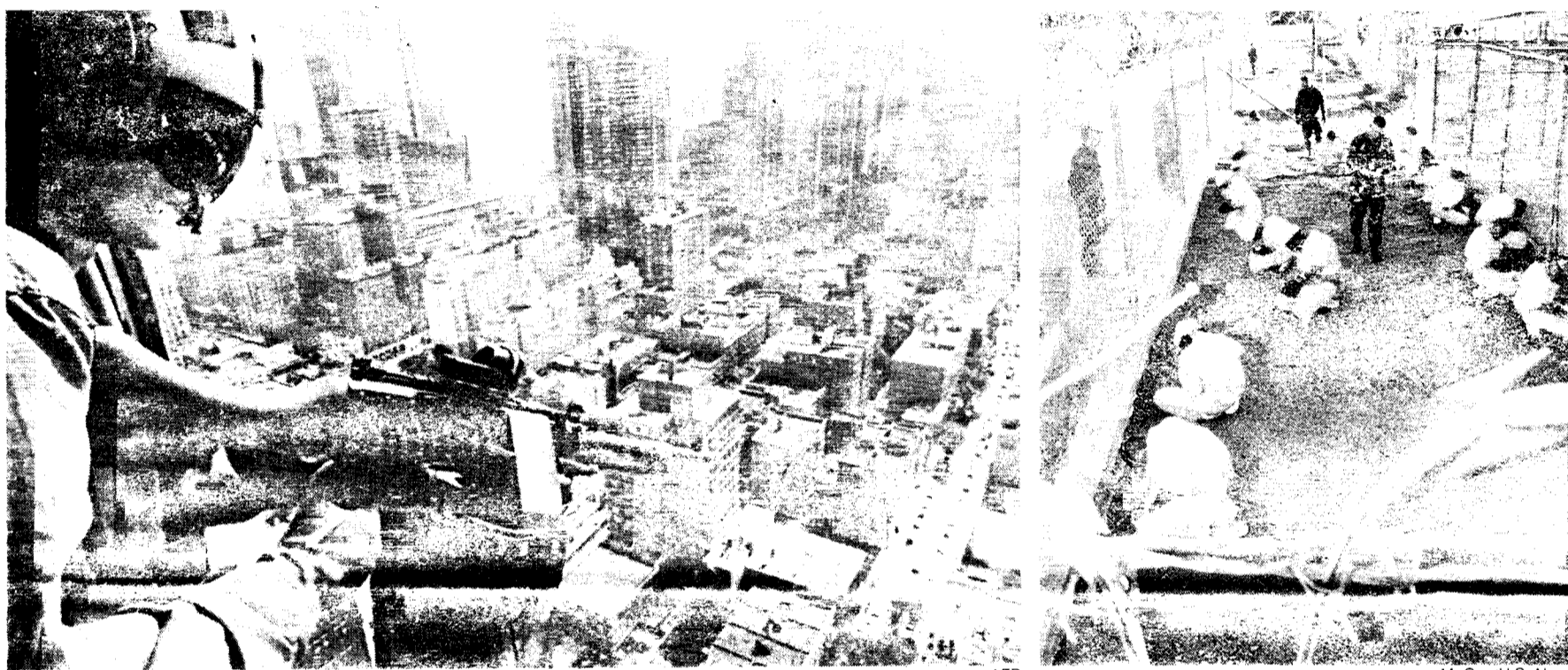


For a Class-Struggle Fight for All Our Rights!

Down With Bush/Democrats' "War on Terror"!



Helicopter surveillance of New York City during protests against Republican National Convention, August 2004. Hooded and chained prisoners at Guantánamo Bay torture center.

On December 17, riding high on his election "mandate," President Bush signed the Intelligence Reform Act, landing the opening blow in a renewed attack on civil liberties. Codifying the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission, and heavily pushed during the elections by John Kerry and the Democratic Party, the Intelligence Reform Act is touted as the most sweeping reorganization of the imperialist state's spy apparatus since the formation of the Central Intelligence Agency nearly 60 years ago. The Act centralizes all federal spy activity—including the CIA, Homeland Security, Pentagon and National Security Agency—under the umbrella of a single National Intelligence Director.

Passed with overwhelming bipartisan support in Congress, the 563-page Act expands the "anti-terror" laws and gives legal sanction to what the government previously did in secret to individuals or organizations it deemed enemies. Like the "war on terror," this Act has nothing to do with fighting "terrorism," (whose main architects occupy the Pentagon and White House raining terror on the peoples of Iraq), and everything to do with expanding the arsenal of state repression to crush dissent and shred civil liberties at home.

Despite Bush's blather about his "mandate," the fact is that this administration

stole its first election through the disenfranchisement of black voters and others, and whipped up a crusade of Christian fundamentalist loyalists against gay marriage and other "sins" to secure his second coming. As for the Democrats, they ran for the White House complaining that Bush was detracting from the "war on terror," and promising that they would do the job more effectively. Furthermore, the draconian anti-terror laws the Bush gang has employed and enhanced were inherited from the Democratic Clinton administration, such as Clinton's 1996 Anti-terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, under which most post-September 11 detainees were held.

Republicans and Democrats alike want to conduct U.S. military campaigns overseas, and repress labor strikes and political struggles at home, without the encumbrances of Congressional approval, judicial oversight, or even a nod toward the fundamental democratic right of free speech. Since capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the U.S. has thrown its unchallenged military might around the globe. Domestically, America's rulers amassed dramatic increases in their profits and wealth by increasing the exploitation of the working class and slashing virtually all social programs benefiting the poor, particularly the black ghetto masses.

It is in this context of glaring social inequality, and in fear that working people pushed to the wall will fight back in social struggle, that the Democrats and Republicans reinforce the capitalist state's arsenal of repression. The "war on terror" is the panic button they push to cynically create and manipulate fear in the population, to convince people that

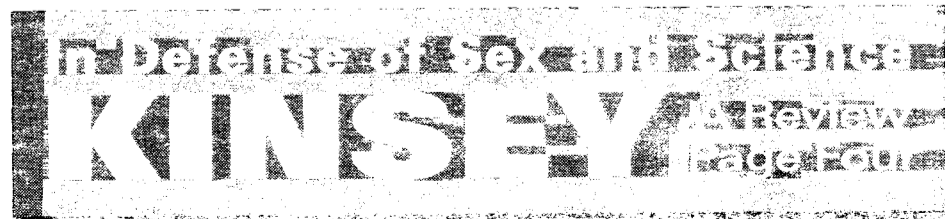
giving up fundamental civil liberties is a lesser evil than what might happen to them if the government is unable to wage war against a bogus enemy with no state and no army.

Among the new assaults on everyone's rights in the new anti-terror Act is the invention of a category of so-called "lone wolf terrorists," i.e., individuals the government can't link to any foreign government or "terrorist" organization, who can be secretly wiretapped anyway, without court order. Border crossings will be monitored by drone spy planes and funding provided to hire thousands more border guards and expand facilities to detain 8,000 more immigrants.

