November 1920 British auxiliary troops, the hated “Black and Tans,” opened fire on a crowd at a Gaelic football match, killing 14. This massacre was an act of revenge for the assassination by Irish nationalists of eleven undercover British agents earlier that day. In a speech in Dublin the Queen intoned: “With the benefit of historical hindsight, we can all see things which we would wish had been done differently—or not at all.” Thus the British rulers would whitewash the history of their colonial rule in Ireland. This “reconciliation” is of a piece with Tory prime minister David Cameron’s grudging admission a year ago that the 1972 Bloody Sunday killing of 14 unarmed protesters in Derry was “unjustified,” while adding that of course Bloody Sunday is not the defining story of the British Army’s role in Northern Ireland from 1969-2007. At the time we wrote:

“This is a blatant attempt to bury the memory of British Army brutality in Northern Ireland once and for all. The theme about the need to ‘move on,’ to erase the memory of Bloody Sunday from history, is echoed *ad nauseam* in the British capitalist press. By portraying Bloody Sunday as an exceptional incident within an otherwise impeccable record, the Saville Report [on Bloody Sunday] is being used to refurbish the credentials of the imperialist forces who today shoot-to-kill with impunity in Afghanistan and Iraq.”

—*Workers Hammer* No. 211, Summer 2010

An official visit to Dublin by an English monarch would have been unthinkable if not for the imperialist “peace deal” codi-



Hulton

Beheading of Charles I in 1649. Regicide marked overthrow of feudal order in England.

fied in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, under which the Irish Republican Army (IRA) agreed to disarm itself and the Irish nationalists of Sinn Fein joined the Northern Ireland government in Stormont. Sinn Fein refused to condemn or protest the Queen’s visit, and were not part of the formal reception. The “peace process” gave cosmetic surgery to the Orange state [Northern Ireland] but it remains fundamentally the same repressive, anti-Catholic state that it was at the time of partition in 1921. Independence for Ireland replaced the yoke of British domination with a clericalist, Catholic state in the south. We fight against the national oppression of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland; at the same time we oppose the bourgeois nationalist programme for a “united Ireland,” which would create an oppressed Protestant minority. We insist that the conflicting claims of the interpenetrated Catholic and Protestant communities can only be equitably resolved in the framework of an Irish workers republic within a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles.

The Queen’s visit and the ballyhoo about the “normalisation” of relations between Britain and Ireland is not unconnected to the fact that today Britain has more trade with Ireland than it does with Brazil, Russia, India and China combined. Amid fears that the Irish government might default on its loans from the European Central Bank, the debt-ridden British government has a vested interest in ensuring that its loans are paid back. An article in the Irish satirical magazine the *Phoenix* (3 June) titled “British Queen frees the Irish from themselves” wryly noted: “The British lent us their Queen for a few days so as to revive our tourist industry and to bury the hatchet, sorry, the past.” It summed up: “Britain offered a loan (that protects British investors) and makes tut-tutting noises at nasty continentals.”

A comrade reporting from Dublin during the Queen’s visit said: “The visit has been accompanied by the largest security operation in the history of the state, with Dublin in almost complete lockdown for three days.” There were small protests by groups of Irish nationalists which were encircled by riot police who continually harassed and beat the demonstrators and arrested many. The Irish Anti-War Movement, dominated by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), also called a “black balloon” protest under the slogan: “Remember the deaths at the hands of Her Majesty’s forces in Iraq and Afghanistan.” Conveniently not mentioned is the Irish bourgeoisie’s role in supporting the imperialist occupation of Afghanistan, including making Shannon airport available for U.S. military operations. Also whited out of history is British imperialism’s role in Northern Ireland.

“United Kingdom” and English Domination

The *Sunday Times* (29 May) reported that: “The Queen has signalled in a private meeting with David Cameron her concern at the prospect of the break-up of the United Kingdom.” This was in response to the victory of the pro-independence Scottish National Party (SNP) in the Scottish elections in May. Similarly, at the time of her 1977 Silver Jubilee the Queen declared: “I cannot forget that I was crowned Queen of the United Kingdom, Great Britain and Northern Ireland.” We revolutionaries oppose the reactionary entity known as the “United Kingdom,” which incorporates the Orange statelet in Northern Ireland and rests on English domination over Scotland and Wales. The Westminster parliament reflects the favoured status granted to finance capital and the City of London by the ruling class, which has contempt for the former industrial areas of northern England, as well as Scotland and Wales.

A tirade of English chauvinism followed the victory of the SNP which now enjoys an outright majority in the Scottish parliament. The English press worked up a lather over the fact that the SNP might hold a referendum on independence—heaven forbid that the Scots should be allowed to decide such a question for themselves! The Spartacist League upholds the right of self-determination for



Portrait by Robert Walker

Above: Oliver Cromwell. Right: 1922 British Communist Party cartoon contrasts Labour Party leaders’ and Bolsheviks’ attitudes toward Cromwell and revolution.

the Scottish and Welsh nations—which means the right to separate (or *not* to separate). In reality, SNP leader Alex Salmond is in no rush to set a date for a referendum on independence because despite the popularity of certain SNP policies, such as lower student tuition fees than in England, the electorate might well vote no to independence. The SNP’s vision is one of an independent capitalist Scotland, under the English Crown and accepting the British armed forces. If an independent capitalist Scotland came into existence it would fare little better than Ireland, whose “Celtic Tiger” economy was once the SNP’s model.

Our attitude to the national question in Britain is grounded in intransigent opposition to all forms of nationalism—first and foremost the dominant English chauvinism. Our programme is for workers revolutions to overthrow all the capitalist regimes in Britain and in Ireland, North and South. The myriad forms of national oppression will be resolved when workers revolution has swept away capitalist rule on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea.

Recall the Fate of Charles II

In opposition to the royalist blather of the ruling class about “tradition” and “heritage,” we revolutionary Marxists have our own traditions. We recall the historic fate that befell Charles I in 1649 as a result of the defeat of the Royalist forces by Oliver Cromwell’s army. The English Revolution that began in 1640 took the form of a civil war between Royalists, who had the support of the landed aristocracy and the Anglican Church, and the Parliamentarians who included the rising capitalist class, backed by the labouring masses of the day. In 1645, Cromwell founded the New Model Army, heavily drawn from the ranks of yeomen, peasants and labouring classes of the cities, who became the decisive force in the revolution.

The New Model Army inflicted crushing defeats on the Royalists and in 1645 they captured the King. The conservative bourgeois elements in Parliament sought a compromise with the Royalists, enraging the army ranks who were led by the Levellers, the left wing of the revolution. In 1647 Parliament tried to disperse the army regiments, ordering them to enlist for Ireland or face immediate dismissal. The ranks mutinied, seized the King, held him captive and demanded that Cromwell should resume leadership of the army, which he did. But political debates raged between the Levellers and the generals and a split in the army was averted when the King escaped (or was freed) and the civil war re-ignited. Throughout 1648 Cromwell’s army again inflicted defeats on the Royalists. In Cromwell’s absence the army leadership in London, in alliance with the Levellers, decided to put the King on trial, which meant he would face execution. After some initial hesitation Cromwell endorsed the regicide,



POINTS OF VIEW
Before the Statue of Oliver Cromwell outside the House of Commons.
ARTHUR HENDERSON: A great man! Notice the Bible?
LEON TROTSKY: True, a very great man! Notice the Sword?

declaring: “I tell you we will cut off his head with the crown on it.” The execution of Charles I on 30 January 1649 marked the decisive defeat for the feudal order in England. The result was unprecedented progress, not least in the abolition of the monarchy under the appropriately irreverent and rational wording “the office of a king in this country is unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous to the liberty, safety and public interest of the people.” The House of Lords was also abolished for a time, being deemed “useless and dangerous.” The English Republic adopted Common Law over the “Royal Prerogative,” abolished the “Star Chamber” system of courts and permitted a degree of religious dissent.

