

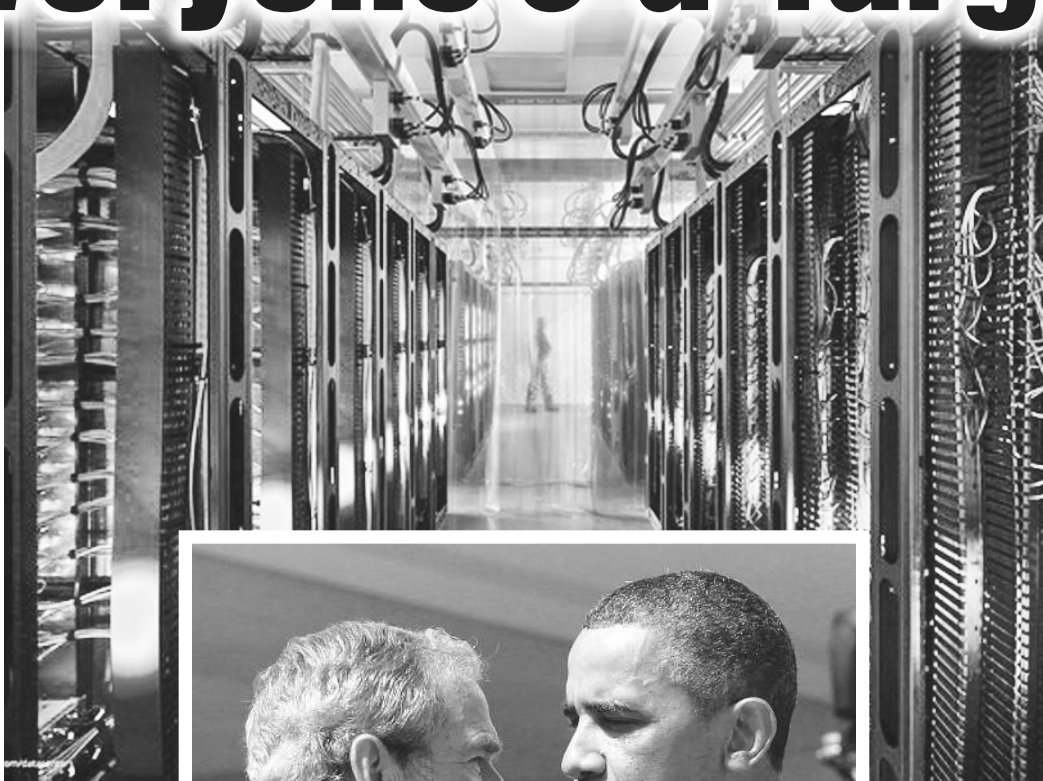
Threatening Reporters, Spying on Public Capitalist Surveillance State: Everyone's a Target

JUNE 10—George Orwell's Big Brother may have been watching, but Barack Obama and his secret police are wiretapping, seizing enormous quantities of phone records, mining electronic data and doing so much more we do not know about. What books and periodicals you read, who you chat with, what Internet sites you visit and other intimate details of your life are the daily fare of FBI and National Security Agency (NSA) snoops. Obama sugarcoats the massive spying operation as necessary for the population's own well-being. Add to the mix the other Orwellian new-speak—e.g., drone strikes save lives, secrecy is transparency, press freedom means subpoenas and indictments—and what you have is a creeping police state that is picking up the pace.

Obama's ongoing dustup with the basic constitutional rights of speech, press and privacy sprang into view last month when the Associated Press (AP) revealed that the Justice Department had secretly obtained two months of phone records for several AP reporters and editors. Then came the disclosure that Attorney General Eric Holder had authorized a warrant for the Feds to track Fox News reporter James Rosen's movements in and out of the State Department, trace the timing of his calls and read his e-mails.

Rosen had reported that U.S. intelligence believed that North Korea would respond to additional UN sanctions with more nuclear tests. His alleged informant, government employee Stephen Jin-Woo Kim, who did not steal any classified documents or sell secrets, faces more than a decade in prison on espionage charges. For supposedly encouraging Kim to speak to him, Rosen was named in the warrant application as an "aider, abettor and/or co-conspirator" in violation of the Espionage Act. With much of the bourgeois press corps howling in protest over the criminalization of standard journalistic practice, Obama bluntly declared: "I make no apologies."

The controversy over the government's low intensity warfare against the press was eclipsed by a series of disclosures last week giving a greater glimpse into the extent of government spying on the entire population. First the London *Guardian* reported on a secret court order authorizing the NSA to collect all phone records from Verizon Business Services on an "ongoing daily basis" through July 19. Officials have admitted that such accumulation of phone metadata—e.g., the numbers of callers and recipients, the serial numbers of the phones involved and the calls' timing and duration—has been going on for years.



Google

Reuters

Top: Google data center in Iowa. Above: Government under Barack Obama, seen with George W. Bush in Dallas on April 25, has expanded program of domestic spying.

The day after this data trawling came to light, the *Guardian* and *Washington Post* published accounts of the Prism Internet surveillance program. In agreement with nine industry giants, including Microsoft, Google, YouTube, Facebook, Yahoo, Skype and Apple, the NSA can access troves of private information communicated over their networks. Combing through the large volumes of audio, video, photos, e-mails, documents and connection logs with such data-mining tools as Boundless Informant, NSA technicians can readily assemble individual profiles and track movements and contacts over time.

The whistleblower who leaked the information about these clandestine activities, Edward Snowden, has since come forward to voice his repugnance with "a world where everything I do is recorded." A 29-year-old former CIA technical assistant who had been working at the NSA for the last four years as an employee of an outside contractor, Snowden elaborated in an interview with the *Guardian*'s Glenn Greenwald: "The NSA has built an infrastructure that allows it to intercept almost everything. With this capability, the vast majority of human communications are automatically ingested without targeting. If I wanted to see your e-mails or your wife's phone, all I have to do is use intercepts. I can get your e-mails, passwords, phone records, credit cards."

Having taken refuge in Hong Kong, Snowden also told Greenwald, "I do not expect to see home again." Indeed, soon after the interview was made public, top

U.S. lawmakers from both sides of the aisle were howling for his head. According to Britain's *Daily Mail* today: "The United States may have already approached Interpol or its consulate in Hong Kong to start [extradition] proceedings. They will use the Espionage Act to gain warrants for his arrest." Meanwhile, the Director of National Intelligence, James Clapper, has asked the Justice Department to launch a criminal investigation into the leaks.

The public airing of the Feds' clandestine activities knocked the legs out from under Obama's plan to press Chinese leader Xi Jinping on cyber warfare in the summit that just concluded. While most Democratic and Republican politicians have backed Obama on the grounds of "national security," there have been some protests from both liberals and the libertarian right. In its June 6 editorial on Obama's data dragnet, the *New York Times* even offered that "the administration has now lost all credibility on this issue." Such rebukes from the bourgeois press and politicians reflect fear within the ruling class that it, too, is getting caught in the state surveillance web, one of the tools of repression whose central purpose is to keep the exploited and the oppressed in line.

Under fire, Obama justified such surveillance as crucial to defending the homeland against "terrorism." Following the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, the "war on terror" was launched as a rationale for the imperialist occupations of Afghanistan and later Iraq, as well as for expanding the repressive powers of the state at home. We have repeatedly warned that the draconian measures initially directed against Muslims and immigrants would lead to an assault on political dissent and the rights of all, particularly those of black people and the labor movement. The shredding of rights has since come to pass in spades.

During his tenure, the Democrat Obama has proved very capable in extending and expanding the "war on terror" policies of his Republican predecessor, not least the vast surveillance apparatus. Former Bush administration spokesman Ari Fleischer

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Reuters

House in eastern Yemen destroyed by September 2012 U.S. drone attack that killed at least six people.



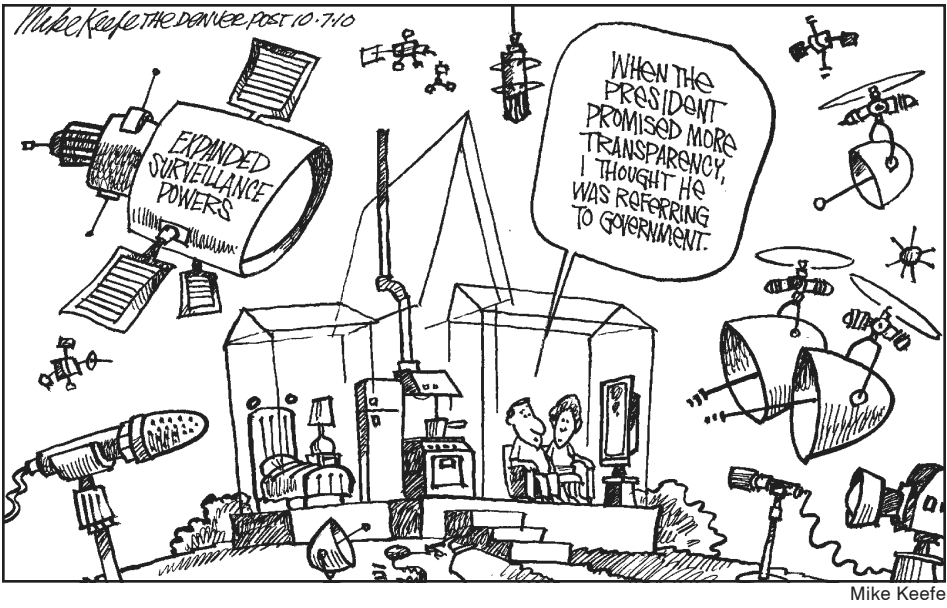
Surveillance...

(continued from page 1)

posted on Twitter last week: “Drone strikes. Wiretaps. Gitmo. O is carrying out Bush’s 4th term.” Despite the outcry by some in Congress to rein in the snooping, Senator Saxby Chambliss acknowledged, “Everyone’s been aware of it for years, every member of the Senate,” a fact confirmed by California Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein. Proposals floated for greater “checks and balances” and more focused targeting are all aimed at streamlining and winning wider acceptance for government spying on the population.

As Marxists, we expect that the capitalist state, whether Democrats or Republicans are at the helm, will continue to eavesdrop on what the rulers term “persons of interest,” not least those who oppose the blood-soaked capitalist order and its brutal repression. There is an inherent tendency for the state, which governs on behalf of a minuscule, ruthless class of obscenely wealthy exploiters, to attempt to amass ever greater power to control the population because it hates and fears the working people.

With a labor “leadership” that has prostrated itself before the capitalist rulers, the working class has taken it on the chin from a government flaunting constitutional rights while pursuing its slaughters abroad. But make no mistake: The bourgeoisie is determined to build up its powers of repression so that it is better able to smash any perceived threat to its rule and profits. At the same time, what it gets away with depends ultimately on the level of class and other social strug-



gle. The working class will not advance its fight against exploitation without also defending the democratic rights of everyone and opposing the overseas savageries of its own ruling class.

“Welcome to America”

The government’s spy network is expanding for the simple reason that it has the technology to do so. The genie is out of the bottle, and this or that piece of legislation or court order is not going to put it back. In a *Business Insider* (21 March) article titled “CIA Chief Tech Officer: Big Data Is the Future and We Own It,” the CIA’s Ira Hunt brags, “It is really very nearly within our grasp to be able to compute on all human generated information.” Hunt described anybody carrying a mobile device as a “walking sensor platform”—now your gait, as measured

by smartphone sensors, is distinctive enough to identify you.

The popularity of smartphones, tablets, social media sites and the like has brought with it an explosion of digital data that the spymasters have harnessed. Some 97 billion pieces of data were collected from networks worldwide in March alone. Just from phone metadata, analysts can weave a mosaic of a person’s life, ferreting out all manner of correlations and patterns. As the executive director of the Electronic Privacy Information Center in Washington, D.C., observed, “The information associated with communications today is often more significant than the communications itself, and the people who do the data mining know that.”

So it was with more than his characteristic sleight of hand that on June 7 Obama promised: “Nobody is listening to your telephone calls. That’s not what this program’s about.” He similarly waved aside concerns over Prism, curtly intoning that it “does not apply to U.S. citizens and it does not apply to people living in the United States.” In fact, enhancing the government’s capacity to listen in and further pry is precisely what such programs are all about.

Last month, former FBI counterterrorism agent Tim Clemente was asked by CNN whether the government could retrieve the content of phone conversations between deceased Boston marathon bombing suspect Tamerlan Tsarnaev and his wife Katherine Russell. Clemente responded: “We certainly have ways in national security investigations to find out exactly what was said in that conversation. It’s not necessarily something that the FBI is going to want to present in court, but it may help lead the investigation and/or lead to questioning of her.” He added, “Welcome to America. All of that stuff is being captured as we speak whether we know it or like it or not.”

