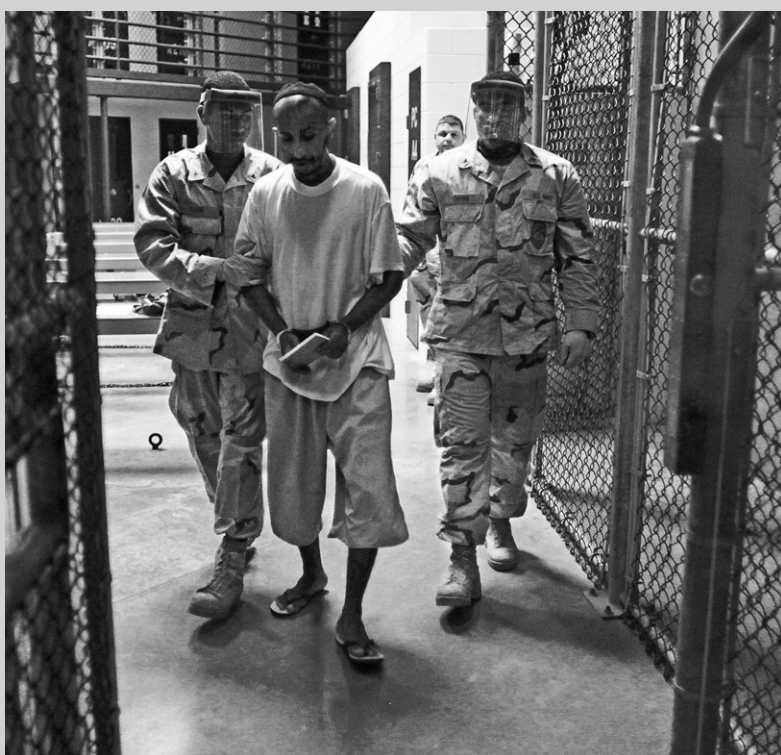


## Vietnam, Central America, Iraq, Guantánamo

# U.S. Imperialism's Machinery of Torture



AP photos

Left: Guards in 2010 escort detainee at Guantánamo, where U.S. holds prisoners indefinitely. Right: Prisoner at infamous U.S.-run Abu Ghraib torture center in Baghdad, 2003.

Since a mass hunger strike at the U.S. Guantánamo prison camp began in February, the number of detainees participating has grown to at least 100. Their jailers have met this protest against being detained indefinitely in the notorious torture center with what U.S. security forces know best: more brutality. Twice a day, guards take detainees, one by one, from their cells to a separate room and subject them to forced feedings.

In late April, 40 medics were added to the team handling the prisoners, “pulling them into rooms where they are strapped to chairs and have rubber tubes stuck into their noses and snaked down to their stomachs, then pumping in a can’s worth of a liquid nutritional supplement” (“A Hundred Hungry Men at Guantánamo,” *New Yorker*, 1 May). On May 13, *Al Jazeera* released official U.S. policy documents detailing the procedures for this sadistic process. The detainees are made to wear masks over their mouths while they sit shackled for as long as two hours until testing confirms the liquid has reached their stomachs.

Eighty-six of the remaining 166 detainees had been cleared for release years ago. The rest, as the *New Yorker* noted, “are roughly divided between those the Administration says it might bestir itself to bring a case against someday, and those it acknowledges it doesn’t have

enough evidence against, but finds somehow unsettling, and so is locking up anyway.” The Guantánamo prisoners, many indiscriminately rounded up by the U.S. military around 2002 or sold to their captors by local forces for bounty, were from the outset physically brutalized and subjected to intense psychological torment and humiliation designed to break them. These desperate men fear they will never get out alive. We demand: **Free the detainees now!**

With his liberal supporters wringing their hands over the hunger strikes, President Obama briefly rediscovered his

old campaign promise to close Guantánamo, citing concerns on April 30 that “it is expensive, it is inefficient, it hurts us in terms of our international standing.” While Obama cynically blames Congress for supposedly tying his hands, his plan to close Guantánamo was never a plan to end the system of indefinite detention, only to relocate it onto American soil. The top Pentagon official for detainee policy recently told the *New York Times* that, even if Congress dropped its restrictions on transferring the detainees, “I don’t believe the numbers would change radically” (24 April). Indeed, a year before



AP

May 2011: William McRaven, commander of Joint Special Operations Command, the Pentagon’s military intelligence and assassination unit, with Commander-in-Chief Obama.

Congress imposed the restrictions, Obama barred repatriations to Yemen, home of the majority of the detainees cleared for release. Meanwhile, the military has spent millions of dollars in recent years on a state-of-the-art courthouse at Guantánamo, housing for lawyers and guards, and other construction. The Pentagon is requesting nearly \$200 million more for further upgrades.

But at the same time it’s true that Obama is taking few prisoners, preferring assassinations by drones and special operations forces. Over 3,000 people have been slaughtered in drone strikes in Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia. These include “signature strikes,” e.g., targeting groups of “military-aged males” in a region under surveillance. Obama has also authorized the expansion of covert operations into countries across the Near East, the Horn of Africa, Central Asia and beyond.

The torture, assassinations and other barbaric practices meted out daily in the name of the “war on terror” have always been features of U.S. imperialism. In fact, many of the torture techniques its forces use today harken back to those employed at the turn of the 20th century to suppress the heroic uprising against the U.S. occupation of the Philippines. Up to half a million Filipinos were slaughtered, and men, women and children were herded into concentration camps.

In the imperialist epoch, the major capitalist powers—which compete with each other in exploiting dependent and economically backward countries—have built up massive military arsenals. At the top of

*continued on page 10*



# “Warsaw Ghetto Anti-Nazi Uprising of Labor”

Last month marked the 70th anniversary of the heroic uprising against the Nazis by Jews interned in the Warsaw Ghetto. Memorial events grotesquely claimed the memory of these martyrs for Zionist Israel, a state whose oppression of the Palestinian people calls to mind the Nazis’ drive for *lebensraum* (“living space”). During the Nazi occupation, Zionist leaders in the West provided little assistance to the East European Jews. As

**By Art Preis**  
*Militant*, 6 May 1944

Polish Jews bitterly observed in a January 1943 appeal to American Jewish leaders: “The survivors of the Jews in Poland live with the awareness that in the worst days of our history you have given us no aid.”

Who came to the assistance of the isolated and courageous Jews fighting extermination? The Polish nationalist Home Army not only refused to offer any practical or military assistance but also pocketed most of the small quantity of arms airlifted from Britain for the ghetto insurgents. The British Royal Air Force refused to bomb the gas chambers of Auschwitz even as they carried out sorties a few miles away. But 600,000 Soviet soldiers died liberating Poland from the Nazi scourge. We honor their memory. (For more, see “Hail Warsaw Ghetto Fighters!” *WV* No. 452, 6 May 1988.)

As our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski said, “We stand in the tradition of the brave Trotskyists in the Jewish ghetto of Warsaw” (*WV* No. 892, 11 May 2007). Trotskyists, including those of *Czerwony Sztandar* [Red Flag] who went to their deaths in the Warsaw Ghetto, sided militarily with the Soviet Union despite the misrule of the Stalinist bureaucracy and opposed all the imperialist combatants, not least the “democratic” Allied powers. For the imperialists, World War II was a struggle over the redivision of colonies and spheres of exploitation. The Trotskyists saw in the German working class, trampled under the fascist jackboot, the instrument to overthrow the Nazi regime and to expropriate the bourgeoisie that had brought Hitler to power.

Zionist leaders remained silent about Nazi atrocities. The American government kept their knowledge secret as well. But our forebears, the American Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), broke the government and Zionist news blackout. They reported in their newspaper, the *Militant*, on 19 September 1942 that the State Department had “suppressed infor-

mation that it received from its consular agents in Switzerland. This information has to do with the treatment of the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto. Evidence of the greatest atrocities has occurred there in connection with the renewed campaign to exterminate all Jews.” The SWP also fought to lift U.S. immigration restrictions on Jewish refugees, even as American Zionist leaders did not.

The article reprinted below, which was based on the limited information available at the time, originally appeared in the *Militant* on 6 May 1944.

\* \* \*

The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto, which began on April 19, 1943 and raged for 42 days, will go down in history as the first great revolutionary act of working-class mass resistance to the Nazi enslavers and hangmen of Occupied Europe.



Stroop Report

**Defiant fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto, rounded up by Hitler’s savage SS.**

Amid the dark alleyways and crumbling walls of their rat-infested, disease-ridden Ghetto prison, 40,000 men, women and children, the proletarian remnants of the Jewish population of Warsaw, Poland, went to their death battling arms in hand against the massed, trained legions of Hitler.

With weapons sufficient for only 3,000 fighters, the starved and ragged Jewish workers, who were organized and led by the labor and socialist underground movement, for six weeks held out with revolvers, rifles, a few machine guns, home-made bombs, knives, clubs and stones against thousands of trained soldiers using heavy artillery, tanks, flame throwers and aerial bombs.

The battle ended only after the Nazis

dynamited and put to the torch every hovel and tenement in the entire area, and when every Jewish fighter lay dead under the ashes and rubble that marked the site where 400,000 Jews once lived.

## Three Facts

Only within recent weeks have some of the details of the Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto been revealed outside of the labor and socialist press. But from the still-scanty information now available, three salient facts stand out. The Jewish fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto were overwhelmingly workers, armed, organized and led by the labor and socialist underground. They were inspired not merely by Jewish and Polish nationalist sentiment, but by class solidarity and socialist convictions, hoping that their struggle, conducted under the red flag, would help to arouse the workers everywhere in Poland and

at least for passive resistance.”

The extermination campaign raged unabated. By January 1943, only about 40,000 to 45,000 of the original 400,000 Jews remained alive in the Ghetto. During this entire period, the Allied powers and their press scarcely commented on the unprecedented mass slaughter of the Jewish people.