A national ID card system is in the works via standardizing state driver's licenses, while Homeland Security is designing "biometric" identification scanners to track individuals at airports. Although "biometric" face recognition systems tested in 2002 at airports failed as much as half the time, Big Brother aims to iron out the glitches and with a few mouse clicks track who's shopping for the "anarchist cookbook" at amazon.com; who turned up at the antiwar demonstration; who boarded a downtown "A" train en route to Manhattan's City Hall on the day of a labor protest; who drove to the beach while calling in sick to work Friday morning.

"Material support to terrorism" is so vaguely defined that *any political activity the government doesn't like can be declared "terrorist."* Donate to rebuild a hospital in Sri Lanka and you may find yourself accused of supporting Tamil Tiger independence fighters; buy a cupcake from a student group's bake sale to fight famine in Sudan and maybe you'll be found to have given "material support" to "Islamic terrorists." The new law is flexible enough to deal with the illogical exigencies of the U.S. government. A case in point is the People's Mujahedeen, an Iranian opposition group, which the U.S. has officially designated a "terrorist organization." But this year the U.S. declared 3,800 members of the group in Iraq "protected persons" because their fire is aimed at the Iranian government, an American enemy. A "senior American official" told the *New York Times* (27 July 2004) that "a member of a terrorist organization is not necessarily a terrorist." Except, of course, when the U.S. deems otherwise: thus while the U.S. is "protecting" the People's Mujahedeen supporters in Iraq, it is prosecuting seven Mujahedeen supporters in Los Angeles because they donated money to the group! On December 20, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the seven defendants cannot even argue that

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Science in Service of Humanity Could Have Saved Thousands Tsunami Catastrophe in South Asia

JANUARY 3—A magnitude 9.0 earthquake centered off the Indonesian island of Sumatra on December 26 triggered a catastrophic tsunami across the Indian Ocean, killing more than 150,000 people. The death toll rises daily and may never be known as entire towns and villages were obliterated, and many thousands of people are homeless, seriously injured, and displaced. This staggering event makes one grasp for historical comparisons to comprehend the human tragedy. It

was "possibly the deadliest tsunami in 200 years" (Reuters, 28 December 2004), set off by the biggest earthquake in 40 years. Some 40 nationalities were among the victims, including many vacationing tourists. Children are estimated to be one-third of the dead. The death toll is expected to skyrocket as diseases such as cholera and typhoid spread, due to the lack of clean drinking water and the contamination of existing sources by decomposing bodies. Hospitals and clinics were

destroyed, as were roads, train tracks and communication systems.

The mind-numbing death toll, and the deaths yet to be counted, are the result of disaster magnified by class inequalities and the subordination of science to capitalist rule. Science cannot prevent earthquakes or tsunamis, but early warning systems do exist, and some tens of thousands of lives could have been saved. The earthquake and tsunami smashed coastal populations in some of the world's poorest and most densely populated regions. Especially in areas of the globe kept backward by imperialism, human life is deemed expendable; poverty and disasters are fertile fields for spreading the hocus-pocus of religious missionaries, rather than investment in social infrastructure and scientific/technological advancement.

The quake occurred in a known seismically active region where one of the tectonic plates of the Earth's crust is constantly slipping under another, sometimes in sudden shifts; the abrupt vertical motion of the seabed creates a massive wave of water which can travel at a speed of over 600 miles per hour and a distance of thousands of miles. This tsunami spread across the Indian Ocean, hitting nearly a dozen countries including Indonesia, India, Thailand and Sri Lanka and causing devastation as far as Somalia, 3,000 miles away on Africa's east coast. When the traveling wave hits coastal regions, it can reach great heights with unstoppable power to sweep away people, boats, houses, cars and just about anything else.

Countries located along the Pacific "ring of fire" can get warnings from the Pacific Tsunami Warning Center (PTWC) established by the United States in 1949 and headquartered in Hawaii. The PTWC monitors seismic activity and ocean surface level, and utilizes the most modern communications channels of the U.S. military. Rich countries can also afford to deploy additional expensive technology to protect their own populations. Japan has long been known to have a

system using hundreds of seismometers enhanced by undersea detectors to warn their public. The *Economist* (online, 28 December 2004) reports that the U.S. has deployed an even better system of "tsunameters" which transmit data to surface buoys and then to the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration by satellite.

Even though the Indian Ocean is officially outside of the PTWC domain, scientists running the warning system could perceive a tsunami threat and reportedly sent an alert to 26 countries, including Thailand and Indonesia. As scientists scrambled to alert the world, government officials did next to nothing! According to the London *Independent (Democracy Now)*, 29 December 2004) the huge U.S. military base on the British island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean was warned.

This speaks loudly to how the value of human life and property is calculated by America's imperialist rulers. Diego Garcia is a key base, and prior to the seizure and occupation of Iraq, it was the main U.S. launch pad for death and destruction in Iraq and Afghanistan. Aircraft from Diego Garcia dropped more ordnance on Afghanistan than any other unit in the "war on terror" (see www.globalsecurity.org).

Scientists on Australia's remote Cocos Island, 600 miles from Sumatra, alerted Australian emergency planners of the tsunami, but "key officials within Indian Ocean nations could not be reached" (*Belfast Telegraph*, 28 December 2004). Surely the Pentagon and the Australian government have phone numbers for some top-ranking officials in Jakarta! In 1965, Indonesia's military slaughtered half a million people with lists drawn up from the CIA and with help from the Australian embassy. Since then, the U.S. has been funneling millions in aid to the bloodthirsty Indonesian generals, who continue their slaughter in the very province of Aceh, which is nearest to the earthquake's epicenter. Though U.S. military aid was allegedly cut off in 1999, a lot of it was resumed by the Bush administration in the name of the "war on terror." In Thailand the U.S. has been using the Utapao Air Base since the Vietnam War, conducted joint exercises with the Thai military there in 2002, and flew combat aircraft from there for the wars on Afghanistan and Iraq. No phone numbers there, either?

The allocation of aid is similarly instructive. The initial U.S. offer of a paltry \$15 million is less than half the amount President Bush plans to spend on his upcoming inaugural balls and celebrations! World outcry has forced the U.S. to dig a little deeper. There is also a lot of politics behind the aid, which the U.S. and other powers will use to bolster their

continued on next page

On Socialist Man



TROTSKY

Isaac Deutscher, international Marxist and biographer of Leon Trotsky, addressed the New York Socialist Scholars' Conference in 1966 on the subject of "Socialist Man." Generating lively controversy, his speech and summary targeted the then-fashionable theories of Herbert Marcuse. Against New Left idealism, Deutscher upheld the materialist viewpoint, insisting that the working class was the necessary agent of revolution, while outlining a Marxist approach to what humanity might look like after the success of socialist revolutions internationally.



LENIN

We do not maintain that socialism is going to solve all predicaments of the human race. We are struggling in the first instance with the predicaments that are of man's making and that man can resolve. May I remind you that Trotsky, for instance, speaks of three basic tragedies—hunger, sex, and death—besetting man. Hunger is the enemy that Marxism and the modern labor movement have taken on. In doing so they have naturally been inclined to ignore or belittle man's other predicaments. But is it not true that hunger or, more broadly, social inequality and oppression, have hugely complicated and intensified for innumerable human beings the torments of sex and death as well?

In fighting against social inequality and oppression we fight also for the mitigation of those blows that nature inflicts on us....