In late 2005, it was revealed that the NSA was intercepting not only communications abroad but also those of U.S. citizens, without first procuring warrants. A glimpse of the scope of such snooping was provided by retired Bay Area AT&T worker Mark Klein, who came forward to reveal how the NSA had tapped into AT&T’s fiber-optic cables to access much of the country’s Internet data flow. Klein’s revelations became Exhibit A in a lawsuit filed by the Electronic Frontier Foundation to expose and stop the illegal government data mining (see “Phone Worker Exposes Government Spying Network,” WV No. 953, 26 February 2010). In a June 7 interview with the right-wing Libertas Institute, longtime NSA staffer William Binney noted about the NSA’s original AT&T project: “They could get most of it, but they couldn’t get it all. So in order to get all the data, they had to go to the service providers to fill in the blanks. That’s what the Prism program is for—to fill in the blanks.”

The AT&T data tap, as Binney noted in a 20 April 2012 interview with *Democracy Now!*, was “prepared to deploy about eight months before 9/11.” Since those attacks, more than 30 secure complexes with a total size of three Pentagons have been constructed in the Washington, D.C., area to accommodate spying operations. In September, the NSA is slated to unveil its Utah Data Center in the desert town of

Bluffdale, a \$2 billion project. Coursing through its servers and routers will be the complete contents of e-mails, cellphone calls, Google searches, parking receipts, travel itineraries, books purchased and much more. The NSA has separately created a supercomputer with the aim of breaking sophisticated encryption, one of the few ways people can protect their privacy. The simple truth is that in the “information age,” the most secure way to communicate is to buy a postage stamp.

Institutionalizing the “War on Terror”

On May 23, with the spotlight then on drone killings of men, women and children overseas and on Guantánamo hunger strikers protesting their indefinite detention, Obama delivered a speech at the National Defense University pledging to wind down the “war on terror” and to protect the rights of journalists. He advised repealing the Authorization for Use of Military Force (AUMF) to avoid keeping “America on a perpetual wartime footing.” Adopted with overwhelming bipartisan support immediately after the September 11 attacks, the AUMF has been the legal pretext for U.S. imperialism’s terrorization of workers, peasants and the impoverished around the world. Obama added, “I will not sign laws designed to expand this mandate further.” He also spoke of creating new protections for civil liberties “to strike the appropriate balance between our need for security and preserving those freedoms that make us who we are.”

The *New York Times* gushed with joy that their prodigal son had finally come home. In an editorial posted online the same day, the *Times* hailed the speech as “a momentous turning point in post-9/11 America.” The statement also lauded the president’s shift in drone policy, e.g., turning the CIA’s fleet of drones over to the military—the significance of which will certainly be lost on the masses in Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen.

Momentous? About as much as a New York Mets loss. Turning point? Depends on how you look at it. Rather than articulating a change in policy, Obama’s speech marked the institutionalization of the panoply of post-September 11 repressive measures and laws as permanent fixtures of the American legal system. Obama is for discarding the AUMF not just because it is no longer necessary—the powers assumed under its authority are authorized by the Patriot Act and Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) as well as Obama’s own presidential directives—but also because it serves as an unwelcome reminder that those powers were supposed to be temporary exigencies.

Obama’s speech was his Michael Corleone moment, recalling the christening scene in *The Godfather* in which Corleone promises to renounce Satan and all his works at the very moment his lieutenants are carrying out a murderous vendetta against Mafia rivals. Since Obama “renounced” the war on terror, more drones have struck in Pakistan’s tribal areas while the government vendetta against reporters and whistleblowers proceeds apace, as does the massive government spy operation.

Perhaps most ominous in Obama’s oration was the redefinition of due process. Obama asserted, “I do not believe it would be constitutional for the government to target and kill any U.S. citizen—with a drone, or a shotgun—without due process.” What he meant was seen in the drone assassination in Yemen two years ago of Anwar al-Awlaki, a U.S. citizen who was an Al Qaeda publicist. The president stated: “My administration submitted

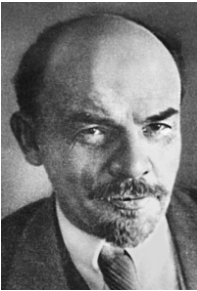
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TROTSKY

Truth as a Revolutionary Weapon

In a polemic against the hypocritical “morality” of the bourgeoisie, which defends its rule through systematic violence and deception, Leon Trotsky upheld the proletarian morality of the Bolshevik Party that led the October Revolution of 1917. In light of the subsequent destruction of that party under the Stalinist bureaucracy, Trotsky reaffirmed the revolutionary integrity embodied by Lenin’s Bolsheviks as crucial to the struggle for a socialist order.



LENIN

“All that arises is worthy of perishing,” says the dialectician Goethe. The perishing of the Bolshevik Party—an episode in world reaction—does not, however, disparage its worldwide historic significance. In the period of its revolutionary ascendancy, that is, when it actually represented the proletarian vanguard, it was the most honest party in history. Wherever it could, of course, it deceived the class enemies; on the other hand it told the toilers the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Only thanks to this did it succeed in winning their trust to a degree never before achieved by any other party in the world.

The clerks of the ruling classes call the organizers of this party “amoralists.” In the eyes of conscious workers this accusation carries a complimentary character. It signifies: Lenin refused to recognize moral norms established by slave-owners for their slaves and never observed by the slave-owners themselves; he called upon the proletariat to extend the class struggle into the moral sphere too. Whoever fawns before precepts established by the enemy will never vanquish that enemy!

The “amoralism” of Lenin, that is, his rejection of supra-class morals, did not hinder him from remaining faithful to one and the same ideal throughout his whole life; from devoting his whole being to the cause of the oppressed; from displaying the highest conscientiousness in the sphere of ideas and the highest fearlessness in the sphere of action; from maintaining an attitude untainted by the least superiority to an “ordinary” worker, to a defenseless woman, to a child. Does it not seem that “amoralism” in the given case is only a pseudonym for higher human morality?

—Leon Trotsky, *Their Morals and Ours* (1938)

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NOTICE
Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August. Our next issue will be dated July 12.

Fascist Gang Kills Leftist Youth

Paris

The following leaflet was issued by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France and distributed at a protest demonstration in Paris denouncing the beating death of leftist Clément Méric by fascists.

* * *

JUNE 6—Clément Méric, an 18-year-old political science student and supporter of Action Antifasciste, was killed yesterday by a gang of skinheads apparently linked to Jeunesses Nationalistes Révolutionnaires [the fascist Revolutionary Nationalist Youth] in a shopping district in central Paris at 6 p.m. This crime casts a spotlight on the rise of fascist violence in France over the past year against leftists and homosexuals, which gained new momentum with the reactionary mobilizations against gay marriage. As we said in *Le Bolchéviek* No. 204 (June 2013):

“The fascists are not only beginning to get record vote totals in by-elections, but provocations by paramilitary gangs against homosexuals and leftists have begun to rise exponentially. They must be crushed before they become a credible force that the bourgeoisie can consider as the best alternative available to subdue the working class; all historical experience shows that what is necessary to stop the fascists is not votes, whether for supporters of [Left Party leader Jean-Luc] Mélenchon or for others, but rather *labor/immigrant mobilizations, based on the power of the organized proletariat.*”

It is urgent for the trade unions and the entire workers movement to take up the defense of their own members and more broadly lead mobilizations that include the oppressed who are threatened by the fascists—homosexuals, immigrants, their children and grandchildren, women, etc.

The rise of fascist terror is a product of the global economic crisis, which is felt particularly acutely in Europe. The crisis impels the different bourgeoisies to wage an even more brutal struggle against their respective working classes in order to restore the rate of profit. In Greece, where the working class is under extreme attack, the fascists of Golden Dawn openly hunt down immigrants on the streets of Athens.

The Franco-German (and Italian-British) interimperialist alliance called the “European Union” is in a profound crisis. The French imperialist bourgeoisie is at an impasse; day after day it continues to lose ground to its rivals, mainly Germany. The chauvinist and protectionist tirades of Arnaud Montebourg [Socialist minister of industrial recovery] legitimize those of Le Pen [leader of the fascist National Front]. The purpose is to rally the French working class behind its own bourgeoisie against rivals in other countries as well as to make the workers



June 8: Paris demonstration protesting killing of 18-year-old Clément Méric by fascists.

For Labor/Immigrant Mobilizations to Crush the Fascists!

accept further sacrifices.

The capitalists and their government are carrying out attacks of unprecedented violence against the working class. There is the ANI [agreement between some unions and the bosses], which means the destruction of entire sections of the labor law that regulates layoffs. The government has also announced a plan attacking pensions that makes those put forward previously by [conservative politicians] Balladur, Fillon and Sarkozy seem like light jabs. And for years now, governments, whether of the left or right, have been escalating their attacks against immigrants and minority youth who are a key component of the proletariat in this country. The working class, meanwhile, has so far been impeded by the union bureaucracies’ support for the popular-front government of the Socialist Party (SP) and Greens. Such support is coated with criticisms in an attempt to push the government a little to the left.

The fascists today are mainly attacking homosexuals, people they consider non-white and open leftists. But their real target is the destruction of the workers movement, including the trade unions. Fascism is the mobilization of the ruined petty bourgeoisie enraged by the crisis

of capitalism, targeting not the capitalist system but the working class, the only social force capable of overthrowing this system in its state of advanced decay.

Today, this phenomenon remains relatively marginal in France. The bourgeoisie prefers, if possible, to use parliamentarism and the collaboration of the reformist labor tops to impose its rule. But in the case of a serious threat to its property, the bourgeoisie will not hesitate for a moment to hand over power to the fascist scum in order to break the back of the working class. This was done in Italy in 1922, Germany in 1933. And in France we had [the Nazi collaborator] Pétain.

Fascism is a phenomenon inherent to capitalism. The only way to eradicate it once and for all is to overthrow the whole capitalist system through workers revolution and to extend the revolution internationally. *For a Socialist United States of Europe!*

The problem is that the French left is *opposed* to such a perspective. And this is not surprising, given that the Left Party, Communist Party (PCF) and New Anti-Capitalist Party (NPA) called for a vote for [Socialist president François] Hollande in the last election, while Lutte Ouvrière (LO) left its followers free to

vote for Hollande or abstain. The Left Party’s Mélenchon seized on the murder of Clément Méric to demand a strengthening of police action by his former comrade Manuel Valls, the minister of cops. This despite the fact that the explosion of racist police terror orchestrated by Valls against the Roma [Gypsies] and against Islamists directly paved the way for the fascists. The Left Party is calling for the “dissolution of right-wing groups that are escalating their violent acts” (20 Minutes, 6 June). The government has insisted it would proceed “democratically,” according to the law—by which they mean legitimizing laws “against violence” that also threaten the working class. Already, the UMP [Union for a Popular Movement of former president Nicolas Sarkozy] today called for a crackdown against left “extremism” as well. [Since this leaflet was written, SP prime minister Jean-Marc Ayrault has announced that the government intends to dissolve the Revolutionary Nationalist Youth.]

The 1936 law banning fascist leagues was used in 1937 to ban the *Etoile Nord-Africaine* (precursor of the Algerian National Liberation Front—FLN) and also in the wake of the May 1968 general strike to ban the predecessors of Lutte Ouvrière and the NPA in June 1968. Any strengthening of the police apparatus will be turned against the working class. The job of the police and the state is not to defend the population against murderers. These are armed bodies of men committed to the defense of the capitalist system. The capitalist “justice” system has, in fact, demanded that all charges be dropped against the cops involved in the deaths of Ziad Benna and Bouna Traoré, which triggered the 2005 revolt in the *banlieues* [minority and working-class neighborhoods on the outskirts of big cities].

As for the Parisian cops (to mention only them), their forebears carried out the Vel d’Hiv Roundup [of Jews in 1942] and the massacre of hundreds of Algerians in Paris on 17 October 1961. Today *banlieue* youth are more likely to die from an encounter with the cops than with the fascists, as shown by the trial underway in Villiers-le-Bel. The cop responsible for the deaths of Mouhsin and Lakamy in 2007 was free to attend court while the youth who protested their deaths were locked up and sentenced to up to 15 years. *The workers movement must defend banlieue youth against racist terror!*

Police and fascists serve the same capitalist masters against the working class, by different methods. In recent months our German comrades have pointed to the interpenetration of the fascists and the cops, with the trial today of the NSU [Underground Nazis] group, which murdered, among others, several Turkish citizens (see *Spartakist* No. 195, October 2012). Calls on the bourgeois state to take action against the fascists are

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Reuters

Reactionary mobilizations against gay marriage bill, such as November 2012 Paris rally (left), have emboldened fascists like Jeunesses Nationalistes Révolutionnaires (right).



Philippe Huynh-Minh

Canadian Social Democrats

It's Official: NDP Drops Last Pretense to "Socialism"

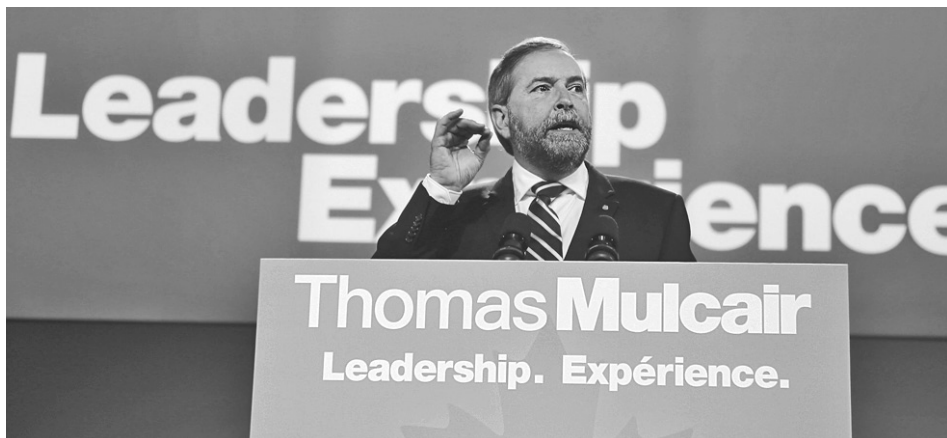
We reprint the following article from Spartacist Canada No. 177 (Summer 2013), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).