Then came accounts of the first resistance. In the Polish newspaper *Przez Walke do Zwyciesty*, Jan. 20, 1943, it was reported, “We extend our admiration to the Fighter Unit (of the Jewish Labor underground) which during the latest liquidation met the Gestapo with gun in hand. Shooting broke out and developed into a real battle on Zamenhofa Street from where the Gestapo agents and German police had to flee and to which they returned only with reinforcements. Jews defended themselves with hand grenades and revolvers. Twenty Gestapo agents and police are dead and many more wounded.”

For three months the Nazis drew back from completing their liquidation drive. The Jewish workers of Warsaw used the respite to organize further for armed resistance.

## Nazi Attack

When, in the middle of April, 1943, the Gestapo and Nazi military police attempted to renew the “deportation” drive, their orders for an assemblage of the Ghetto inhabitants were defied. Their police detachments tried to enter the Ghetto. “As a reply from the seemingly empty houses came flying bullets and hand grenades. Roofs and attics began to spit fire and to rain death on the German police. Fear descended on Hitler’s henchmen. They fled in confusion.” (*Polska*, April 29, 1943.)

From the account of an official representative of the Polish Government-in-Exile, we learn that the Nazis began the attack with “numerous, heavily armed S.S. detachments on cars mounted with machine guns and on tanks.”

“The actions of the defenders were perfectly coordinated,” says the report, “and the battles were fought on practically the entire territory of the Ghetto. Jewish resistance was brilliantly planned, so that in spite of the vast superiority in men and materiel on the German side, good results were achieved. In the first days of combat the Germans took severe punishment; hundreds of them were killed and more wounded. Several times they had to retreat behind the Ghetto walls. During the first week the battle had all the characteristics of regular military operations. The din of a tremendous cannonade was constantly heard from the Ghetto.” This phase of the battle lasted a week.

## Authentic Accounts

Then the Nazis concentrated forces at individual points of resistance reducing them slowly one by one with dynamite, flame throwers and incendiary bombs. The Jewish workers fell back on guerrilla tactics, fighting from cellars, roofs, sewers, sortying out at night to assault the Nazi troops under cover of darkness. “The burning in the Ghetto kept spreading. The fires were becoming intolerable. After six days of further combat, after the Germans had already been using planes, artillery and tanks, they managed to break into the northern part of the Ghetto... By April 28th, the Germans had thrown into the battle 6,000 heavily armed troops. Estimates place the number of Germans dead

*continued on page 11*

## WORKERS VANGUARD

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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**No. 1024**

**17 May 2013**

# Black Teen Jailed for Science Experiment

By all accounts, Kiera Wilmot is an exemplary honor student and has a perfect behavior record. According to the principal of Bartow High School in Polk County, Florida, she is a “good kid” who has “never been in trouble before. Ever.” But on April 22, when the 16-year-old acted on her intellectual curiosity by performing a chemistry experiment, she outrageously was expelled from school and dragged to a detention center in handcuffs at the behest of an assistant principal. Charged as an adult with two felonies—possession/discharge of a weapon on school grounds and discharging a destructive device—Kiera faces a possible five years in jail. Thanks to school and state authorities, her life is now upended.

The “weapon” and “destructive device” that Kiera “discharged” was a small plastic water bottle in which, in preparation for a science fair, she mixed common household chemicals and aluminum foil to see how they would react. The chemical reaction triggered a tiny pop “like a firecracker,” harmlessly blowing off the lid and producing a small amount of smoke. No one was injured, and no property was damaged. The only casualty was the plastic bottle!

The punishment handed out to Kiera Wilmot exemplifies the systematic racist criminalization of black and minority students in the public schools that is embodied in punitive “zero tolerance” policies. Each year, more than three million students nationwide are suspended and over 100,000 expelled. Black students are three and a half times more likely to be suspended or expelled than their white peers. According to the U.S. Department of Education, over 70 percent of students arrested and funneled through what has become known as the school-to-prison pipeline are black or Latino.

Borrowing a page from the sinister

“war on drugs” crusade against blacks and other minorities, “zero-tolerance” policies spread through schools after Bill Clinton signed into law the 1994 Gun-Free Schools Act that mandates a one-year expulsion for any student possessing a weapon. What constitutes a weapon has proved very elastic: everything from pencils to Pop-Tarts and Hello Kitty toys. Even using their fingers as imaginary guns resulted in suspension for two 6-year-olds in Maryland. As a result of this “zero tolerance,” across the country black and minority students in segregated public schools confront conditions that resemble detention centers rather than a place of learning. A heavy police presence, metal detectors, video cameras, drug testing and locker searches are the norm.



Security guard frisks child at entrance to Cleveland elementary school.

Tens of thousands have been arrested for what amounts to nothing other than typical juvenile behavior: tardiness, idle doodling, talking back and so on.

Even black children in kindergarten are treated as dangerous criminals. In 2012, six-year-old Salecia Johnson was suspended from school in Milledgeville, Georgia, handcuffed by police and placed in a holding cell after throwing a tantrum. She was charged with damage to property and simple battery. With black youth deemed expendable by the racist capitalist ruling class that has no jobs for them to fill, the “education” system is essentially a holding pen that serves to reinforce their isolation in a society where 28 percent of black men are destined to spend time behind bars.



Kiera Wilmot

Wilmot’s case is a grotesque expression of the class and race bias endemic to the American education system and society as a whole. It also points to the anti-science mind-set that permeates it. With the slashing of already meager funding and the stifling of creative potential, it is no surprise that U.S. students rank 35th internationally in math, between Azerbaijan and Croatia, and 29th in science, between Latvia and Lithuania—countries many Americans cannot identify on the map.

Kiera Wilmot’s ordeal has drawn thousands of supporters to her defense. Dozens of people, young and old, rallied in her support outside Polk County Courthouse last week. Thousands have signed petitions on the Internet demanding the rescinding of her expulsion and dropping the charges against her, and some individuals have initiated defense funds. Outraged scientists have also vented their fury in solidarity with Wilmot. As biologist Danielle N. Lee wrote in a *Scientific American* blog (1 May): “I can’t name a single scientist or engineer, who hadn’t blown up, ripped apart, disassembled something at home or otherwise cause a big ruckus at school all in the name of curiosity, myself included.” She added that science “is very messy and it is riddled with mistakes and mishaps.”

Experimenting with science is not a crime, and scientific curiosity should not be punished. *We demand the immediate reinstatement of Kiera Wilmot! Drop all the charges! ■*

## Letter

25 April 2013

Dear WV,  
I was shocked to read the epithet “poor white trash” in the most recent (#1022) issue of *Workers Vanguard*. “Poor white trash” is a phrase, along with “trailer trash,” that one hears frequently in this sick society, a phrase that implicitly expresses contempt for the poor and powerless. Some of this “trash” will certainly become brothers and sisters in the fight for the liberation of humanity.

Of course the phrase was not used in quite this way in your article on the Emancipation Proclamation. It was used to refer to Andrew Johnson and his ilk, which, if any humans can be thought of as “trash,” they are certainly fine examples. But in a decent, i.e., socialist, society the phrase itself will surely be relegated to the blighted past when society was tormented by the poison of bourgeois ideology.

A WV reader from Boston

WV replies:

It is true that Marxists—who seek to win the downtrodden to unite behind the

## On Andrew Johnson

multiracial working class—do not throw around the epithet “poor white trash.” As our reader indicates, the term was used in the article specifically to describe President Johnson: “Johnson had an all-consuming hatred of black people. He was a former slaveowner with the mentality of poor white trash, a racist appeaser of remnants of the slavocracy” (“150 Years Since the Emancipation Proclamation, Part Two,” WV No. 1022, 19 April).

It would have been correct to say that Johnson had the mentality of what the lords of the lash called “poor white trash.” Poor whites were worth less to the planter aristocracy than were black slaves. Johnson was raised in an impoverished white family and was steeped in the limitations, prejudices and ambitions of his social class. For a while, he was able to partially transcend his origins. He began his political career as a champion of the poor laborer. Starting in the 1840s, he fought for granting free land to farmers (part of the Homestead Act of 1862). As a staunch Unionist during the Civil War, he demanded severe punishment of those Southerners who had brought on the war. When he assumed the presidency after Lincoln’s assassination, many thought that bloody retribution might be the order of the day. But the war had changed everything.

When, after the war, Johnson realized that black people would have to be included in any dispensation that ben-

efited poor whites, he did a 180-degree turn. As our article stated: “Johnson was really fearful of a link-up of black and white poor. The idea of real social and political equality repelled him.” He dealt terrible blows to the fight for black equal-

ity. In *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880* (1935), W.E.B. Du Bois wrote that Johnson represented “the tragedy of American prejudice made flesh; so that the man born to narrow circumstances, a rebel against economic privilege, died with the conventional ambition of a poor white to be the associate and benefactor of monopolists, planters and slave drivers.” ■

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### CORRECTION

In “Wounded Knee Massacre Site Up for Sale” (WV No. 1023, 3 May), we wrote that the Lakota and their allies routed the Seventh Cavalry at Little Bighorn four years before the Wounded Knee massacre of 1890. It was 14 years earlier, in 1876.



# Hands Off the Unions!

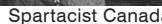
**SPARTACIST** CANADA 

Last December, the [Conservative Tory]] Harper government adopted Bill C-377, a law that would force every trade union in the country to open its financial records to state authorities. Under its provisions, the capitalist ruling class and its government will be able to directly monitor unions' strike funds, pension assets, political contributions and the issues and causes they support. Any labour organization failing to comply faces fines of \$1,000 per day. This is a fundamental assault on the rights of every working person. The state has no business telling the unions what they should or should not do with their money.

The capitalists are now itching to take their attacks a step further by going for labour's jugular through union busting "right to work" laws. Ontario Tory leader Tim Hudak has made this a key plank in his election platform. Similar schemes are being hatched by the Saskatchewan government, Alberta's opposition Wildrose party and at least one prominent MP [Member of Parliament] in the federal Tory caucus. If implemented, such laws would effectively ban the closed shop, crippling the unions financially and dividing the workforce by making dues payments optional.