Yes, socialist man will still be pursued by sex and death; but we are convinced that he will be better equipped than we are to cope even with these. And if his nature remains aggressive, his society will give him immeasurably greater and more varied opportunities than bourgeois man has for sublimating his instinctual drives and turning them to creative uses. Even if socialist man may not be quite "free from guilt or pain" as Shelley dreamed he would be, he may be still "scepterless, free, uncircumscribed, but man equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless, exempt from all worship and awe." The average member of socialist society may yet rise, as Trotsky anticipated, to the stature of Aristotle. Goethe, Marx, who, whatever their sexual instincts and aggressive drives, embody some of mankind's highest achievements so far. And we assume that "above these heights new peaks will rise." We do not see in socialist man evolution's last and perfect product, or the end of history, but in a sense only the beginning of history. Socialist man may indeed feel the *Unbehagen*, the unease and discomfort, that civilization imposes upon the beast in man. Moreover, this may, indeed, be the most essential of his own inner contradictions and tensions that will impel him to evolve further and scale heights which are beyond our imagination.

—Isaac Deutscher, "On Socialist Man" (1966), in *Marxism in Our Time* (Ramparts Press, 1971)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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In Honor of Gregg Best

Gregg Best, an ardent socialist and longtime supporter of the Spartacist League, died suddenly of a heart attack on December 16 while at work. Gregg was 51 years old. We extend our condolences to Gregg's wife of 24 years, Phyllis; to his sons, Alex and Zach; to his family; and to his many friends and co-workers. We were all stunned by his tragic and untimely death.

Gregg was known to many as an outspoken opponent of racism and bigotry of any kind. He fought against the oppression of women and homosexuals. He opposed any support to either the Republicans or the Democrats because both parties centrally represent the interests of the bosses. He fought for a revolutionary workers party to represent the interests of workers, blacks and other minorities. He knew that this kind of fighting workers party was the weapon we need to bring about a society where those who labor, rule.

A few days after Gregg's death, about 60 of his co-workers and friends gathered together to share their grief and remembrances of Gregg with his family, including his mother Wilma and sister Cheryl. Those workers that had apprenticed under Gregg spoke movingly about his abilities as a teacher and his insistence that all work must be done safely and efficiently. We were told that one former apprentice spoke about how Gregg always tried to make things better for the workers; she told a newly hired electrician that the new tools, computers and equipment in their crew room were the result of Gregg's efforts. She talked about how Gregg mobilized his co-workers to go down to the picket lines during the 2002 West Coast long-shore lockout and the recent San Francisco hotel workers strike.

A good friend and fellow electrician, now retired, said that from the day Gregg started on the job, he was the first male co-worker to treat her as a competent journeyman, not an "affirmative action girl," and he made others treat her that way as well. Another told friends that he only went to union meetings because of Gregg, who showed three qualities he admired at these meetings: one, he had a clear idea what he wanted; two, he was a straight shooter and did not believe in diplomacy; three, he always had a plan to put what he wanted into action. Everyone spoke of his sense of humor and commitment to standing up and fighting for what he believed in—a more just world for working people and the oppressed.

A family funeral service was held in Gregg's hometown of Sandusky, Ohio on December 23. Gregg's son, Alex, spoke of his father: "Whether it was a fern, a lily, a bird of paradise, or a cactus, and he sure had a lot of cacti, he cared for each and every one of his plants. I think he appreciated the small details, their intricacies, their unique differences. Dad was like this with people as well; he appreciated their differences, their uniqueness." Alex went on to say: "He had what I would call a faith in humanity. He believed that we all have the ability to make this world a better place and he spent the majority of his life dedicated to this ideal."

Phyllis captured Gregg's artistic abilities and unique sense of humor in how he decorated their home when she said: "He got endless compliments on the way he decorated—his choice of artwork displayed—from tribal masks to our children's finger paintings to prints of Diego Rivera, Matisse, or Kandinsky. But he liked to personalize his art a little. So observant viewers might find a goldfish sniffing Frida Kahlo's armpit or teddy bear

eyes glued onto the Mona Lisa in our bathroom." Gregg's integrity and humanity radiated through his work and demeanor and was always tempered with a delicious sense of irony and big-hearted good humor.

Gregg first came in contact with the Spartacist League in 1978 in Los Angeles while he was attending the Peoples College of Law after graduating from Oberlin College with a BA in History. He and Phyllis moved to Cleveland, Ohio where Gregg worked as a service repre-

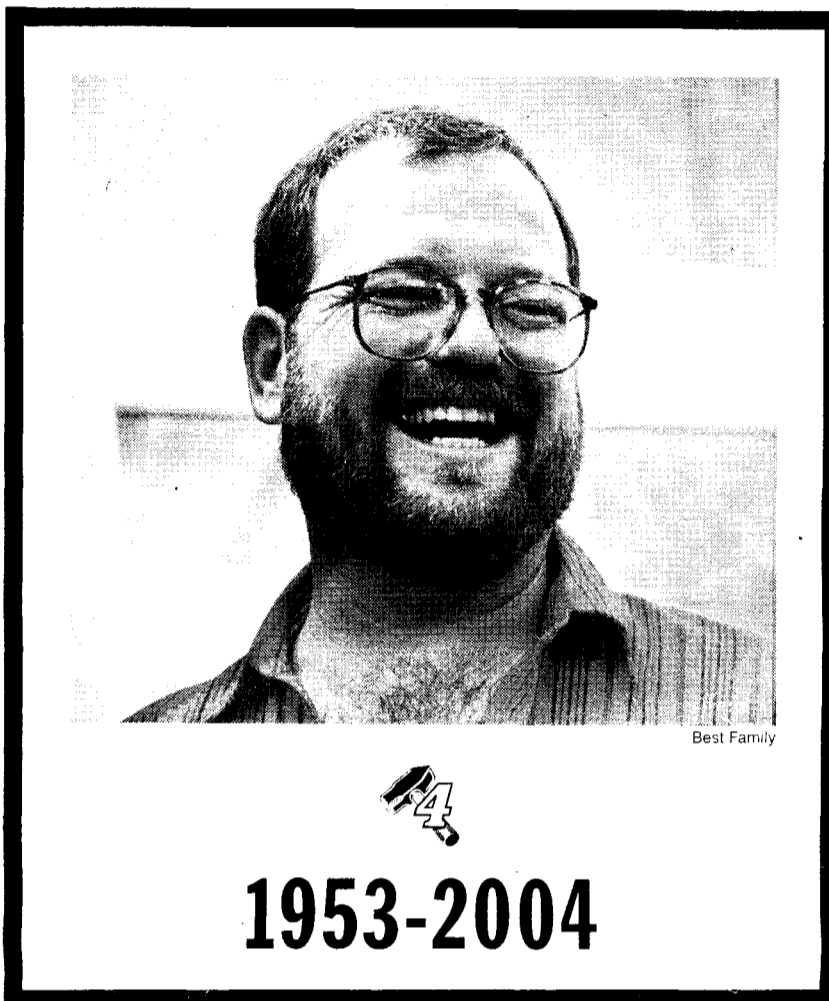
Gregg, and the article he wrote for his union newspaper, about an arbitrator's ruling upholding the firing of Charles DuBois. DuBois, a black union militant and active member of Local 444, was framed up on bogus charges of "workplace violence." Gregg reported on the "bitter and infuriating outcome of the long struggle by members of both Local 444 and our sister Local 2019 to defend Charles DuBois and defend our unions." Gregg was one of the initiators of the joint union committee to defend DuBois set up after his firing in July 2003, which mobilized more than 100 union members and supporters, from both AFSCME Locals 444 and 2019, in a spirited rally on 17 September 2003 to defend Charles and demand his reinstatement. At that rally, covered by WV, Gregg told the crowd: "'Workplace violence' witchhunts are also being used as part of the so-called 'war on terror' which in fact targets labor, blacks and immigrants—a *bipartisan* war backed by both Democrats and Republicans. National unity is a lie!" (WV No. 810, 26 September 2003). Five years earlier, Gregg had been active in the defense of Randy Kim, a longtime union activist fired in a similar "workplace violence" witchhunt.