Two years after Cromwell’s death, the monarchy was restored in 1660. But there would be no going back to the situation where the feudal nobles ruled over the bourgeoisie. Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, pointed out that, in the course of defeating the Royalist side, Cromwell had created a new society and that this could not be undone by decrees of Parliament. He explained:

“In dispersing parliament after parliament Cromwell displayed as little reverence toward the fetish of ‘national’ representation as in the execution of Charles I he had displayed insufficient respect for a monarchy by the grace of God. Nonetheless it was this same Cromwell who paved the way for the parliamentarism and democracy of the two subsequent centuries. In revenge for Cromwell’s execution of Charles I, Charles II swung Cromwell’s corpse up on the gallows. But pre-Cromwellian society could not be re-established by any restoration. The works of Cromwell could not be liquidated by the thievish legislation of the Restoration because what has been written with the sword cannot be wiped out by the pen.”

—“Where Is Britain Going?” (1925)

Cromwell’s Conquest of Ireland

After the defeat of the Royalists in England, Cromwell organised an expedition to Ireland. In the outline of a report on the Irish question to the Communist Educational Association of German Workers in London, Karl Marx noted that “By engaging in the conquest of Ireland, Cromwell threw the English Republic out the window” (16 December 1867).

Cromwell’s conquest of the country was a continuation of the English Crown’s hundreds of years-long subjugation of Ireland. It represented, in the words of the Marxist authority on the English Civil War, Christopher Hill: “the first big triumph of English imperialism and the first big defeat of English democracy.” A necessary precondition for the English bourgeoisie’s invasion of Ireland was

rooting out the Levellers from the ranks of the army. The prospect of being shipped to Ireland had provoked a Leveller revolt in the army in 1649. This time, unlike in 1647, Cromwell and his generals did not side with the mutineers. The Levellers were crushed by Cromwell at Burford, their leaders were arrested, four were executed. The episode showed that while the English Revolution, as a bourgeois revolution, was progressive in its ascendancy against feudalism, once the bourgeoisie took power, the progressive content soon gave way to reaction as the capitalist class consolidated its hold on power. Once established, bourgeois rule in its Irish colony was based on the profit-accumulating, imperialistic interests of that class.

In his writings on Britain, Trotsky emphasised the revolutionary traditions that the British working class needed to reclaim and emulate. This is in counterposition to the reformist Labour Party “lefts” who insisted that British workers could learn little from the experience of the Russian Revolution, as Britain was a more civilised, Christian country with established democratic channels through which socialism could patiently and peacefully be phased into existence. Trotsky advocated that British workers should learn from the Roundhead [Cromwellian] and Chartist traditions of revolutionary struggle, as against the Labour Party’s Fabian tradition of gradualism and pacifistic class-collaboration. Trotsky observed:

“The British bourgeoisie has erased the very memory of the seventeenth-century revolution by dissolving its past in ‘gradualness.’ The advanced British workers will have to re-discover the English revolution and find within its ecclesiastical shell the mighty struggle of social forces. Cromwell was in no case a ‘pioneer of labour.’ But in the seventeenth-century drama, the British proletariat can find great precedents for revolutionary action.”

—“Where Is Britain Going?” (1925)

Contrasting Cromwell with the Labour Party leaders who “dare not refuse pocket money to the Prince of Wales,” he de-



New York Public Library

1839 Chartist uprising in Wales.

clared “the dead lion of the seventeenth century is in this sense immeasurably greater than many living dogs.”

On the Chartist tradition Trotsky insisted: “As the Chartists tossed the sentimental preachers of ‘moral force’ aside and gathered the masses behind the banner of revolution, so the British proletariat is faced with ejecting reformists, democrats and pacifists from its midst and rallying to the banner of a revolutionary overturn.” Chartism was the first mass independent workers movement, brought into being by the upheaval of the Industrial Revolution. The powerful left wing of the Chartists was republican, internationalist and revolutionary-minded. They asserted the right to bear arms and bitterly opposed the new, semi-military

continued on page 8

Monarchy...

(continued from page 7)

professional police in working-class districts across the country. Chartism was defeated and demoralised in the aftermath of the failure of the European-wide 1848 revolutions and the ensuing reaction. This paved the way for “Christian-socialist” Fabianism and the Labour Party, which since its founding in 1900 as the political expression of the trade union bureaucracy has worked to tie the working class to the bourgeois order.

Her Majesty’s Labour Party Vassals

Loyal to the capitalist state and its institutions, the Labour Party has always been a reliable prop for the monarchy, whether through staunch support or presenting the institution as a harmless irrelevance. At the Labour Party conference of 1923, when a resolution questioning the need for the monarchy was proposed, the “left” George Lansbury argued “what is the use of bothering about that just now” and the motion was voted down by 3,694,000 to 386,000!

The Labour leaders have a history of grovelling before the Crown—from Ramsay MacDonald, Labour’s first prime minister, donning royal plumage when invited to Buckingham Palace in 1927 and graciously allowing King George V to arrange the 1931 popular-front government between Labour and the Tories, to Tony Blair’s craven service to the royal family following the death of Lady Diana and his insistence that the Queen is the “best of British.”

There was at least one amusing spectacle at the royal wedding—much to his chagrin, Blair’s fawning over the monarchy was not even rewarded with an invite. Whether the royal snub was a result of Blair’s conversion to Catholicism, the fox-hunting ban so loathed by the aristocracy or just his connection to the Labour Party (however tenuous its links to the working class) we can only speculate. Labour’s current leader, Ed Miliband, was keen to show he was fit for prime-ministerial office with his support for the royals and contempt for working people when, in the period before the royal wedding, he railed against the possibility of strikes being called anywhere near the occasion. Not that strikes were ever likely to disrupt such a patriotic affair given the present bunch of trade union misleaders.

Whatever occasional mutterings against the monarchy may come from Labour Party “lefts,” the reality on the ground is very different. That darling of the reformist left, Tony Benn, an avowed republican, has in fact sworn an oath in defence of the Crown, as a member of the Queen’s Privy Council, a position granted to everyone who becomes a governmental cabinet minister. It should be remembered that Benn was a member of the Labour cabinet that sent troops to Northern Ireland in 1969. Labour’s shameful tradition also includes Arthur Henderson who, as a cabinet member, was in the King’s “advisory”



AFP

July 2: Protest in Montreal against visit by Britain’s Prince William.

Privy Council when the British government ordered the execution of James Connolly for his heroic role as the head of the proletarian Irish Citizen Army in the Dublin 1916 Easter Rising against British rule.