Editorial and op-ed writers in the capitalist press are salivating at the prospect of gutting the unions. But whether the bosses get away with their schemes will ultimately depend not on what laws get passed, but on the outcome of the class struggle. It will take a serious, hard-nosed fight that unleashes labour's social power to beat back the anti-union offensive.

It's no wonder the employers smell blood. The labour movement has been in headlong retreat, thanks to the careerist turncoats atop the unions who have capitulated on every front. In the private sector, Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) president Ken Lewenza surrendered \$19 to \$22 an hour of members' wages and benefits to the bosses without a struggle in the 2009 auto bailouts. In the public sector, leaders of the Toronto city unions gave up huge concessions without a strike



**Toronto, January 26: Thousands of trade unionists protest outside convention of Ontario Liberal Party.**

# For Class-Struggle Leadership!

early last year. Other unionized workers, from steelworkers in Hamilton to Sudbury miners and more, have been saddled with giveback contracts including big cuts to jobs and pensions.

As for Bill C-377, the ink hadn't even had time to dry before the labour misleaders raised the white flag. Last fall, a column in the bosses' *Financial Post* (6 September 2012) by Lewenza and Dave Coles of the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers union (which is about to merge with the CAW) griped about the bill's "onerous and discriminatory accounting regulations," with not a hint of the need to mobilize the unions' membership to stop it. For his part, NDP [New Democratic Party] federal labour critic Alexandre Boulerice issued a press release faithfully entrusting the issue to the capitalist courts and a constitutional appeal.

Pettifogging legalism, cap-in-hand parliamentary lobbying, electoral support every four years to the pro-capitalist NDP (or even the thoroughly capitalist Liberal Party): this is the program that has brought the workers movement to its knees. As of 2011, private-sector unionization was down to 17 percent, from 22 percent 15 years previously. The frequency of strikes is now 0.03 percent—a drop of 90 percent since the 1970s! The union tops' cringing loyalty to the bosses is amplified by the NDP social democrats and their preach-

ments of “sacrifice” to the working class. Wages, pensions, vacation time and sick leave have all been on the chopping block, with each new retreat emboldening the capitalists to push harder.

The ongoing global economic crisis has provided new opportunities for the capitalists to open a trap door beneath the feet of working people. The handmaidens to ruling-class “austerity,” union-busting laws aim at intensifying the rate of exploitation, i.e., jacking up profits by shrinking labour costs. Far from being some kind of “misguided policy” of conservative economists and politicians (as the union bureaucracy would have it), such assaults are the inevitable requirement of the profit-driven capitalist system.

The Canadian ruling class is looking with envy to its senior partners in the U.S., where anti-union laws in various states have helped throw workers' living standards into free fall. In early 2011, all eyes were turned to the Midwest, where an explosion of workers' anger was sparked when the Wisconsin state legislature passed a union-busting law against public employees. Criminally, the union bureaucrats refused to wield the vast social power of labour shown (briefly) in the streets. Instead, they strangled militants' hopes and energies by diverting them into a months-long campaign to recall Republican officeholders, aiming to replace them with politicians from the other party of U.S. capitalism, the Democrats.

The “right to work” cancer soon metastasized to nearby Indiana. Then on December 11, 2012, Michigan, a labour stronghold since the 1930s and birthplace of the United Auto Workers (UAW), became the 24th state to enact such laws. Just one day later, Harper’s Tories rushed Bill C-377 through parliament.

## Why Workers Risk Their Lives for Unions

Since the dawn of the industrial revolution, in the fight to build and join trade unions men and women have defied the bosses' rules, burned their strikebreaking injunctions and faced down their cops and scabs on picket lines. By the 1930s and '40s, every class-conscious

worker in this country knew a union shop meant the difference between squalid poverty and a living wage; a degree of safety on the job vs. daily peril to life and limb; bowing before management favouritism vs. the possibility of collectively standing up for your rights. All this is now laid out for sacrifice on the altar of capital, but there by the labour traitors.

On the heels of the second imperialist World War a strike wave gripped the burgeoning Ontario steel and auto industries. In Windsor in 1945, 17,000 Ford workers waged a bitter, months-long struggle for a union, thwarting police strikebreaking with massive picket lines and street blockades. To tame the threat of a surging labour movement, the bosses' arbitrator, Supreme Court judge Ivan Rand, struck a devil's bargain with the UAW tops.

The “Rand formula,” which became a standard feature of union contracts in Canada, recognized the union’s right to collect dues and to represent its members, but only in exchange for a ban on strikes in the life of a contract, with severe financial penalties for any violations. The union also won the automatic dues check-off whereby dues are directly collected by employer then transferred to the union. This measure secured some financial stability for the unions, but it undermined contact between the union leadership and workers on the shop floor, serving to institutionalize class collaboration at the top.

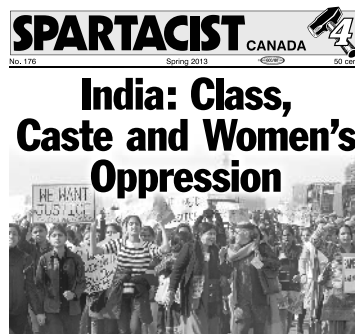
The current threats to ban the dues check-off are aimed at bankrupting the unions and hamstringing their ability to fight. *Every worker has an immediate right to strike in fighting these attacks tooth and nail!* But the present system of collecting dues via the companies also epitomizes the bureaucrats' legalism and fervent desire for "labour peace." Making the boss the union's banker sets up the union for financial blackmail and further undercuts its capacity to strike. A class-struggle leadership would fight for the unions to directly control dues collection.

## Down With Anti-Labour Witchhunt!

It's no coincidence that the calls for anti-union legislation became louder dur-



**March 2011:  
Spartacists at rally  
at Wisconsin State  
Capitol against  
union-busting  
bill pushed by  
Governor Scott  
Walker.**



New Delhi, December 21: Protest outside president's residence following gang rape of young woman.

## Deadly Rape Sparks Mass Protests

The following article is reprinted from *Women's Vanguard* No. 101 (18 February), co-edited by the *Southwest Center*.

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## WORKERS VANGUARD

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

# 14,000 Demand: Free Lynne Stewart Now!

As we reported two months ago, the family of class-war prisoner Lynne Stewart is waging a desperate fight for a “compassionate” release to obtain critical medical treatment. The 73-year-old Stewart has been battling breast cancer, which has metastasized and spread to her lymph nodes, shoulder and lungs. Following bouts of debilitating chemotherapy, Stewart’s cancer remains at Stage 4.

A radical lawyer with a history of defending leftists, black militants and others in the crosshairs of the imperialist rulers, Stewart was railroaded to prison on ludicrous “support to terrorism” charges for zealously defending her client, a blind Islamic cleric. Over 14,000 have signed a petition demanding Stewart’s release that was circulated by her family. Typical of the many messages of support, famed actor Ed Asner stated: “In tormenting Lynne Stewart the government seeks to terrorize all lawyers who would defend those targeted by State repression. The treatment of Lynne Stewart is a threat to due process, an assault on fundamental rights that date to Magna Carta.”

Last month, Stewart's husband Ralph Poynter reported that the warden of FMC Carswell recommended Stewart's release. Standing in the way of Stewart's going home is the federal judge who resentence her to ten years in prison. We continue to urge readers of *WV* to sign the petition posted on [lynnestewart.org](http://lynnestewart.org). Contributions to Stewart's legal defense can be sent to: Lynne Stewart Organization, 1070 Dean

**Lynne Stewart  
with her  
husband,  
Ralph Poynter,  
following her  
conviction in  
February 2005.**



Street, Brooklyn, NY 11216.

We print below an appreciation of Stewart by Tom Manning dated April 3 and sent to the Partisan Defense Committee. Like Stewart and his comrade Jaan Laaman, Manning is one of 20 activists behind bars receiving stipends under the PDC's program of support to class-war prisoners. Manning and Laaman were members of the group of anti-imperialist fighters that came to be known as the Ohio 7, convicted for their roles in a radical group that took credit for bank "expropriations" and bombings of symbols of U.S. imperialism, such as military and corporate offices, in the late 1970s and '80s.

Before their arrests in 1984 and 1985, the Ohio 7 were targets of massive manhunts. Having already sentenced the Ohio 7

to decades in prison, the Feds subsequently tried three of them on charges of “seditious conspiracy.” Despite pouring \$10 million into this effort, the government failed in its ominous attempt to revive the sweeping McCarthy-era criminalization of left-wing political activism. This was a victory for the working class and all oppressed. Yet today Ohio 7 attorney Stewart has been condemned to what could be a death sentence under the “war on terror,” presently a more effective means to isolate and witchhunt left-wing activists. Free Lynne Stewart! Free Tom Manning and Jaan Laaman! Free the class-war prisoners!

\* \* \*

Dear Folks—

Your stipend gift arrived, again, wel-

The struggle continues!  
Tom Manning

ing the wave of social struggle in Quebec sparked by last year's student strike. In September, Harper protégé and Ottawa-area MP Pierre Poilievre seized on a donation to the student strikers by the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC), and especially on a PSAC committee's statement of support for candidates of the Parti Québécois and Québec Solidaire in that month's Quebec elections.

Raving against the union's support to "political parties whose avowed goal is Quebec separation," Poilievre demanded action against "forced unionism." His Quebec-bashing campaign was picked up by bourgeois press outlets including Sun Media and the *National Post*. A 4 September [2012] *Post* headline thundered, "With PQ endorsement, the federal PSAC union launches its membership off a cliff."

Another media furor used to ram through Bill C-377 was whipped up over the Canadian Union of Postal Workers' decision to send delegates to a World Social Forum "Free Palestine" event in Brazil. This led to lying, terrorist-baiting diatribes in the *Toronto Sun*. The right of unions to spend money on political and social causes of their own choosing—from defense of the Palestinians, to support for abortion rights and solidarity with Native struggles—has been a perennial target of anti-union propaganda.

We defend the right of unions to choose where to spend their funds, with absolutely no interference from the capitalists. At the same time, class-struggle militants must fight inside the unions in opposition to policies that are against the workers' interests, such as support to bourgeois parties and to the flagrantly pro-capitalist NDP. Pouring money into impotent "public relations" campaigns, along with elec-

toral support every few years to the NDP (or the Liberals), has been a direct route to the graveyard.