When the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense initiated the first labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrants and in opposition to the USA-Patriot and Maritime Security Acts in Oakland, California in February 2002, Gregg was instrumental in winning his union local's endorsement. Carrying their union banner, Gregg and other co-workers were active participants. In his union, Gregg was known as an opponent of U.S. imperialism who fought for labor to oppose the invasion and occupation of Iraq. He marched in the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents organized by the SL and Labor Black League for Social Defense in demonstrations against the war.

Gregg knew that it was labor's job to lead the fight to smash Klan/Nazi race-terror, which aims for a "white-only" America where trade unions don't exist. On 3 November 1979 five anti-Klan demonstrators were gunned down by the KKK, in collusion with government forces, in Greensboro, North Carolina. Emboldened by the massacre, the Michigan Klan declared they would march in Detroit—a predominantly black city and union stronghold. In response to the threat, the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization against the Klan. Gregg (who was living in Cleveland at the time) joined us there under the demand "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

When the Klan threatened to parade down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. in November 1982 against the so-called amnesty provisions of the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill, Gregg joined 5,000 protesters, overwhelmingly blacks and unionists, who stopped the KKK from marching. More recently, Gregg helped build and organize the labor/black mobilization against the Klan in Gary, Indiana in January 2001 when the KKK threatened to march to celebrate the murder of Martin Luther King Jr.

One friend told us that "Gregg will not only be remembered by us for his commitment and his history, but also his benevolence, his clarity, and his fantastic laugh. He was a genuinely good and honest person." We mourn the loss of this workers' leader. Comrades, co-workers and other friends who knew Gregg and worked with him over the years will undoubtedly have other contributions to make.



sentative for Ohio Bell. He eventually got a job at the General Motors stamping plant in Parma, Ohio as an electrician's apprentice, where he earned his journeyman's card. Gregg and his family moved to the Bay Area in early January 1991. Gregg was hired by East Bay Municipal Utility District as an electrician. He was an active member of his local union, AFSCME Local 444.

Gregg was involved in many cases and causes covered in *Workers Vanguard* over the years. Due in no small part to Gregg's initiative, his union has a long, proud history of defending former Black Panthers Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and Mumia Abu-Jamal. Both Pratt and Jamal were targeted as part of the ruling class' COINTELPRO witchhunt of militant blacks in the late 1960s and early '70s and framed up for murders they did not commit. Gregg led the squads of union marshals for the emergency demonstrations in 1995 to stop the impending execution of Jamal and to abolish the death penalty. Gregg helped build the Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners organized annually by the Partisan Defense Committee to provide monthly stipends for those, like Jamal, who are imprisoned for fighting against the exploitation and racist injustice of American capitalism. This year Local 444 made a generous donation to Jamal's legal defense and many members bought tickets for the Holiday Appeal.

In its August 2004 issue, WV printed a letter from

words of evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins (letter, London *Guardian*, 30 December 2004):

"Not only does science know why the tsunami happened, it can give precious hours of warning. If a small fraction of the tax breaks handed out to churches, mosques and synagogues had been diverted into an early warning system, tens of thousands of people, now dead, would have been moved to safety."

"Let's get up off our knees, stop cringing before bogeymen and virtual fathers, face reality, and help science to do something constructive about human suffering."

Speaking from the summit of Soviet

relations with the regimes of the region.

To put the relief effort in perspective, weigh today's promise of \$350 million against the average \$228 million the U.S. spends every day in Iraq! Indifference to the fate of South Asians echoes the contemptuous, racist U.S. rulers' attitude toward black Haiti last September after hurricanes slashed through the Caribbean and then Florida, a key state in Bush's re-election campaign. Florida was offered billions in aid, but Haiti, one of the poorest countries in the world, ravaged by mudslides and run by a puppet regime

installed by U.S. troops only a few months earlier, was initially offered an insulting \$50,000 in aid. Proportionate to available means, the donations pouring out of the pockets of working men and women through their union organizations in Australia, Japan, and around the world are much more generous.

So when anyone in high places refers to the massive loss in human life as an "act of God," or an "unavoidable natural disaster," they are merely providing cover for the criminal negligence and priorities of the capitalist system. We applaud the

power in 1925, Leon Trotsky noted that science has the "capacity to increase man's power and arm him with the power to foresee and master nature" (*Problems of Everyday Life*). But the capitalist class largely constrains science to the narrow purpose of accumulating profits, and today it is even denigrated by a religious-minded U.S. administration. The road of progress can be unblocked only by toppling rapacious capitalist rule through a series of socialist revolutions and establishing a worldwide planned socialist economy. ■



William H. DeLennack

In Defense of Sex and Science **KINSEY**

A Review by Helen Cantor

"I now see one Alfred C. Kinsey, author of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (human American male, Ned Rorem noted, since our habits differ from Moroccans', say, none of whom is 'gay' while all indulge, when possible, in same-sexuality).

"I got to know Kinsey in 1948—his book came out a month after *The City and the Pillar*, and the shocked *New York Times* would not advertise either.... I like to think that it was by observing the easy trafficking at the Astor that he figured out what was obvious to most of us, though as yet undreamed of by American society at large: Perfectly 'normal' young men, placed outside the usual round of family and work, will run riot with each other.... Kinsey gave me a copy of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, with an inscription, complimenting me on my 'work in the field.' Thanks, Doc. But it wasn't *all* work."

—Gore Vidal, *Palimpsest* (1995)

"Although species may be discrete, they have no immutable essence. Variation is the raw material of evolutionary change. It represents the fundamental reality of nature, not an accident about a created norm. Variation is primary; essences are illusory.... Kinsey, who understood the implications of evolutionary theory so well, was a radical antiessentialist in taxonomy.... His antiessentialist perspective proclaimed two truths about variation for wasps and people alike—apparently homogeneous populations in one place (all college students at Indiana or all murderers at Alcatraz) would exhibit an enormous range of irreducible variation, and discrete local populations in different places (older middle-class women in Illinois or poor young men in New York) would differ greatly in average sexual behaviors."