The 2011 election catapulted the federal New Democrats to official opposition status in Ottawa. Two years later, the NDP continues its march away from the labour movement and anything even hinting of socialism. At its April convention in Montreal, the party voted by a large margin to drop from the preamble of its constitution a paper commitment to “democratic socialist principles.” Gone too is the previous mild aversion to profit-driven production, as well as the vague allusion to social ownership “where necessary.” The new preamble upholds Canada, imperialist exploiter of workers in Latin America, Africa and beyond, as “a great country, one of the hopes of the world.”

The stated aim of the NDP leadership is to position the party among “progressive democratic political parties that govern successfully in many countries, the obvious model being the capitalist Democratic Party in the U.S. Thus the Montreal convention welcomed two leading Democratic Party figures to give key speeches. One, Jeremy Bird, was national field director for Barack Obama’s 2012 campaign. The other was Joseph Stiglitz, an economic advisor to an earlier U.S. imperialist chieftain, Bill Clinton, and a former vice-president and chief economist at the World Bank. Stiglitz actually cautioned the NDP against moving too far to the right: “Don’t do what Labour did in the UK and say we have to privatize everything” (*National Post*, 13 April).

These moves to distance the party from any hint of working-class politics come in the context of the continued hammering of working people by the ruling exploiters and the severe weakening of the unions. But there's nothing new in its political logic. The NDP has always been a very right-wing, pusillanimous social-democratic party. Its fidelity to the interests of Canadian capitalism has never been in question. Only those living in a social-democratic fog—reformists whose life work centres on trying to push the NDP to the left—would claim that its tepid program ever had anything to do with social-



NDP leader Thomas Mulcair at April party convention in Montreal.

ism, i.e., the emancipation of the working class from capitalist wage slavery.

The NDP has historically been what Marxists call a *bourgeois workers party*. Organically based in the labour movement, at least in part, it nonetheless upholds and enforces the rule of capital. During the late 1940s, a time of rising class struggle, the NDP's Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) pred-

Scotia. In the present period, with labour struggles at a nadir and seeing an opportunity to displace the Liberals as the main alternative to the ruling federal Tories [the Conservative Party], the NDP brass increasingly views the labour connection as a liability to its electoral aspirations.

This trajectory gathered steam under the leadership of the late Jack Layton. Federal laws enacted starting in 2004

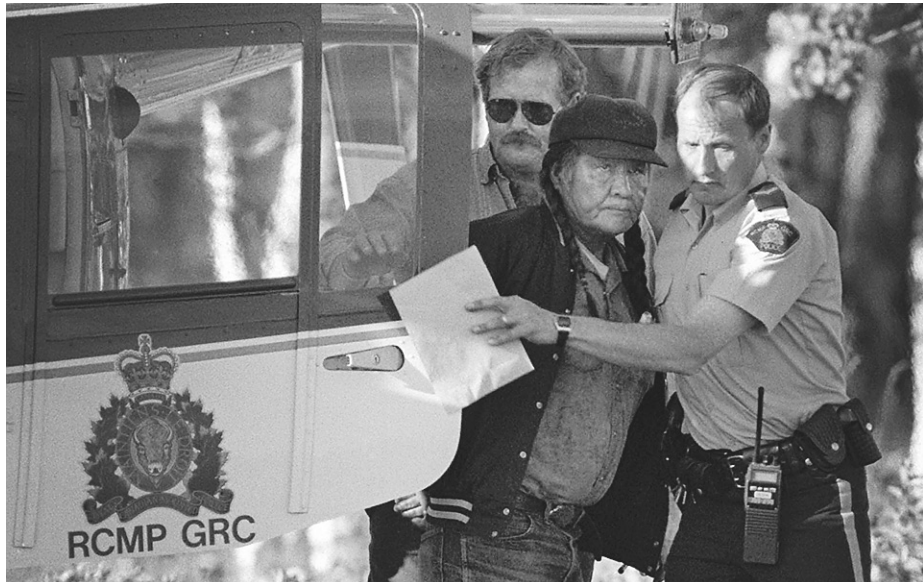


NOW

processors knew they had to sink roots in organized labour in order to channel growing discontent into capitalist electoralism. At bottom, their purpose was to ward off any threat of workers revolution.

In the first instance, that required displacing the Communist Party (CP) which, in spite of its Stalinist and Canadian nationalist leadership, had led many of the struggles that produced the explosive growth of the unions and had significantly more weight inside them. The CCF played a central role in the purges that drove CP and other militants out of the unions in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The labour movement came under the control of an anti-Communist bureaucracy whose political descendants run it to this day. Elevated above the working class on the basis of superprofits derived from exploitation of the underdeveloped world, these bureaucrats view the world through the same prism as the Canadian ruling class. The ties between the CCF and the Canadian Labour Congress were cemented in 1961 when they jointly founded the NDP as "labour's political arm."

The New Democrats' aim has *always* been to administer capitalism on behalf of the bourgeoisie, and they have done this repeatedly at the provincial level, including today in Manitoba and Nova



Canadian Press

Left: 1993 union protest against layoffs by Ontario NDP government. Above: British Columbia NDP government oversaw 1995 police crackdown on Native activists at Gustafsen Lake.

greatly reduced and then banned union (and corporate) donations to political parties. Since the unions no longer financed the NDP, their voting weight within it was accordingly reduced. After the 2011 breakthrough, Layton and the rest of the party brass moved to ditch the “socialist” baggage. There was blowback, so they temporarily retreated. Thomas Mulcair, who moved seamlessly from the Quebec Liberal Party cabinet into the NDP’s upper echelons, has simply deepened and accelerated the process.

As Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, the NDP leaves no doubt as to its class loyalties. Take its response to the vast increase in state surveillance and repression under the "war on terror." Denouncing recent Tory spending cuts, NDP spokesman Robert Chisholm railed: "If the government is serious about dealing with terrorist threats, it should restore the \$134 million that is being cut from CBSA [border guards]." He vowed that an NDP government would reverse the Tory cuts in funding to the RCMP and the CSIS secret police.

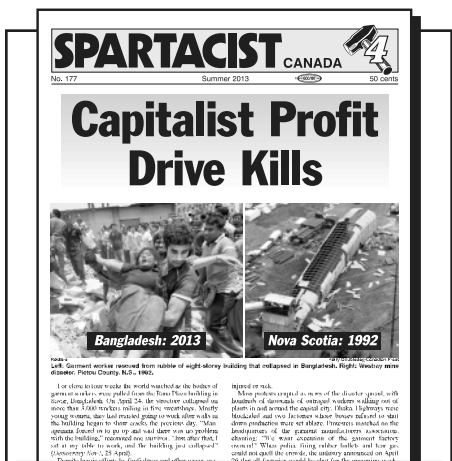
The New Democrats also seek to outdo the Tories in anti-Communist China-bashing. They branded the government's approval of the sale of the Nexen oil company to a state-run Chinese corpora-

tion as the “worst Conservative lowlight of 2012.” Denouncing the Tories for giving China “increased access to our strategic natural resources,” the NDP asked rhetorically: “Maybe they’ll add a seat in Parliament for the Chinese politburo next session?” Such foam-flecked anti-Communism is deeply rooted. The New Democrats were vociferous soldiers in the imperialists’ Cold War against the Soviet Union, and have always backed the drive to foment counterrevolution in countries where capitalist rule was overthrown through social revolution, including China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

Saving the NDP's "Socialist Soul"

So what of the NDP “left”? At the convention, two reformist outfits, Fight-back and Socialist Action (SA), worked tirelessly to steer the NDP back to its wretched social-democratic origins. Fight-back is the Canadian offspring of the British Labourite grouping founded by Ted Grant, today known as the International Marxist Tendency. From its inception, it has centred its work on the call “NDP to power on a socialist program!” For its part, SA, despite its occasional Marxist pretensions, has been buried in the NDP for at least 15 years as the prime mover of the badly misnamed “Socialist Caucus.”

At the convention, Socialist Caucus spokesman and SA leader Barry Weisleder was one of the foremost advocates of keeping “socialism” in the NDP constitution. In a follow-up article calling to “keep the principle of social ownership at the heart of the NDP,” Weisleder invokes not Marx, Engels, Lenin or Trotsky but...various prominent NDP figures dead and alive, starting with



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Reagan’s Guatemalan Death Squad Dictator

Ríos Montt: Mass Murderer

Efraín Ríos Montt came to power as Guatemala’s strongman in a military coup in March 1982, overthrowing another bloody dictator, and was in turn overthrown in a similar coup in August 1983. During that brief period, he presided over some of the most gruesome crimes against workers and peasants, especially indigenous Maya-Ixil people, that took place during a 36-year civil war that pitted U.S.-backed dictators against a left-wing guerrilla insurgency. Officially, over 200,000 were killed and 45,000 more “disappeared” during the civil war, out of a population of some eight to ten million. As we noted last month, a Guatemalan court found Ríos Montt guilty of genocide and other crimes against humanity (see “U.S. Imperialism’s Machinery of Torture,” WV No. 1024, 17 May). Subsequently, however, a higher Constitutional Court quashed the verdict on a technicality, and a new trial may not begin until April 2014, if in fact there will be a new trial.

The slaughter in Guatemala was fully supported by the U.S. rulers as they launched Cold War II in the late 1970s and early ’80s against the Soviet Union. Washington also backed El Salvador’s death squad regime as it was battling a leftist insurgency and armed and trained the contra reactionaries fighting to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

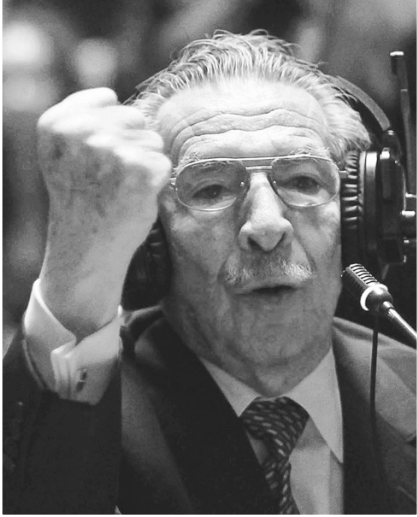
Regardless of the ultimate outcome of Ríos Montt’s trial, what compels the verdict of history was the litany of horror recounted by the survivors of the slaughter he oversaw. The *New York Times* (27 March) reported: “The witnesses included a man testifying about how the Guatemalan Army under Mr. Ríos Montt killed his wife and two children, slashing his 5-year-old son’s face with a machete and smashing his toddler’s head. Another described how his pregnant sister was tied to a stake and burned alive, along with her child and six additional children. One witness, Nicolas Brito, told of seeing soldiers cut out and stack victims’ hearts on a table.” A number of women testified to the mass rapes that they endured. One reported being raped—she was 12 years old at the time—after being forced to watch the rape of her mother, who died. Many witnesses spoke in the Ixil language, as they had no Spanish capacity.

The *New Yorker* (“The Maya Genocide Trial,” 3 May) reported:

“There were wrenching accounts of military assaults on Ixil towns with names like Xesayi, Chel, and Tu B’aj Sujsiban; of old people slain when they were too old to flee; of infants tossed into the flames of burning houses; of unborn children being cut out of pregnant women’s uteruses; of captives being held in holes in the ground, raped in churches.... A former soldier testified that, as far as he could tell, his orders were simple: *Indio visto, Indio muerte*. (‘Indian seen, Indian dead.’)”

Outside the court, supporters of Ríos Montt and his ilk protested with military music and signs reading: “Communism Finances the Destruction of National Unity.” Judges and prosecutors involved in the case received death threats. Strong opposition to the guilty verdict came particularly from Guatemala’s powerful business federation known as Cacif.

During the proceedings, a witness for the prosecution—a mechanic in the military during the Ríos Montt regime—implicated current Guatemalan president Otto Pérez Molina’s participation in massacres when he was the commander in the Ixil region. Investigative journalist Allan Nairn, who is well-versed in Guatemalan affairs, met Pérez Molina in 1982, when his troops described executing and torturing villagers. In an interview conducted at the time, which has been posted on YouTube, Pérez Molina tells Nairn: “The truth is that



Reuters

Victims of 1982 massacre of “suspected guerrillas” by Guatemalan army under Efraín Ríos Montt (inset), shown at genocide trial in Guatemala City, May 9.



Jean-Marie Simon

there is a very real saying: that the civilian population is to the guerrilla what water is to fish. In this case, the guerrilla could not survive if he does not have the support and cooperation of the population.”

