29 June 2018

Ruthless Trump, Hypocritical Democrats

No Detentions! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!

The sight and sound of terrified children thrown into wire cages and separated from their parents by heavily militarized border police and I.C.E. agents have evoked such widespread horror and outrage that even the Tweeter-in-Chief feigned retreat. Trump signed an executive order on June 20 that allows families to be jailed together—indefinitely. Immigrants and asylum-seekers, mainly from Central America, are being disappeared in the vast archipelago of concentration camps called "immigrant detention centers," which mushroomed under Barack Obama.

No. 1136

Democrats cynically rail that Trump's executive order overturns the 1997 Flores settlement, which prohibits the federal

Two-year-old Honduran child cries in terror as her mother is frisked by U.S. Border Patrol in Texas, June 12. Thousands of immigrant children have been torn from their parents since early May.

government from detaining immigrant children for more than 20 days. While a June 24 Trump tweet called for "immediate" deportation "with no Judges or Court Cases," Obama—after being prevented from using indefinite detention—used Flores to carry out fast-track expulsions of immigrants without due process. He deported a record 2.5 million people. This is the immediate precedent for the Trump administration's kidnapping of over 2,000 children since May and criminalizing parents as "smugglers" for bringing their kids with them across the border.

The extreme poverty of life under the jackboot of U.S. neocolonial subjugation compels Latin American families to risk everything in the dangerous trek to the U.S. border. Marco Antonio Muñoz, a 39-year-old Honduran man who requested asylum at the border and was then separated from his family, committed suicide in a Texas jail last month, exemplifying the desperation faced by immigrants.

In solidarity, some activists have organized "Occupy I.C.E" protests, attempting

to stop deportations by blocking I.C.E. buses transporting immigrants as well as access to I.C.E. facilities. What is necessary is that the American labor movement mobilize in opposition to the capitalist ruling class, which exploits workers at home, to stop the deportations and fight for full citizenship rights for all those who have made it here. While a number of heavily minority union locals have rightly mobilized to defend their immigrant members and their families from deportation, the bitter truth is that the union movement is crippled by a flag-waving leadership committed to upholding the American capitalist order. The protectionist cry of continued on page 5

Democrats in Hawkish Frenzy After Trump-Kim Summit

Defend North Korea

Donald Trump exited his June 12 Singapore summit with North Korean leader Kim Jong Un boasting of a "great moment in the history of the world." The president who last year threatened to unleash "fire and fury" and "totally destroy" North Korea because of its development of nuclear weapons now parades as a man of peace. Trump and Kim signed a declaration pledging to

> "work toward complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula." The statement lacked any details, and the mercurial

Trump could change tack at a moment's notice. But make no mistake: what the U.S. rulers demand is nothing less than total disarmament by North Korea, a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

The U.S. and other imperialist powers are determined to restore capitalist rule and untrammeled exploitation to North Korea and the other workers states-China, Vietnam, Laos and Cuba. The overturn and expropriation of capitalism in these countries represent historic gains for the world working class, despite their rule by Stalinist bureaucratic castes that exclude the

working class from political power. We Trotskyists stand for the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. This defensism is the prerequisite to our fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucracies and install regimes based on workers and peasants councils.

North Korea's nuclear program is a rational, essential policy of self-defense against American imperialism. The U.S. is the only country that has ever used atomic weapons, incinerating 200,000 Japanese civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Today it openly threatens a nuclear "first strike" against countries on its enemies list. Trump's national security adviser, John Bolton, gave the game away several weeks before the summit when he said the U.S. wanted North Korea to accept the "Libya model."

Pyongyang knows what this means and has repeatedly invoked the "Libya model" in defense of its nuclear policy. In 2003, Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi renounced that country's nuclear arms program and welcomed

continued on page 4

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!



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

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Debbie Africa Paroled

Free All the MOVE Prisoners!

On June 16, MOVE member Debbie Sims Africa was released on parole from Pennsylvania's State Correctional Institution Cambridge Springs. She is the first of the MOVE 9 to be released after they were incarcerated in 1978, sentenced to terms of 30 to 100 years for the killing of a Philadelphia police officer during the 1978 cop siege of MOVE's Powelton Village home. Two other MOVE prisoners, Janine and Janet Africa, were up for parole

with Debbie, but were denied. "I am happy to finally be home with my family," said Debbie, "but Janet, Janine and the rest of the MOVE 9 are still in prison, in the same situation that I was in and they deserve parole too." For the immediate, unconditional release of all the MOVE prisoners!

From its appearance in the early 1970s proclaiming the right of armed self-defense, the predominantly black, radical back-to-

Philadelphia: **Debbie Africa** with her son Michael Africa Jr. at June 19 press conference following her release after nearly 40 years in prison.



nature MOVE commune was met with On 1943 Anti-Mexican

vicious cop terror. Debbie's release comes just two months before the 40th anniversary of the 8 August 1978 police attack on MOVE. After a months-long siege, an army of nearly 600 cops surrounded the MOVE house to evict its defenseless residents. The police unleashed a fusillade of gunfire and then stormed the home. One police officer, James Ramp, was killed

in the cops' own cross fire. At least eight witnesses testified that no gunshots came from the MOVE house, and no fingerprints of any MOVE member were found on the weapons supposedly recovered from their home. Despite this evidence of their innocence, six MOVE members remain in Pennsylvania's dungeons nearly continued on facing page



TROTSKY

"Zoot Suit" Riots

This June marks the 75th anniversary of anti-Mexican (and anti-black) riots in Los Angeles, dubbed the "Zoot Suit" riots by the bourgeois press. Whipped into a frenzy by the media, mobs of sailors and soldiers, wielding clubs, rampaged through L.A.'s barrios for a week while cops arrested youth dressed in zoot suits. Hundreds were stripped naked and beaten senseless. We print below an excerpt from an article in the Militant, news-



paper of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, describing the pervasive atmosphere of racist reaction amid World War II that fed into the violence. Such reaction also included the internment of Japanese Americans during the war. Today, as racist attacks continue to rise, we underline that it is in the vital interest of the multiracial labor movement to mobilize in defense of minorities and all the oppressed.

In and around Los Angeles a considerable minority of the population is Mexican or of Mexican descent. They are and for years have been the victims of discrimination in much the same way that Negroes are in the South. They are not wanted in many restaurants, etc.; they are segregated in housing, and consequently in the schools; they are barred from many jobs; they are the victims of police persecution and brutality. Many of the youth form together in gangs; some of them wear zoot suits as a form of self-expression, as many Negro and white youth do.

The capitalist press, largely anti-Mexican, has labored to create the impression that everyone wearing a zoot suit is a gangster, just as the New York press recently tried to smear every Negro as a mugger. As a result of their propaganda, lies, and half-truths they whipped up a certain hysteria against all dark-skinned people and helped to inflame the servicemen into vigilante action, praising them after the fighting had begun for doing a better job against the "gangsters" and "petty crooks" than the cops had done. The servicemen, joined by anti-Mexican elements, went after everyone with a dark skin. Carey McWilliams, author and president of the National Lawyers Guild in Los Angeles, reports that at least half of the people seriously injured were not wearing zoot suits and that the same proportion holds true for the hundreds arrested by the police.

The city council voted to make the wearing of zoot suits a misdemeanor; the police arrested a lot of Mexicans and Negroes; Los Angeles was declared out of bounds for the servicemen. For the time being the violence has subsided, and the press—seeing a decline in the city's business with the servicemen barred—is sanctimoniously calling for peace. But it is perfectly plain that no problems have been solved and that at the slightest provocation the whole thing may flare up again, if not through servicemen then through civilians.

What is necessary, if the situation is really to be corrected, is an end to all discrimination and segregation practices against Mexicans and Negroes in industry, in social life, in housing, in the press, plus enforcement of their democratic rights, plus a widespread and deepgoing educational program on the meaning and effect of race discrimination; such a campaign can be launched most effectively under the leadership of the labor movement.