British “Far Left”: Latter-Day Fabians

The British “far-left” organisations are steeped in Labourism and so they soft-pedal any opposition to the monarchy. In 1997, during the media-induced hysteria surrounding the death of Princes William and Harry’s mother Diana Spencer, the left whistled to the tune of Tony Blair’s “people’s princess” platitudes. Our article at the time reported:

“The fake-revolutionary left, ever in Labour’s tow, was swept along, nominal disclaimers to the contrary notwithstanding. Diana Spencer may have been the girl from the 10,000 acres next door, but for the centrist Workers Power group, ‘Her depression, bulimia, suicide attempts and ultimately divorce provided a glitzy microcosm of the plight of millions of less wealthy women’ (*Workers Power*, September 1997). That (and more) said, Workers Power assured its readers that it would ‘not be joining in the wave of national mourning’ and even vowed to ‘do everything’ to get the monarchy ‘scrapped forever’—everything, that is, but oppose Blair’s Labour Party at election time. “In the same vein, but even more nauseating, was the so-called Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB).... The CPGB’s *Weekly Worker* (4 September) carried a front-page eulogy by chief spokesman Jack Conrad. While allowing that ‘even a bourgeois republic is preferable to the anti-democratic monarchy,’ Conrad outdid even Blair himself in his treachery musings for the ‘troublesome princess’ who ‘represented a soul in a soulless world’: ‘Her brief 36 years epitomise the struggle and fate of the 20th century personality who by chance and/or design has been iconised and thus commodified and sold by the uncontrollable, all pervasive power of capital.’”

—*Workers Hammer* No. 159, November/December 1997

In contrast, our article maintained: “From the standpoint of the working class, the death of the ‘Princess of Wales’ was not a tragedy; special interest in the affairs of royalty, which places the life of an aristocrat above that of her chauffeur, betrays something of a servile instinct. The archaic institution of monarchy should long ago have been consigned to the dustbin of history.”

For its part, the British SWP has gone a step further than the other reformists. At the founding of their ill-fated Respect Coalition in 2004, SWP leaders ensured that a resolution which called for the abolition of the monarchy was *voted down*!

For the reformist left, any opposition to the monarchy is framed by the consideration that it is an expensive excess and an embarrassment to the façade of bourgeois parliamentary democracy.

Obviously, the vast cost of maintaining the royal parasites is an obscenity, but while this may be the main point of emphasis for liberals and reformists, Marxists realise capitalist budgets are made in the interests of the bourgeoisie and, for the bourgeoisie, royal visits, weddings and the monarchy itself are cheap indeed for the reactionary purposes they serve. The emphasis on tradition, heritage and historical continuity which this feudal relic implies is supposed to foster illusions in a class-

harmonious, evolutionary society, free of tumultuous social change. Our comrades in the U.S. captured this perfectly in a 1977 article on the Queen’s Silver Jubilee:

“The Queen thus represents the British counterpart to the American myth that U.S. society is classless. In England it is manifestly impossible to deny the existence of class-based inequality. So the ruling class maintains that while there are classes, and there may be shifts in the class structure, *there must be no class struggle*. The monarchy is the living and familiar sign that there is a grossly unequal social place for everyone, and that this is historical and inevitable. That is why the Queen is treated with such dignity, why this cow is sacred.”

—*Workers Vanguard* No. 164, 1 July 1977

The monarchy does not merely fulfil a symbolic role, to the advantage of the British bourgeoisie, but stands ready as a rallying point for reaction. The Queen is the head of state; it is to her, and not parliament, that the armed forces and its officer corps swear an oath of allegiance. In the event of social crisis, in which the bourgeoisie felt its rule to be threatened, it is quite conceivable that the monarchy would be used in a reactionary mobilisation to stabilise the capitalist order, providing constitutional cover for a right-wing bonapartist coup. During WWII, discussions between the pro-Hitler Duke of Windsor, formerly Edward VIII, and the Nazis in Germany placed the Duke as the rumoured likely prospect to head a quisling government in England after the fall of France in 1940.

In fact the royal prerogative of Queen Elizabeth II has already been used to bring down a government in Australia, where she is also head of state. As our Australian comrades explained:

“In 1975 Labor prime minister Gough Whitlam, his government the object of a concerted CIA destabilisation campaign, threatened to expose the role of the top secret U.S. spy bases. The Queen’s man and more importantly the CIA’s man, Governor General John Kerr, dismissed the elected government. Utterly committed to the institutions of the capitalist state, including the constitutional powers invested in the Queen, the ALP [Australian Labor Party] tops preached loyalty to the parliamentary process rather than let an enraged working class get ‘out of hand.’ The events of 1975 illustrated how the constitutional monarchy in Britain and here could be used in some future crisis to bestow ‘legitimacy’ on the establishment of a reactionary, possibly military regime to defend the capitalist order.”

—*Australasian Spartacist* No. 144, Autumn 1992

Workers Revolution Will Sweep Away Medieval Rubbish

Karl Marx reported with great affection a protest by the British working class against class oppression in 1855. This was a protest against the Sunday Trading Bill and Beer Bill which ensured shops were closed and restricted the opening hours of “places of public entertainment” (most notably public houses): their “betters” had decided the workers should be on their knees in church instead. Seeing the stark hypocrisy of the upper classes, who were not affected and who spent the day on leisurely carriage rides in London’s Hyde Park, a mass demonstration of the workers was called there and concluded

in the following confrontation with English high society:

“A babel of jeering, taunting, discordant ejaculations, in which no language is as rich as English, enveloped [the upper classes] from both sides. As it was an improvised concert, instruments were lacking. The chorus therefore had to use its own organs and was compelled to confine itself to vocal music. And what a diabolical concert it was: a cacophony of grunting, hissing, whistling, squeaking, snarling, growling, croaking, shrieking, groaning, rattling, howling, gnashing sounds! A music that could drive men mad and move a stone. To this must be added outbursts of genuine old-English humour peculiarly mixed with long-contained seething wrath. ‘Go to church!’ were the only articulate sounds that could be distinguished. One lady soothingly offered a prayer book in conventional binding from her carriage. ‘Give it to read to your horses!’ came the thunderous reply, shouted by a thousand voices.”

—Karl Marx, “Anti-Church Movement—Demonstration in Hyde Park” (28 June 1855)

So moved by this demonstration of proletarian class outrage, Marx wrote: “We saw it from beginning to end and do not think it is an exaggeration to say *that the English Revolution began in Hyde Park yesterday*.”

We look to the revolutionary proletariat of these islands to abolish the monarchy and the House of Lords—this time for good—and the established churches, along with the bourgeois rulers and all other forms of social parasitism, through socialist revolution! To do so the working class will need its revolutionary organisation. Our aim is to build this, modelled on Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolshevik Party which, acting as a tribune for all the oppressed, led the storming of the tsar’s “prison house of peoples” and liberated one sixth of the earth from autocratic, chauvinist oppression and capitalist exploitation. The tsar was prevented from gaining asylum in Britain with his cousin King George V, who feared the repercussions this deeply unpopular move would have had for his own dynasty. Lenin and Trotsky’s desire was to put the tsar on trial as with the



V. Deni and M. Cheremnykh

1920 Soviet poster shows Lenin sweeping away kings, priests and capitalists.

fate of Charles I in the English Revolution and Louis XVI in the French Revolution. But with the counterrevolutionary White armies closing in on where the tsar and his family were imprisoned, the local Bolsheviks were forced to wipe the Romanov dynasty from the face of the Earth. As Isaac Deutscher relayed from Trotsky’s diary:

“In the midst of civil war, [Trotsky] says, the Bolsheviks could not leave the White Armies with a ‘live banner to rally around’; and after the Tsar’s death any one of his children might have served them as the rallying symbol. The Tsar’s children ‘fell victim to that principle which constitutes the axis of Monarchy: dynastic succession’.”