The NDP was founded in 1961 on the twin pillars of Cold War anti-Communism and the myth that the capitalist state serves the interests of the exploiter and exploited alike. It is a textbook example of what V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 workers revolution in Russia, dubbed a “bourgeois workers party”: a labour party with a pro-capitalist program and leadership. The strategic task of communists is to politically split such parties by winning the working-class base away from the influence of the social-democratic misleaders to a class-struggle program and worldview.

**For a Revolutionary  
Workers Party!**

In a 1940 article titled “Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay,” the Marxist leader Leon Trotsky wrote:

“It is necessary to adapt ourselves to the concrete conditions existing in the trade unions of every given country in order to mobilize the masses, not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the totalitarian regime within the trade unions themselves and against the leaders enforcing this regime. The primary slogan for this struggle is: *complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state*. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy.”

There is a burning need for a working-class counteroffensive, a determined and militant fight to organize the unorganized in every workplace. This must go hand-in-hand with the defense by labour of Native people, women and all those oppressed under capitalism. The unions must actively defend foreign-born workers, demanding full citizenship rights for



Public Archives of Canada

**Workers from Motor Products Corporation picket Ford of Canada in solidarity with 1945 strike by UAW in Windsor, Ontario.**

all immigrants. Against the efforts of the capitalist media to isolate and demonize relatively better-off union members, a struggle by both public and private sector unions to defend their hard-won gains and expand health care, pensions and other social services for everyone could mobilize broad support among non-union workers and the poor.

The key to unchaining the power of the working class is the building of a binational, internationalist workers party dedicated to sweeping away the capitalist profit system. In the face of deep divisions between workers in English Canada and Quebec—divisions constantly reinforced by the NDP and union tops' crusades for "Canadian unity"—such a party would combat all instances of Anglo chauvinism and advocate independence for Quebec. At

come and useful as ever.

In appreciation I thought I'd copy something I'd written for Mumia—back at ADX, and send it to you all. To do with as you will—a gift to a supporter?

Thinking about Lynne, a dear friend, a part of our defense team in all ten United Freedom Front trials—always bringing joy and solidarity into the prisons for late night visits hours of travel time away from her home in N.Y.C.—her children and her partner Ralph becoming part of the family—Ralph our investigator, traveling back to Ohio, Pennsylvania, and wherever else need checking on. Coming back with a report on how my Great Dane, Chico, was doing five years after I had to abandon him as the FBI Hostage Rescue Team assaulted our farm house with Huey helicopters bearing large Red Cross insignia—a violation of the Geneva Convention.

Their positive spirits in the visiting room would get under the skin of the guard that, one night they keyed Ralph's car—all down the driver's side.

Twice, the judge ordered blood taken from me to use DNA in the trial—knowing I'd resist to the best of my ability—in keeping with my vow of total noncollaboration. Lynne came into the prison as moral support. On the first occasion I was beaten so bad—the guys in the block rioted for four days, and Lynne was badly shaken. The authorities lost the videotape of the event. On the second occasion Lynne got a court order to bring a camera—and videotaped the whole thing. On each blood taking, the shoulder of the arm they wanted—was badly damaged—and both had to have open rotator cuff surgery. As I write I'm awaiting a total reverse shoulder implant—stemming from the original damage. Lynne's tape of that day will always be there—as a piece of this history.

She would make sure we'd get to read any book we expressed interest in, or that she thought we'd find interesting—especially anything on John Brown. A man close to her heart.

So as I read of her troubles now—her health and captivity situation—it galls me bitterly not to be able to bring her relief.



Silvio Berlusconi

Reuters

# Italian Elections



Beppe Grillo

Reuters

# Austerity, Populism and Anti-Worker Attacks

*The following leaflet was issued by our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia on April 30 and distributed at the traditional May Day march in Milan.*

The January elections have shaken the bourgeois political landscape. The bourgeoisie expected that the elections would result in a coalition government consisting of the Democratic Party (PD) and the electoral slate headed by outgoing prime minister Mario Monti, with the liberal left in Left Ecology Freedom (SEL) tagging along. The idea was that this government, with the support of the union bureaucracies, would become a trustworthy tool to impose the brutal austerity and public spending cuts required to guarantee the profits that Italian and foreign banks expect from their investments in the Italian national debt.

Instead, the elections were a deformed expression of popular resistance to the diktats of the “market” and the European Union (EU). The slate headed by Monti received barely 10 percent of the vote. The PD, rightly seen as stalwart defenders of Monti’s austerity program, lost 3.5 million votes. Berlusconi’s People of Freedom (PDL) managed to avoid catastrophe only through an about-face, passing itself off as Monti’s bitter enemy after a year of supporting him while playing anti-tax demagoguery to the hilt. The real winner of the elections was the Five Star Movement (M5S) led by Beppe Grillo, a bourgeois demagogue with a reactionary streak, which managed to garner 25 percent of the vote from both the left and right ends of the political spectrum with his “go f--k yourself” message to the political establishment.

The M5S is a bourgeois political formation that expresses the despair of the petty bourgeoisie as it confronts a deep economic crisis and the support of all the major bourgeois parties (first and foremost, the PD) for the austerity measures dictated by the EU and imposed by the Monti government and its predecessors. Its program is a mixture of ecologist prescriptions, invocations to bourgeois “legality,” rabid nationalism and protectionism. It demands that the unions be kept in line and calls for drastic cuts in pensions and wages for public-sector workers. If this plan were carried out, it could only lead to harsh attacks on the working class. Despite the fact that it garnered its votes primarily from angry unemployed youth, petty capitalists in financial ruin and large sectors of a disgruntled working class bled dry by capitalist austerity,



Reuters

Rome, September 2012: Cops attack Alcoa metal workers protesting lost jobs outside Ministry of Employment office.

## Down With the Capitalist European Union! For a Workers Europe!

the M5S is as much an enemy of workers, immigrants and minorities as any of the other parties. To paraphrase American writer Gore Vidal, one could say that within the grotesque circus known as the Italian parliament, there is a monster with three wings—all of them right wings.

After a month of contortions and internal strife, the PD and the PDL have managed to throw together a national unity government to continue the blood and tears policy imposed by Monti and his predecessors. The new government was blessed by the re-election of 87-year-old president Napolitano and the appointment of Democrat Enrico Letta as prime minister. (The latter is known as “the nephew of his uncle”—Gianni Letta was Berlusconi’s right-hand man and was named “Gentleman of his Holiness” by [then Pope] Ratzinger.)

In the face of the devastation wreaked by the bourgeoisie’s economic and political crisis, a powerful class-struggle response to populist demagoguery and austerity plans is urgently needed. Factory closings and layoffs must be met with a call to divide all available work among the entire available workforce with no reduction in pay. A sliding scale of wages is necessary to confront the increasing gap between the value of wages and the cost of living.

Unions must take up the defense of immigrant workers, who are the first fired, and demand full citizenship rights for them.

The working class, acting as the vanguard for vast sectors of the impoverished and oppressed, has the power to defeat the capitalists’ schemes. The main obstacle faced by workers is their own union leaderships, which politically embrace the bourgeois order and support the reactionary European Union—and have thus far been successful in containing and isolating struggles. These bureaucrats spread the lie that workers and their exploiters share a common “national interest,” and thus workers have to sacrifice their share when the economy goes down the drain. But workers and capitalists *have opposing class interests*. The boom and bust cycles endemic to the capitalist system will be eliminated only when the proletariat comes to power and takes control of the means of production currently owned by the bourgeoisie, building a collectivized and planned economy on an international scale.

### For a Socialist United States of Europe!

Back in January, European Commission President Barroso declared: “We can say that the existential threat against the

euro has essentially been overcome.” But in fact this is still just the beginning of the euro crisis and the euro zone continues to unravel. Unable to contain the debt crisis that erupted in 2010, the imperialist masters of the EU and their partners in the International Monetary Fund [IMF] continue to bleed working people dry. The last “rescue package” (to salvage the capitalist bloodsuckers) struck the tiny Republic of Cyprus. The Troika (the IMF, European Central Bank and EU) answered Cyprus’s request for support to their banks by demanding in return the complete destruction of the island’s economy, which had served as a tax haven in recent years.

In Italy, Mario Monti’s “technocratic” government—which came to power in November 2011 with the support of the PD and the PDL in a broad national-unity coalition—dedicated all its efforts to making sure that the state’s debt to financial and industrial capitalists was repaid to the last euro, squeezing the working class and the petty bourgeoisie to line the bankers’ pockets. His government slashed billions from pensions, public workers’ wages and health services. Contracts in both the private and public sectors have gotten worse, while unemployment continues to rise. Some 609,000 jobs were lost in 2012 alone and another 488,000 in the first two months of 2013. Eight million people live below the poverty line. Youth unemployment has reached 38.7 percent and only 23 percent of women younger than 34 years of age have jobs. A huge number of immigrant workers, already hit hard by the initial crisis in 2008, have been thrown into conditions of greater misery, facing the risk of deportation and even more exploitative working conditions.

The crisis has had greatest impact in those EU countries whose economies have been historically weaker than the German zone. In 2010, international finance, fearing a default by Greece, stopped borrowing against its debt [i.e., buying government bonds] and imposed a series of draconian “reforms” to guarantee repayments to its mainly German, French and Italian creditors. The Greek economy sank into a recessionary spiral, and the debt crisis spread to Spain, Portugal, Italy and Cyprus. The consequences for the working class in these countries were devastating. In Spain and Greece, the unemployment rate exceeds 27 percent and living conditions for the population have been thrown back decades.

The plundering of the economies of





Italy...