—"Coast-to-Coast Wave of Violence Strikes at Negroes and Mexicans, Militant, 19 June 1943, reprinted in Fighting Racism in World War II (1980)

Nina Droz Sentenced

Free Her Now!

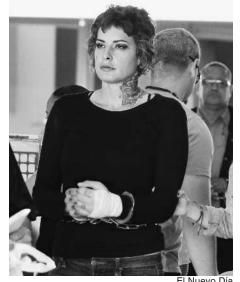
On June 12, Puerto Rican activist Nina Alejandra Droz Franco was hit with 37 months in prison on trumped-up federal charges of conspiracy to start a fire near the Banco Popular building in San Juan during the May Day national work stoppage and mass protests that rocked Puerto Rico in 2017. Having already served more than a year in prison as she awaited sentencing, Droz now faces another two years behind bars.

Droz initially faced charges of "malicious use of fire" and "conspiracy." She took a plea deal on the lesser charge of conspiracy and gave up her right to appeal to avoid a sentence that could carry up to 30 years in prison. According to the U.S. rulers, since the Banco Popular building is used for "interstate commerce," Droz had committed a federal crime. Nina is innocent. She was targeted for her political activism against the management board imposed by the Obama administration in 2016—known as the "junta"—which has enforced savage austerity on the population.

In Puerto Rico, Droz has become a symbol of the crackdown on protesters by the U.S. government and its Puerto Rican lackeys. Her frame-up and cruel treatment are meant to send a chilling message to all those engaging in struggle against job and pension cuts, school closures, lack of infrastructure and overall starvation measures. These struggles have continued in the wake of the destruction of last year's Hurricane María and the criminal neglect of the U.S. colonial overlords, which, according to a recent Harvard study, left some 4.600 dead.

During her sentencing hearing, Droz bravely spoke about the conditions of the women in the prison where she had been locked up. After the hurricane, the cells were overheated and had no ventilation; women could not shower for days and were told to drink toilet water if they were thirsty.

Since her arrest, Droz has been the victim of abuse by prison authorities, including being denied medication and put in solitary confinement twice, including for 13 days in the Federal Detention Center, in Tallahassee, Florida, where she endured separation from her family and supporters. Droz was sent to solitary confinement in Florida because of her advo-



Nina Droz, detained by federal agents, May 2017.

cacy on behalf of prisoners with hepatitis C, HIV, diabetes and cancer who were being denied medical care.

Notably, the FMPR teachers union has taken up the case of Nina Droz. During this year's May Day national work stoppage, they and others demanded her freedom. FMPR teachers and University of Puerto Rico students have themselves been victims of violent police repression (see "Puerto Rico May Day: Cops Attack Demonstrators," WV No. 1134, 18 May). Protesters arrested that day still face charges. Hands off May Day protesters!

The real criminals are the U.S. imperialists who have bloodily repressed independence fighters for decades and kept Puerto Rico subjugated as their colony. We oppose the starvation measures imposed by the colonial masters and enforced by the capitalist government of Puerto Rico. The case of Nina Droz captures well their desire to suppress all dissent. It is in the interest of the multiracial U.S. working class to demand freedom for Nina Droz, call to cancel Puerto Rico's debt and stand for Puerto Rico's right to independence. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

EDITORIAL BOARD: Laura Zamora (managing editor), François Donau (production manager), Edie Goldberg (letters editor), Bruce André, Ray Bishop, John Blake, Jon Brule, Paul Cone, Michael Davisson, George Foster, Blandine Hauser, Walter Jennings, Elizabeth Johnson, Michael Joyce, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 1618, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. Email address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Workers Vanguard, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is June 26.

No. 1136 29 June 2018

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August. Our next issue will be dated July 27.

WORKERS VANGUARD 2

In Memory of Zoe Chrysali

The following is translated from O Bolsevikos [The Bolshevik] (No. 4, April 2018), newspaper of the Trotskyist Group of Greece (TOE).

Zoe Chrysali, one of the founding cadres of the Trotskyist Group of Greece, section of the International Communist League, died at the age of only 50 of brain cancer at her home in Aspropyrgos after years of health problems. We extend our deepest condolences to her sister Georgia and to all her friends.

Zoe was born and grew up in the working-class district of Aspropyrgos. From an early age she suffered from serious health issues, which she fought to the end with her incomparable tenacity despite the extreme adversity she faced. She was a stubborn person, with a special, sharp sense of humor, passionately insistent in expressing her opinions. She loved to tease and challenge her comrades and friends and was always up for a good fight. She adored music and books.

Having a keen sense of what it is to grow up and live as a woman in backward Greek society, Zoe joined the workers movement to fight against women's oppression and for female sexual liberation. She understood that only through socialist revolution could women achieve their full emancipation.

Zoe came into contact with the ICL in mid 1999 and was won to the international's position of principled opposition to the imperialist war against Serbia. In March 2000, she took part in discussions, along with other sympathizers, studying the ICL's program. From then until 2003, when the TOE became a sympathizing section of the ICL at its Fourth International Conference, she played a leading role in the founding of the Greek section on a number of key questions, including the "Russian Question" and capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe. In June 2000, she wrote:

"I studied anew Trotsky's books *The Class Nature* of the Soviet State, *The Revolution Betrayed* and the "Declaration of Principles" of the ICL. Thereafter, together with our own discussions, I consider that the



positions of the ICL on the question of Afghanistan are consistent with our ideology and I agree with them on the basis of the defense of a bureaucratically degenerated workers state against the threat of the bourgeois counterrevolution.

"In regard to the question of China, what I consider applies is what Trotsky maintained in 1933, when he fought against the conception that the bureaucracy had already destroyed the Soviet workers state: Trotskyists judge that situation as dangerous but not desperate and they consider it an act of cowardice to announce that the revolutionary fight has been lost before the fight and without a fight."

In 2001, Zoe engaged in the most important fight of her political life, playing a leading role in defense of national minorities in Greece against the then "leader" of the group, who refused to defend oppressed national minorities. This is a vital question for the establishment of a genuine Leninist-Trotskyist party in a Balkan country. The fight that she waged with other comrades on the national question led to a split in the group between the real internationalists and those who had compromised with poisonous Greek nationalism. It was this major struggle that laid the basis for the founding of the TOE. It is no exaggeration to say that without Zoe, there would probably not be a section of the ICL in Greece. In 2002, she went to London and worked with our comrades there, gaining valuable internationalist experience.

In 2005, Zoe withdrew from politics but remained a sympathizer of the TOE for many years. For a while, due to the enormous health problems that she faced, Zoe lost touch with our section and with the international. However, around five years ago she resumed contact with the Greek section. Fully aware that she had only a short time to live, Zoe asked us to arrange a secular funeral for her after she died. In a society in which cremation of the dead is not allowed and in which, for the most part, funeral arrangements—whether secular or religious—are dictated by the family, Zoe wished to make a final statement against religion and the Orthodox church.

It was not easy to carry out this last request, and we had to fight against the religious ceremony that had already been organized. Nevertheless, we succeeded with the valuable help of a sympathizer. In our grief at no longer having Zoe among us, we are comforted a little by the knowledge that we were able to satisfy her last wish. Those who knew her well will laugh and say that even in her death there had to be a little fight. It is more than certain that she deserved it.

We dedicate to our friend and comrade Zoe this issue of our newspaper, which reflects her struggle against the "holy trinity" of Greek capitalism—fatherland, religion and family.

Debbie Africa...

(continued from previous page)

40 years later. Merle and Phil Africa have already died in prison hellholes.