In wiping out entire villages in order to combat leftist insurgents, Pérez Molina & Co. carried out on their local turf the types of atrocities that U.S. forces committed on a much wider scale in seeking to crush social revolutions in Korea and Vietnam in the 1950s and ’60s. During Ríos Montt’s trial, the U.S. ambassador to Guatemala and the State Department’s top official for human rights sat in the audience. Two weeks after the conviction was overturned, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry met Pérez Molina in Antigua, Guatemala, the site of a General Assembly of the Organization of American States. Kerry stated: “Let me begin by congratulating you, Mr. President, on the enormous progress that you have made with respect to your justice system, the strengthening of your justice system, the independence of that system” (U.S. Department of State, 4 June).

U.S. Imperialism’s Bloody Hand

That the U.S. placed in power and/or supported military strongmen to keep Latin American and Caribbean countries “free” for United Fruit and other such interests has been amply documented. Also well known is Washington’s drive to “roll back Communism,” from the CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 to the efforts to crush leftist insurgents in Central America in the 1980s. That one of the U.S.-supported despots was tried for crimes against humanity in his own country is, however, a first. Those crimes took a particularly racist and bloody form in Guatemala, particularly during the Ríos Montt regime. Aryeh Neier, a founder and former executive director of Human Rights Watch, wrote that Guatemala is “the only country in Latin America for which it would be appropriate to use the word ‘genocide’ to describe the crimes committed since World War II” (*New York Review of Books*, 20 June). Now the author of those crimes remains a free man.

Conspicuously absent from the dock in the genocide trial was the U.S. government, its military and secret police. As we wrote in “Guatemala: CIA’s Mass Murder Inc.” (WV No. 621, 21 April 1995):

“The truth is that for 40 years, Washington did far more than simply ‘aid’ Guate-

mala’s brutal military gang in enforcing the rule of the local *latifundistas*, capitalists and their Wall Street masters. Left to their own devices, these butchers would have been plenty barbaric.... But it was the United States government which purposely and deliberately planned, financed, supplied, trained and directed the transformation of a monstrous but inefficient gang of thugs into a modern, scientifically organized machine of systematic mass murder, torture and terror. U.S. imperialism inflicted on the desperately poor and exploited working people and the Mayan Indian majority of this small country horrors with few parallels in history.”

Ríos Montt’s reign of mass murder coincided with the early years of Ronald Reagan’s administration, which oversaw the ramping up of Cold War II against the Soviet Union. The groundwork for that campaign was prepared by Democratic president and professional hypocrite Jimmy Carter, who wielded the “human rights” card in an effort to refurbish U.S. imperialism’s credentials after its stunning defeat in Vietnam. Carter made a show of cutting off aid to the Guatemalan officers in protest of their abuses. But this was a cynical maneuver. Close U.S. allies, such as apartheid South Africa, Taiwan and South Korea, increasingly stepped in with support. Most important was Israel, which provided financial aid, arms and training for Washington’s reactionary killers.

Reagan avidly embraced Ríos Montt, a fundamentalist Protestant who received counterinsurgency training at Fort Bragg and also served as a department head at the Inter-American Defense College in Washington, D.C. Ríos Montt’s main qualification was that he had the stomach for the dirty work. When he launched his “scorched earth” offensive against highland Mayan villagers, among whom leftist guerrillas had won support, the main question for Washington was how to speed up, beef up and further legitimize U.S. support to that effort.

In a memo to President Reagan shortly before Reagan met Ríos Montt for the first time, Secretary of State George Shultz wrote that the coup that installed him “presents us with an opportunity to break the long freeze in our relations with Guatemala and to help prevent an extremist takeover.” Reagan trumpeted that Ríos Montt was a man “totally dedicated to democracy,” with “great personal integrity and commitment” (“Guatemala’s Genocide on Trial,” the *Nation*, 22 May).

Elliott Abrams, Reagan’s top human rights official in the State Department, not only peddled the administration line that Ríos Montt was a reformer but also helped sell Washington’s plan to lift the (much abrogated) embargo on military aid.

Writing in the *Nation* (17 April 1995), Allan Nairn listed half a dozen top Guatemalan officers paid by the CIA, including at least three chiefs of the country’s military intelligence unit, a former army chief of staff and General Hector Gramajo, a former defense minister. Nairn quoted the former U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency chief in Guatemala, Colonel George Hooker: “It would be an embarrassing situation if you ever had a roll call of everybody in the Guatemalan Army who ever collected a C.I.A. paycheck.” That roll call would have to reach back to the 1950s Cold War against the Soviet Union, the workers state that issued from the Bolshevik-led October Revolution of 1917. Despite its subsequent Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration, the Soviet Union stood as an impediment to Washington’s ability to project power at will throughout the world. Up until the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92, the U.S. imperialists were intent on destroying the Soviet workers state and anyone they saw as furthering its interests.

In 1954, the U.S. engineered the overthrow of bourgeois-populist Guatemalan president Jacobo Arbenz, who had attempted to institute such reforms as nationalizing some of United Fruit’s land. Arbenz ordered that unused land, which included 85 percent of the company’s holdings, be purchased at its declared value and distributed to landless peasants. This did not sit at all well in Washington; Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and his brother, CIA chief Allen Dulles, were connected to United Fruit’s law firm, and the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., was a big stockholder. More to the point, it was the Cold War that underlay the anti-Communist frenzy over Arbenz’s modest agrarian reforms. Minor participation in his government by the tiny Stalinist Guatemalan Labor Party (PGT) was seized upon to launch a red-scare propaganda campaign and direct backing for reactionary cutthroats.

An example of news coverage at the time was a *New York Times* (8 November 1953) article on the arrival in Guatemala of John E. Peurifoy as the new U.S. ambassador. It read in part: “It is generally expected in Guatemala that his advent means a change in the asserted passivity

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19 June 1953: The Cold War Execution of the Rosenbergs

Sixty years ago this month, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Jewish Communists from New York, were murdered by the U.S. capitalist state for the alleged crime of spying for the Soviet Union. Against the backdrop of bloodcurdling cries to “fry the Reds,” the Rosenbergs were subjected to a grotesque show trial on charges of “conspiring” to pass the “secret of the atomic bomb” to the USSR during World War II. The frame-up featured perjured testimony and concocted evidence as well as the stoking of anti-Semitism. With the trial coming at the height of McCarthyite anti-Communist hysteria, this was enough to secure a conviction.

Judge Irving Kaufman consulted with the prosecution before condemning the Rosenbergs to death. During sentencing, he took the opportunity to accuse the Rosenbergs of treason—defined by the Constitution as giving aid and comfort to the enemy in wartime—even though the Soviet Union was an ally of the U.S. during World War II! While liberal and social-democratic apologists for the government have come forward over the years claiming to “prove” the Rosenbergs’ guilt, these attempts have all fallen apart under the slightest scrutiny.

As the *Militant* (27 October 1952), published by the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), wrote in an editorial following the Supreme Court’s refusal to review the conviction: “The Rosenberg decision above all else was an act of ruling-class terror by a state that is preparing a war of world conquest, a war directed primarily against the Soviet Union.... It was far more a political than a spy trial. There is no other way to explain why the Rosenbergs, who were charged with playing the least important role of all those involved in the atomic espionage, should alone have been given the ultimate sentence.”

For Marxists, the central issue in the Rosenberg case was the defense of the Soviet workers state against imperialism. The U.S. had emerged from World War II as the predominant imperialist power, with a monopoly on atomic weapons. The main impediment to its world designs was the Soviet Union, which had issued out of the 1917 seizure of power by the



Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, American Communists charged with spying for Soviet Union, at New York City trial, January 1951.

Bolshevik-led working class in Russia. Despite its subsequent degeneration under Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, the USSR continued to embody key social gains of the October Revolution, centrally a planned economy and collectivized property. It was an urgent task of the working class to defend the Soviet Union—just as we Spartacists today defend the bureaucratically deformed workers states of China, Cuba, Laos, North Korea and Vietnam.

Julius Rosenberg was arrested less than a year after the first Soviet A-bomb test threw the U.S. rulers into a frenzy. As we wrote in “They’re Trying to Kill the Rosenbergs All Over Again” (WV No. 340, 21 October 1983):

“Those who helped the Russians achieve nuclear capacity did a great service for humanity. Had U.S. imperialism maintained a nuclear monopoly, it would have meant historic defeats for the international proletariat. It would have meant nuclear destruction from Southeast Asia to Latin America. Who can doubt that U.S. imperialism would have destroyed Vietnam totally with nuclear weapons if they did not fear a retaliatory Soviet strike? Would Cuba exist today if the U.S. had a nuclear monopoly?”

The late 1940s and ’50s in the U.S. was a time of widespread persecution of Communists, labor militants, other leftists and also some liberals classified as “Communist sympathizers.” Witchhunters such as Senator Joseph McCarthy destroyed the careers of such “subversives” in all walks of American life, but especially the labor movement. Some 25,000 union members, many of them key leaders of the CIO organizing drives of the 1930s, were purged, in some cases leading to the destruction of whole unions. Thousands more were tracked down by the FBI and driven from their jobs, only to continue to be hounded and witchhunted due to employer blacklists.

While belatedly coming to the defense of the Rosenbergs amid the Cold War atmosphere of repression, the SWP correctly recognized the centrality of the Soviet Union in the Rosenberg case and hailed the USSR’s nuclear capacity. In contrast, most of the rest of the left in the United States refused to defend the Rosenbergs. This included their comrades in the leadership of the Communist Party (CP), who did not even mention the case until after the trial was over and the death sentence had already been handed down. When the CP did take up the case, it neither denounced the political frame-up nor defended the Rosenbergs as victims of the capitalist state. The *Daily Worker* (6 April 1951) merely accused the government of “bad faith” similar to its refusal “to negotiate peace in Korea,” where the U.S. imperialists and their allies were fighting a war against the North Korean and Chinese workers states.

In recent years, the American nuclear cowboys have raised a hue and cry over the efforts of North Korea to develop and test nuclear weapons and adequate delivery systems—capacity that Marxists support. The U.S. imperialists have also played up Iran’s alleged nuclear program to impose withering sanctions to the detriment of its working masses and poor. In fact, possession of nuclear weapons is the only true measure of national sovereignty in today’s world, as Saddam Hussein, who did not possess “weapons of mass

destruction,” learned the hard way.

The article we reprint below appeared in the *Militant* (29 June 1953) following the Rosenbergs’ execution. It highlights how the anti-Communist trade-union bureaucracy, which sealed its hold on the labor movement through the red purges, was deaf to appeals on behalf of the Rosenbergs. Following in their footsteps, today’s labor statesmen widely embrace the “war on terror,” the latest crusade undertaken by the capitalist rulers after the fading of the “Red menace” with the 1991-92 counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR. The vast expansion of the repressive powers of the state in the name of fighting terrorism is, as with the anti-Soviet McCarthyite frenzy, ultimately aimed at the working class, the potential gravediggers of the capitalist system. For more on the case, see “Hail the Heroic Rosenbergs!” (WV No. 923, 24 October 2008).

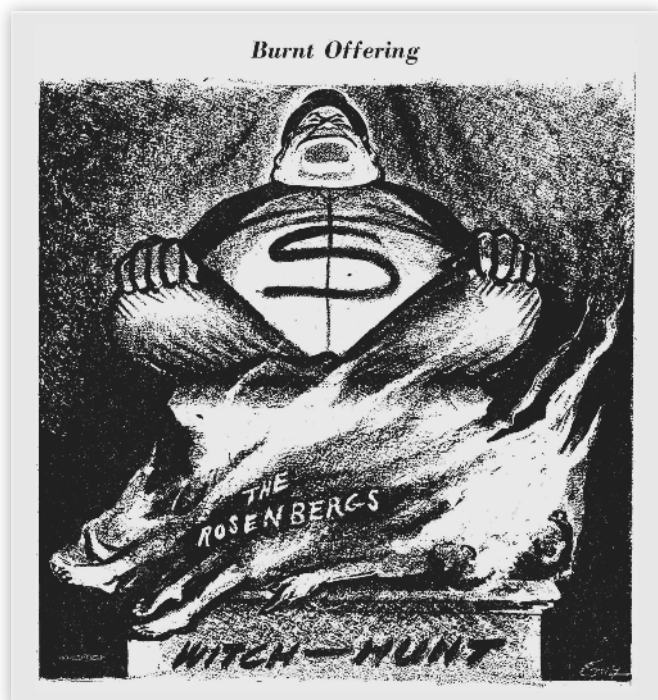
MILITANT 29 June 1953

The smell of the auto-da-fe—the burning of heretics—hangs over the land. With the legal murder on June 19 of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, the modern inquisition has sent its first two victims to the stake.

Their inquisitors kept the Rosenbergs on the wrack for weeks and months, offering the condemned couple their lives in return for “recantations” and “confessions.” The Rosenbergs declared their innocence to the end. They refused to “abjure” themselves and spurned the role of stoolpigeons and perjurers as demanded by the Eisenhower administration, with its Department of Justice and FBI.

Enraged that their odious compact was refused, the witch hunters in obscene haste shoved aside a last-minute stay of execution granted by Justice Douglas and claimed their blood-victims.