—*The Prophet Outcast, Trotsky: 1929-1940* (1963)

Forward to a world where the perversions of monarchy and dynastic succession are remembered only as abolished relics of the past! ■

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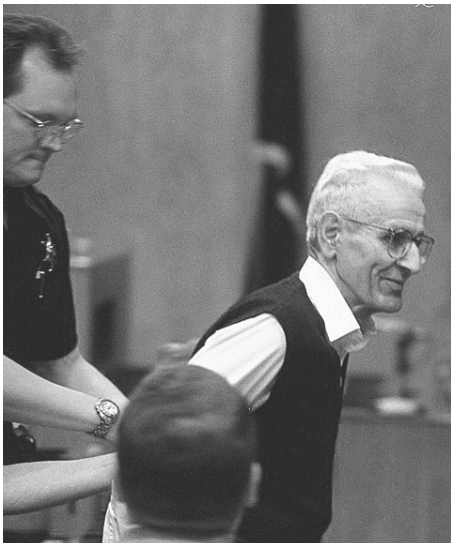
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On June 3, Dr. Jack Kevorkian died of a pulmonary embolism in a Detroit-area hospital at the age of 83. Dr. Kevorkian was widely known and often reviled for assisting those who were terminally ill to end their lives. He used a simple criterion to determine eligibility for his intervention: “The patient must be mentally competent, the disease incurable” (London *Independent*, 11 November 1993).

Last year’s HBO movie, *You Don’t Know Jack*, compellingly presents the reality of those faced with a lingering death in this society—no resources, no hope and no foreseeable end to their pain and agony. Jack Kevorkian provided, within the limits of his abilities, an answer to their plight. People afflicted with painful, incurable diseases should have the right to determine how and when they die. Any doctor should be able to give them the help that he did.

Kevorkian acquired his nickname “Doctor Death” in the 1950s for advocating that death row prisoners have the right to volunteer for medical experiments that would result in their deaths. But it was not until the 1990s, when he began to provide terminally ill individuals with the medical means to end their lives, that religious fanatics and law enforcement officers used the moniker as a campaign slogan to hound him.

The forces of God and the capitalist state were determined to incarcerate Kevorkian and successfully lobbied for a 1993 Michigan law, aimed specifically at him, banning physician-assisted suicide. Nevertheless, he continued his efforts, and after several acquittals further attempts to try him under the law were abandoned. It was not until 1999 that Kevorkian was convicted of second-degree murder after he administered the fatal dosage to Thomas Youk, who was suffering from ALS (Lou Gehrig’s disease). This was the first time Kevorkian had personally carried out such an act, having previously assisted in 130

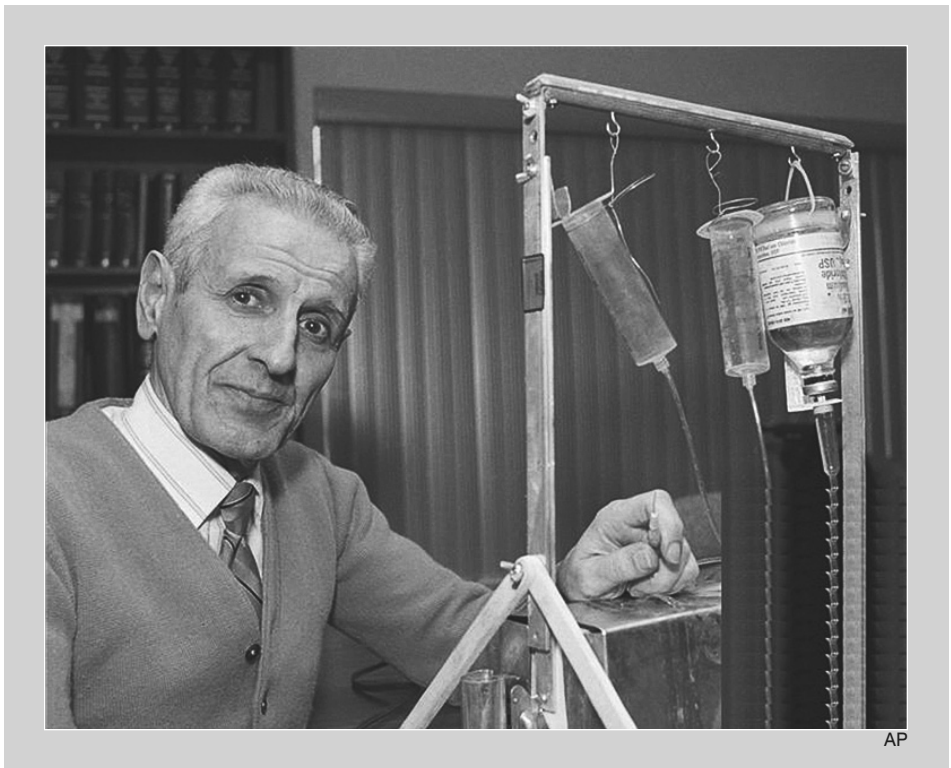


Reuters

Kevorkian handcuffed after April 1999 sentencing. He was convicted of murder for assisting death of terminally ill man.

suicides. The CBS news show *60 Minutes* played a videotape of the procedure that was provided by Kevorkian, who wanted prosecutors to charge him in order to force the courts to take up the issue. Kevorkian believed that by pursuing his case in the

In Honor of Dr. Kevorkian



Dr. Jack Kevorkian with euthanasia device he invented.

courts he could obtain legal affirmation of the right to medically assisted suicide.

Kevorkian served eight years of the 10-to-25-year sentence, obtaining release in 2007 only after promising not to assist in any more suicides. His release was spurred in part by the revulsion of most Americans to the spectacle of Terri Schiavo as she lingered in a state of ongoing vegetative decay. A seven-year effort by Schiavo’s husband to end her maintenance on life support was stymied, until 2005, by the capitalist state in the service of the ghouls of the “right to life” movement. Kevorkian, after his release, continued the fight to allow the incurably ill the right to obtain such medical assistance as needed to end their lives.

His efforts have not been fruitless. He inspired the passage of laws allowing such assistance in Oregon and Washington, and more than 600 such suicides have been performed since these were enacted. It was largely in response to his attacks on the medical establishment’s callous indifference to the terminally ill that pain management became a hot issue. Programs willing to employ a more generous use of potentially addictive analgesics to assist patients in agony were developed. But even these increments of progress have been fiercely opposed from the beginning by the powers that be.

The Lethal Drug Abuse Prevention Act, designed to overturn the Oregon law, was put before Congress in 1998. When that failed, an attempt was made to pass a more liberal-sounding version with the same purpose, the Pain Relief

Promotion Act of 1999. That bill simply languished in the Senate, whose members were torn between appeasing the religious fanatics and offending the sentiments of most Americans, who think that people should have the right to end their pain and suffering.

The American Medical Association (AMA) quickly joined ranks with those opposing the Oregon law. AMA president Dr. Thomas Reardon described a measure passed at its 1999 convention: “The AMA opposes physician-assisted suicide as it is antithetical to the role of the physician as healer. We are committed to providing the best possible end-of-life care. The Pain Relief Promotion Act supports both these goals.” In reality, both the 1998 and 1999 bills were designed to assure more pervasive Drug Enforcement Agency monitoring of pain medication and, thus, increase the misery of those in need.

Today, “right to life” forces have successfully pushed through bills in several states banning all abortions after 20 weeks’ gestation on phony “pain relief” grounds. Cast as redressing supposed fetal agony, the bills are in fact designed to maintain women as breeding stock for a creator who apparently requires a quite large harem. People should simply have the right to do whatever they wish with their bodies, whether it involves seeking pleas-

ure, avoiding pain or ending an unwanted pregnancy.