On 13 May 1985, the MOVE prisoners watched in horror from their cells as the Philadelphia police under black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode, in league with the FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, dropped a high-powered explosive bomb on MOVE's Osage Avenue home. Eleven people, including five children, were burned to death and an entire black neighborhood was left in smoldering ruins. For the "crime" of being the sole adult survivor of the bombing, Ramona Africa was sentenced to 7 years and served every day. This coordinated act of racist state murder must never be forgotten.

Until Debbie's release, the MOVE prisoners had been denied their freedom time and again since becoming eligible

CLARIFICATION

In "On Our Defense of Roman Polanski—Sex, Lies and Witchhunts" (WV No. 1135, 1 June), we wrote in reply to a letter: "In France, there is no minimum legal age for sexual activity and no presumption of 'rape' if a minor is involved, though there have been recent efforts to impose an 'age of consent' law." France does not currently have an "age of consent" law akin to those that exist in the U.S., where a minor is legally presumed incapable of consent, and thus sex with a minor is treated as a form of rape (statutory). France also does not have a minimum legal age for sex per se—i.e., people under 18 can legally engage in sexual activity. However, an adult who has sex with someone under the age of 15, while not automatically presumed to have committed rape, can be prosecuted for a "sexual infraction" punishable by up to five years in prison and a maximum fine of 75,000 euros (\$87,500). for parole in 2008. But despite persistent persecution and harassment, the surviving MOVE members remain strong and outspoken, steadfast fighters not only for their own freedom but also for the freedom of others, not least political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a longtime MOVE supporter.

In once again denying parole to Janet and Janine Africa, the parole board cited their "lack of remorse." This is a common basis for denying parole to those who have been falsely convicted. Having committed no crime, the imprisoned MOVE members have nothing to show "remorse" for. Although the office of Philadelphia's new district attorney reportedly sent letters saying that Janet and Janine "will not pose a threat to the Philadelphia commu-

nity," the parole board cited the "negative recommendation" of a prior prosecuting attorney as another basis for denying their release.

At the time of the 1978 cop attack, Debbie was just 22, the mother of a 2-year-old daughter, Michelle, and eight months pregnant. Her son, Michael Jr., was born in prison and taken from her after just three days. "After being born in jail and never being with my mom or dad, I'm happy to be with my mom at home for the first time ever in almost forty years. But my family is still incomplete because my dad is still in prison," said Mike Africa Jr. His father, Michael Africa Sr., is a MOVE prisoner who is up for parole in September.

The MOVE 9 were among the first

activists supported by the class-war prisoner stipend program of the Partisan Defense Committee. The sinister web of police terror and frame-ups unleashed against them and Mumia Abu-Jamal is no aberration. Suppressing political dissent as well as terrorizing the besieged black and Latino populations is precisely the job the cops are paid to do as enforcers of the racist capitalist order. As Workers Vanguard underlined in "Free Ramona Africa and All MOVE Prisoners!" (WV No. 396, 31 Jan. 1986), "Defense of all the MOVE prisoners is an elementary duty for every working-class organization." It will take a workers revolution to put the capitalist state's machinery of torture and death out of business once and for all. ■

Letter

NYC Transit: "Safety Stand-Down" Sham

7 May 2

Dear Workers Vanguard Editor,

I am a retired transit mechanic with 26 years on the job, with a lot of time walking the subway tracks. I was angered to read about the deaths of Stephen Livecchi and St. Clair Ziare Richards-Stephens, who was a young track worker, and the lying MTA [Metropolitan Transportation Authority] cover-up stories about "safety." Your article referred to safety "stand downs," which are a farce. [See "New York Transit: Death Trap for Workers," WV No. 1131 (April 6).]

As you say, a Safety Stand-Down or SSD in the industry is a meeting where the workers are lectured on safety by the same managers who endanger them through speedup and criminal neglect of infrastructure. These occur via collaboration between the bosses and the union. When these company-organized meetings occur, work goes on elsewhere throughout the system: Business as usual.

The union leadership has to fight the slave-labor Taylor Law, which acts as a means to ensure that the workforce works, regardless of safety conditions.

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) has defined an SSD as follows:

"What is a Safety Stand-Down? A Safety Stand-Down is a voluntary event for employers to talk directly to employees about safety. Any workplace can hold a stand-down by taking a break to focus on 'Fall Hazards' and reinforcing the importance of 'Fall Prevention'."

Taking a break has nothing to do with safety, but it is a way for the bosses to CYA whenever a worker loses life or limb. SSD does not equal shutting down unsafe work! In the case of the recent death on the tracks of Richards-Stephens, other TWU [Transport Workers Union] Local 100 members and contractors were kept working on the tracks! There needs to be elected union safety committees with the power to shut the system down in the event of any death or maiming of subway workers on the job, like what happened to Richards-Stephens. An online article on Richards-Stephens's death by *LaborPress* (March 21) states: "There is a 24-hour 'stand down' right away, where no workers go on the tracks anywhere in the system." This is not true!

The capitalist government, whether run by Democrats or Republicans, gives the owners virtually free rein to run their factories and mines as they see fit with no regard for workers' safety. Then, when fatalities do occur, government officials intone that there are no indications of criminal activity by the bosses. Between its founding in 1970 and 2013, OSHA has prosecuted 84 cases involving fatalities, with those sentenced serving a total of 89 months in jail. During this time, there were more than 370,000 workplace deaths. Under the Clinton White House, a "new" OSHA initiative stressed "partnership" with business and "voluntary compliance."

So, OSHA works to alibit he bosses and does not act in the interest of the working class. A union leadership worth its salt would organize independent union safety committees in every shop, gang, crew, depot and work location. These committees should have real power to shut down unsafe work as opposed to MTA "for the record" safety meetings.

Yours in Struggle, A retired Transport Workers Union member

3

29 JUNE 2018

North Korea...

(continued from page 1)

imperialist inspectors in exchange for an end to economic sanctions. Predictably, Washington failed to hold up its end of the deal, and then in 2011 the U.S. and its NATO allies pummeled the country with airstrikes. Qaddafi was overthrown and murdered by local imperialist-sponsored forces, and Libya plunged into bloody chaos.

The U.S. repeatedly threatened to use nuclear weapons during the 1950-53 Korean War as part of the drive to "roll back Communism" in Asia but was hindered by the Soviet Union's development of its own nuclear armaments. The horrors of that war are still seared into the memory of the Korean people, North and South. The Korean Peninsula had been divided at the 38th parallel after the defeat of Japan, Korea's former colonial overlord, in World War II. In the North, capitalist/landlord rule was overthrown by guerrilla forces acting under the protection of the Soviet Army. In the South, U.S. occupation forces installed a brutal capitalist regime centered on former collaborators with the Japanese.

When North Korean troops advanced south in June 1950, they were welcomed by the workers and peasants as liberators, opening up the prospect of social revolution on the rest of the peninsula. The U.S. and other capitalist powers responded by invading Korea. The peninsula was devastated, with 18 of North Korea's 22 largest cities mostly or totally obliterated, including the capital, Pyongyang, which was flattened. The imperialists slaughtered some four million people, including a million Chinese soldiers whose entry into the war was decisive in turning back the invaders. The war ended in a stalemate. To this day, the U.S. has refused to sign a peace treaty while maintaining a blockade of North Korea in an attempt to economically strangle the workers state. United Nations sanctions imposed at Washington's behest remain in place.

It is unclear how much the Kim regime is willing to concede to the U.S. Under both Kim Jong Un and his predecessor and father, Kim Jong II, Pyongyang has at times discussed abandoning its nuclear efforts in exchange for economic assistance from the U.S. Any deal with Washington isn't worth the paper it's signed on, as shown most recently by Trump's scuttling of the nuclear accord with Iran. Abandonment of North Korea's nuclear deterrent, as the U.S. insists, would be a criminal betrayal of the Korean working people, and the Kim regime's own suicide note. In the face of Washington's global nuclear hegemony, the possession of nuclear weapons and a delivery system is a necessary means of deterrence against imperialist attack.