(continued from page 7)

courts, which they claimed would defend FIOM’s right to organize workers at Fiat. In so doing, the FIOM leadership effectively sabotaged the workers’ will to fight, leaving the way open for the capitalists. In the meantime, the FIOM leadership tried to purge the most militant sectors, attempting to oust, e.g., Sergio Bellavita, a leader of the Rete 28 Aprile, from the secretariat and expelling PCL [Communist Workers Party] supporters. *No to purging leftists from unions!*

Workers struggles must be united around a program of common class defense against the bosses and the state. The unions have been heavily undermined by their treacherous leaders, who have sacrificed workers to the interests of the capitalists and their governments. To once again become effective instruments in the struggle to defend workers, the unions must regain a class-struggle perspective. The unions were built through hard class battles waged through strikes, mass pickets and solidarity strikes in defiance of anti-strike laws and of state prosecution. It will take hard class struggle to revitalize them. And this requires a struggle to oust the current leaderships—chained to the PD and its reformist tails—and replace them with a new leadership, one that understands that the workers and capitalists have no common interests. A class-struggle leadership would play a crucial role in building a workers party that fights for a workers government.

Reformist Betrayers and Grillo, the Pied Piper

For almost 20 years, Italy has been ruled by alternating coalitions of Berlusconi on the right and popular-front coalitions around the PD and its forebears, the PDS and the DS. Rifondazione Comunista gave outside support and then participated in the capitalist governments led by the Ulivo [Olive Tree, 1996-98] and the Unione [Union, 2006-2008]. The PRC’s internal oppositionists (Falcemartello and all the previous incarnations of Critical Left, the Communist Workers Party and Communist Alternative) also supported them in the elections. These popular-front governments systematically attacked the working class, immigrants and minorities, paving the way for right-wing governments. This has particularly discredited Rifondazione, whose pretense of being a “working-class” organization was blatantly exposed by the role it played in the Prodi [Ulivo and Unione] government. Thus, since its electoral defeat in 2008, the PRC has not had any seats in parliament.

Nevertheless, the PRC has continued its politics of class betrayal. In the last elections, the PRC ran as part of Rivoluzione Civile [Civic Revolution], led by former judges Antonio Di Pietro and Antonio Ingroia. The judiciary, together with the police and the army, forms the core of the capitalist state—bodies of armed men whose “job” is defending the power of the



Romano Prodi (center), head of capitalist popular-front Ulivo government, during 1996 elections. Reformist leftists backed Ulivo, which carried out attacks on workers, immigrants.

ruling class and private ownership of the means of production. They are enemies, not allies, of the workers movement. The hallmarks of Rivoluzione Civile are defense of “the rule of law” and support for judges to bring an end to corruption in the Italian political system. The politics of this coalition were so rotten that in Sicily the slate was headed by a former leader of the fascist MSI [the historic party of Italian fascism], while number two was the former chief of the SILP “union” [Italian Police Workers Union], which opposed enacting laws against torture in the aftermath of the bloody repression in Genoa in 2001 because that would undermine the honor of the police corps! No wonder this motley crew did not win a single seat in parliament!

Defending the “rule of law” and the “fight against tax evasion” are slogans that the reformist left has raised for decades as a guarantee to the bourgeoisie that they can be trusted to respect the framework of bourgeois society. Embracing these reactionary themes as their own, the M5S found fertile ground, thanks to the illusions sowed in the workers movement by the left and reformist parties.

Several reformist groups and parts of the “left-wing” union bureaucracy, such as the Rete 28 Aprile, lined up behind M5S’s demagogic populism. Among Grillo & Co.’s most fervent supporters are Maoists such as CARC [Support Committees for Communist Resistance], who demanded:

“Vote and make others vote for the Five Star Movement...the slate that has a better chance than others that have declared their opposition to the politics of social butchery, to bring oppositionists into the Parliament of the Papal Republic and disrupt the parliamentary cover of their future government.”

After the vote, even Giorgio Cremaschi, head of the Rete 28 Aprile, celebrated M5S’s victory, saying:

“How could you not be satisfied with this disorder?... We must hope that the Five Star Movement understands that their victory does not reflect a specific choice, let alone the delegation of power, but it is a signal and part of the revolt that is growing throughout Europe and has finally really taken off here too....

The fact that Italian voters have finally started giving the finger to the Lords of the spread [between Italian and German bonds] should give us some confidence. And let’s get ready to fight.”

—rete28aprile.it, 26 February

The Rete 28 Aprile did not call for a vote to the M5S because they didn’t want to upset the bloc of union bureaucrats, some of whom supported Rivoluzione Civile and others the M5S. But the fact that even what passes for the “far left” in the unions couldn’t decide between the judges’ party and the populist charlatan



October 2012: Marco Ferrando (left), head of Communist Workers Party, and Giorgio Cremaschi (right), head of the Rete 28 Aprile, at Rome demonstration.

Grillo is symptomatic of the political decay in which these advocates of class collaboration are mired.

For the Class Independence of the Proletariat

Marco Ferrando’s Communist Workers Party stood out from the rest of the reformist left for its explicit hostility to M5S. After the election, the PCL declared:

“The elections saw the success of an old billionaire swindler (Berlusconi) and, especially, a millionaire comedian (Grillo). A ‘guru’ who proposes, among other things (in tune with the schemes by the guru of gurus, millionaire boss Casaleggio), the outright abolition of unions (‘19th century junk’) precisely at the moment when labor and trade-union rights are facing the greatest attacks by the bosses. In Parma, where he is in office, Grillo increased the costs of day care and prices in cafeterias to pay interest to the banks. He demands mass firings in the public sector and the reduction of all pensions to reduce the tax burden on the bosses (by abolishing the IRAP [the regional production tax]). Why did so many youth, so many workers, so many temporary workers, make the calamitous mistake and end up trusting a millionaire guru who has nothing in common with their interests? Because they had no frame of reference, no representatives, and no perspectives in the midst of the most dramatic social crisis in the post-war period.... Rebuilding an independent representative of the workers as an alternative to the dictatorship of industrialists and banks: this is the real necessity.” (emphasis in the original)

Proletarian class independence from the parties of the exploiters and their state is a precondition for effective struggle against capitalist austerity and must be

the starting point for anyone intending to overthrow capitalist rule. In practice, however, the PCL has made its own not insignificant contribution to sowing defeats and confusion among the most advanced elements of the working class. They have cozied up to the ecologists, from the “No TAV” [protests against high-speed trains] to opposition to construction of the variante di valico [a highway]. They called for “workers and popular control over tax collection to root out tax evasion” (pclavoratori.it, 19 February). They have embraced the populist rhetoric against “the caste,” demanding: “Cancel all the privileges of the caste and the church!”

If workers are currently towed in the wake of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, the PCL’s politics are also to blame. Throughout its entire existence (including its previous incarnations, such as Progetto Comunista), the PCL has been intractably committed to seeking a popular front as a goal of workers struggles. For some 15 years, Progetto Comunista pursued a policy of loyal opposition to Rifondazione, supporting it along with every capitalist coalition government that the PRC participated in. Prior to being kicked out by [PD leader] D’Alema in 2006, Marco Ferrando was a candidate on the PRC slates, which were part of Prodi’s anti-working-class coalitions. Even after they left the PRC, the PCL systematically demonstrated its attachment to their formula of critical support to capitalist popular fronts. In the second round of voting during the 2011 local elections, the PCL called for a

vote to Pisapia and De Magistris, the local puppets of the PD (and “judges’ party”). Just one year ago, the PCL called for a vote to François Hollande in the second round of the French presidential elections, arguing that: “The defeat of Sarkozy [sic] and his reactionary government is a positive development and must be carried through without hesitation in the second round” (pclavoratori.it, 23 April 2012).

PCL supporters may solace themselves that these are tactical errors that one could discuss. But for us Marxists, class independence is a matter of principle. A vote for Hollande was a vote for anti-worker austerity measures and imperialist adventures that the French Socialist Party promised during the elections and carried out since it came to power. Unlike the PCL, we Trotskyists oppose, as a matter of principle, any electoral support to parties that participate in popular-front coalitions with bourgeois parties.

To break out of the long cycle of defeats and lead the working class in the inevitable struggles against capitalist austerity, we need a revolutionary party. Such a party must fight to win back the vanguard of the working class and the youth to the principles of Marxism and the fundamental understanding of the need to abolish the capitalist mode of production and replace it with a planned, socialized economy on an international scale. The first step in building this party is breaking with the tradition of class collaboration that has led to the bankruptcy of reformism and the rise of bourgeois populism. This is the perspective the Lega Trotskista d’Italia fights for. ■

A Spartacist Pamphlet

**Karl Marx Was Right**

**Capitalist Anarchy**  
and the  
**Immiseration of the Working Class**

**For Workers Revolution!**  
**For an International Planned Socialist Economy!**

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**Imperialism**  
the “Global Economy”  
and Labor Reformism

**Imperialist Rivalries Heat Up..... 3**  
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Shakur...

(continued from page 12)

consider a terrorist is entirely self-serving. Freely roaming the beaches of Miami is Cuban CIA operative Luis Posada Carriles, the mastermind of the 1976 bombing of a Cubana airliner, which killed 73 people, as well as hotel bombings in Cuba in 1997 that killed an Italian tourist and wounded 12 other people.

On 2 May 1973, Shakur and two other former Panthers, Zayd Malik Shakur and Sundiata Acoli—then members of the Black Liberation Army—were stopped by troopers Foerster and James Harper on the New Jersey Turnpike, supposedly for a “faulty taillight.” Approaching the car, one of the cops drew his gun and ordered the three to raise their hands. A moment later, Zayd Shakur was shot dead by Harper. Foerster died in the crossfire, shot *with a bullet from a police revolver*. Assata had just been shot twice, once in the back. Acoli was convicted of killing Foerster in 1974 and sentenced to life. After standing trial six times on other charges without a conviction, in 1977 Assata Shakur was finally tried and convicted by an all-white New Jersey jury on grotesque charges of killing her own comrade Zayd as well as Foerster.