While pain management of some merit now exists in places, the AMA’s pretense that pain medication is easily forthcoming, and that needed therapy for the distress and depression experienced by the terminally ill is likewise readily available, is simply crap. As before, a doctor who is moved to address a patient’s agony for the most part still must do so on the sly, fearing prosecution by the capitalist state for murder or drug dealing.

Death comes to all, but it is the capitalist order, the lifeblood of which is profit accumulation, and its perturbations that plunge the masses into misery and despair and threaten the ability of most to survive. The misery that order creates is today reflected in the attacks on funding for Medicaid, hospice care, home health care and food stamps, with further extensions of unemployment funds next to face the ax. And the Obama version of national medical care, like Bill Clinton’s earlier failed effort, is designed to cut such “unnecessary” costs as whatever decent wages and benefits unionized workers used to receive because they had wrested them from their bosses.

The bourgeois politicians, with religion as a prop, justify, defend and perpetuate this savagery. As we wrote in *WV* No. 593 (4 February 1994) in the article “In Defense of Dr. Kevorkian”:

“The priests and preachers simply provide the ideological overlay to the interests of the rich, propertied few. To maintain their rule, they try to enforce their control over all aspects of the lives of the rest of us, from birth to death. Those with the money and the power believe that all good things exist only for them. It’s like the old joke where a British ‘noblewoman’ experiencing her first orgasm squeals in delight, ‘Ooh, this is much too good for the lower classes!’ In the case of life and death, the bourgeoisie has the bucks to buy the best medical care there is and, if that fails, the connections to check out when they want to. But allowing the ‘lower classes’ similar leeway might lead the exploited and oppressed to believe that they have the power to shape their own future—not only how they die, but more importantly how they live.”

The quest for the domination of the planet by the various imperialist powers necessitated two worldwide conflagrations that consumed many millions of lives. The imperialists continue to add millions of their victims to the sacrificial altars of their dominance. The capitalist order cannot be transformed to provide a world in which human life, worth and dignity count and where the wealth, resources and advanced medical technology are put in the service of the planet’s toiling masses. That transformation requires international working-class socialist revolution. Jack Kevorkian was not an advocate of such, but he was a fighter for the right of all to die with dignity. The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, is proud to have defended him and to honor his memory. ■

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Prison Hell...

(continued from page 1)

repression of black militants and the inner-city poor following the ghetto upheavals of the 1960s. This campaign was augmented as deindustrialization began to hit a wide swath of the country in the late 1970s. Largely due to the “war on drugs,” by the mid 1990s the prison population had grown by a million—one place behind bars for every job lost on the assembly lines.

The lives of inner-city blacks, who once supplied a “reserve army of labor” to fill jobs during times of economic expansion, were written off as expendable, no longer worth providing even the minimal subsistence needed to raise the next generation of wage slaves. Virtually every social program benefiting the ghetto and barrio poor was slashed. Having created the conditions in which black and Latino youth had little or no way out of desperate poverty, the rulers branded them as criminal “outlaws.”

The “war on drugs” went into high gear under Republican president Ronald Reagan, with the avid support of black Democrats like Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton who joined in the ideological crusade against ghetto youth as drug-pushing predators. By 2010, the prison population had reached 2.3 million people, the majority of whom were convicted on non-violent drug charges. The Spartacist League calls to *decriminalize drugs*. We oppose all laws against “crimes without victims”—from drug use and gambling to prostitution and pornography—which at bottom are designed to regiment the population in this viciously racist, bigoted, class-divided society.

As we wrote 16 years ago in “Lock-down U.S.A.” (WV No. 618, 10 March 1995): “The bourgeoisie’s vicious drive to imprison and execute ever-increasing numbers of ghetto youth reflects a sinister impulse to genocide against a layer of the black population.” The election of America’s first black president has not changed this cruel calculus of torture and death. While one in four black children have lost their fathers to prison by age 14, Barack Obama lectures young black men for having insufficient “family values.”

This is a common refrain of the black



Reuters

Chino inmate locked in cage used to hold those waiting for medical appointments, counseling or permanent cells.

petty bourgeoisie. A thin layer of blacks benefited from the affirmative action and “war on poverty” programs instituted in response to the civil rights struggles and to quell the ghetto revolts. Today, much of the black middle class reviles the inner-city poor as “bringing down the race.” As Commander-in-Chief, Obama is the overseer of the plantation of racist American capitalism, which subjects tens of thousands of black, Latino and other U.S. citizens locked up in solitary to the kind of horrors perpetrated in the name of the “war on terror” against prisoners in Guantánamo.

Cruel but Not Unusual

With less than 5 percent of the world’s population, the U.S. has 25 percent of the prison population of the entire planet. Over 7.3 million men, women and children are now in jail or prison or on parole or probation. And California leads the nation in the number of people behind bars. The state’s prison population exploded from 25,000 in 1980 to 168,000 in 2009. In the same period, 23 new prisons were built. But this has not been enough to warehouse those put on the state’s conveyor belt to mass incarceration.

California prisons are packed to almost 200 percent capacity in conditions so

depraved that a narrow majority of the U.S. Supreme Court recently ruled that they violated the Eighth Amendment prohibition of “cruel and unusual punishment.” It is notable that the ruling came from a Court that has itself worked assiduously to shred prisoners’ rights, as well as those of the population as a whole. But at bottom the ruling represents little more than an application of some cosmetics to the barbarism of the U.S. “justice” system.

Going back nearly three decades, a series of lower court orders have directed California prison authorities to relieve overcrowding, provide medical care and stop abuse by prison guards. In 2005, a California federal court found it to be an “uncontested fact” that “an inmate in one of California’s prisons needlessly dies every six to seven days due to constitutional deficiencies.” Such “deficiencies” include denial of medical care as well as the risk to life and limb that comes with being confined with hundreds of others, triple-bunked in gyms and cafeterias, for 24 hours a day in conditions described as a “giant game of survivor.” Mentally ill prisoners are locked up in “telephone-booth sized cages without toilets.” One prisoner a week kills himself, a suicide rate 80 percent higher than the national average. Even the former head of the

Peru...

(continued from page 5)

all wings of the capitalists in the fight for a workers and peasants government. The most left-talking of these populists, Chávez in Venezuela, has used the country’s oil profits to implement some modest social reforms as well as some land distribution and minimal nationalization of industry. But while we defend such nationalizations against imperialist attack, these are not socialist measures; rather, they are part of a program to tie

the working masses to the domestic bourgeois rulers.

Peru today presents an extreme example of combined and uneven development. Vast shantytowns abut the colonial-style mansions of the venal bourgeoisie; the rich, beholden to their U.S. imperialist masters, live in luxury while millions of rural indigenous poor struggle merely to survive. As elsewhere in the semi-colonial world, the national bourgeoisie’s weakness and dependence on imperialism make it utterly incapable of achieving the tasks of the classic bourgeois revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, which laid the basis for economic modernization and the creation of industrial societies.

The sole force that can show a way forward is the working class, with its tremendous potential social power, particularly in the rapidly growing (and hugely profitable) mining and natural gas industries. The proletariat must champion the cause of all the victims of Peruvian capitalism, from the indigenous masses to the urban poor and women, whose deep oppression is reinforced by the hold of the Catholic church. Smashing the chains of imperialist oppression requires the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party dedicated to the overthrow of capitalist rule and the establishment of a workers state. Such a revolution must have the perspective of spreading elsewhere in Latin America—notably to the industrial powerhouse of Brazil—and, crucially, to the advanced capitalist countries of North America.