Available in Korean on the ICL Website

정신나간 미국 제국주의가 핵전쟁을 위협한다 북한에서 손을 떼라!

Crazed U.S. Imperialists Threaten Nuclear War Hands Off North Korea! Translated from Workers Vanguard No. 1116, 25 August 2017

원칙들에 대한 선언과 강령의 몇 가지 요소들

국제공산주의동맹 (제4 인터내셔널주의자)

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

레온 트로츠키의 영구혁명 -이론의 발전과 확장

The Development and Extension of Leon Trotsky's Theory of **Permanent Revolution**

> Translated from Workers Vanguard Nos. 901-904 26 October to 7 December 2007

www.icl-fi.org/korean





Left: Kim Jong Un and Donald Trump at June 12 summit in Singapore. Right: Woman and wounded grandchild among debris of their home in Pyongyang. U.S. rained death and destruction on Korean Peninsula during 1950-53 war.

While Trump has suspended U.S.-South Korean war games directed against North Korea, joint military exercises with Japan and other countries will continue apace. Some 28,000 American troops remain garrisoned in the South—and another 50,000 in Japan—as a permanent military threat to North Korea and China. The U.S. military presence in South Korea is also a dagger aimed at that country's historically combative proletariat. All U.S. troops out! Down with the U.S./Japan imperialist axis against North Korea! End all sanctions now!

Democrats Beat War Drums

Kim Jong Un's bureaucratic rule is plenty bizarre. But for weird and deadly dangerous, look no further than WashingMore recently, Bill Clinton was preparing to bomb North Korea into submission in 1994 had he not obtained a promise from Pyongyang to cease attempts to reprocess plutonium from fuel rods. Barack Obama also threatened to attack North Korea, escalated sanctions and authorized a cyberand electronic-warfare program to disrupt the North's missile tests.

While North Korea is painted as the immediate target, Washington's central strategic goal in the region is the overturn of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Thanks to its impressive economic development, China has become a major economic and diplomatic force, providing something of a counterweight to American imperialism. The U.S. is engaged in a series of aggressive military provocations against Beijing

Soviet Union, has maintained a certain level of trade, fearing the chaos that a collapse of the Kim regime would bring. Recent meetings between Chinese leader Xi Jinping and Kim Jong Un indicate that China is preparing to resume a higher level of trade. For its part, Pyongyang appears to be veering toward "market reforms" along Chinese lines.

Beijing's collaboration with Washington against North Korea is a grotesque example of the Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. The CCP bureaucrats' treachery directly harms the defense of China itself. Counterrevolution in North Korea would bring U.S. forces to the Chinese border—a threat the Chinese bureaucracy is well aware of.

From Beijing and Pyongyang to Havana, "peaceful coexistence" is inherent to the Stalinist dogma of building "socialism in one country." That program means pursuing narrow nationalist interests and opposing the fight for world workers revolution-including in the advanced capitalist countries-which is the only road to building a socialist society of material abundance. The Kim regime advances a program for "peaceful reunification" of Korea, which does not challenge capitalist rule in the South. In 2000, when the liberal South Korean regime of Kim Dae-jung undertook an earlier "sunshine policy" of engaging the North, Pyongyang responded by reiterating its call for "a reunified federal state based on the conception of one nation, one state, two systems and two governments" (see "All U.S. Troops Out of Korea Now!", WV No. 738, 30 June 2000).

The truth is that there is a class line dividing North Korea from the capitalist South, drawn with the blood of millions of Koreans. There is no way Korea can be united without either the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in the North or the smashing of capitalism in the South. Capitalist reunification would be a catastrophic defeat for working people in the North and for the proletariat in the South, and internationally. Our program is for the revolutionary reunification of Korea, through socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North. If China and North Korea had governments based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism, they would forge communist unity against imperial-1sm, including through regional economic planning and support to struggles by working people and the oppressed abroad.

Many South Koreans feel solidarity with the North, based on nationalist sentiments fed by a century of bitter experience under Japanese and then U.S. imperial overlords. Such sentiments have surged under President Moon Jae-in, who is riding a wave of popularity for having prepared the groundwork for the Singapore summit. By all reports, the mass of the population welcomed the event as a harbinger of peace and, more immediately, an opportunity to resume visits among family members divided by the Korean War. The Korean Confederation of Trade Unions hailed the summit as opening "an era of peace that is not reversible.'

As under Kim Dae-jung, Moon's policy of engagement is also seen by a wing of the South Korean bourgeoisie as an opportunity to undermine North Korea through penetration by the *chaebol* conglomerates



U.S.-South Korea air force exercise over the Korean Peninsula, September 2017.

ton. It might be that Donald Trump was driven to hold the summit by visions of golf courses along the North Korean coast dancing in his head. But now, absurdly, he has the mantle of peacenik. His enablers in that regard have been the leaders of the Democratic Party, joined by the liberal capitalist media, who are now the chief warmongers against North Korea.

House minority leader Nancy Pelosi denounced Trump for handing Kim "concessions in exchange for vague promises." Calling the summit a "photo op," Elizabeth Warren railed that North Korea remains "a threat to the security of the United States, our allies and the world." MSNBC's Rachel Maddow went off the deep end. Calling Trump's pledge to stop the war games "an absolute jackpot for the North Korean dictator," she alluded darkly (as always) to the hidden hand of Russia's Vladimir Putin pulling Trump's strings. What next? Did the World Cup contrive to ensure that the U.S. wouldn't qualify? By comparison, the wildly eccentric Dennis Rodman seems a font of human understanding for just wanting the North Koreans to get a break.

The Democrats' bellicosity is nothing new. Every major U.S. war in the 20th century was initiated and mainly carried out by Democratic Party administrations—both World Wars, Korea, Vietnam. The Democrats' posture as friends of working people makes them better able to sell imperialist war to the population, usually in the guise of promoting "democracy" and "human rights." It was Democratic president Harry Truman who ordered the atom bombing of Japan and began the Korean War.

in the South China Sea. The installation of the THAAD missile shield system in South Korea last year was also aimed against China, as its tracking radar can degrade the viability of Beijing's nuclear deterrent.

The Democrats have pushed an even more aggressive anti-China policy than Trump. When the White House announced tariffs on steel and aluminum imports from the European Union, Canada and Mexico, citing "national security," Democratic spokesmen went apoplectic, protesting that China should be the target. Bernie Sanders, imperialist "socialist" and darling of the reformist left, called the tariffs against U.S. allies "an absolute disaster" and demanded the imposition of "stiff penalties on countries like China" (as well as Russia and other countries). Trump has done just that, implementing tariffs on \$50 billion worth of Chinese goods only days after the Singapore talks, with more promised to come.

Stalinism Undermines the Workers States

Trump's overtures to Kim may have been intended in part to marginalize China, North Korea's reluctant ally. But his trade war has prodded Beijing to ease up on its own pressure against Pyongyang. For years, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime has backed UN sanctions against North Korea and joined the calls for it to abandon its nuclear program. China's recent enforcement of sanctions in particular has undermined the already beleaguered North Korean economy. At the same time, China, North Korea's main trade partner since the destruction of the

Immigrants...

(continued from page 1)

"American jobs for American workers" pushed by the AFL-CIO tops encourages anti-immigrant bigotry. The bureaucrats' support for the Democratic Party serves to tie working people, including union activists fighting for immigrant rights, to the other party of racist U.S. capitalism.