The whole prestige and authority of the U.S. government was mobilized to give the odor of legal sanctity to the burnings. Eisenhower and the Supreme Court themselves, in effect, pulled the electric-



Laura Gray/Militant

Graphic illustrating sacrifice of Rosenbergs on altar of capitalism accompanied 29 June 1953 *Militant* article.

Partisan Defense Committee

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chair switch. A cold-blooded six-to-three decision of the hastily reconvened Supreme Court vacated Justice Douglas’ stay, granted the day before. A few hours later Eisenhower denied executive clemency, thus sealing the Rosenbergs’ doom.

Eisenhower prated about the “fullest measure of justice and due process of law” allegedly extended the Rosenbergs. Only the most gullible really believe that. This was a political assassination. That is how virtually the entire world views it. This is shown by the wave of outrage and revulsion that has swept the globe at the sadistic haste with which the Rosenbergs were rushed to their death.

World-Wide Protest

The protests were most widespread and vocal precisely in those countries of Western Europe where American influence is reputed to be greatest. All sections of the French union movement—including the Catholic right—called for clemency to the Rosenbergs. All the Italian unions strongly voiced similar demands. Some of the leading conservative British trades unions, most notably the huge Transport and General Workers Union with 1,300,000 members, openly joined the protest movement.

In addition, the closest allies of the American capitalists—from the Pope himself to the president of France—warned against carrying through the execution because of the blow it would deal Washington’s already shaky prestige among the masses of Western Europe.

Thousands among scientific, cultural, educational and religious circles here and abroad addressed appeals to Eisenhower for clemency. Some 2,800 Protestant clergymen in America voiced their opposition to the death penalty for the Rosenbergs. Eminent atomic scientists Dr. Albert Einstein and Dr. Harold C. Urey (who, incidentally, ridiculed the notion that the accused and the informer against them could have understood or conveyed atomic information) denounced the conviction of the Rosenbergs as well as their sentence.

But the one progressive force that might have prevented the murder of the Rosenbergs was shamefully silent. The 17,000,000-member American trade union movement uttered no word of protest or indignation at the witch-burning. With the notable exception of Hugo Ernst, head of the AFL Hotel and Restaurant Employees, not one leading American trade-union figure had the simple human decency and political intelligence to speak out against the political killing of the Rosenbergs.

It is inconceivable that the labor leaders did not know the tissue-paper flimsiness of the government’s case against the Rosenbergs and the atmosphere of the anti-communist witch hunt that made a fair trial for them impossible. Yet they were too cowardly, too opportunist, too



1953: Emergency mass protests were held around the world as Rosenbergs’ execution date neared. Above: Paris, June 6. Below: Protesters headed for Washington, D.C., gather at NYC’s Penn Station, June 18.



eager to demonstrate their subservience to the capitalist government and their own rabid anti-communism to demand justice and clemency for the Rosenbergs.

For their blind treachery they themselves may yet pay a terrible price at the hands of the witch hunters, whose ultimate objective is nothing less than the crushing of the American labor movement. The smell of the blood of the Rosenbergs will undoubtedly excite the appetites of the McCarthyites and embolden them to seek bigger and juicier prey—including and especially the trade-union leaders.

Why has the case of the Rosenbergs raised such an outcry everywhere that free

opinion still finds room to express itself? Why do many who remained silent while U.S. imperialism burned alive several million Koreans or annihilated two whole Japanese cities with atom bombs now cry out at the spectacle of two obscure Americans being killed after what appear to be exhaustive legal proceedings?

Deaths in war seem impersonal and are frequently excused as the regrettable but unavoidable hazards of military struggle. But the Rosenberg case spotlights the nature of U.S. capitalism in all its brutality and vindictiveness. This was deliberate, premeditated murder intended to intimidate into silence all who would

oppose American imperialism in any way. It is a symbol of all that the world has come to hate of the ruthless arrogance and aggressive drive of the American ruling class.

Their pretense that the Rosenbergs got all the benefits of the law makes the actions of Eisenhower and the Supreme Court seem all the more hypocritical. As Justice Black pointed out in his strong dissenting opinion, not only is “judicial haste...peculiarly out of place where the death penalty is imposed,” but the Supreme Court “has never reviewed this record and has never affirmed the fairness of the trial...” Indeed, the court refused on a number of occasions to review the central question: Did the Rosenbergs get a fair trial?

Could a fair trial have been possible in the witch-hunt atmosphere and with the whole capitalist government lined up to burn the Rosenbergs, regardless of their guilt or innocence, to make of them a terrifying example?

The Eisenhower administration feared to wait any longer the test of public opinion. It feared that each day would see the protest and indignation grow, not only abroad but at home. The juridical case against the Rosenbergs was coming apart at the seams. It was becoming known that the Rosenbergs were actually charged not with committing espionage, but with mere “conspiracy”—agreement to commit—such acts. No tangible evidence was put forward even for this nebulous charge except the claims of a single informer who feared his own neck was at stake if he did not testify as demanded by the FBI. They rushed to kill the Rosenbergs precisely because the case could not stand up under further close public examination.

Act of Class Hate

This was a deed of class hate and class vengeance. The brutal American capitalist class has sadistically vented on the helpless bodies of the Rosenbergs its rage and frustration at the setbacks it has received abroad from the forces of the colonial and socialist revolutions and for the impediments raised by the revolutionary masses on all the continents to its schemes of world conquest.

The murder of the Rosenbergs shows how far the witch hunters are prepared to go to suppress free thought and political freedom in America. It is the extreme expression of a system of terrorism that has already put a gag over education, literature, the arts and sciences and public service that has sent hundreds to prison for their political views and cost thousands their jobs. It has placed shackles of fear on the American mind. And it will not be halted until the American labor movement—ultimate target of the witch hunters—stands forth with a mighty fist in the face of the witch hunters and declares: “Not another step!” ■

Paris...

(continued from page 3)

not only illusory but also suicidal.

The main obstacle to mobilizing the working class lies within it: the reformist leaderships dedicated to the maintenance of capitalism, from the union bureaucracies to the SP and PCF. They sow the illusion that all it takes is to pressure the SP to create some type of “republican front” to stop the fascists. In its leaflet passed out this evening in Paris, the NPA claimed that the answer is “unity against the far right.” They voted for [former right-wing president Jacques] Chirac in 2002 under the same pretext. And now they are trying to save the “unity of the left” that has been damaged by the government’s attacks, at a time of growing anger in the working class against these very attacks.

At bottom, Lutte Ouvrière has the same line of seeking unity with the SP leaders. At its fete last month, LO stated that the fascists’ physical attacks must be repelled

clubs in hand. But when the working class is mobilized, what is LO’s policy? During the PSA auto strike in Aulnay, which they led from start to finish, they organized a stunt at the April 13 meeting of the SP’s National Council: Jean-Pierre Mercier, leader of the striking CGT and an LO spokesman, begged the SP honchos in the government to stop betraying the workers and to change their economic policies. He stated that otherwise “we will all pay for it because it would leave the way wide open for the National Front. And that would be a real national catastrophe for the country, a real catastrophe for labor” (see *Le Bolchévik* No. 204).

It is urgent for the working class to mobilize en masse in the streets to smash the fascist scum. This requires an uncompromising struggle against the politics of the reformists, who deflect the proletariat from this task. We strive to forge a revolutionary leadership of the working class, a party like Lenin’s Bolsheviks, who in 1917 led the working class in making a socialist revolution. For new October Revolutions! ■

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Manning...

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Meanwhile, the Commander-in-Chief prejudiced the trial by publicly announcing in advance that Manning was guilty. The court-martial opened amid outrage over new leaks exposing surveillance of journalists, ordinary citizens and foreign nationals by the Obama White House, which has ramped up assaults on civil liberties as part of the global “war on terror.”

Manning is charged with 22 counts, including the capital offenses of “espionage” and “aiding the enemy.” Although prosecutors say they are not seeking a death sentence, just entombment for life in a military brig, the judge could still impose that penalty. In a pretrial hearing earlier this year, Manning pled guilty to ten lesser charges that carry a penalty of up to 20 years’ imprisonment. But the government has refused to negotiate, prosecuting him to the max in order to terrify others into silent submission. Contrast the prosecution of Bradley Manning, who has harmed no one, with that of Sergeant Robert Bales, who deliberately murdered 16 Afghan civilians last year, most of them women and children. The government has shown compassion for Bales, setting aside the death penalty and entertaining an exculpatory narrative of this killer’s emotional problems. Bradley Manning faces the full force of state repression for exposing heinous actions by the likes of Bales.

The wording in the statute on “aiding the enemy” casts a very wide net that could snare anyone in the government’s sights. It warns that anyone who “gives intelligence to or communicates or corresponds with or holds any intercourse with the enemy, either directly or indirectly” will “suffer death or such other punishment as a court-martial or military commission may direct.” Who is the “enemy”? In the “war on terror,” there is no declared enemy state, there are no defined battlefields, and this government knows no demilitarized zones.

In Bradley Manning’s case, the government asserts that releasing significant activity war logs (“SigActs”) from Afghanistan and Iraq constitutes aiding the enemy because the death raid on Osama bin Laden included capture of a laptop that had allegedly been used to access the WikiLeaks Web site. The London *Financial Times* (5 June) quotes a lawyer at the Government Accountability Project, who warned of the danger to everyone posed by Manning’s prosecution: “Once the information is on the internet, everyone has access to it, including terrorists and serial killers and all sorts of unsavoury people. If the *FT* or *The New York Times* had been found at the bin Laden compound, would that mean the newspapers were also aiding the enemy?”

Certainly the videos and war logs leaked by Manning revealed no secrets to the peoples of Iraq and Afghanistan who were the direct victims of the U.S. military’s bloody terror. It is the U.S. government itself, through its drone attacks on civilians, air strikes, butchery and subjugation of entire peoples and nations through imperialist occupations that fuels hatred of America worldwide. Moreover, today’s terrorists were yesterday’s freedom fighters for the U.S. government, which gave immense amounts of “material support” to Islamic reactionaries to kill Soviet Army soldiers in Afghanistan

who stood on the side of women’s rights and social progress in the 1980s.

Through the Looking Glass to Fort Meade

The court-martial of Bradley Manning has huge implications for everyone. At stake are the rights to read, write, associate and dissent, the right to a speedy and fair trial, not to mention the right not to be tortured. Yet the court-martial takes place far from adequate public scrutiny. Representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee and *Workers Vanguard* were among a total of 16 public spectators allowed in the tiny courtroom at Fort Meade (a few more squeezed in if staff or media seats were vacated). Hundreds of journalists were denied press credentials.

The trial was allegedly broadcast to a trailer seating a mere 35 more people, and to a 100-seat movie theater on the base. The Army’s live feed, however, was the audiovisual equivalent of a redacted (blacked-out) Freedom of Information Act file. The sound and picture continually went dead. By coincidence or sick joke, the marquee in front of the theater announced the day’s feature film: *Oblivion*. (We’re not making this up.) The mere 70 credentialed media were assigned to a distant “pit” that also had an often broken live feed and where blogging, tweeting and broadcasting at will were *verboten*.

A pretense of transparency covered the secrecy, lending a surreal, topsy-turvy



WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange, holed up in Ecuadorian embassy in London, addressing supporters in August 2012.

quality to the proceedings. Heavily armed soldiers and poisonously saccharine public affairs officers acted as if they were earnestly serving the public’s needs while in fact denying them. The military judge began the court-martial by soliciting reassurance from the prosecution that, yes indeed, everyone interested in attending the proceedings was accommodated—a blatant lie.

The stalwarts who lined up under heavy guard for hours before the start of the trial each day to snag a coveted courtroom seat were subjected to vehicle inspections and ID checks, frisked, wanded and made to jump daily wardrobe hurdles. Manning’s supporters wore black T-shirts with the word “truth” in blazing white letters. Day one of the court-martial, the decision came down that the word “truth” could not be worn in the courtroom. As the bailiff said, “No attire that detracts from the dignity of these proceedings” would be allowed. So people wore their shirts inside out to conceal the “truth.” But on day two, a smiling soldier gripping an automatic weapon told them: “Y’all can wear your shirts right side out today guys. Isn’t that great?”

In the courtroom, Bradley Manning was kept as isolated as possible from his supporters. He was forbidden even to make eye contact or turn his head to observe those who had traveled from around the country to show their solidarity with him. Military police flanked the divider



Daniel Ellsberg speaking at June 1 Fort Meade protest. Ellsberg’s 1971 release of “Pentagon Papers” shed light on U.S. war in Vietnam.

between the defense table and the public seating, facing down Bradley Manning’s supporters, allegedly for his protection.

Lifting the Veil

A big factor in the Bradley Manning court-martial is the government’s zeal to prosecute WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange, still holed up in the Ecuadorian embassy in London to avoid extradition to the U.S. via Sweden. Vice President Joseph Biden declared Assange a “high-tech terrorist,” i.e., a man with no rights and a target on his back. The hundreds of thousands of documents released by Manning and published on WikiLeaks have helped expose the everyday workings of the capitalist imperialist system. In addition to the Iraq and Afghanistan war logs, diplomatic cables reveal that the U.S. compelled the Haitian government to exempt American manufacturers from raising the starvation wages of Haitian labor from 22 cents to 61 cents per hour, advised the Israelis on how to tamp down an international scandal over conditions for Palestinians in Gaza, among other acts of imperialist statesmanship.