The ICL is fighting to build an international revolutionary workers party—a reformed Fourth International—that can



WV Photo

April 1997 NYC protest against Fujimori regime’s massacre of Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement guerrillas.

link the struggles of the workers of the semicolonies to those in the imperialist centers. In Latin America, such a party will be built in opposition not only to the flagrantly pro-imperialist “neoliberal” right wing but also to bourgeois nationalists and reformist politicians of all stripes. The task of tearing Latin America out of backwardness and subjugation to imperialism falls to the proletariat. As the Peruvian Trotskyists of the Grupo Obrero Marxista (Marxist Workers Group) wrote in 1946:

“Our revolution, simultaneously democratic and socialist, cannot develop and triumph within the narrow framework

prisons in Texas, the execution capital of the U.S., described California’s prisons as “appalling” and “inhumane,” adding that “in more than 35 years of prison work experience I have never seen anything like it.”

Such conditions are the product of literally thousands of laws enacted by Democratic and Republican governors alike, over the past 30 years. In his first round in the governor’s office, when he was known as Governor Moonbeam by those who saw him as the voice of “la-la land” liberalism, Jerry Brown, a Democrat, knocked down any possibility for early release. Most rehabilitation programs were eliminated, and the length of mandatory prison terms was increased. The supercharged “tough on crime” climate laid the basis for the passage of Proposition 184 in 1994. The harshest “three strikes” law in the country, it mandates 25 years to life for any third offense by those with two prior serious convictions. Among those behind bars for life under this law are people convicted on their “third strike” of stealing \$2 socks or \$20 work gloves.

Anti-gang injunctions make it a crime if the cops find you anywhere in public in the company of an alleged gang member. Once you’re railroaded to prison, the brand of “gang affiliation” can land you in the torture chambers of solitary confinement. Even after serving their time, prisoners remain ensnared by laws that bar ex-felons from public housing, food stamps and many other benefits. California has 210 laws and regulations preventing felons from getting jobs or licenses—even to be a barber, an interior designer or a guide-dog trainer. Criminal background checks are mandatory on most employment applications. Seventy-seven percent of those released from prison in California end up back behind bars—the highest recidivism rate in the nation.

In 2009, Lovelle Mixon, a young black man raised on the destitute streets of the East Oakland ghetto who was out on parole, blew away four cops with an assault rifle in two separate confrontations after he was pulled over by the police. An article in the *San Francisco Bay View* (24 March 2009) remarked at the time: “Lovelley Mixon was America’s worst nightmare: the Black man with nothing to lose.” As an ex-felon on the streets, he had no prospects. When confronted by the

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cops, his only future was to be sent back to jail, so he went to his death in a hail of police gunfire instead. More than 500 people came out for Nixon’s funeral, their rage and defiance of the occupying army of police on their streets captured in a text message reading: “Us: 4—Them: 1.”

To preserve their power and profits against those they exploit and oppress, the capitalist rulers erect ever more monstrous institutions of coercion, suppression and death, vastly expanding police powers on the streets of the U.S. while their military marauds over the planet. The medieval tortures of the rack and the screw have been replaced by the high-tech barbarism of solitary confinement, the death row gurneys of state-sanctioned murder or the more “normal” conditions of being packed in overcrowded prisons like animals in abattoirs. Unspeakably cruel, these conditions are not, however, unusual in racist America. On the contrary, such barbarism is the product of a system that has long outlived any measure of progress.

The “Worst of the Worst”: California Prison Guards

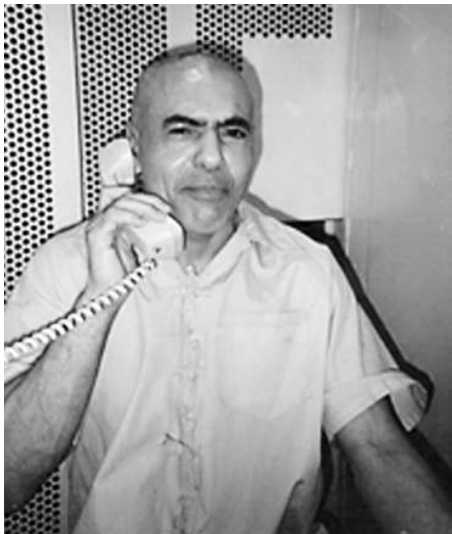
Among the biggest beneficiaries of the “war on crime” have been the sadistic jailers themselves. In the past 30 years, the size of the California Correctional Peace Officers Association (CCPOA) has grown from 5,600 to 33,000, their pay more than tripling during the same period from \$21,000 to \$73,000 a year. One of the most powerful political forces in the state, the CCPOA has poured millions of dollars into speeding up the assembly line to prison. Promoting a series of reactionary initiatives—from the 1972 reinstatement of California’s death penalty to the 1994 “three strikes” law—this “union” has been a moving force behind the defeat of any attempt to alleviate prison conditions. The hellish prison conditions are their bread and butter. One guard enthused: “With ‘Three Strikes’ and the overcrowding we’re going to experience with that, we’re going to need to build at least three prisons a year for the next five years. Each one of those institutions will take approximately 1,000 employees.”

If there is any criminal gang in California’s prisons, the guards are it, genuinely the “worst of the worst” violent predators. According to testimony in a class-action suit brought by 3,600 Pelican Bay prisoners in the mid 1990s, California prison guards shot and killed more than 30 inmates between 1989 and 1994. Eight Corcoran State Prison guards were indicted for staging “blood sport” fights between inmates in the Secure Housing Unit. In 2010, an investigation by a *Sacramento Bee* journalist exposed the vicious racism and brutality of guards in the “Behavior Modification Unit” in the High Desert Prison, describing how one black prisoner was shackled, pepper-sprayed and then “paraded naked through the cell block in a way that that prisoner

and others who witnessed the event regarded as a kind of image of modern slavery.”

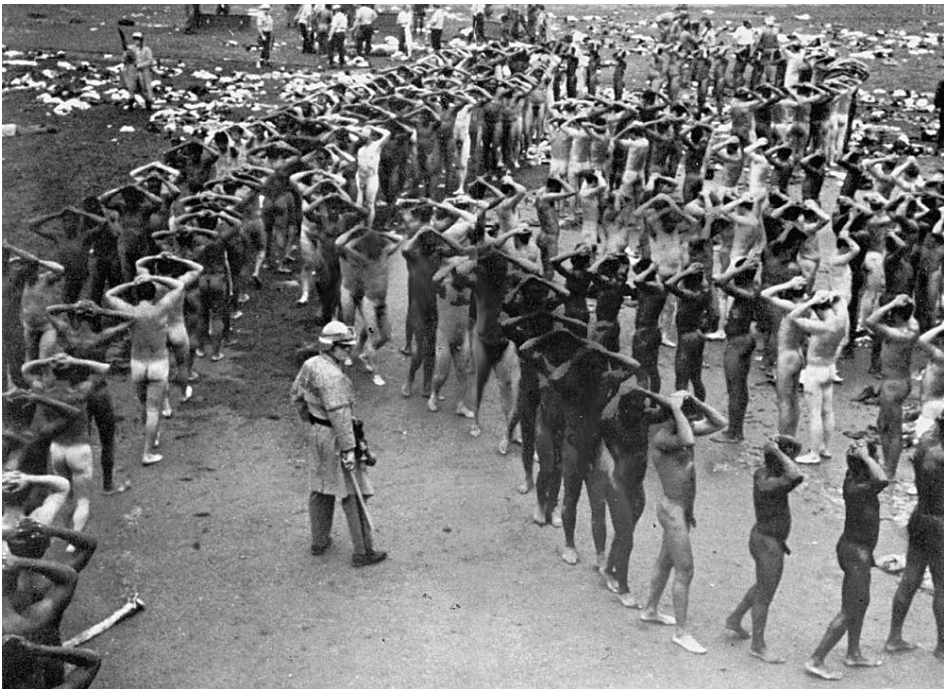
A throwback to the plantation overseers in the Confederate slavocracy, the guards are well-compensated for “doing their job.” While savaging social programs for the poor, sick and aged in the name of balancing the state’s budget, Jerry Brown increased the CCPOA’s vacation and other benefits earlier this year. This was more than a simple payoff for the \$2 million the prison guards provided for Brown’s election campaign. The misleaders of the public workers unions shelled out millions for the Democrats, but that didn’t spare their members’ jobs, pensions and other benefits from the budget-cutting ax. The political power of the bonapartist thugs who run and police the prisons is fed by the racist rulers’ endless “anti-crime” campaigns. Having secured ever more fabulous wealth through grinding the working class and poor, the capitalist class is well aware that it is creating a massive sea of discontent at the bottom of this society, and it spares no expense in increasing the powers of state repression—from the cops to the prisons.