Immigrants have been rounded up and disappeared in the biggest workplace raids in years. I.C.E. agents blocked exits and aimed guns at 97 workers in a Tennessee meatpacking plant; another 114 were rounded up at an Ohio landscaping company. To their credit, American Airlines flight attendants broke the story about terrified children, separated from their parents, being loaded onto their planes and posted on Facebook that they refuse to be complicit in such actions again. As a result, several airline bosses (who have lucrative contracts with the government for precisely this kind of dirty work) announced that their companies would no longer fly separated children. Meanwhile the misleaders of the Association of Flight Attendants-CWA told these workers with guts and compassion to hush up, stay off social media and file "incident reports" with the union.

Driven by visceral anger against Trump's anti-immigrant barbarism, many working people, young activists and others are planning to attend nationwide protests on June 30. But the aim of the protest organizers and union tops is to contain growing outrage and deflect it back to the dead end of supporting the Democratic Party, which is cynically manipulating sympathy for immigrant children to boost its own fortunes in the upcoming midterm elections. Trump's Republican Party revels in overtly whipping up whitesupremacist anti-immigrant fear, loathing and violence, just as George W. Bush did against Muslims after 9/11. Continuing that tradition, the Supreme Court on June 26 upheld Trump's racist anti-Muslim ban.

The Democrats cry crocodile tears while carrying out fundamentally the same policies. They too targeted immigrants as terrorists and criminals, ripped up democratic rights and beefed up the machinery of state repression; rather than banning Muslims from entering the coun-



Obama administration waged its own war on immigrants, deporting millions and detaining tens of thousands. Immigrant families in South Texas detention

try, Democrats like Obama bomb them in the Near East, Africa and Asia. Before Trump's predecessor served as Deporterin-Chief, Bill Clinton launched "Operation Gatekeeper" to militarize the border and escalate deportations.

Manufacturing threats from abroad is a timeworn method to deflect domestic discontent and inculcate conformity through patriotic gore. This invention of a foreign threat is backed up briskly with policing at home. Nothing binds the oppressed within a nation to their rulers quite as effectively as a campaign for law and order against a criminal "other" who must be obliterated.

The granddaddy of Democratic Party liberals, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, interned Japanese Americans in concentration camps and refused U.S. entry to Jewish refugees (including children) fleeing Nazi Germany. FDR's mythologized New Deal was a pact with racist Southern Dixiecrats that explicitly excluded the predominantly black and Latino agricultural labor force from the right to form unions or get Social Security benefits and exempted agribusiness from child labor laws. Today, nearly half a million migrant children, some as young as nine years old, still legally slave in the fields. The Democrats won't even whisper "save these children" because, as a capitalist party, their business is maximizing the exploitation of labor for profit. As for Trump Republicans, apparently the only "children" with rights are unborn fertilized eggs.

Trump's lying equation of Mexicans with criminals is rhetoric intended to mobilize his base and fan the flames of white supremacy. On June 22, Trump hosted a White House dinner for "Angel Families" and ghoulishly autographed photos of dead children supposedly killed by immigrants. Even naturalized U.S. citizens are in the government's crosshairs. An ominous task force set up by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service is charged with identifying foreign-born Americans who will be stripped of their citizenship if any irregularity is found in their paperwork.

Attorney General Jefferson Beauregard Sessions III quoted Romans 13:1 from the Bible in defense of child separation, asserting that the law must be obeyed "for there is no authority except that which God has established." It was certainly not lost on this walking monument to the Confederacy that this was the same Bible verse cited by slaveowners against abolitionists in defense of black chattel slavery, the bedrock of American capitalism. Sessions also stated that the machinery of death in the Nazi camps was merely for "keeping the Jews from leaving the country," equating the camps where twelve

million Jews, Gypsies, communists, gays and others were exterminated with immigration policy. Democrats and liberals denounce Trump's child separation policy as "un-American."

In fact, it's as American as apple pie. Black families have been ripped apart for hundreds of years, from slaves sold downriver from their spouses and children to the mass incarceration of black men today. This country was founded on the near obliteration of the indigenous population, their history, culture and very identity. The U.S. government systematically separated Native American children from their families, stripped them of their names and suppressed their right to speak their language.

U.S. imperialism extends its reach throughout the planet and, as its economic needs demand, brings new sources of cheap labor into the bottom of the proletariat. The capitalists use anti-immigrant chauvinism and anti-black racism to obscure who the workers' enemies are. The aim is to drive down wages and benefits and degrade working conditions for all working people. This is how the capitalist system divides the working class into different strata while also creating its own gravedigger: the proletariat. Immigrants are not just victims. They form a key and vibrant component of the multiracial U.S. working class, and often bring with them an understanding of the depredations of U.S. imperialism in their homelands, as well as experience in hard-fought class battles. The struggle to mobilize the labor movement in defense of immigrants must be seen as part of the fight to forge a classstruggle leadership of the unions committed to the understanding that workers and capitalists share no common interests.

Today anti-immigrant bigotry defines racist and rightist politics not only in the U.S. but throughout Europe and elsewhere, and it is an acid test for the workers movement and left. The Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League, fights against deportations and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. Our revolutionary internationalist program and commitment to forge a revolutionary workers party—70 percent black, Latino and other minorities—that will fight for a socialist future is truly America's last, best hope. ■

that brutally exploit South Korean workers. The nationalism promoted by the North Korean Stalinists—reflecting their inability to appeal to the proletariat in the South on a class basis—and much of the reformist left in South Korea serves to tie the working class there to its own exploiters.

The South Korean group Workers Solidarity, linked to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Britain, capitulates to its capitalist rulers and their imperialist patrons by refusing to even recognize, much less defend, the overturn of capitalist rule in the North or any of the other workers states. In a June 7 article, Workers Solidarity denounces "imperialist competition between the U.S. and China." SWP founder Tony Cliff and his supporters broke from the Trotskyist Fourth International in 1950 when they refused to defend the Soviet Union, China and North Korea in the Korean War. Steeped in Cold War anti-Communism, they went on to support any and all reactionary forces arrayed against the Soviet Union in the name of "anti-Stalinism" and "democracy," cheering the counterrevolution that finally destroyed the USSR.

Some other reformist leftists, like the U.S. Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL), oppose imperialist economic and military threats against North Korea but give political support to the North Korean Stalinists, whose rule undermines defense of the workers state. The PSL has recently sponsored events focused on the call for "Korean unity." The audience at a "One Korea" teach-in organized by the PSL's ANSWER coalition in Los Angeles on April 28 broke into applause when a photo of the North and South Korean leaders shaking hands was displayed. Addressing

appeals for Korean reunification, a Spartacist League speaker intervened to raise the call for "socialist reunification, which means a workers revolution in the South and a political revolution in the North by the working class."

In the U.S., the pro-capitalist tradeunion bureaucracy champions the interests of American imperialism, preferring, in the main, the Democratic Party in power. For its part, the reformist left tails the Democrats' "resistance" to Trump. We warn that the "choice" between the two capitalist parties amounts to which gang of bandits will oversee the exploitation of the working class, the repression of blacks, Latinos and immigrants, and the prosecution of U.S. imperialism's wars abroad.

Our goal is to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party that can direct anger and frustration among working people and oppressed minorities toward

sweeping away capitalist rule. An American workers government would expropriate the capitalist owners of industry and the banks and use the wealth produced by labor for the benefit of the many instead of the profits of a few, helping as well to redress the imperialists' plunder of Korea and the rest of the planet. Only socialist revolution can put an end to the depredations of U.S. imperialism and the threat of nuclear annihilation.