—Stephen Jay Gould, "Of Wasps and WASPs," *The Flamingo's Smile* (1985)

Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey's great contribution to the extension of human knowledge—and diminution of human misery—was his fearless exploration of human beings' real sexual behavior which had never before been studied in such a broad and objective way. The appreciations above, fittingly, are from two other great "secular humanist" intellectual figures of 20th-century America. Writer Gore Vidal is a critic of the follies of the American Empire and Christian cruelty through the ages. Evolutionary biologist and paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould's writings have popularized the discoveries

of evolution and modern science. All three have done much to counter the forces of blind bigotry and religious superstition used by the ruling class to keep people mentally crippled, fearful and divided.

The recent movie *Kinsey*, starring Liam Neeson and directed by Bill Condon, is a welcome antidote to the blood-drenched religious hysteria of Mel Gibson's creepy blockbuster *The Passion of The Christ*. *Kinsey* is a sensitive portrayal of the scientist, his researchers and wife and family, as well as some of those thousands of people across America who poured out their sexual histories in response to his thorough face-to-face questionnaire technique. The movie is based on the sympathetic biography, *Kinsey: Sex the Measure of All Things*, by Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy (Indiana University Press, paperback edition published in 2004), with some condensing and small changes for "artistic license." (Unless otherwise noted, facts cited are from the book.) As the author points out, "Kinsey was unique in three things: the rigour of his science, his invention of a totally new form of interview, and above all...Kinsey was read or known by, not just the whole of America, but at one time nearly the entire Western world." In other words, millions of people *knew*, for the first time in history, what was *really* going on

over at the neighbors' (and down on the farm), at least in mid-20th century America. They got quite a shock.

Kinsey's two works were each around 800 pages long. *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953, published the same year Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* came out in English) were bombshells. They laid out in amazing and undeniable detail the fact that 19 out of every 20 Americans had broken at least one law having sex. James A. Morone, in *Hellfire Nation* (Yale University Press, 2003), a survey of "the politics of sin in American history," summarizes a few of Kinsey's results:

"85 percent of the white male population had premarital sex, 30 [actually 37] percent had reached at least one orgasm through homosexual contact, 50 percent had committed adultery, and one out of six farm boys had copulated with the animals.... One wife out of four had committed adultery; one of two had sexual relations before marriage; 62 percent of the married women regularly masturbated—higher frequency correlated directly with more education."

Also among Kinsey's most shocking findings was that 4 percent of white adult males were exclusively homosexual throughout their lives. The Kinsey research team took almost 18,000 sexual histories; the male and female volumes each used material from around

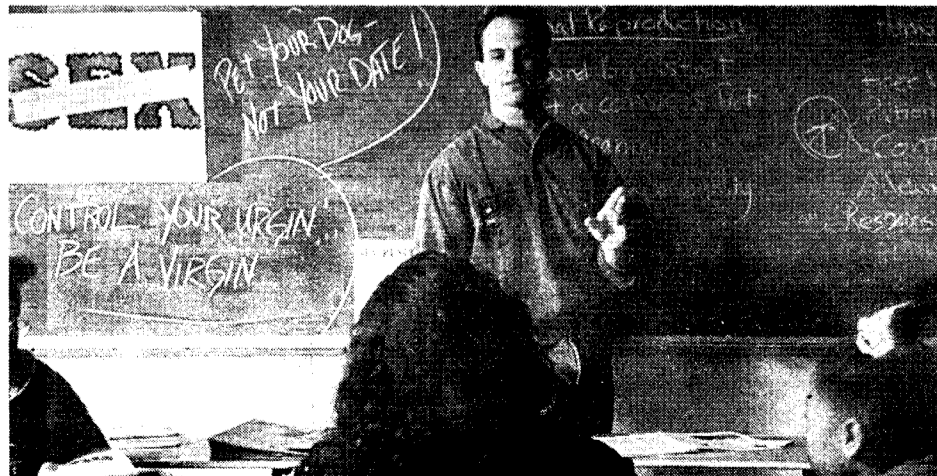
5,000. His two initial books (many more were planned) used only about 10 percent of the total data Kinsey and his researchers collected!

Science vs. Religion

Kinsey was born in 1894, literally in the horse-and-buggy era. In fact, when Kinsey began teaching at Indiana University in 1920, university president William Lowe Bryan still came to work in a horse and buggy. The world was a very different place. By Kinsey's death in 1956, Christine Jorgensen had the first "sex-change" operation, the U.S. had the atomic bomb—and the workers in Russia, who made a revolution in 1917, by 1956 lived in a state which was a "superpower" rivaling the U.S. Two world wars between competing imperialist powers, slaughtering millions in the name of profit, had raked their bloody claws across the century. Yet movie audiences watching *Kinsey* today, another half century later, still find much that is painfully familiar, especially the vehement religious and political reaction to Kinsey's research. We see today similar assaults on sex and science—centrally evolution—by bigots in and out of government.

Why have things changed so much and yet so little in this regard? Capitalism has developed industry, and therefore science, tremendously, yet people remain divided into classes whose interests are irreconcilably opposed. Racial oppression, inequality, poverty, bigotry of all sorts, and the subordination of women remain. People's real sexual lives and the laws continue to conflict—look at the explosion of reaction over gay marriage. To justify this contradictory, seemingly irrational situation, irrational justifications are necessary—thus the continued value of religious superstition to class society.

The story of Kinsey himself is one of continual conflict between science and religion. As the movie shows, he found escape in nature from the strict Methodism of his father. The influence of his high school teacher, Natalie Roeth, who forthrightly taught him about Darwin and evolution, was profound. These revelations, as Kinsey's biographer Gathorne-



James Schnepf

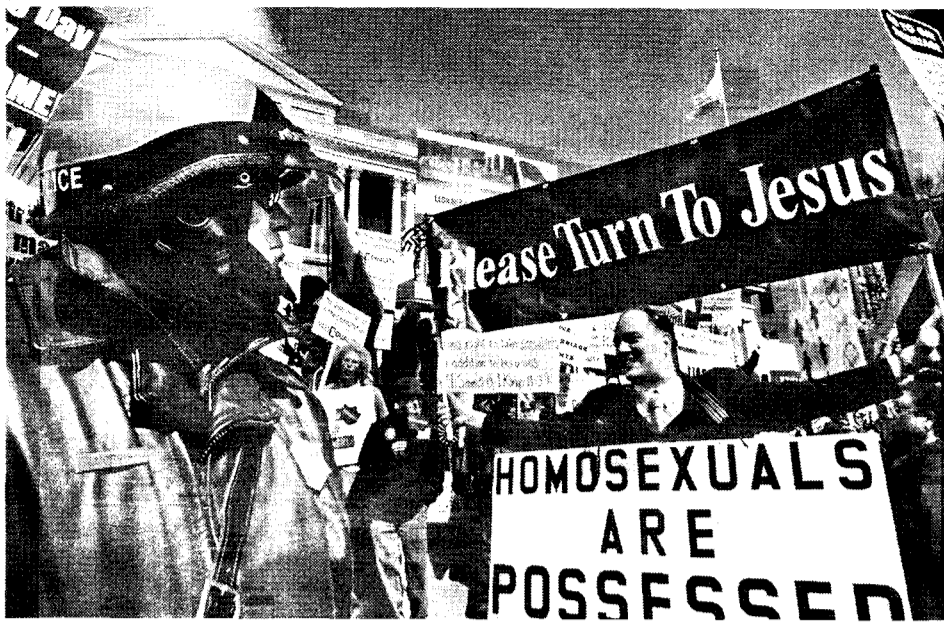
Today's "abstinence only" anti-sex school programs perpetuate ignorance and fear, which Kinsey sought to alleviate through scientific inquiry. Top photo: Kinsey with interview subject in 1950.