At their May 2 press conference, Fuentes and Ford repeated the lie, dutifully echoed by the bourgeois press, that Shakur “murdered a law enforcement officer execution style.” This never happened, nor could it have. One of the bullets that struck Assata shattered her clavicle and median nerve, paralyzing her entire right arm. Assata’s fingerprints were absent from every gun and piece of ammunition found at the

scene. Neutron activation analysis taken immediately after Assata arrived at the hospital showed there was no gunpowder residue on her hands. Shakur was never convicted of firing the shot that killed Foerster. Instead, she was railroaded to prison as an “accomplice” under a New Jersey statute that declares that if a per-



Sinister billboard on roadside in Newark, New Jersey, May 2013.

son present at the scene of a crime can be construed as “aiding and abetting” it, she can be convicted of the crime itself. Assata Shakur was on the receiving end of the greatest terrorist enterprise in the world—the bloodthirsty American capitalist rulers. She and her two com-

rades were among the targets for assassination by the FBI and cops under the deadly Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). In the eyes of the capitalist rulers, the great crime of the Panthers was not only proclaiming the need for a revolutionary solution to the oppression of black people but advocating the right of armed self-defense against the racist terrorists, whether in the white robes of the KKK or the navy blue of the police. The FBI’s J. Edgar Hoover labeled the Panthers the “greatest threat to the internal security of the U.S.” and in 1968 vowed, “The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries.” Despite our deep political differences with the Panthers, we as Marxists vigorously defended them against the capitalist state’s murderous drive to crush black radicalism.

Thirty-eight Panthers were cut down, including Chicago party leader Fred Hampton, shot to death in December 1969 as he lay in his bed. Countless more were locked away for decades on frame-up charges. Foremost among them was Los Angeles Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who himself survived an LAPD assassination attempt days after Hampton’s murder and was later imprisoned for 27 years on frame-up charges for a murder that FBI wiretap logs confirmed he could not have committed, as he was 400 miles away. Today, former Panther spokesman Mumia Abu-Jamal is condemned to a life of prison hell on false charges of killing police officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981. Mumia spent 30 years on death row before his death sentence was overturned two years ago. Like Shakur, the seriously wounded Mumia

could not have shot anyone: no physical evidence linked Mumia to Faulkner’s killing and the courts rejected outright the evidence of innocence. In Mumia’s case, the suppressed evidence included the confession of the actual killer.

After the New Jersey governor put a \$100,000 bounty on her head 15 years ago, Shakur stated in an open letter:

“I am a 20th century escaped slave. Because of government persecution, I was left with no other choice than to flee from the political repression, racism and violence that dominate the US government’s policy towards people of color.... “This political persecution was part and parcel of the government’s policy of eliminating political opponents by charging them with crimes and arresting them with no regard to the factual basis of such charges.... “I guess the theory is that if they could kidnap millions of Africans from Africa 400 years ago, they should be able to kidnap one African woman today. It is nothing but an attempt to bring about the re-incarnation of the Fugitive Slave Act. All I represent is just another slave that they want to bring back to the plantation. Well, I might be a slave, but I will go to my grave a rebellious slave.”

In the absence of a class-struggle leadership of labor committed to the fight for black freedom, the Panthers, their personal courage notwithstanding, rejected the only strategy for sweeping away the racist bourgeois order—socialist revolution by the multiracial proletariat. Instead, they embraced a reformist program that included the utopian call for “community control” of the police. Racist repression and cop terror will only be ended when the working class seizes state power under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party. Hands off Assata Shakur! Free Sundiata Acoli! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! ■

USC...

(continued from page 12)

riot gear, he replied, “When USC calls us, this is how we come.” In 2008, at least 75 LAPD officers in riot gear used clubs, smoke bombs, Tasers and pepper ball guns to shut down a block party. When a hundred of the partygoers held an impromptu sit-in on the street trying to hold off the police action, nine were arrested.

USC is located in South Central L.A., whose black and Latino residents are targets for the notorious LAPD. Especially over the past year, the city and campus cops have stepped up ID checks, stop-and-frisk manhandling and other daily harassment of minority students, and the university now shuts the gates to campus at 9 p.m. Through its enforcers, the USC administration is sending a message: neighborhood residents must stay out, and those black and Latino students who remain in school should understand they are second-class citizens at an enclave for the privileged (estimated annual costs for 2013 total over \$62,000). Last year, blacks made up only 5 percent of USC students.

We say, open the gates, open the classrooms: *for open admission and no tuition with a state-paid living stipend for all!* For the nationalization of the private universities under student-teacher-worker control—abolish the administration!

Nate Howard, the student who organized the party that was shut down, said, “Here we have LAPD who are still trying to make us live in 1963!” But it’s not just USC and it’s not just the cops. Black youth across the board are criminalized in this deeply racist capitalist society. Measured by quality of life, de facto segregation, chances for social advancement, etc., things for the vast majority of black people have only gotten worse since the upheaval against cop violence that shook the Watts ghetto in 1965, not far away from USC.

The deep resentment of police brutality is reflected in the sympathy among minority residents of L.A. for Christopher Dorner, the unhinged black ex-LAPD officer who was driven to homicidal vengeance against cops and their families by the racist treatment he received at the hands of his former employer. His manifesto describing the unabashed rac-

ism, corruption and sadism of the L.A. cops struck a chord for many. More than 20 years after the brutal cop beating of Rodney King, the city rulers and their media mouthpieces try to sow the myth that things have changed and there is now a kinder, gentler police force. But brutality and racial profiling can never be “reformed” out of the police. Enforcing the capitalist rulers’ racist “law and order” is part of their job of ensuring that a small number of exploiters keep their hands on the vast majority of society’s wealth.

The very few black students at elite private universities like USC are mainly drawn from the top echelons of black America or aspire to move into this stratum. The vast majority of white Americans, not to mention the poor and working-class residents of South Central, are priced out of this institution. While increasing numbers of ghetto youth are seen as expendable by the ruling class, capitalist society has a role for the so-called “talented tenth” of the black population, as token executives in corporations, black elected officials to keep a lid on the restless masses, professionals and so on. Yet they, too, are branded by the color of their skin and liable to themselves be targeted by the cops and courts. Understandably, “We are scholars not criminals” has become a rallying cry for the USC students

in the wake of the police assault. A prime example of how the oppression of black people cuts across class lines was the arrest of distinguished black Harvard professor Henry Louis Gates Jr. outside his own home in 2009. As we observed at the time:

“That an eminent world-class scholar—who is on a first-name basis with the president, no less—can be subjected to such patently racist abuse speaks volumes about the condition of black people in this country, and it shows how little it has been changed by Obama’s election. The somber reality is that racial oppression is structurally embedded in American capitalism and will not be overcome short of socialist revolution.” —“Obama’s ‘Change’ Is More of the Same,” WV No. 940, 31 July 2009

As revolutionary socialists, we actively fight against every manifestation of racist injustice. At the same time, the SL and Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to win students to the understanding that black freedom requires a thoroughgoing revolution made by the working class under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party. We are looking for the few students who aim higher than their own advancement within a system of exploitation and oppression—those who seek a role in creating a completely different kind of society. ■

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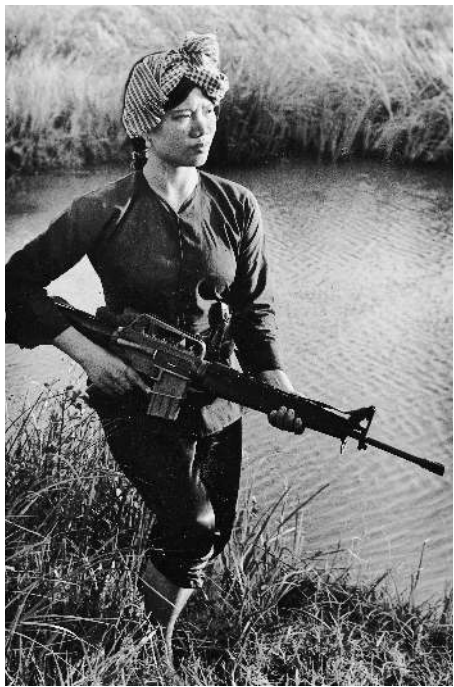
# Torture...

(continued from page 1)

the heap is the American bourgeoisie, the most powerful terrorists on the planet. The U.S. rulers have dropped atomic bombs to incinerate civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, napalmed Vietnamese villages and engineered Central American dirty wars to smash popular uprisings of leftist insurgents. As long as these butchers remain in power, there will be no end to the carnage. Only smashing U.S. imperialism from within through victorious workers revolution can put it out of its bloodthirsty business.

## From Saigon to Baghdad: The James Steele Saga

Recently, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the *Guardian* newspaper have highlighted the widespread torture and assassinations by the U.S. at



Le Minh Truong/Another Vietnam

**NLF guerrilla, 1973. Heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants inflicted humiliating defeat on U.S. imperialist colossus.**

the height of the occupation of Iraq. A BBC documentary released in March, *Searching for Steele*, recounts the central role of the U.S. in setting up and funding “Special Police Commandos” (SPC) to quell the Sunni insurgency against the occupation. These Commandos developed into Shi’ite-dominated death squads. The country descended into a sectarian civil war that by some accounts has claimed the lives of 100,000 Iraqis.

A slew of recent works of investigative journalism illustrate that the machinery of U.S. state terror is passed relatively seamlessly between Democratic and Republican administrations. In a review of Jeremy Scahill’s new book, *Dirty Wars: The World Is a Battlefield*, his fellow *Nation* writer Tom Engelhardt describes how imperialist Commanders-in-Chief Bush and Obama “transformed an increasingly militarized CIA, a hush-hush crew called the Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC), and a shiny new ‘perfect weapon’ and high-tech fantasy object, the drone, into the president’s own privatized military” (*Nation*, 23 April).

The BBC documentary focuses on one James Steele, an army colonel whose career shows in microcosm that, in order to intimidate and quell an entire population, the imperialists must resort to indiscriminate terror. A specialist in the dark arts of counterinsurgency, Steele is a shadowy figure who began his career during the Vietnam War. He then served in the 1980s as an adviser in the U.S. imperialists’ dirty wars in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama and who knows where else in Central America, overseeing local anti-Communist death squads. For a couple of years starting in 2003, Steele was brought out of retirement to serve as a consultant to the Bush administration and U.S. military tops in Iraq.