Marxist Studies for cadre education no. 1

Marxist Studies for cadre education no. 10 **On Party History** A class series for comrades of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

June 2018 • 112 pages • \$3

This Volume Includes:

- James P. Cannon Memorial, Spartacist (English edition) No. 38-39 (Summer 1986)
- The RT at Conception by Jim Robertson
- ust out! • Genesis of Pabloism and the 1951-53 Cochran-Clarke Fight in the American SWP by Tanner
- The Formation of the Revolutionary Tendency and the Split in the RT, 1960-63 by T. Marlow
- Expulsion from the SWP, the Early Years of *Spartacist* and the Founding of the SL/U.S. (Roughly 1963-67) by J. Brule
- Consolidation of the Spartacist League: Forging a Fighting Propaganda Group—the Ellens-Turner Fight (Roughly 1967-69) by Salant
- Revolutionary Regroupments—Transformation of the SL/U.S., 1969-72 by J. Seymour
- Communist Working Collective by Bruce M.
- Expansion of the Tendency Internationally, First International Conference by D. Kohn

Order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

29 JUNE 2018 5

LAPD Targets Grieving Aunt, BLM Activist

Hands Off Sheila Hines-Brim and Melina Abdullah!

LOS ANGELES—"That's Wakiesha!" With these words, Sheila Hines-Brim threw the ashes of her niece, Wakiesha Wilson, who died in police custody, at LAPD chief Charlie Beck at a Police Commission meeting on May 8. In response to Hines-Brim's defiant act, Beck ordered her forcibly removed from the meeting and arrested. As she was being hauled out by police, Melina Abdullah, professor and chair of Pan-African Studies at Cal State University L.A. and a well-known organizer of Black Lives Matter (BLM) Los Angeles, arrived at the meeting. Abdullah asked other attendees to film the police's brutal manhandling of Wakiesha's aunt, after which a cop yelled out "Arrest Melina!"

Both Hines-Brim and Abdullah were charged with suspicion of misdemeanor battery on a police officer and ordered to post \$20,000 bail each. Outrageously, Beck obtained a temporary restraining order against Hines-Brim on May 17, branding her a dangerous criminal. Although the charges were not pursued against the two women at their June 1 court hearing, the prosecutor's office can still do so anytime within a year. We demand: *Drop the charges now!*

Wakiesha Wilson, a 36-year-old black mother, was arrested in the early morning hours of 26 March 2016 on suspicion of felony battery and booked into the Metropolitan Correction Center. Some 24 hours later, she was dead. Demonstrating the cops' contempt for black lives, Wilson's family was not even informed. When they arrived in court for Wilson's arraignment on March 29, all they learned was that she would not be appearing. It was only the next day that an LAPD supervisor told Wilson's mother, Lisa Hines, to contact the coroner, who stated that Wilson had hanged herself *three days before*.

Although the cops claim that Wakiesha committed suicide, the family has been adamant that she was upbeat when they talked to her only 90 minutes before her death and that they had made plans to call again later that day during the family Easter celebration. Wilson was moved to an isolation cell, itself a violation of jail policy. An LAPD report states that 21 crucial minutes were missing from the jail surveillance videotape. In addition, several minutes elapsed between the time Wilson was observed by two guards slumped on the floor of her cell and when CPR was administered. Late last year, LAPD jailer Reaunna Bratton was fired for failing to render immediate medical aid to Wilson—a fact that the cops tried to cover up. Wilson's mother filed a \$35 million suit against the city, which eventually agreed to pay \$298,000 to make the claim go away.

Whatever the exact circumstances of Wilson's death, one thing is clear: the LAPD's story stinks. State officials in Texas similarly claimed that black activist Sandra Bland, who in 2015 was found hanging in a county jail cell after being assaulted and arrested by a state trooper, had committed suicide. These are far from the only examples.

According to a 2014 article in *Mother Jones*, based on a rough calculation of Justice Department statistics, "black people were four times as likely to die in custody or while being arrested than whites." More recently, a study of "Fatal Interactions with Police" conducted at Washington University in St. Louis found that *60 percent* of black women killed by the cops were unarmed. As we wrote in "The Police Are Guilty" (WV No. 1072, 7 August 2015)

6



Sheila Hines-Brim (left), whose niece Wakiesha Wilson died while in LAPD custody. Right: Melina Abdullah, Black Lives Matter organizer in L.A.

following Sandra Bland's death, cop terror against black people "is not an 'excess'; it's a calculated program. It is the way U.S. capitalism, which is built on the bedrock of black oppression, resolves the contradiction between the assertion of some formal equal rights and the forcible segregation of the bulk of the black population at the bottom of society."

LAPD: Deadly Enemy of Black People, Latinos

For decades the LAPD was synonymous with an all-out police war against black people, Latinos and the poor. Today, police chief Charlie Beck is lionized in the

Mayan day laborer from Guatemala, executed by a cop in 2010, his killing saluted by Villaraigosa as an act of bravery; Ezell Ford, a 25-year-old black man with bipolar disorder and schizophrenia, shot down in 2014; a few months later Charly "Africa" Keunang, an unarmed homeless black immigrant, savagely beaten and then fatally shot on a crowded Skid Row sidewalk. In 2017, police snipers killed a man in Sunland from a helicopter, a first for this gang of violent marauders.

For the last two years, BLM activists in Los Angeles have protested at weekly Police Commission meetings together with Wakiesha Wilson's family. Across



Wilson's mother, Lisa Hines, marches with supporters in 2017 rally carrying photo of her daughter.

media and by local politicians as having ushered in a new era of enlightened policing. In fact, Beck won his spurs in the 1980s and '90s under LAPD chief Daryl "Choke Hold" Gates as part of the Community Resources Against Street Hoodlums (CRASH) unit. This "war on gangs" (read: black and Latino youth) unleashed the notoriously brutal and corrupt Ramparts division. Scores of cops from Beck's own unit were implicated in shootings, beatings, frame-ups and more.

Now Beck, who was appointed in 2009 by Democratic Party mayor Antonio Villaraigosa to "clean up" the LAPD, is heralded for building "trusting relationships" with communities. That's not the story out on the streets, where the LAPD has killed more people than any other police department for several years running. To name but a few: Manuel Jamines, a 37-year-old

the country hundreds of BLM protesters have been arrested and targeted for police surveillance and repression for their opposition to cop terror. Yet for all their courage and dedication, the demands of BLM do not challenge the system of racist American capitalism, which is the root cause of cop terror. Instead, their demands are based on the liberal strategy of pressuring the capitalist rulers to either reform or abolish their police thugs.

In L.A., where BLM had been demanding that Beck be fired as top cop, Melina Abdullah cheered his announcement of early retirement (scheduled for June 27) by tweeting, "Thank you to our partners who stood with us to make this happen." The whole history of the LAPD demonstrates that it doesn't matter who's the police chief, nor if the cops are black, white or Latino. The police are account-

able only to their capitalist masters. Nor is the bourgeoisie going to divert funds from the LAPD to "things that actually make communities safe," such as housing for the homeless, mental health resources and after-school programs, as Abdullah called for on May 9 on *Good Day LA*. The very conditions of destitution faced by millions in America—homelessness, poverty, starvation, disease—are the product of a system based on production for profit and maintained by the police as well as the military, courts and prisons.

In the U.S., these armed shock troops defend a capitalist system rooted in the oppression of black people stemming from the days of chattel slavery. Los Angeles has always been a viciously segregated city. According to the 2010 census, 60 percent of black Angelenos lived in areas with few whites, the legacy of segregationist covenants and racist housing policy from the local to the federal level. At the same time, black people, roughly 10 percent of the city's population, made up 35 percent of the homeless. Next to black people—in terms of per capita and household income, education and unemployment—is the vast Latino populations in Southern California. In 2017, nearly 20 percent of all Latino families in L.A. County lived in poverty.

To reap the trillions they amass through the exploitation of labor, the capitalist rulers set workers against each otherwhite against black and Latino, nativeborn against foreign-born. That they get away with it is in large part thanks to the trade-union misleaders, who preach the lie that the interests of the workers are tied to the profitability of U.S. capitalism. To this end, they chain the workers to their class enemy, centrally through the Democratic Party, and embrace the killer cops as union brothers and sisters. The LAPD jailer implicated in Wakiesha Wilson's death was a member of the Service Employees International Union Local 721, whose leadership defended her against being fired. All cops, prison and security guards—the sworn enemies of workers and the oppressed—should be kicked out of the unions!