Hardy puts it, "were to be the single most important intellectual influence on Kinsey's life; that, and science itself, were gradually to replace Christianity as his spiritual centre of gravity." As Marxist working-class revolutionaries who want to change this world and end human exploitation and oppression, we're firmly on the side of science, which studies the natural world and validates theories by observation and experiment, as opposed to religion which asserts blind faith in an unreal, supernatural power controlling events.

Kinsey had a long career as a scientist, studying gall-forming wasps, before he got into human sex research. In 1926 a basic text he wrote for high school classes, *An Introduction to Biology*, was published. The book stated as scientific fact Darwin's principles of evolution and natural selection. But at that time, anti-evolution frenzy was sweeping the country—especially in Tennessee (scene of the Scopes "Monkey Trial" the year before), Arkansas and North Carolina. In Mississippi the teaching of evolution was banned from all schools, while populist William Jennings Bryan and his followers managed to get anti-evolution legislation introduced in 14 more states. Kinsey and his editors thus had to change the word "evolution" in his book to "changes with time."

What Kinsey thought would be his life's work, the study of the tiny, winged yet flightless gall wasp, occupied almost 20 years. Known as "get a million" Kinsey for his relentless pursuit of specimens, Kinsey eventually managed to collect over five million individual gall wasps. And the most important thing about them, he told his students, was that each one was different. Why is this so important?

The late biologist and essayist Stephen Jay Gould, in "Of Wasps and WASPs," gives two related reasons. First, Kinsey's work was based on the principle that variation itself is the fundamental reality of nature. The key principle here, as Gould puts it, is that "species...have *no immutable essence*" [emphasis added]. That is, there is no "norm," no abstract baseline for what is the "right" or "ideal" form of a species. Thus to understand a given



Boston, 2004: Christian fundamentalist bigots demonstrate against rally in support of right to gay marriage.

We lose criteria for judgment by comparison to some ideal: short people, retarded people, people of other beliefs, colors, and religions are people of full status." To put it another way, to hate and fear change and variation is a hallmark of reaction and religious superstition.

The Kinsey Reports: Facts vs. Morality

"[It] is a fact-finding survey in which an attempt is being made to discover what people do sexually...."

—Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey, *Introduction to Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*

"[Kinsey's results] reveal a prevailing degradation in American morality approximating the worst decadence of the Roman empire. The most disturbing thing is the absence of a spontaneous, ethical revulsion from the premises of the study."

—Dr. Henry Van Dusen, president, Union Theological Seminary

In 1948, following World War II, the first "Kinsey report" on males, applying the basic principles of science to study of the human animal, produced an uproar. Of course, accurate sex histories depend on the reliability of the interviewees, as Kinsey was aware, thus his meticulous

of day or night, hundreds of men would be packed six-deep around the long oval black bar."

A valuable book by Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (Free Press, 1990), describes the impact military life had on previously isolated gay and lesbian youth, who found one another in conditions of both intense stress and license. This "anything goes" context explains some of the strange frenzy of the later McCarthyite crackdown on homosexuals as well as Communists. There really were, as it turned out, thousands of homosexuals in the State Department, and the rest of the government, and the rest of society, and *everywhere*, for that matter (unfortunately not the case with Communists). And there was Kinsey with his massive scientific book to *prove* it. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover actually tried to get Kinsey to testify on behalf of the government's witchhunts of gays; horrified, the scientist quite properly refused. (The term "gay" or "homosexual" is used here for convenience; Kinsey felt humans exhibited such a range of sexual behavior that to force all same-sex encounters into such a rigid category was inaccurate.)

Obviously it's impossible to summarize some 1,600 pages of his published research. This review can only touch on a few highlights, those that most cut across the grain of prevalent morality, then and, sadly, today. Kinsey's overall finding that humans are not inherently very monogamous, that is, "faithful," was probably less of a shock than spokesmen for "respectable society" claimed (a casual survey of blues or country & western lyrics leads inexorably to the same conclusion). What was shocking was that a "high culture" intellectual, a Harvard-trained scientist, should count promiscuous behavior, or "sleeping around," as a legitimate expression of sexuality just as worthy of consideration as married sex, and that the history of a poor, working-class homosexual should be just as valuable as that of a wealthy, upper-class academic in terms of understanding human sexuality.

If for males, the prevalence of "gay sex" was the big shocker, the 1953 volume on women was most shocking in its assertion that women *are* sexual beings, and show quite a bit of independence and determination in finding satisfaction, too. As noted before, the 1953 survey showed that half of women had sex before marriage, one-quarter had committed adultery and 62 percent of married women masturbated. Here Kinsey comes up against that icon of the 20th century, the psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, for whom he didn't have much use—although it is undeniable that Freud's work helped shatter Victorian strictures by making sex a legitimate topic of study, at least among intellectuals, thus making Kinsey's own work easier (so did Richard von Krafft-Ebing's 19th-century studies of "deviant" sex and Magnus Hirschfeld's pioneering sex questionnaires based on large samples). In Kinsey's view, not only were Freud's theories built on unreliable, min-

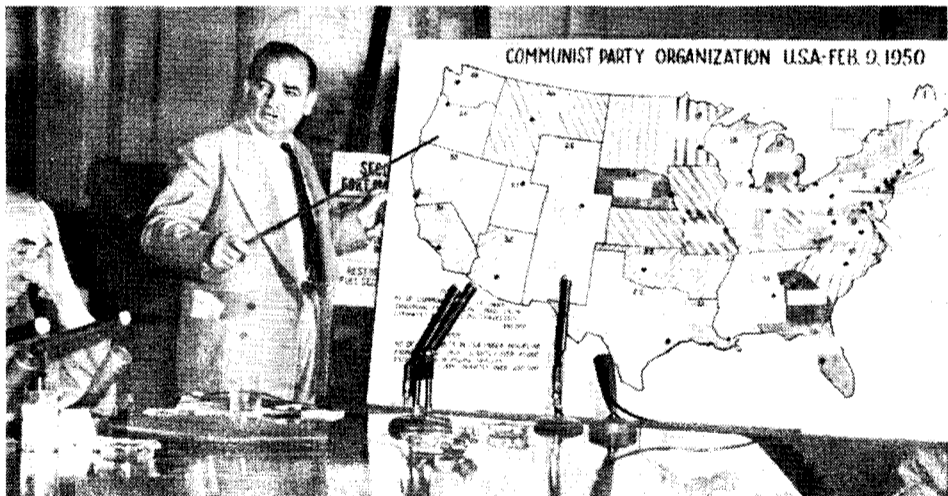
imal field data (anathema to such a relentless collector), but masturbation and homosexuality, being neither rare nor abnormal, could not possibly be evidence of neurosis. Most significantly for women, Kinsey vehemently disagreed with, and disproved, the then popular Freudian and male-chauvinist theory of "the vaginal orgasm," to which healthy, mature women were supposed to aspire. As Kinsey proved through clinical studies, the vagina has practically no nerve endings to stimulate. The clitoris, as most women know, is the center of orgasmic reaction (which is why clitoridectomy, cutting it off, is such a barbaric crime, as we wrote in "The Crime of Female Genital Mutilation," *Women and Revolution* No. 41, Summer/Autumn 1992).