Most spectacularly, in April 2010 WikiLeaks published a video under the title “Collateral Murder” showing the July 2007 airstrike, amid laughter and blood lust, by U.S. servicemen in Apache helicopters against civilians in Baghdad. They killed 12 people in this airstrike, including two Reuters employees, and wounded young children. The U.S. had repeatedly thwarted attempts by Reuters to obtain the video footage through the Freedom of Information Act. After determining that the video was already in public hands (David Finkel’s book *The Good Soldiers* included a verbatim transcript from the video), Manning sent it to WikiLeaks.

At the court-martial, the prosecution tied itself in a knot of contradictions. It asserted that Manning was taking direct orders from Assange, selectively gathering information from a WikiLeaks “want list” of documents, while simultaneously arguing that Manning harvested a thousand cables per hour from the Internet—hardly a selective search. In a pretrial statement to the court, Manning said that he submitted documents to WikiLeaks only after the public editor for the *New York Times* failed to answer his repeated messages regarding important information about Iraq and Afghanistan and the *Washington Post* told him essentially that they could not care less.

Manning made an online submission of the Apache video to WikiLeaks with an attached text explaining that “this is possibly one of the more significant documents of our time removing the fog of war and revealing the true nature of twenty-first century asymmetric warfare. Have a good day.” Manning told the court: “I felt I had accomplished something that allowed me to have a clear conscience based upon what I had seen and read about and knew were happening in both Iraq and Afghanistan everyday.”

The problem for the Army is that Bradley Manning has a moral and political conscience. He enlisted because he naively believed Army propaganda about defending freedom and democracy and inscribed the word “humanist” on the back of his dog tags. When he discovered that the star-spangled pretense to freedom was used to cloak systematic torture, repression and killing, he used his considerable

computer skills to expose the truth.

Under skillful cross-examination by Manning’s defense attorney, David Coombs, prosecution witnesses were compelled to acknowledge that Manning was simply the best, most competent analyst among all the soldiers assigned to intelligence at Forward Operating Base Hammer in Iraq, their “go to” guy whenever competent, well-researched and clearly mapped information was required. Witnesses acknowledged that Internet surfing and downloading were a widespread practice at the base and even encouraged for professional development. Contrary to prosecution allegations of “espionage,” cyber forensics specialists were compelled to admit under cross-examination that Manning’s computers showed no evidence of direct or indirect contact or financial transactions with foreign powers or “enemy” forces and no evidence that he intended to bring harm to U.S. troops or anyone else.

This was confirmed on day two of the court-martial with the testimony of Adrian Lamo, a computer hacker and convicted felon who had allowed Manning to confide in him and then turned him over to the Feds to secure his own advantage with prosecutors. Lamo acknowledged under cross-examination that Manning was not interested in making money by selling secrets to Russia or China. Indeed, the government possesses the entirety of the Internet chats between Lamo and Manning that prove Manning’s innocence of the most serious charges.

Manning sought nothing except to spark a debate in the American public to stop the monstrosities. His messages to Lamo, quoted in Chase Madar’s book *The Passion of Bradley Manning* (Verso, 2013), included:

“I think I’ve been traumatized too much by reality, to care about consequences of shattering the fantasy.
“I want people to see the truth...regardless of who they are...because without information, you cannot make informed decisions as a public.”

Imperialist System in Advanced Decay

Lifting the veil on the U.S. war machine was a gutsy act of conscience that objectively helps the victims and opponents of the imperialist system. But the workings of this society will not change by making more information publicly available. In that sense, Julian Assange and WikiLeaks activists are hardly radicals. They are defiant liberals with a mastery of Internet communications.

At the right end of the spectrum of Bradley Manning supporters are reform-minded individuals who oppose his persecution because they want to morally rearm the imperialist colossus in order to make it more effective. We stand on the other side, fighting for the class interests of the working people internationally. We appreciate what Bradley Manning, Julian Assange and others, including, now, Edward Snowden, have done because the working class needs to be educated as to the systematic workings of the state run by and for the capitalist class.

As Marxists, we understand that imperialist occupations and wars are inextricably part of the system of capitalist exploitation and not the result of misguided policies. This system is based on the exploitation of labor for private profit, buttressed by systematic racial segre-

New Address for Tinley Park Activist

In “Free Tinley Park Anti-Fascists!” (WV No. 1023, 3 May), we urged readers to send letters of solidarity to the five anti-racist militants who have been imprisoned for breaking up a gathering of fascists outside Chicago. Please note that the address of John Tucker has changed to: M34024, P.O. Box 549, Lincoln, IL 62656.

gation and oppression that divides the working people. The American government, which pretends it is “by and for the people,” is the executive committee of the capitalist class, whose rule is maintained through the force and violence of special bodies of armed men—the police, military and prisons. Opponents of this system must be won to an understanding that it will take a series of socialist revolutions around the world to overturn the capitalist order and establish socialist egalitarianism through internationally planned and collectivized economies.

To this end, the U.S. proletariat must take a side in defense of the peoples oppressed by the American rulers. In opposing the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, we stated that every blow struck against imperialist forces was in the objective interests of the international working class and called for class struggle against the U.S. rulers at home. At the same time, as is evident from the intercommunal slaughter in Iraq and the nightmarish oppression of women in Afghanistan, bourgeois nationalists and Islamic fundamentalists are implacable enemies of the toilers of their own countries. Throughout the neocolonial world, the emancipation of the exploited and the oppressed will require uniting the proletariat in struggle for its own class rule, linked to the fight for socialist revolution in the imperialist centers.

What a Tangled Web They Weave

At a panel discussion of Bradley Manning supporters in Washington, D.C., on the eve of the court-martial, Peter Van Buren, a 24-year State Department official who was sacked for putting a link to a WikiLeaks posting on his personal blog, described the lunacy about leaks in the Obama administration. Firewalls on State Department computers block employees from looking at WikiLeaks or even BBC or CNN reports that mention WikiLeaks postings of State Department cables that are accessible on the State Department’s own computers (not to mention on smart phones or personal computers). Van Buren dissected the purpose of the madness in a blog post (27 September 2011) about his firing: “DS [Bureau of Diplomatic Security] monitoring my blog is like a small-town cop pulling over every African-American driver: vindictive, selective prosecution.”

Van Buren, who worked at the same base in Iraq as Manning, told the discussion that the question he asks himself now is why didn’t he leak the cables himself. Van Buren proudly turned up for his last day of work at the State Department in a Bradley Manning T-shirt. To his surprise, many co-workers had their pictures taken with him.

Government secrecy is spreading faster than bubonic plague as a result of the race to erect a vast security state after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. The WikiLeaks haul is but a tiny portion of the towering mountain range of classified government documents. The number of such documents is itself a state secret, but it is estimated that in 2010 the U.S. was producing an annual avalanche of 560 million pages labeled classified information. Simply to shuffle so much material requires a huge increase

in security clearances. A *Washington Post* study in 2010 concluded that over 854,000 people—more than one and a half times the population of Washington, D.C.—held top-secret security clearances.

Obama has charged more people under the 1917 Espionage Act for releasing information to the public than all prior administrations combined. Daniel Ellsberg, a military analyst who famously released the Pentagon Papers during the Vietnam War, which shed light on the U.S. war in Indochina, was the first person prosecuted under the Espionage Act for releasing classified information to the public. An outspoken and tireless advocate for Bradley Manning, Ellsberg remarked: “I’m sure that President Obama would have sought a life sentence in my case” (*Washington Post*, 5 June).

The Espionage Act was one of an array of repressive measures adopted after U.S.

workers and peasants were soon successful in driving out the militarily and economically mightier U.S. imperialists.

As Marxists in the belly of the beast, “our boys” were the North Vietnamese and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF) fighters, who were fighting for social revolution. In the context of a draft army, our comrades accepted conscription with their working-class brothers and fought for soldiers’ civil liberties and to win servicemen to the revolutionary internationalist understanding that the enemy was U.S. imperialism, not the NLF. Soldiers whose views the Spartacist League supported issued the *G.I. Voice* newsletter, which demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam and other occupied countries, an end to racism in the armed forces and an end to deployment of GIs against strikes and political



1970: North Vietnamese radio operator during battle with U.S. imperialists’ South Vietnamese puppet forces in Quang Tri. Defeat of U.S. in Vietnam was victory for world’s toilers.

imperialism’s entry into World War I to criminalize antiwar activity. It mandated imprisonment for any act deemed to interfere with recruitment of troops. Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs was imprisoned under the Espionage Act and stripped of his citizenship for speaking against the war. Spooked by the Bolshevik Revolution, as well as by domestic unrest and anarchist agitation, in 1918 Congress passed the Sedition Act as amendments to the Espionage Act, making it a crime to criticize the “U.S. form of government.”

Ellsberg’s 1971 prosecution took place in the context of convulsive social struggles that wrested gains in this country, especially the civil rights and Black Power movements. Most importantly, the losing U.S. war in Vietnam was changing the political climate and relationship of forces. The fact that America was getting its ass kicked engendered a defeatist wing of the bourgeoisie, which was willing to cut U.S. losses in Vietnam following the destruction of the Indonesian Communist Party—then the largest such party in the capitalist world—in a 1965 coup and subsequent bloodbath encouraged by Washington. Liberals like those who run the *New York Times*, which printed the Pentagon Papers leaked by Ellsberg, thought the U.S. should “bring the boys home.” The Vietnamese

protest at home. Advice to inductees in the very first issue of *G.I. Voice* (February 1969) resonates in the Bradley Manning case today: “Our position is that while we are in the Army we must obey all legal orders. At the same time, we are citizens and do not give up our Constitutional rights because we put on a uniform.”

There is no conscription today and we do not volunteer to serve for U.S. imperialism. We recognize, however, that the armed forces include many thousands of working-class and minority men and women who end up there because this capitalist society offers them no jobs or affordable education. Their disaffection with the military is expressed in statistics of desperation. Suicide is now the leading cause of death among active duty troops, including those in combat.

Outside the court-martial, Afghanistan war vet Jacob George spoke with *WV* about the impact Bradley Manning’s actions had on him and other veterans. He and other mostly Southern vets launched ARTTE (A Ride to the End). They bicycle around the country to play bluegrass and folk music, speaking out against the war. He said people “would listen to the music but they weren’t too awesomely impressed about the message. Nor was the media willing to give it much coverage. When the Afghan War Logs were released later on in 2010, *overnight* the national discourse and the public attitude about the war in Afghanistan shifted. All of a sudden, people wanted to hear what we had to say.” He continued, “I definitely saw a shift after Manning released that information, and it also contributed to my healing, because as a veteran it gave me a voice.”

American “Democracy”: Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie

With his silver-tongued double-speak about “justice” and “freedom,” Obama, who was vaulted into office with the overt or backhanded support of the reformist left, has enhanced the repressive state machinery inherited from George W. Bush and put his own stamp on the global “war on terror.” The administration’s Tuesday power breakfasts draw up kill lists for

targeted assassinations and drone attacks, like the one in September 2011 that killed U.S. citizen Anwar al-Awlaki in Yemen. And Obama is largely given a free hand to do so by Democratic Party-loyal liberals, black elected officials and labor misleaders. Obama stands in a long tradition of Democratic presidents who shredded civil liberties at home while escalating American military intervention around the world.

The “progressive” Woodrow Wilson—an ardent segregationist—led the U.S. into World War I. Establishing the League of Nations (predecessor to the United Nations), which Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin called “a den of thieves,” Wilson blathered that “diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.” Meanwhile, his Espionage Act and Sedition Act gave the government wide latitude for censorship. He also signed an executive order requiring all public employees to “support government policy; both in conduct and in sympathy.”

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was at the helm of U.S. imperialism in World War II. FDR established the classification of government information in the modern era and expanded the definition of military installations to include any commercial manufacture of munitions or equipment for the Army or Navy, thus ratcheting up repression of labor in the burgeoning defense industries. Under FDR, people of Japanese descent were defined as “an enemy race,” and Roosevelt had everyone fitting that description removed to internment camps. In August 1945, knowing that Japan was ready to surrender, Roosevelt’s Democratic successor, Harry S. Truman, dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, annihilating the civilian population. With Executive Order 9835, Truman established the Federal Employee Loyalty Program to investigate and deny employment where “there is a reasonable doubt as to the loyalty of the person involved.”

As Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution alongside Lenin, observed, “Imperialism with its dark plans of conquest and its robber alliances and deals, developed the system of secret diplomacy to the highest level.” It took a bourgeois social revolution, the great French Revolution of 1789, to establish the *Archives Nationales* for the express purpose of enabling the people to keep an eye on the government. When the workers came to power in Russia, one of their first orders of business was to open the files of the former capitalist government and publicize the truth behind its lies and diplomatic secrets to the workers of the world. It will take a proletarian socialist revolution in America to get the whole truth about U.S. imperialism’s global and domestic machinations and put an end to the exploitation and racist oppression of capitalist class rule. The Spartacist League is dedicated to building the Marxist revolutionary workers party necessary to achieve this purpose. ■

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SF Pride...