At the outset of the occupation in 2003, the U.S. rulers disbanded the Iraqi mili-

tary and attempted to build a new one from scratch. It became apparent that this was a fiasco as the new recruits began deserting and retreating en masse when confronted by effective insurgent fighters. The most sophisticated and best-organized elements of the diffuse insurgency were Sunni, exemplified by the revolt in Falluja in 2004. To counter this armed resistance, the Iraqi puppet government formed the SPC, initially made up of former members of Hussein’s special forces and Republican Guard. Impressed by the caliber of these fighters, General David Petraeus—whom Obama appointed to head the CIA in April 2011—created a \$2 billion fund to provide them arms, ammunition and supplies.

Drawing on his experience in Central America, Steele was called in to advise this force and help run a network of “interrogation centers” across Iraq. Former prisoners at these facilities and war logs turned over to WikiLeaks have recounted some of the methods by which prisoners were interrogated: electric shocks; rape and sexual molestation; amputations; burning with acid; beatings with shovels, cables and chains; stomping on prisoners’ heads; hanging them by their hands until their shoulders were dislocated and pulling their ears with pliers. Steele had lengthy meetings with the leader of the SPC, requested that specific detainees be interrogated, and was regularly present at the main interrogation center where the machinery of torture ground on and on. The U.S. military gave its imprimatur in June 2004 when it directed troops not to investigate acts of torture by Iraqis on Iraqis.

As the insurgency grew, Washington stepped up its divide-and-rule policy, inflaming conflicts between Shi’ite and Sunni Muslims. In early 2004, the ban on Shi’ite militias joining the SPC was lifted and commandos were drawn increasingly from militias such as the Badr Brigades, which had scores to settle with the Sunnis going back at least to Hussein’s brutal, decades-long rule. By the spring of 2005, the SPC was 5,000 strong and had established a fearsome reputation on the streets of Iraqi cities. In Samarra, the heart of the Sunni insurgency, the SPC conducted a citywide raid, going door-to-door and packing hundreds of people off to its torture facilities. In September 2005, Steele sent a memo to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld stating that the SPC was essentially a Shi’ite militia involved in “death squad activities”—as surely he would know.

Alongside the SPC, the secretive, elite U.S. military force known as Joint Special Operations Command was operating independently inside Iraq. A JSOC team



Bettmann

**January 1968: U.S. soldiers and Vietnamese interpreter subject suspected NLF supporter to water torture.**

of roughly 1,000 had entered the country before the U.S. invasion in order to hunt down “high-value targets.” As the invasion got underway, the special ops forces in the war zone were given wide latitude, and JSOC engaged in wholesale massacres during the U.S. army’s march to Baghdad.

JSOC ran the most infamous torture facility in Iraq out of a Hussein-era military base near the Baghdad airport called Camp NAMA, an acronym for “Nasty-Ass Military Area.” Prisoners brought to this facility were subjected to severe beatings, sleep deprivation, sexual humiliation, electric shocks and burns. The SPC and JSOC developed as two prongs of the imperialists’ counterinsurgency strategy in Iraq, with JSOC a technologically sophisticated death squad that would become an integral part of Obama’s “war on terror” around the world. Its kill list would grow accordingly.

## Dirty Wars Against Communism

In pursuing their “war on terror,” the U.S. imperialists have presented reactionary Islamic fundamentalist forces as the main enemy, as well as secular bourgeois-nationalist strongmen like Hussein. But for decades their overriding concern was to “roll back” Communism. From 1917, the imperialist powers sought to undo the Bolshevik-led October Revolution, which ripped one-sixth of the globe from the capitalists’ grip and established the world’s first workers state. Albeit subsequently degenerated under Stalinist bureaucratic rule, the Soviet Union became a powerful counterweight to the U.S. imperialists and their allies and remained so until its coun-

terrevolutionary destruction in 1991-92.

In the 1960s and early ’70s, the American ruling class waged a brutal war against workers and peasants in Vietnam as a part of its anti-Communist crusade. In that war, the U.S. military was pitted against the army of the North Vietnamese deformed workers state and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF). The imperialists resorted to the most brutal war crimes in fighting against a *social revolution* by insurgent workers and peasants. The CIA’s infamous Phoenix program—which relied on special ops forces and counterrevolutionary indigenous militias to assassinate thousands of NLF leaders and supporters—was the godfather of today’s JSOC. Vietnam is where Steele got his start.

At the time, the Socialist Workers Party and other reformist groups built a liberal-pacifist antiwar movement around the slogan: “Bring our boys home.” For us communists, “our boys” were the heroic NLF fighters. We Trotskyists not only called for military victory to the NLF but also demanded: “All Indochina must go communist!” While standing for the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states, we gave no political support to the repressive, nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies. We put forward the perspective of proletarian political revolutions from Moscow to Beijing, Hanoi and Havana to bring to power leaderships committed to extending workers rule internationally, in particular to advanced industrial countries like the U.S.

U.S. efforts to crush leftist insurgents in Central America in the 1980s were colored by its having been badly mauled in Indochina. At home, the rulers had to deal with the “Vietnam syndrome,” the deep hostility and distrust of the populace toward new military engagements abroad. At the same time, Washington continued to back right-wing regimes around the world. Upon taking office in 1981, Republican Ronald Reagan decreed Central America to be the front line of the new Cold War. By “drawing the line against Communism” in El Salvador, Washington was reasserting its imperialist claim to its own backyard as well as taking aim at the USSR and the Cuban deformed workers state, where capitalism was overturned following the seizure of power by Castro’s forces in 1959.

Reagan’s counterinsurgency campaign in El Salvador drew on the anti-Communist legacy of Democrat John F. Kennedy, who had been dead set against there being any more Cubas in this hemisphere. On Kennedy’s orders, two paramilitary groups were set up: the Salvadoran National Security Agency (ANSESAL) and the Democratic Nationalist Organization (ORDEN). The former was an intelligence agency that would coordinate the country’s security forces and the latter was a rural militia that would engage in surveillance and infiltration of political organizations.

Reagan’s predecessor, Democratic president Jimmy Carter, had already ramped up



Wohl/Sygma, Guardian (inset)

**Top: U.S.-backed Nicaraguan contra slits throat of Sandinista supporter, January 1985. Right: U.S. Colonel James Steele oversaw death squads in Central America in 1980s and torture facilities in Iraq during occupation.**





(continued from page 2)

at between 1,000 and 1,200. The Jews lost about 3,000 to 5,000..."

According to the most authentic accounts, Nazi occupation of the Warsaw Ghetto was not completed until 42 days after the fight began, and even months later they were meeting unexpected resistance from tiny hidden groups dug into the ruins and cellars.

Above all, it is necessary to emphasize the working class character of the resistance. The Stalinist swine and the bourgeois nationalist and religious leaders are engaged in a systematic campaign of falsification intended to obscure or deny the class struggle content of the Warsaw Ghetto revolt. While a few middle-class elements did participate, they fought under the inspiration, guidance, organization and leadership of the workers.

“Workers and the working intelligentsia are the heart and soul among the masses of fighting Jews who arose gun in hand against Nazi atrocities,” states an appeal of the Polish Labor Movement issued on the second day of the revolt. “Almost all underground publications, as well as the reports of the government representative, speak of the Jewish Fighter Organization which began and led the struggle... both the appeal of the Polish Labor Movement and some newspapers indicate that the organization consisted chiefly of workers, most of them young.” (S. Mendelsohn, *The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto*.)

## Underground Manifesto

An underground manifesto from Poland, issued by the Fighter Units, proclaims, "Our activity will still make it possible for a certain number of people to be spared... We live in full realization that it is our duty to proudly continue our glorious heritage of Socialist struggle." (*PM*, April 18.)

That struggle is continuing, inspired by the example of the Jewish workers of Warsaw. In Lodz, the biggest Polish industrial center, 130,000 Jewish workers went on a general strike, halting temporarily the Nazi extermination drive there. Armed rebellions have flared up through all the labor camps. A full scale armed resistance was carried on for a month by the Jews of Bialystok, where 30,000 died in struggle and where the "German losses were high despite the heavy armaments, tanks and fire-throwers thrown into the battle." (*PM*, April 18.)

Since the Warsaw battle, the British government has closed the last door of refuge for the Jews, in Palestine, while the American State Department and Roosevelt shed crocodile tears in public but deny haven to the Jews in any United States territory. Roosevelt could only mumble evasive statements about "military necessity" and "post-war" plans when asked to intercede with the British government to open

Palestine once more for Jewish refugees. And on British soil, Jewish soldiers who resisted the anti-Semitic attacks imposed on them in the armed forces of the reactionary Polish exiled regime are court-martialed and given prison sentences.

Now it should be clear to the Jewish people everywhere, and to all the workers, that the capitalist “democracies” will not save the Jews from fascist barbarism. As the Jewish workers of Warsaw have demonstrated, only the workers themselves in revolutionary struggle will fight fascism to the death.

All honor to the brave Jewish worker dead, who have shown the workers everywhere the revolutionary road to freedom and socialist emancipation from capitalist reaction and fascism. When tens of millions shall rise in the manner of the heroic 40,000 worker-fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto, the forces of Nazism and capitalism will be swept away like chaff before the irresistible might of their onslaught. ■

military aid to the Salvadoran army, which then funneled the money to ANSESAL and ORDEN. By the end of the 1970s, ANSESAL and ORDEN death squads were responsible for as many as 800 political assassinations a month. When Reagan entered the White House, he began sending rifles, grenade launchers and helicopters, as well as dispatching “advisers” to the country. Among them was James Steele, who served in El Salvador from 1984-86 as head of the U.S. special forces’ MilGroup, specializing in what is euphemistically referred to as “human intelligence” and interrogation.

Rising social discontent in El Salvador had exploded in 1980 over the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero, seen as an advocate for the poor and oppressed. Opposition groups including peasant organizations, unions, social-democratic parties and parts of the Catholic church united to form the Faribundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), which launched a military campaign against government forces. Despite the U.S. support to the ruling junta, the FMLN was able to take control of significant parts of the country by the middle of 1981.