Kinsey's biographer Gathorne-Hardy relates:

"He had heard in 1949...of a little township in deep Kansas where all the women were reputed to have orgasms easily, routinely and always in ordinary intercourse. This was not usual. Kinsey drove down and found that they had developed a way of soothing their little girls, a rubbing and petting technique of the genital area which did soothe them but also brought them to orgasm, a learnt reaction they thereafter retained."

This raises the extremely tricky question of childhood sexuality. The movie portrayed a Kinsey interviewer recoiling in open disgust (something they were rigorously trained not to do) and Kinsey himself giving a stern little lecture on consensuality to a male subject who admitted to sex with children. As the Kinsey biography points out, however, "At its most basic Kinsey saw sex as simply a matter of physiological reactions and sensations which were fundamentally pleasant.... Theoretically, therefore, as far as Kinsey was concerned, there was nothing automatically wrong with child-adult sex." Nor is there; the problem with such encounters is the inherently unequal power relationship and determining what is really *effective consent*. This for us is the determining factor, not artificial and repressive laws.

Another question, not really touched on in the movie, is why weren't results



Senator Joseph McCarthy spins tales of "Communist conspiracy" at 1954 hearing.

population, variations within it *must* be studied, and the larger the sample the better. Obviously this relates directly to Kinsey's sex research.

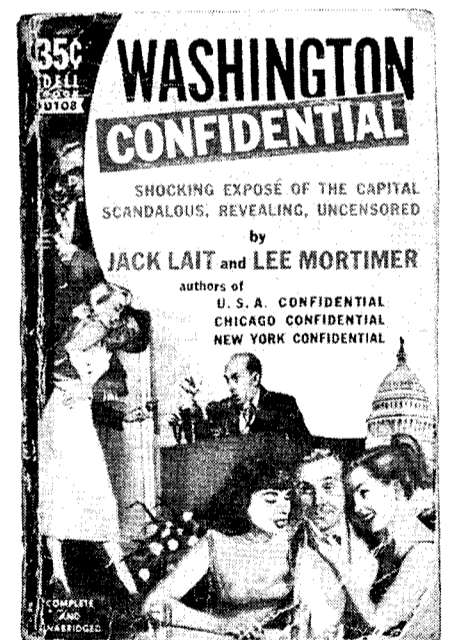
The second important aspect of seeing variation as the raw material of evolution is in its social impact. Like many great ideas and innovations, evolutionary principles arose in conflict with older ways of thinking. Evolution directly counterposes itself both to the rigid, authoritarian, unchanging precepts of religion and to what is ultimately merely religion's secular guise, the philosophy of "idealism." Living things—wasps, flowers, people—do not have an "immutable essence," or "ideal form" around which variations cluster. In real life, each one is individual, and that individuality itself is one of their most valuable aspects. Kinsey's ability to extend this approach to human beings, and to their sexual behavior, enabled him to extract, with great sensitivity and patience, amazingly frank sexual histories from people of all social classes and backgrounds.

There are broader social implications, as Gould notes: "Antisocialist thinking forces us to view the world differently...."

research techniques. The war, as all major conflicts do, had already brought out some rather dramatic changes in human behavior. Here the swashbuckling young "literary lion" Gore Vidal enters the scene, both as subject of a Kinsey history and guide to the very gay (albeit publicly unacknowledged) world of New York City at the time. He reminisced in his memoir *Palimpsest* about the era in which he met Kinsey:

"I also discovered, that magical winter [1945-46], the Everard Baths, where military men often spent the night, unable to find any other cheap place to stay. This was sex at its rawest and most exciting, and a revelation to me. Newly invented penicillin had removed fears of venereal disease, and we were enjoying perhaps the freest sexuality that Americans would ever know. Most of the boys knew that they would soon be home for good, and married, and that this was a last chance to do what they were designed to do with each other."

Kinsey, who himself enjoyed same-sex encounters, spent a fair amount of time in the Everard Baths, and did research at Gore Vidal's fondly remembered Astor Bar, where, as Vidal wrote, "At any time



Scandal-mongering 1951 publication popularized moralistic crackdown on "anything goes" post-World War II climate.

from black people included in the studies? It was not because of racism on Kinsey's part. In fact, he made intensive efforts to seek out black men and women for his surveys, though he apparently felt his sample was inadequate. Stephen Jay Gould noted that: "True to his convictions about the fundamental character of variability, Kinsey knew that he did not have enough data to reach conclusions about black Americans or to extrapolate to other nations and cultures."

Anti-Sex Reaction Then and Now: "Why kNOW?"

"Why kNOW?" is the grotesque name, highlighting the word "NO" in "know," for an "abstinence only" group seeking to expunge real sex education from the public schools today. This can only lead

continued on page 11

Young Spartacus

Anarchist Idol Nestor Makhno and Peasant Counterrevolution

Letter

19 August 2004

Dear Workers Vanguard,

The leaflet protesting an anarchist attempt to exclude Spartacists from a radical event at the Democratic National Convention, reprinted in the August 6, 2004 issue of *Workers Vanguard*, contains a historical inaccuracy.

It refers to the "counterrevolutionary exploits of Makhno and others who sided with the imperialist-allied White Guards against the Soviet workers state."

Petrichenko, the leader of the semi-anarchist 1921 mutiny of the Kronstadt sailors, did indeed have connections with White Guards and foreign imperialists, as is documented in anarchist historian Paul Avrich's book, "Kronstadt 1921."

Nestor Makhno certainly perpetrated numerous counter-revolutionary exploits. His secret police tortured and murdered many communists. His Ukrainian peasant followers committed frequent pogroms against Jewish petty shopkeepers and merchants. But his guerilla bands did side with Soviet forces against the landlord-backed White Guards.

Trotsky describes in his "Military Writings" how Makhno's mutiny in the spring of 1919, which reflected Ukrainian peasant antagonism to the overwhelmingly Russian and Jewish working class of the Ukrainian cities, played a major role in the collapse of the Southern front, and led to White Guard commander Denikin's seizure of the Ukraine that summer. But Makhno never sided with Denikin. To the contrary. The Makhnovite insurgency played a major role in the collapse of White rule in the Ukraine that fall. And when Denikin's successor, White Guard commander Wrangel, invaded the Ukraine in 1920, a Bolshevik-Makhnovite alliance was reconstituted, which lasted until Wrangel was driven out.

Makhno did attempt to ally with other anti-Bolshevik forces in the Ukraine. Notably, there was Makhno's attempt to ally with the forces of fellow former Red Army commander Grigorev. Grigorev had the worst record of murder, rape, torture and other atrocities committed against Jews of all the peasant bandit leaders ravaging the Ukrainian countryside during the Russian Civil War.