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right wing SF Pride has become since its founding over 40 years ago. One longtime activist denounced the Board’s act as “a slap in the face to everything that Pride once stood for.” He pointed out that after the 1969 Stonewall rebellion that sparked the gay rights movement, gay activists, as part of the broader New Left, called to end the Vietnam War and to free the Black Panthers. Speakers attributed the Board’s repudiation of Manning to pressure from corporations who fund the event and to gay vets and members of the military. On June 7, the Board announced in a press release that speakers at the open forum had failed to sway them. Bradley Manning is out as grand marshal.

Gay Rights and the Democratic Party Machine

Radical nostalgia aside, the bourgeois political line of SF Gay Pride is no new thing. While always marked by liberal lifestyle politics, the gay rights movement as a whole turned sharply right during the last 30 years along with the national ascent of “family values” and American chauvinism, a period of renewed attacks on workers, the poor and the oppressed and the erosion of civil liberties. Gay rights came to mean the right to marry and the right to serve in the military—two goals the old radicals would have disdained.

The San Francisco Democratic establishment learned decades ago how to manipulate the rhetoric of “gay power” to bolster its rule, and Gay Pride Day has become an institutionalized representation of this face of city government. The co-optation of the rhetoric of gay rights into the fabric of Democratic Party political life dates back to Harvey Milk, the city’s first openly gay Supervisor and the first to march on Gay Pride Day.

After right-wing bigot Dan White murdered Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Milk in 1978, the city machine seized on the issue for political capital. One of the first acts of Mayor Dianne Feinstein was to mandate the recruitment of gays into the police force. For years, dozens of



WV Photo

May 31: Activists at open forum denounce SF Pride Board for overturning decision appointing Bradley Manning honorary grand marshal for 2013 Gay Pride parade.

gay police have headed up the parade with its “diversity” contingent of cops, squad cars and paddy wagons. These are the same cops who harass, beat up and arrest homeless people, sex workers and political protesters on the orders of Democratic Party mayors and the Democratic Party-dominated Board of Supervisors. But liberal activists do not protest the dominant presence of the police—the armed enforcers of racist capitalist rule—because what is valued by the gay lifestyle agenda is the cops’ sexual identity.

In San Francisco, “gay rights” rhetoric helps corral votes and support to the liberal-chic face of City Hall. Thus former mayor Gavin Newsom sought to bring his left-liberal opponents solidly into his camp by championing gay marriage. The status quo in the city today shows that Harvey Milk’s strategy of lifestyle liberation has succeeded in a limited way. He wanted being openly gay to be openly accepted in San Francisco politics. Indeed, as gay marriage rights are inching toward reality in state legislatures across the country, more gay faces are appearing in high places.

But even as more gays are prominent in bourgeois politics, anti-gay bigotry is exploding on the streets. Just last month Mark Carson, a 32-year-old gay black

man, was shot in the face at pointblank range in New York’s Greenwich Village, widely considered one of the bubbles of safety for gay people. The assailant taunted him with anti-gay slurs before pulling the trigger. This is no aberration. On June 4, the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs released its 2012 report documenting the level of violence against gays. Along with thousands of assaults, the coalition also documents a *reported* total of 25 anti-gay homicides in the U.S. last year. The year before had the highest total of documented killings: 30. The actual numbers are undoubtedly higher.

Oppression Rooted in Class Society

To struggle effectively against the persecution of gays and others who fall outside of the heterosexual “norm,” it is necessary to start with the understanding that democratic rights in capitalist society are partial, fragile and reversible. As fighters for the socialist liberation of humanity, we are committed to full democratic rights for gays, lesbians and transgenders, and we support any legal advances that can be wrested from the rulers of this cruelly bigoted society. This includes the right to serve in the military. At the same time, as

Surveillance...

(continued from page 2)

information about Awlaki to the Department of Justice months before Awlaki was killed, and briefed the Congress before this strike as well.” Dating back to 13th-century English common law, due process signifies that one cannot be deprived of life or liberty without notice of the charges and an opportunity to defend oneself in a court of law. For the former constitutional law professor Obama, due process now means merely consulting other members of the administration before terminating or locking up anyone deemed an enemy of U.S. interests anywhere in the world.

Obama has repeatedly promised to make his administration more “transparent” while pulling the shroud tighter over the government’s deadly machinations in a way that would make Richard Nixon turn green with envy. Similarly, in his May 23 speech, the president pronounced that “journalists should not be at legal risk for doing their jobs,” even as he and his hatchet man Eric Holder were pursuing a vendetta against the media for (at times) unearthing and reporting things the White House finds uncomfortable. In the case of government employees who supply the information, it has been a full-scale assault.

The trigger for the seizure of the AP phone records was a 2012 article about a foiled terror plot that disclosed leaked information about CIA activity—specifically, a CIA-Saudi-British operation that planted a mole inside Al Qaeda’s Yemen affiliate. The mole had volunteered to blow up an airliner using a new bomb designed to circumvent airport security, which he then turned over to his CIA handlers. AP honored the CIA/White House request to

hold the story for days in order to facilitate the assassination of a top Al Qaeda official using information obtained from the mole. Among the AP journalists involved in the Yemen article were Adam Goldman and Matt Apuzzo, who won a Pulitzer Prize last year for exposing the NYPD’s surveillance of American Muslim communities.

For lifting a bit of the veil of secrecy and lies with which the imperialist rulers cover their depredations, Army Private Bradley Manning is now undergoing a court-martial with the possibility of life imprisonment (see article on page 12). The Obama administration drips venom for WikiLeaks, which posted online the war logs and diplomatic cables made available by Manning. James Goodale, general counsel of the *New York Times* in its clashes with the Nixon administration, pointed out: “The biggest challenge to the press today is the threatened prosecution of WikiLeaks, and it’s absolutely frightening.”

Goodale’s former client, like the rest of the bourgeois media, is quite content to throw WikiLeaks head Julian Assange to the wolves. Although the *Times* & Co. bridle when the government steps on their toes, their role is not to expose the capitalist rulers but to be their mouthpieces. It was the *Times* that played an instrumental role in peddling the lies that Iraq possessed “weapons of mass destruction,” a pretext for the U.S. invasion in 2003. When Mark Klein fought to expose the NSA/AT&T collaboration, the paper turned him away and sat on the story for months, just as it had refused to report the NSA’s warrantless wiretapping for over a year at the Bush administration’s request. In *The ABC of Communism* (1920), Nikolai Bukharin aptly described the role of the bourgeois press as auxiliaries to the armed bodies of men that make up the state, acting together with the schools and

churches as “specialists to stupefy and subdue the proletariat.”

The Fraud of Bourgeois Democracy

As Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin wrote in his 1918 work *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*: “Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, always remains, and under capitalism is bound to remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor.” Among the “snares and deceptions” perfected in the U.S. is the vaunted “separation of powers” between the executive, legislative and judiciary branches of government. While this setup purports to maintain “checks and balances” on the power of any single branch, the White House gave the game away in responding to the disclosure of the Verizon data tapping. As described by an administration official: “All three branches of government are involved in reviewing and authorizing intelligence collection under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. Congress passed that act and is regularly and fully briefed on how it is used, and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court authorizes such collection.” In the first 30 years of its existence, that secret court approved all but a handful of the tens of thousands of intercept requests by the government.

With Congress having written the White House a blank check to wage war on democratic rights and civil liberties, some lawmakers are belatedly and disingenuously professing dismay at the scope of the snooping. Among them is Republican Congressman Jim Sensenbrenner, an author of the Patriot Act, who now pleads, “I do not believe the broadly drafted FISA

Marxists we give not one iota of support to U.S. imperialism, the world’s biggest terrorist force.

We support the right of gay people to marry and divorce, but we do not advocate or prettify the institution of marriage. We fight for a society in which no one needs to be forced into a legal straitjacket in order to get medical benefits, visitation rights, custody of children, inheritance, immigration rights or any of the privileges capitalist society grants to those who are embedded in the traditional “one man on one woman for life” marital mold. The Spartacist League vehemently opposes any government intrusion into consensual sexual activity and private life. Government out of the bedrooms!

But there is nothing inherently revolutionary about an unconventional lifestyle. The act of “coming out” may defy, but cannot eradicate, class-rooted repressive institutions. The oppression of homosexuals, like the oppression of women, serves as an index of more general social and political attitudes. As the basic institution defining sexual relations, the family, together with organized religion, mandates patriarchal social relations and generalized anti-gay oppression. The family—the main source of the oppression of women in class society—is necessary to the capitalist system of exploitation. It regiments and teaches respect for authority to each new generation of wage slaves and cannon fodder.

Harvey Milk thought that American capitalism was just fine. In that sense, today’s SF Pride Board follows in his footsteps. They’re at peace with bloody U.S. imperialism, too. Acceptance of the capitalist order, whether captained by Democrats or Republicans, is antithetical to any genuine fight for the liberation of black people, gays or any of the oppressed.

As the SYC speaker stressed at the May 31 Gay Pride forum:

“It is going to take a working-class revolution to bury the American imperialist beast once and for all, and to ensure the complete liberation of women, black people, gays and lesbians, all the oppressed. For this to be successful, the world needs to know the truth about the systematic violence and lies that prop up capitalist rule. And Bradley Manning helped get the truth out. Free Bradley Manning!” ■

order is consistent with the requirements of the Patriot Act. Seizing phone records of millions of innocent people is excessive and un-American.”

Such measures were precisely the purpose of the Patriot Act, which expanded the government’s authority to monitor anyone it claims is involved in international “terrorism.” Under its Section 215, the FBI has served tens of thousands of “national security letters” to libraries, phone companies and other businesses demanding records. The same section sanctions the seizure of journalists’ phone records. The repeated renewal and expansion of the law, including with the 2008 FISA Amendments Act, has made it even easier for the government to obtain authorization for electronic surveillance and interception.

The ultimate target of the police and spying apparatus is the working class, whose role in producing the wealth of this society gives it the social power to choke off profits, the lifeblood of the capitalist system. At the turn of the 20th century, the Russian tsars propped up their decrepit rule by unleashing an army of agents provocateurs and Okhrana (secret police) against that country’s small but rapidly growing proletariat and the Marxist circles that sprouted up at the time. This was the hallmark of a dying ruling class. In October 1917, the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian proletariat to power, overthrowing capitalist rule on one-sixth of the globe. The bourgeoisie to this day sees it as a calamity whose repetition must be prevented at all costs, while we Marxists see in that revolution a model for the proletariat of the world. It is our purpose to forge a world party of socialist revolution to lead the workers in overthrowing capitalist class rule and putting an end to its repression and imperialist ravages once and for all. ■

NDP...

(continued from page 4)

In a socialist society, production will be organized for human need, not the profit of a tiny layer of exploiters. Getting there requires the overthrow of those exploiters through working-class socialist revolution; the smashing of the repressive capitalist state machine and its replacement by a workers state; the expropriation of the capitalist class and an internationalist struggle to extend the revolutionary gains to working people across the globe. Such are the prerequisites of an egalitarian communist society, in which the state has withered away and economic scarcity and class divisions have been transcended. For this we need a new leadership of the working class and oppressed, dedicated to the principle that those who labour must rule.

B.C. NDP to Workers: Lower Your Expectations

The recent B.C. [British Columbia] election was a case study in the political character of the NDP as well as its left hangers-on. With the ruling Liberal Party widely predicted to lose, major capitalist corporations like Enbridge and Telus were hedging their bets, giving money to the NDP as well as their usual Liberal favourites. But it was not to be, as the Liberals campaigned aggressively and emerged with a majority government.

The New Democrats' campaign pledge of "fiscal responsibility" was, even for them, very right-wing. In response to a leaked internal policy document, they hotly denied any intention of implementing such social necessities as universal public childcare, or an end to health care premiums and tuition fees for higher education. B.C. Federation of Labour president Jim Sinclair, himself an NDP supporter, observed that the party had "made no commitments at all" to labour. Noting the similarity of the NDP and Liberal platforms, *Vancouver Sun* columnist Vaughn Palmer quipped, "those with anything but minimal expectations should prepare to be disappointed." Certainly the NDP merited not a shred of support from the working class.

This was not, of course, the conclusion drawn by the NDP-loyal reformist left. Pride of place here goes to the International Socialists (I.S.), whose pre-election statement was laughably entitled "BC NDP Platform: Really Good, but Not as Good as it Could Be" (*Socialist Worker*, May 2013). Without even a mention of socialism, this analysis, seemingly ghost-

written by a Keynesian tax accountant, salutes a long list of NDP-proposed taxes and portrays this as "a blow against the prevailing myths of austerity."

The NDP's stints in office in B.C. show with particular clarity how it rules for the bosses: from mass strikebreaking in the 1970s to a string of attacks on labour and oppressed minorities during the party's 1991-2001 reign. Teachers, who face a possible upcoming strike, might recall the 2000 strike by school support workers, which the NDP broke

class struggle against Canadian capitalism. The election has changed none of this."