However, the FMLN, embracing a class-collaborationist alliance with a “progressive” wing of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie, sought a “negotiated settlement” with the death-squad regime, a demand that the reformist Workers World Party in the U.S. supported at the time. The leftist insurgents did not fight under the banner of communism, but they were in an armed conflict with U.S.-backed military juntas and counterrevolutionary terrorists. We demanded: Military victory to leftist insurgents! Defense of Cuba and USSR begins in El Salvador! The leftist forces eventually signed a sellout, U.S.-brokered settlement in 1992, an accommodation to the post-Soviet “new world order.”

As the civil war raged in El Salvador, the U.S. imperialists were involved in another dirty war in nearby Nicaragua, this time supplying the opponents of the government. The petty-bourgeois leftist Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) had overthrown the blood-drenched dynasty of Luis Somoza in 1979, shattering the capitalist state and objectively opening the road to a social revolution. They instituted significant social reforms, including nationalizing the property of Somoza and his cronies, which amounted to as much as 40 percent of the economy. But the Sandinistas, who never espoused an anti-capitalist program, formed a coalition government with elements of the bourgeoisie and maintained a “mixed economy,” which meant that the capitalists were never destroyed as a class. Defense of the Nicaraguan revolution required completing it by overthrowing capitalist rule and extending the revolution throughout Latin America and to the U.S. imperialist behemoth.

The U.S. provided massive aid to the right-wing contra insurgents, some of the most vicious reactionaries in the region,



to overthrow the Sandinista government. Washington also worked hand in hand with the likes of Guatemala's General Efraín Ríos Montt, who was recently found guilty of genocide and other crimes against humanity by a court in that country. The 1986 Iran/contras scandal brought to light that U.S. military officials were shipping guns to the Iranian government and using the proceeds to fund the contras, explicitly violating Congressional bans. Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, the main Reagan administration figure implicated, was using Ilopango Airport in El Salvador to ship weapons and supplies to the contras. Steele ran operations at this very airport.

With the U.S. bankrolling the contras, the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie was able to reassert control a decade later, defeating the revolution. Today's Sandinista and FMLN leaders serve as openly bourgeois politicians at the head of their respective capitalist states.

## For Workers Revolution in the Belly of the Beast!

The current mindset of the U.S. imperialist overlords was expressed by a JSOC operative who spoke with Jeremy Scahill: “The world is a battlefield and we are at war. Therefore the military can go wherever they please and do whatever it is that they want to do, in order to achieve the national security objectives of whichever administration happens to be in power” (*Dirty Wars*). Today in Afghanistan, the widespread atrocities committed by the

U.S./NATO occupiers have the local population seething. With anger mounting at the routine killing, abduction and torture of Afghans, the American puppet government in Kabul took the extraordinary step of barring U.S. special forces from Wardak province earlier this year. Afghan authorities subsequently issued an arrest warrant on murder and torture charges for an American linked to those operations. With its overwhelming military might,

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<p><b>Fake-Trotskyist Posers Promote Anti-Bolshevik Tract</b></p> <p><b>Bourgeois Liberalism vs. the October Revolution</b></p> <p>A Review of <i>The Bolsheviks in Power: The First Year of Soviet Rule in Petrograd</i>, by Alexander Rabinowitch</p> <p>PAGE 4</p>	<p><b>ICL Holds Sixth International Conference</b></p> <p><b>Fighting for Programmatic Integrity in a Reactionary Period</b></p> <p>PAGE 2</p> <p>Preface to ICL Declaration of Principles.....10</p>
<p><b>Marxism and Bourgeois Parliamentarism</b></p> <p><b>Why We Reject the “Constituent Assembly” Demand</b></p> <p>PAGE 10</p> <p>Letter by Fyodor Dingelstedt.....132</p> <p><b>The Neo-Kautskyites: Recycling the Second International.....41</b></p>	<p><b>Edmund Samarakkody and the Legacy of the Ceylonese LSSP</b></p> <p><b>The Fight for Trotskyism in South Asia</b></p> <p>PAGE 12</p> <p>M. N. Roy: Nationalist Menshevik .....32</p>
<p><b>Women and Revolution</b></p> <p><b>Larissa Reissner on Trotsky's Red Army</b></p> <p>The Battle of Svayzhsk, a Revolutionary Legend</p> <p>PAGE 56</p> <p><b>Fred Zierenberg, 1949-2012.....2</b></p>	<p><b>In Defense of Dialectical Materialism Lenin as Philosopher, by Peter Fryer.....36</b></p> <p><b>Women and Revolution</b></p> <p><b>Communist International Theses on Work Among Women</b></p> <p>PAGE 64</p>
<p>AUSTRIAN_RL_46.150    BELTFRAN_1.1    CANADA_COWEN.150    ICELAND_C.150    SOUTH_AFRICA_1.05    USA_10991.04</p>	<p>AUSTRIAN_RL_46.150    BELTFRAN_1.1    CANADA_COWEN.150    ICELAND_C.150    SOUTH_AFRICA_1.05    USA_10991.04</p>



# WORKERS VANGUARD

## FBI's Racist "Anti-Terror" Vendetta Against Assata Shakur

Although the government largely succeeded in destroying the Black Panther Party decades ago, the state vendetta against these courageous fighters for black freedom is not only alive and well, but thriving under the administration of the first black president and attorney general. To great fanfare, two weeks ago the FBI named Assata Shakur (formerly known as Joanne Chesimard) as the first woman to be placed on the FBI's list of "Most Wanted Terrorists." Shakur was convicted in 1977 on frame-up murder charges in the shooting death of New Jersey state trooper Werner Foerster on 2 May 1973 and sentenced to life plus 33 years. Shakur escaped from prison in 1979, and five years later was granted political asylum in the Cuban deformed workers state, where she has resided for the past 29 years.

Declaring a 65-year-old grandmother one of the world's deadliest "terrorists" may have many scratching their heads and wondering what the Feds are smoking. But this is deadly serious. At a May

2 press conference, the Feds and New Jersey State Police announced they were doubling the bounty on Shakur to \$2 million. In an unprecedented move, the FBI placed billboards with her likeness, reading "Wanted: Terrorist Joanne Chesimard a/k/a Assata Shakur," along New Jersey highways.

Given that Shakur is unlikely to pop up in Newark or Jersey City any time soon, this may seem a bit gratuitous—but that's hardly the point. Cloaking the decades-long vendetta against Assata Shakur in the guise of the current "war on terrorism" has a dual purpose: to settle the score against those who fought for black freedom over 40 years ago and to warn that radical activity would be treated as "domestic terrorism." It underscores what we have insisted since the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon—that the ultimate target of the vast "anti-terror" arsenal will be labor, blacks and radical youth. Indeed, the Democratic administration of Barack Obama has accelerated



Facebook

Assata Shakur

the use of anti-terror laws against leftists. The renewed vendetta against Shakur is particularly ominous coming on the heels of the April 15 Boston Marathon bombing, which was seized on by the bloody capitalist rulers to further enhance their vast repressive powers.

The FBI/cop crusade is nothing but a racist political witchhunt with a drawn gun. New Jersey State Police Superintendent Rick Fuentes railed, "From her safe haven in Cuba, Chesimard has been given the pulpit to preach and profess, stirring supporters and groups to mobilize against the United States by any means necessary." Aaron T. Ford, special agent in charge of the FBI Newark Division, complained that in Cuba Shakur has continued to espouse her "anti-U.S. views" in speeches advocating "revolution and terrorism," and ludicrously added that she may have connections to international terrorist organizations. He added: "She's a danger to the American government."

The State Department seized on the FBI announcement to make clear that Cuba will remain on its list of "state sponsors of terrorism," one of the many pretexts for the continued embargo of the tiny island, where capitalist rule was overthrown 53 years ago. As always, whom the U.S. capitalist rulers

*continued on page 9*

## USC: Riot Cops Raid Black Student Party



James/Daily Trojan



Young Spartacus

**Left: L.A. cops rampage against USC students at largely black and Latino party, May 4. Right: Students at campus protest against racist cop brutality, May 6.**

LOS ANGELES—In the early morning hours on May 4, University of Southern California (USC) students celebrating the end of classes were attending two off-campus parties across the street from each other. One party attracted mainly white students, the other mostly black and Latino students. When cops responded to complaints of noise, the former gathering was "treated with respect," according to one participant, while the other was treated to a phalanx of 79 fully armed cops in riot gear, with a helicopter hovering overhead. The students "were herded like animals, beaten, arrested, insulted, and quite frankly, abused," said one party-

goer. It made no difference that the party had been registered with the university and that student IDs were checked at the door. Cops piled on top of students and assaulted them, inflicting multiple injuries. Six students were arrested and jailed overnight. "They were acting like they were going to war with us," said Jason Sneed, one of the arrested black students. Now free on bail, they still face trumped-up charges, such as failing to disperse and interfering with the police. We demand: **drop all the charges!**

This cop rampage was a direct provocation against minority students, intended to send a graphic message of intimidation.

But it did not go down without protest. On May 6, more than a hundred students held a sit-in on campus. The next day, at an open forum moderated by members of the USC administration and the LAPD, the 1,200-seat ballroom could not hold all the students, community members and alumni of all races who showed up to protest the cop attack, including attendees from both of the parties. For the campus administration, the forum was, in the words of an organizer, "an attempt at reconciliation and at collaboration" designed to head off any further protest. The LAPD, naturally, blamed the victims of the police brutality by claiming that "a can or bottle was

thrown" and brazenly denying that the cop rampage was "race-based." But when the LAPD's South Bureau commander Bill Scott asked, "How many people—just by a show of hands—think this incident was based on race?" the hands of virtually everybody in the room shot up. One woman asked if she could raise two.

The events of May 4 were the latest in a string of police assaults and harassment of black and Latino students at USC. Just one month before, a party hosted by minority students was shut down by riot cops filling nine squad cars. When a student had the temerity to question a cop about his full

*continued on page 9*