Yet the armed thugs of the capitalist rulers are welcomed into the labor movement by the sellout misleaders of the trade unions. It would be hard to find a more savage indictment of the service the union bureaucrats provide as the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. In defense of the profits and competitiveness of U.S. imperialism, they allowed the industrial unions to be ravaged. Now they are lying down in the face of an all-out war against public workers unions, offering to share in the “sacrifice” while channeling the anger of their ranks into renewed support for the Democratic Party. To maintain their dues base, they organize the strikebreaking cops and the sadistic jailers whose purpose is the violent suppression of the working class, the ghetto and barrio poor and all those perceived as



hugopinell.org

Class-war prisoner Hugo Pinell at Pelican Bay, 2001.



N.Y. State Special Commission on Attica

September 1971: After murderous suppression of rebellion at New York State’s Attica prison, inmates were forced to strip, crawl over broken glass and run gauntlet of baton-wielding guards.

potential “enemies of the state.” Cops and prison guards out of the unions!

Fight for a Socialist America!

While they have written off a whole generation of black youth as criminal outlaws, the rulers remain fearful that prisoners might develop some social and political consciousness. Being caught with a book by George Jackson is enough to be branded a gang member and sent to solitary. In 2005, black death row prisoner Tookie Williams was denied clemency by then-governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. In sending Williams to his death, Schwarzenegger particularly singled out Williams’ dedication of his 1998 book *Life in Prison* to, among others, George Jackson as “a significant indicator that Williams is not reformed and that he still sees violence and lawlessness as a legitimate means to address societal problems.”

It was the violence and brutality of the prisons, combined with the social upheavals of the time, that propelled George Jackson and others to see their oppression as a product of the capitalist system. Even so, as prisoners, divorced from any role in capitalist production, they had no social power. The struggles of that time were subject to both bloody repression and co-optation by the ruling class. Today, the Pelican Bay hunger strike is a desperate product of that legacy and of the subsequent dearth of class and other social struggle against the capitalist rulers, who are loyally served by the trade-union bureaucracy. The destitution and mass joblessness in the inner cities have likewise increasingly robbed a whole layer of the black population of any social power, reducing many ghetto youth to a reactive glorification of lumpenism as a reflection of their own des-

perate struggle to survive by whatever means necessary.

The multiracial working class is the only force in capitalist society with both the social power and historic interest to eradicate a system rooted in its exploitation. The black workers who remain a militant backbone of the unions provide a critical human bridge for linking the power of the working class to the anger of the inner cities. To unleash this power, it is necessary to wage a political struggle to break the chains forged by the trade-union bureaucracy which have shackled labor to its exploiters.

As we wrote in “Massacre at Attica,” the front-page article of the first issue of *Workers Vanguard* (October 1971):

“We support the most militant struggle against the state. We only seek to give that struggle the strategic perspectives that will lead to the workers conquering political power....

“The heroic Attica martyrs and George Jackson will long be remembered for their courageous stand against overwhelming odds. It is not the crimes (real or alleged) for which the prisoners were jailed, but the stand they took—rising far above capitalist-imposed ignorance, poverty, brutality and frame-up—for justice and against oppression, that the world’s working people will remember.”

The purpose of the Spartacist League is to build the multiracial revolutionary party that will lead the workers in the fight to shatter the capitalist state and all its instruments of incarceration, torture and death. When the workers internationally take political power and put the wealth now appropriated by the tiny class of exploiters to serving the needs of humanity, they will lay the material basis for achieving an egalitarian communist society, doing away with any need for a state apparatus of repression.■

ILWU...

(continued from page 12)

EGT to honor its lease and hire Local 21 labor. The ILWU has made itself a party to the suit on the side of the Port. Workers should be under no illusion that the courts are on labor’s side. The judicial system is an integral part of the repressive apparatus of a state that exists only to defend the interests of the ruling class—the tiny minority that owns industry and lives off the toil of working people. Just as the cops have arrested Longview ILWUers seeking to defend their livelihoods, so too will the courts enforce capitalist “law and order” against labor. It is through victory on the picket line that the ILWU will prevail.

The Poison of Protectionism

Obscuring the irreconcilable class divide between labor and its exploiters and their state is at the heart of the trade-union bureaucrats’ class-collaborationist policies. To this end, they portray Longview as one united “community,” up against gigantic multinational corpora-

tions that give away “local” jobs to people from elsewhere while the small port town struggles with an unemployment rate of 12-14 percent.

Protesters at ILWU actions have carried signs reading, “Employ Local Workers for Local Jobs.” But the operating engineers who are scabbing on Local 21 **are local workers, and unionized ones at that!** In announcing its scab deal, EGT boasted: “We’re willing to hire union labor, and we got what we think is a good agreement with General Construction. Local, family-wage jobs is a really good news story.”

The port bosses already try to play one longshore local against another in the competition for work. This is the road to ruin for the multiracial ILWU, whose solidarity hinges on its coastwide membership. “Local workers for local jobs” is but an echo of the protectionist poison of “American jobs for American workers” with which the labor misleaders undermine class struggle, preaching the lie that workers in the U.S. have common interests with American-based corporations and the U.S. imperialist state that defends capitalist interests.

But anyone who follows the red-white-and-blue jingoists at the top of the AFL-CIO into thinking they will get a better deal from an “American” or “local” company should take a hard look at Wal-Mart, General Motors or...General Construction. Corporations, be they U.S.-based entities or international conglomerates, are in business only to make a profit for their shareholders from the sweat and blood of those they employ. The true allies of workers here are not the “local” bosses, but fellow workers across the continent and around the world.

The poison of protectionism pits U.S. workers against their class brothers and sisters around the world, thereby helping to fuel the anti-immigrant bigotry that has been a key factor in undermining union power. The longshore unions on both coasts have become isolated bastions of organized labor amid a sea of unorganized and largely immigrant port truckers as well as non-union intermodal yard workers and inland warehouse workers. The situation cries out for a massive campaign to organize these unorganized workers into solid industrial unions, including a national union of all port workers. To

wage such a struggle, the unions must champion the rights of all foreign-born workers employed in the ports. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

A new leadership of the labor movement, imbued with the program of working-class independence from the bourgeois state, can only be forged in the crucible of such class struggle. That leadership will be the militant advocate of a workers party that fights for a workers government, built in intransigent opposition to all the parties of the capitalist class. It will arm workers with the understanding that their historic interests lie in freeing humanity from the anarchy and misery of an economic system based on production for profit instead of human need.■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August. Our next issue will be dated September 2.