—"NDP 'Surge': Dead End for Workers."
Spartacist Canada No. 169
(Summer 2011)

The continued existence of an artificial "united Canada," where one nation dominates the other and inflames national animosities, has long undermined the prospect of united working-class struggle against capitalism. In English Canada, Maple Leaf patriotism pushed by the



Spartacist Canada

Toronto, June 2012: Trotskyist League at rally in solidarity with Quebec student strike.

after just a week. The New Democrats also legislated an end to a teachers strike in 1993 and blocked another through anti-strike legislation in 1996. And in 1995, the NDP government ordered what was then the largest RCMP operation in Canadian history to drive Native protesters off a patch of ranch land at Gustafsen Lake.

"National Unity" Chauvinism

The New Democrats' 2011 federal breakthrough largely came through their huge growth in seats in Quebec. At the time, the I.S. declared that the NDP now "unites workers and their struggles in Quebec and Canada," while Fightback claimed that the result signaled Quebec workers' "rejection of the old sterile federalist-nationalist debate." As we noted:

"Such claims that the working class is now united under Layton's NDP and that the Quebec national question is passé are utterly bogus. The NDP has always been an Anglo-chauvinist opponent of the national rights of the Québécois, and thus of any prospect of united working-

NDP and labour tops binds the workers to the interests of their own exploiters. At the same time, the labour misleaders in Quebec push workers to support "their" capitalists via the Parti and Bloc Québécois. We Trotskyists advocate Quebec independence in order to remove this source of division among the workers and bring to the fore the need for them to oppose the capitalist exploiters of each nation, not each other.

The NDP's hostility to Quebec's national rights was shown again in its recent vote against a Bloc Québécois motion to overturn the Clarity Act. This reactionary law, which the NDP has long supported, effectively bans Quebec's democratic right to self-determination, i.e., to independence. Its repeal would have been a straightforward democratic measure.

To counter the Bloc motion, the NDP cooked up its own "Unity Bill" which would, like the Clarity Act, give the federal government the right to dictate what question could be asked in a future Quebec referendum. Even this was too much for B.C. NDP leader Adrian Dix:

Guatemala...

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with which the United States has watched the growth of the Communists' influence to the point where, at least to the outsider, they seem to be masters of the country in all but name." As the CIA worked to oust Arbenz from within, a ragtag army of a few hundred was organized in Honduras under the exiled Carlos Castillo Armas, who had received training at Fort Leavenworth.

Key to the invasion's success was the bombing and strafing of Guatemala City by U.S. airplanes flown by U.S. pilots. CIA honcho Howard Hunt (later of Watergate infamy) described the mission in the CNN documentary series *Cold War*: "What we wanted to do was have a terror campaign, to terrify Arbenz particularly, terrify his troops." Abandoned by his army, Arbenz resigned, ceding power to Colonel Carlos Enrique Díaz. Ambassador Peurifoy presented Díaz with a list of alleged Communists to be killed. Díaz, however, intended to release all political prisoners, including PGT members. So Peurifoy ordered the bombing to continue, Díaz was removed from office at gunpoint and a U.S. embassy plane flew in with Guatemala's new leader, Castillo Armas. Waves of bloody repression duly ensued. PGT members and peasant and labor leaders were rounded up, incarcerated or executed, while land was returned to United



Bethmann

Ríos Montt with imperialist sponsor Ronald Reagan in Honduras, December 1983.

Fruit and domestic oligarchs. Three years later, Castillo Armas was shot dead, one of a series of "regime changes" that would become commonplace in Guatemala.

U.S. imperialism's labor lieutenants were active in anti-Communist intrigues in Guatemala. American Federation of Labor operatives undermined PGT influence in the unions and recruited right-wing unionists for the invasion force. Guatemala was in fact a training ground for the role that the AFL-CIO bureaucracy would play in Central and South America through its notorious American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), which worked with the CIA to destroy militant, left-led unions. The "AFL-CIA" can take some credit for the fact that, as of

July 2009, the International Trade Union Confederation found that Guatemala was the second most dangerous country in Latin America for trade unionists.

Imperialism and the Class Struggle

Ríos Montt is a psychopathic mass murderer. Justice would require a trial by workers and peasants who survived his rule. It is simply nauseating to observe the feigned shock at the atrocities of their puppets on the part of the U.S. rulers, who continue to spawn and back the likes of President Pérez Molina. No matter which capitalist party is in power at any given time in Washington, grisly repression is a fundamental feature of U.S. imperialism.

chiding the federal party from a standpoint of consistent national chauvinism, he upheld the Clarity Act in toto. This is a perfect example of how the NDP accommodates the anti-Quebec chauvinism that is particularly strong in Western Canada. Another NDP candidate in B.C., one Dayleen Van Ryswyk, went a bit too far for the party brass, who dropped her following the revelation of her bigoted online rants against Native people and "having french [sic] stuffed down my throat."

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The future evolution of the NDP remains uncertain—whether it remains a pro-capitalist labour party that utilizes its direct ties to the unions to help contain and defeat struggle, or whether it severs such ties and becomes a party more like the U.S. Democrats. Regardless, the task of Marxist revolutionaries is manifestly not to build the NDP or pretend it can institute a "socialist program." It is rather to work to break the workers, starting with the most advanced, from the politics of pro-capitalist social democracy.

What is needed today to fight against the massacre of jobs and social services is a mobilization of the working class in a fight for jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. A massive organizing drive must be launched to draw into the unions all of the working class, especially its minority and immigrant components. In the course of such struggles, increasing layers of the working class will come to see the need for an assault on the entire capitalist system.

The only way to end once and for all the vicious assaults on social programs, to win jobs, decent living standards, free quality medical care, childcare and decent pensions for everyone is by ripping the productive forces from the hands of the capitalist class through socialist revolution and putting them in the hands of those whose labour makes society run. The NDP's hold over the working class is a major obstacle to forging the class consciousness necessary to such struggle.

We need a revolutionary workers party that is at once binational, multiracial and internationalist. The purpose of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste is to build the nucleus of such a party, which would champion the cause of all those oppressed and exploited under capitalism. It would give conscious leadership to the struggles of workers not only to improve present conditions but to do away with the entire system of exploitation and wage slavery. ■

Tentacles of the octopus (as United Fruit was known throughout Central America) can be cut off, as the Cuban Revolution did, but Yankee imperialism will continue to strangle the hemisphere until it is struck in the heart.

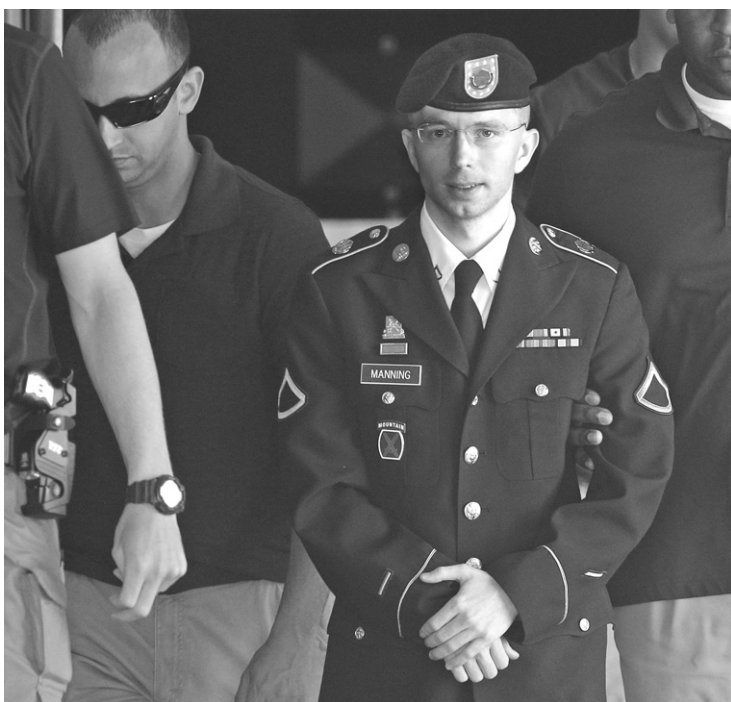
The genocide trial provided a stark view of the barbarity that the imperialists and their local henchmen inflict on working people in semicolonial countries. But exposure will not suffice to eliminate this system of oppression. It is up to the U.S. working class to smash the American capitalist-imperialist system from within and come to the aid of their class brothers and sisters in Mexico and further south, fighting to throw off their own shackles.

The labor movement north of the Río Grande/Río Bravo is enriched by immigrant workers from El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and elsewhere who bring to the U.S. proletariat direct experience of the murderous repression and brutal exploitation enforced by the likes of Ríos Montt on behalf of the U.S. capitalist rulers. Only when the working class, led by its internationalist vanguard party, takes power through a socialist revolution, expropriating the expropriators and destroying their state machinery root and branch, will justice be served on such hit men and their imperialist paymasters. We in the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, are dedicated to the task of forging such a party in the belly of the imperialist beast. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Exposed U.S. Atrocities and Lies

Truth-Teller on Trial: Free Bradley Manning!



Left: Bradley Manning escorted out of courthouse in Fort Meade, Maryland, June 4. Right: Rally at Fort Meade in support of Manning on June 1, two days before start of court-martial.

FORT MEADE—On June 3, the court-martial of Bradley Manning, an army intelligence analyst who released classified information in order to expose the barbarism of U.S. military occupation and domination in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere, finally began. In more than three years of pretrial detention aimed at destroying the mind, body and soul of this whistleblower, Manning was held in torturous conditions of solitary confinement, deprived of sleep, clothing and even his eyeglasses, while being taunted and poked at continually by sadistic guards.

Yet Manning courageously held fast to his political purpose: to expose evidence of monstrous war crimes and everyday U.S. overlordship of Third World countries.

On Saturday, June 1, some 1,000 supporters rallied in blistering heat outside the Fort Meade Army base near Washington, D.C., to demand freedom for Bradley Manning. Police blocked roads leading to the protest to obstruct people from joining or seeing the rally and march. Print, radio and television journalists from a large number of countries covered the protest, but the only mainstream American media present

was the right-wing Fox News. The conspicuous absence of the U.S. capitalist press was consistent with its deliberate efforts to bury Bradley Manning's case because his truth-telling effectively puts the U.S. government on trial. Pentagon Papers whistleblower Daniel Ellsberg proclaimed Manning a hero for all humanity, addressing the audience of military veterans, lesbian and gay rights activists, civil libertarians, anti-war radicals and left organizations.

Despite the best efforts of the U.S. government and the subservient "free press," Manning's case has become an

international cause célèbre. Concluding a 14-month investigation, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on torture found the United States government guilty of cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of Manning, violating his physical and psychological well-being and the presumption of his innocence. The German Bundestag and British Members of Parliament went on record protesting the physical and mental abuse of Manning, while hundreds of law school professors signed a letter of protest to President Obama.

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SF Pride Board Salutes U.S. Imperialism, Spits on Manning

With the eyes of the world on the court-martial of Bradley Manning, controversy over his case has ripped through San Francisco's large gay community. After SF Pride members announced on April 26 that Manning had been elected as an honorary grand marshal for the annual Gay Pride Day Parade on June 29-30, the SF Pride Board overturned the decision within hours. In a written statement, SF Pride president Lisa L. Williams denounced Manning's election as "a mistake" that "should never have been allowed to happen." Echoing

the government's charge that Manning "aided the enemy" by revealing some of the crimes of U.S. imperialism, Williams proclaimed that "even the hint of support for actions which placed in harms [sic] way the lives of our men and women in uniform...will not be tolerated by the leadership of San Francisco Pride."

Enraged by Williams' condemnation of a man they rightly view as a hero, Manning supporters protested at a May 7 meeting of the Pride Board. The Board then prevaricated, claiming that Manning's election was a procedural viola-

tion of a requirement that the grand marshal be a local gay person, and declared the discussion over. But liberal Democratic city supervisor David Campos, a gay Latino, mandated a public meeting to patch up the controversy, pointing to Pride as "an organization which receives City funding."

At a May 31 open forum in the Castro district, over 100 people, including from groups like the Bradley Manning Support Network, Code Pink and Iraq Veterans Against the War, confronted the Board and demanded Manning's

reinstatement as honorary grand marshal. Speakers pointed out that Manning is being witchhunted for telling the truth about the bloody deeds of the U.S. armed forces. Indeed, some pointed out, left-talking Democrats in the Pride milieu would have hailed Manning's actions if the Republican Bush were still in the White House, but they cannot stand telling the truth about Commander-in-Chief Obama, a Democrat.

To widespread applause, a Spartacus Youth Club speaker declared at the forum: "Bradley Manning is a hero. He should be hailed for exposing U.S. imperialist crimes and atrocities all over the world. By doing so, he performed a great service to workers and the oppressed, and they in turn have a direct interest in seeing him freed—immediately!" "But the SF Pride Board rejected Manning, spat on him and denounced him. They've taken Obama's side in the 'war on terror,' Obama's side in the war on civil liberties. They have sided with Manning's jailers and torturers. They apologize for and defend the greatest force of violence, terror and oppression on earth: U.S. imperialism."

Harking back to early days, many in attendance expressed dismay at how

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