The working class, whose labor keeps the wheels of profit turning, is the only force with the social power and objective interest to wage a struggle against the exploitation, racial oppression and all-sided misery of capitalist class rule. Black and Latino workers are a crucial part of the L.A. union movement and represent a bridge between labor and the ghettos and barrios. Many of these unionists, their families, friends and co-workers have had their own experience with the LAPD and can help inculcate into the working class the understanding that the cops are not allies but enemies of labor.

Marxists seek to advance this consciousness as part of the fight to educate the working class that it needs its own party organized independently of the capitalists, their state and their political parties. We struggle to break the working class from all political representatives of the capitalist class—Democratic, Republican and Green—as a vital component of the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party. Such a party will fight to lead a proletarian revolution that will smash the capitalist state and rip the productive forces away from the bourgeoisie, a step toward establishing a centrally planned economy that serves the interests of the working class and oppressed. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Sex Workers...

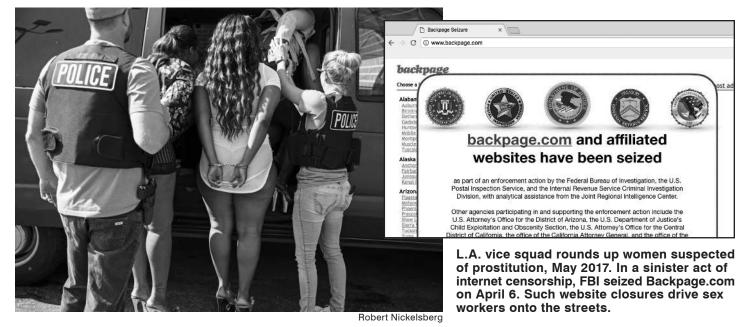
(continued from page 8)

drugged." The protester's sign aptly read, "FOSTA SESTA Has a Body Count."

FOSTA-SESTA essentially nullifies Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act. That section, which is referred to as the "safe harbor" clause, ensured that, like a library, social media platforms, websites and internet service providers could publish or host material without being liable for its content. Most websites simply do not have the resources to handle potential lawsuits over any and every online posting, meaning that many platforms will likely heavily censor users or shut down entirely.

The repercussions of FOSTA-SESTA were felt before the ink on the new legislation was dry. In the lead-up to the legislation, the FBI seized Backpage.com, a site commonly used by sex workers to post ads and safely meet clients. The home of its cofounder Michael Lacey was raided, and he is now facing federal charges. Immediately after the bills were passed, Craigslist removed its entire personals section (including Missed Connections), and sites used by sex workers to post ads, like NightShift and Cityvibe, shut down entirely. According to Engadget.com, sites that facilitated safety in sex work have shut down their discussion boards, advertising boards and community forums. Microsoft, which owns Skype and Messenger, changed its policies to target "inappropriate" and "offensive" behavior.

The new law is part of a broader escalation of online censorship, often carried out under the guise of combating "fake



news"—i.e., allowing the public to see only what the rulers and their media deem appropriate. Even before FOSTA-SESTA was signed into law, Facebook shut down about 500 accounts of Palestinian journalists and publications, including the Safa Palestinian Press Agency, a major news outlet. The capitalist rulers will seek to use their augmented repressive powers over the internet to silence leftists, anti-racist activists, labor organizers and anyone else

the U.S. government deems a threat.

FOSTA-SESTA equates the fundamentally consensual act between a prostitute and a client to exchange money for sex with the horrific crime of forced sex trafficking. Proponents of the law pushed it by feeding hysteria over a supposed epidemic of young teens forced into the sex

trade. Such lies are an old and tired trick used by the capitalist rulers to further expand their repressive powers. As we explained in "U.S./UN Crusade Against 'Sex Trafficking'" (*Spartacist* [Englishlanguage edition] No. 58, Spring 2004):

"The atrocities that are still thriving worldwide in this reactionary social and economic climate include forced marriages, the buying and selling of children, forced segregation under the head-to-toe veil, female genital mutilation and 'honor killings.' Coerced prostitution, which has existed for thousands of years, is likely increasing. But the repressive measures adopted by capitalist states in the name of 'human rights' and 'protecting women' will only intensify these miseries through state persecution."

In many ways, sex workers are the canaries in the coal mine for online censorship. The capitalist state is targeting sex workers for the same reason serial killers often do-they think they can get away with it because society deems them expendable. It is in the interest of the working class to fight against censorship and to defend the most vulnerable and oppressed sectors of the population. Sex workers face discrimination in all aspects of life. Renting an apartment is extremely difficult without official pay stubs; health care is beyond reach; and sex work isn't exactly something one can put on a résumé. Sex work should be legalized, and its workers organized into unions!

As in all areas of life under capitalism, a class divide exists in the sex industry. Stormy Daniels, a sex worker who is being hypocritically championed by anti-Trump Democrats, is unlikely to have trouble finding work or paying her bills as a result of the law. Nor will the Washington madams frequented by lawmakers on Capitol Hill have to close up shop. The law is intended to punish the most vulnerable sex workers, and in racist America a disproportionate number of impoverished sex workers are black. The FBI reports that young black people make up 55 percent of prostitution arrests of minors. The idea that the capitalist state, whose cops gun down blacks and minorities with

impunity, is concerned about the welfare of women is obscene. Sex workers routinely do not report acts of violence against them because of the harassment and brutality, including rape, they often face at the hands of the police.

We are opposed to the criminalization of prostitution, and we oppose all laws against "crimes without victims." The government should not have the right to interfere in people's private, sexual lives. We are against any categorical criminalization of a sex act, including through reactionary "age of consent" laws, which dictate a sexless existence to teenagers. We advocate nothing more and nothing other than *effective consent* between individuals in whatever form of sex they choose.

As Marxists, we understand that it is the institution of the family that brings money into sexual relations. It is private property that requires monogamy from women, forcing them into the home to have babies, cook, clean and screw on command. Capitalist law, the social opprobrium against "sin" as defined by organized religion, and a pile of laundry are all that distinguish the wife from the prostitute in this fundamental sense. The working-class family is taught that the mother must be a slave to her children and household, and the father must work to provide for his family or he is not a man. This is the ideology the ruling class peddles so that each family accepts the burden of raising the next generation of wage slaves.

As revolutionary socialists, we fight for a future society in which women will have genuine social and political equality. This requires replacing the family and its private enslavement of women. Following a socialist revolution, the working class in power would collectivize childcare, laundry, cooking, cleaning and education. Once these tasks are removed from the shoulders of wives and mothers, women can stand fully equal to men as productive members of society. Only then will prostitution—and its twin institution, the family—be relegated to the dustbin of history.

Florida Jury...

(continued from page 8)

shouting out in rage. "It was basically a slap in the face," Davis told the Associated Press. "You value someone's life as one dollar?" The family's lawyer, John Phillips, told the *New York Times* (30 May), "Why go there with the \$1? That was the hurtful part." The lawyer, who set up a GoFundMe page to financially aid the family, said he was drafting a motion for a new trial, and that if the motion is denied, he will file an appeal.

We have often cited the infamous 1857 Dred Scott Supreme Court case, in which Chief Justice Roger B. Taney declared that black people "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." The exclusion of citizenship for black people in the high court's decision was in part justified by noting that if black men were citizens they could "keep and carry arms wherever they went." More than 150 years after slavery was defeated, in no small measure through the valor and courage of 200,000 black soldiers and sailors carrying Union rifles, the case of Greg Hill demonstrates yet again that black men and women can be struck down by the cops, including in their own homes, on the mere presumption that they may be armed.