WORKERS VANGUARD

JULY 29—The International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) in Longview, Washington, is locked in battle with a union-busting international consortium intent on breaching the ILWU's hold on loading and unloading ships on the West Coast. EGT Development—a joint venture between St. Louis-based Bunge North America, the Itochu Corporation (an import-export conglomerate based in Japan) and the South Korean shipping company Pan Ocean STX—is in the process of opening a new, \$200 million export grain terminal in Longview, the first such facility built in the U.S. in over two decades. It wants to keep out the ILWU, which works grain terminals in the Pacific Northwest.

The 200-man ILWU Longview Local 21 has stepped up to the fight. On July 11, about 100 longshoremen and their supporters tore down a chain-link fence and occupied EGT grounds, demanding that

Longview, WA

the company honor its lease with the Port of Longview, which stipulates that it must hire Local 21 members. Some 90 protesters were arrested and later charged with trespassing. But that didn't keep 600 more from around the region from blocking the railroad tracks in the dead of night on July 13-14 to stop a 107-car Burlington Northern Santa Fe (BNSF) train carrying grain to the plant, now in its testing phase. The train was diverted to Vancouver, Washington, and BNSF suspended train service to the Longview terminal.

On July 22, a militant ILWU picket forced EGT itself to temporarily suspend operations. A major show of force by cops, sheriff's deputies and state troopers three days later allowed the company to reopen the facility, with police escorting in 15-20 scabs. Seven unionists were arrested on the picket line, including one on felony charges. The cops have since forced the ILWU to limit the number of pickets at the EGT gate to 16, moving all other protesters to a site over a half mile away from the terminal. With some 100 ILWU members and supporters facing charges, Cowlitz County authorities are continuing their investigation and may charge others. Labor must demand: ***Drop the charges against the Longview unionists! Victory to the ILWU!***

The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, wrote to the Cowlitz County prosecutor protesting the arrests. The PDC noted in a letter of solidarity to Local 21: "Your fight has rightly won the support of trade unions throughout the region and of ILWU locals up and down the West Coast. The police attacks on your protests are a threat to unionized workers on the docks and throughout the U.S." In addition to longshoremen from across the region, members of the United Food and Commercial Workers, the Pulp and Paper Workers, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and other construction unions have participated in ILWU actions in Longview, which is located on the Columbia River. In early June, over 1,200 rallied in front of EGT Development's headquarters in Portland, some 50 miles upriver from Longview.

The overwhelming support indicates the high stakes at play. Grain export is big business in the Pacific Northwest. More than 47 percent of U.S. wheat exports

Stop Operating Engineers Local 701 Scabbing!

ILWU Battles Union Busters



Roger Werth/Longview Daily News

Longshoremen occupy EGT grain terminal in Longview, July 11.

use the Columbia-Snake River gateway. With demand for grain expected to skyrocket in Asia, grain export terminals in most ports in the region are expanding. All these facilities operate with ILWU labor under the Northwest Grainhandler's Agreement. If the ILWU loses in Longview, the defeat would establish a non-union beachhead for the profit-hungry international conglomerates.

"This is much bigger than Longview," said Tacoma-based ILWU Local 23 president Scott Mason (*Labor Notes*, July 21). "It's about organized labor and not having a Wisconsin." In Wisconsin, tens of thousands of unionists and their supporters flooded the streets of the state capital earlier this year to fight a massive anti-labor assault on public workers by the Republican-led state government. But the union misleaders diverted this militancy into boosting the fortunes of the Democratic Party through a campaign to recall Republican officeholders.

It's about time that the ILWU exercises its power, which lies in its ability to shut down the ports and interrupt the flow of cargo up and down the coast. But so far, the ILWU International has shown no sign of mobilizing coastwide in defense of its embattled Longview local, even as

the union's future is posed. To win this showdown, Local 21 must continue to look to their allies in the labor movement and not bank on the "good graces" of the port bosses, the Democratic Party politicians, who represent the class enemy, or the courts, which routinely issue anti-strike injunctions. Solidarity from the rail workers in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Trainmen (BLE) could be crucial to stopping the shipment of scab grain.

Backstabbing Treachery of IUOE Local 701

Despicably, International Union of Operating Engineers (IUOE) Local 701 is openly crossing the ILWU's picket lines. This *scabbing* began after EGT Development announced on July 17 that it had signed a five-year deal with General Construction Company from Federal Way, Washington, to operate its Longview facility. IUOE Local 701, whose members work for General Construction, agreed to take 25 to 35 of the plant's projected 50 jobs. The local had already been excluded from the Longview/Kelso Building & Construction Trades Council for refusing to sign a "letter of solidarity" committing them to abide by union juris-

dictional lines and honor picket lines. Its scabbing at the grain terminal has been condemned by the Executive Board of the Oregon state AFL-CIO.

EGT Development is retailing the lie that Local 701's scabbing is a union jurisdictional dispute. But the conglomerate has run a union-busting operation in Longview since they broke ground on the facility in 2009. The company hired a Minnesota-based general contractor that in turn hired subcontractors employing largely non-union labor. In January, gearing up to open the new terminal in time for the fall harvest, EGT Development sued the Port of Longview, arguing that they were not bound by the Port's agreement with the ILWU. EGT lawyers boast that they will save \$1 million in operating costs by refusing to hire ILWU members.

EGT was in negotiations with the ILWU until talks broke down earlier this year over the issue of overtime pay for 12-hour shifts. The ILWU's longshore contract with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) limits work to ten hours, with overtime paid after eight. The union's dispatch system, intended to share available work equitably, allows workers to vary their jobs day-to-day. This is a real safety issue, as monotonous and dangerous work on bulk and break-bulk cargo is the bread and butter of the small ILWU locals in the region. The ILWU must stand firm: No substandard contracts! The work at Longview must be covered by the standard Grainhandler's Agreement!

In using another union as a tool for its union-busting, EGT is following a playbook already tested by East Coast shipping bosses. In 1993, the labor-hating Holt family hired Teamsters to replace the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) at the Holts' Gloucester City terminal on the Delaware River near Philadelphia. After the AFL-CIO ruled that the Teamsters had no jurisdiction, the Gloucester local morphed into an out-and-out company union. Last year, Del Monte Co., notorious for union-busting worldwide, tore up its contract with the ILA (despite the union's offer of massive concessions) and moved its operation to the Gloucester terminal under the jurisdiction of the company's "Independent Dock Workers Local 1."

In response, last September ILA members shut down docks in Philly and the New York/New Jersey area in a two-day protest. The New York Shipping Association then slapped the ILA with a lawsuit demanding over \$5 million in "damages" for the port shutdown (see "ILA Under Attack Over Strike to Save Jobs," WV No. 971, 7 January). Likewise in Charleston, South Carolina, Ports America and the SSA stevedoring firm are suing ILA Local 1422 after longshoremen walked off the job in May to protest the use of non-union labor on the docks. The ILWU's Local 10 in the Bay Area and its president Richard Mead are facing a similar lawsuit from the PMA, which is demanding compensation for losses incurred when Local 10 members overwhelmingly stayed away from work on April 4 to support Wisconsin workers. This was the only labor action on that supposed "national day of action" (see "All Labor Must Defend ILWU Local 10!" WV No. 979, 29 April). The ILWU's *Dispatcher* has yet to even mention the suit against Local 10.

EGT Development's federal court suit against the Port of Longview won't be heard until next year. But in the meantime, the Port has asked a judge to order

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