Just as it took the Civil War to smash the Southern slavocracy, it will take a third American Revolution to shatter the

power of the capitalist ruling class and the state apparatus—including the cops, courts and prison system—which exists to defend it. There is only one force in this society with the social power to do that: the multiracial working class, whose labor produces the wealth that the capitalist rulers claim as theirs. All workers, including white workers, face the same enemy—a ruling class that condemns them to ever more vicious exploitation and wields the knife of racism to keep working people divided and to maintain its power. That the workers have not been mobilized in their own defense, much less in defense of the oppressed, is the responsibility of the trade-union misleaders who have shackled labor's power by their defense of the capitalist system.

The Spartacist League/U.S. is dedicated to the fight to forge a new leadership of the working class—a multiracial revolutionary workers party. The cause of black freedom will be a great driving force in the struggle for a socialist America and a great achievement of workers revolution. Only when those who labor rule will the wealth of this country be used for the benefit of those who produced it—not least the descendants of black slaves, upon whose backs American capitalism was built. And only then will there be any real justice for the working class, black people and all the oppressed. For black liberation through $socialist revolution! \blacksquare$

Local Directory and Public Offices Website: www.icl-fi.org • Email address: vanguard@tiac.net National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, (212) 732-7860 Chicago.....Box 6441, Main PO, Chicago, IL 60680 chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net Public Office: by appointment, call (312) 563-0441 Los Angeles Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029 slsycla@sbcglobal.net Public Office: by appointment, call (213) 380-8239 New YorkBox 3381, Church St. Sta., New York, NY 10008 nysl@tiac.net Public Office: by appointment, call (212) 267-1025 Oakland.....Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604 slbayarea@fastmail.net Public Office: by appointment, call (510) 839-0851 – TROTSKYIST LEAGUE IN QUEBEC AND CANADA -Montréal...... CP 83 Succ. Place-d'Armes, Montréal, QC H2Y 3E9, (514) 728-7578 trotskyste.montreal@gmail.com

TorontoBox 7198, Station A, Toronto, ON M5W 1X8, (416) 593-4138

Vancouver......Box 2717, Main P.O., Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2, (604) 687-0353

trotskyist.toronto@gmail.com

tl.vancouver.bc@gmail.com

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. -

29 JUNE 2018 7

WORKERS VANGUARD

Internet Censorship Law Endangers Sex Workers

Carrying signs reading "Sex Work ≠ Trafficking" and "Stigma Kills," large crowds of sex workers and their supporters gathered in New York, Oakland, Chicago and other cities across the country on June 2, dubbed "International Whores' Day." They were protesting a set of antisex bills that Donald Trump signed into law on April 11. The House version, "Allow States and Victims to Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act" (FOSTA), and its Senate equivalent, SESTA, flew through Congress on bipartisan wings. Supporters of the law cynically claim the bill supports women's rights. In reality, the law further criminalizes consensual sexual activity and imposes government censorship of the internet by making internet service providers, social media and dating websites responsible for usergenerated content (e.g., ads by escorts and massage parlors).

Once again, right-wing outfits—such as Expose Sex Ed Now, which is devoted to opposing sex education for minors, and the virulently anti-gay and anti-communist Institute on Religion and Democracy and prominent liberal Democrats and anti-Trump "resisters" have joined hands in an unholy alliance to enhance the repressive machinery of the capitalist state. The bill was supported by "progressives" like Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren and Kamala Harris, feminist groups like the National Organization for Women, as well as pro-Democratic celebrities like Seth Meyers and Amy Schumer.

Nina Hartley, the porn star, sex educator and fighter for sexual freedom, got it exactly right when she told Workers Vanguard:

"SESTA-FOSTA are both anti-labor as well as anti-woman. Again, under the guise of 'helping victims of sex trafficking' women's choices regarding their bodily autonomy are under attack. Workers who had moved from the streets to indoors, who used the internet to screen clients, have been pushed back onto the streets, where pimps are again gaining the upper hand over workers.

Social scientists at Baylor and West Virginia universities published a 2017 study documenting that screening clients through Craigslist's erotic services reduced the risk of rape to female prostitutes, with the homicide rate dropping 17.4 percent. Now, the very basic safety precaution of screening clients has been taken away, forcing many back onto the streets to face homelessness, arrest, harassment, beatings or worse. One sex worker told WV that as



Sex worker holds sign highlighting deadly consequences of FOSTA-SESTA at June 2 International Whores' Day Protest in Oakland.

soon as FOSTA-SESTA passed, the number of calls she received from pimps on her work phone dramatically increased. Under FOSTA-SESTA, immigrant sex workers, always under threat of deportation, are especially vulnerable. Many had used sites like Craigslist to advertise their services, either as individuals or through massage parlors, which allowed them a modicum of safety. Meanwhile, gay and trans pros-

titutes, who already risk lethal violence in this deeply bigoted country, will be further endangered.

People will die as a result of this law. A protester at the June 2 demonstration in Oakland noted, "My personal experience before I used the internet as a platform for sex work was getting assaulted constantly, getting kidnapped, getting raped, getting continued on page 7

Florida Jury Awards Four Cents

Racist Contempt for Black Life

A Florida jury has mocked the grieving young children of a black man, Gregory Vaughn Hill Jr., gunned down by a white sheriff's deputy while listening to music in his own home. On May 26, the federal jury of seven whites and a lone black man awarded damages of \$1 to each child-Aryanna, Destiny and Gregory-for the loss of their father in a wrongful death case. They tossed Hill's mother an additional \$1 for funeral expenses. Adding insult to injury, under Florida's bizarre blame apportionment formulas, the \$4 total in damages was reduced to four cents when jurors found St. Lucie County sheriff Ken Mascara, a Democrat, to be only 1 percent at fault in the killing of Hill. The "award" was then reduced to nothing because Hill had been drinking. In his "man cave." On his day off. In the garage of the house he grew up in.

The Coca-Cola warehouse worker was 30 years old on the day he died in January 2014, killed by cop bullets fired through his garage door, while Destiny, then nine years old, watched in horror from the elementary school across the street. Two sheriff's deputies had shown up at Hill's house in Fort Pierce after a busybody parent picking up her child at the school called in a complaint about loud music and obscenities—potentially a municipal code violation for which the penalty on first complaint is a simple warning.

Hill was in the garage listening to Drake's "All Me," a rap song about a black



Gregory Hill Jr. with his fiancée Monique Davis and their daughters, Destiny and Aryanna. A Florida cop shot Hill dead inside his own garage in 2014.

man who made it, when the deputies arrived. The cops banged violently on the garage door. Hill raised it. Then one of the cops screamed "Gun!" Hill quickly closed the door as the other deputy emptied four bullets into the door. Three of the projectiles struck Hill, one of them in the head, killing him instantly where he

stood behind the closed door. The man died in a pool of blood on the garage floor. Destiny and other witnesses from the school said that Hill was not holding a gun and that the deputies issued no warnings before firing.

Remembering her lost fiancé as a hardworking family man who loved to fish and hang out in his garage, Terrica Monique Davis bitterly stated two years later, "He loved his kids, and he loved that garage. So for him to die in there...it's just too much." Davis had lived with Hill in the home. They had planned to marry.

After shooting up his garage, cops claimed that Hill was "barricaded" inside and called in a SWAT team, which fired tear gas through the windows of the house. They flooded the children's home with chemical agents, rendering it uninhabitable. They also deployed a robot to cut through the door and photograph the garage. Once inside, the cops found Hill dead, with an unloaded gun in his back pocket—a gun that he nominally had the right to keep and carry in his home under Florida law.

In 2016, after a local grand jury declined to bring criminal charges against the deputy who fired the lethal shots, Viola Bryant, Hill's mother, filed the civil wrongful death suit, seeking the modest amount of only \$15,000. When the jury's award was announced last month, Monique Davis walked out of the courtroom to keep from continued on page 7

8 29 JUNE 2018