This alliance ended badly for Grigorev. Makhno murdered him, and Grigorev's peasant followers joined Makhno's rebel army—but continued to commit pogroms.

Makhno himself was not personally anti-Semitic, indeed there were Jews in his "collective." In a sense, it could be said that Makhno was simply following anarchist principle. If his secret policemen were torturing prisoners, and if his peasant followers were committing pogroms, what right did Makhno, as just one member of the "collective," have to object?

Fraternally,
John H.



University of Washington

Nestor Makhno (center) with his peasant army.

YSp Replies: While it is true that there was no formal military alliance or documented connection between Makhno and the White armies in the Ukraine, these facts do not change the substance of the de facto bloc in action between the two. The formulation on Makhno in the Boston Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club leaflet is a part of a polemic against the "anti-authoritarian" Bl(A)ck Tea Society (BTS), for whom "democracy" is a cudgel to wield against communists:

"The BTS follows in the worst of the anarchist tradition, from Prince Kropotkin who preferred the hapless bourgeois politician Kerensky to the Bolsheviks, to the counterrevolutionary exploits of Makhno and others who sided with the imperialist-allied White Guards against the Soviet workers state. At bottom, there isn't much to distinguish the BTS from social democrats and liberals who have and will resort to any means to smear communists as 'authoritarian,' denouncing the 'extremism' of right and left, giving oh-so-'democratic' aid and comfort to the forces of bourgeois repression."

This formulation does not pretend to characterize the nature, extent or evolution of Makhno's relationship with the White forces or the Red Army. We have previously addressed at some length the history of the Makhnoite movement when replying to an anarchist recycling numerous lies and distortions in its defense (see "An Exchange on Nestor Makhno: Peasant 'Anarchism,' Pogroms and the Russian Revolution," *WV* No. 656, 22 November 1996).

Especially since the late 1930s—when Trotsky devastatingly exposed the treachery of the Spanish anarchists, who joined in a capitalist government which suppressed workers revolution—anarchists have raised a hue and cry about the fate of the Makhnoite movement (and the Kronstadt mutiny). Today, a popular Anarchist FAQ (3 October 2004) purports to show among other things why the Makhnoite movement was an "alternative" to Bolshevism.

In the section of the FAQ titled "Did the Makhnovists support the Whites?", the authors quote from one of Leon Trotsky's writings on Makhno: "Undoubtedly Makhno actually cooperated with Wrangel, and also with the Polish

szlachta, as he fought with them against the Red Army." This translation from the Russian text, taken from Michael Palij's book on the Makhnoite movement, makes it appear that Trotsky—the head of the Red Army—had claimed that Makhno fought *directly together* with Wrangel and the Polish gentry. In this same piece, Trotsky disavows all rumors of a formal alliance between Makhno and Wrangel. By so rendering Trotsky, the anarchists paint him as purposefully deceitful or woefully ignorant about the relationship between Makhno and the White generals and they dodge the substance of Trotsky's polemic against Makhno. Here is what Trotsky actually wrote: "Without a doubt, Makhno provided de facto aid to Wrangel, as well as to the Polish gentry, since he fought at the same time as they did against the Red Army" (translated from "Makhno and Wrangel," 14 October 1920, *Kak vooruzhalas' revolyutsiya* [*How the Revolution Armed*], Vol. 2, Book 2 [1924]).

What was posed in Russia during the Civil War was whether the fledgling workers state would survive or succumb to the organized might of the bosses and landlords. To claim Makhno did not *in effect* side with the imperialist-allied White Guards against the Soviet workers state for extended periods of time because there was no formal alliance is to accept the alibi for Makhno's counterrevolutionary exploits. The Makhnoite movement showed on the battlefield how there is no "third camp" between the army of the workers state and the military organization of the bourgeoisie.

John H. lists a number of those counterrevolutionary exploits committed by the Makhnoites. The authors of the Anarchist FAQ charge the Bolsheviks with having "engineered" Makhno's outlawing and expulsion from the Red Army. But even when he was a commander in the Red Army, Makhno sabotaged defense of the social revolution, from commandeering supply trains to refusing to collect surplus grain for the Soviet government, while engaging in an anti-Bolshevik ideological campaign. This campaign directed at the Bolsheviks, the lone group in the revolutionary crisis of 1917 to fight for a

regime based on soviet power and spearheading its defense, could only serve White Guardism. For example, in May 1919, while still allied with the Red Army, Makhno adopted a neutral position toward Grigorev who was calling for an alliance of all anti-Bolshevik forces, including the White armies.

In writing about the Makhnoite movement, Trotsky recognized that the conflict between the Red Army and Makhno was not one primarily between the ideas of Marxism versus anarchism but rather involved defense of the Soviet workers state against peasant-centered counter-revolution. Many anarchists, e.g., Bill Shatov, a veteran of the American Industrial Workers of the World, actively collaborated with and supported the Bolshevik forces throughout the Civil War. Trotsky later recounted how in 1918 he and Lenin had thought of recognizing an autonomous region for the anarchist peasants of the Ukraine. But this idea was scrapped *partially because Makhno's* Insurgent Army showed its true loyalties in battle.

In the first instance, these loyalties were dictated not by ideological but by class conflicts. German and Austrian occupation delayed the development of the Russian Revolution in the Ukraine so that the drawing together of the working people and poor peasants against the exploiters and kulaks was incomplete. Makhno's army was drawn from all layers of the peasantry. The fundamental desire of the peasants was not



Basil Blackwell, Inc.

Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky organized the Red Army to defend Soviet workers state.

the creation of an anarchist utopia but to possess the land and then to be left alone by gentry, officials, tax collectors, recruiting sergeants and all external agents of authority. The wealthier kulaks in particular did not want the landlords to return but feared above all the rule of the working class and poor peasants.

The anti-state prejudices of the Makhnoite leadership, shared by its peasant base, led them into the camp of ene-

Antiwar Movement...

(continued from page 12)

platform for bourgeois liberals, the reformist protest organizers helped them do this.

The Democratic Party's purpose is to administer imperialist rule in the interests of the capitalist ruling class of this country. It is precisely because the Democratic Party is widely perceived as the party of working people that it has historically been the *preferred* party of war for the imperialists. The last century was filled with war crimes carried out by Democratic administrations: the incineration of Japanese civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the monstrous carpet bombing of Vietnam in the 1960s; and the genocidal UN sanctions that killed one and a half million Iraqis under the Clinton administration. By appealing to "progressive, antiwar" Democrats, the liberal misleaders of the antiwar movement obscure the fact that this party is simply the *other* capitalist party of war and racism.

In building for the January 20 counter-inaugural demos, the misleaders are pursuing the same losing program of limiting the protest demands to what is acceptable to pro-capitalist liberals. So, while groups like Workers World and the ISO may hail the Iraqi resistance against the U.S. occupiers in the pages of their press, the main demand for January 20 is "Bring the troops home now," which is an accommodation to the social-patriotic "support our troops" wing of the antiwar movement. The slogan is designed to appeal to those whose opposition to the occupation is driven solely by concern over the deaths of American soldiers rather than out of any concern for the peoples of Iraq or opposition to the crimes of U.S. imperialism. A 9 December 2004 *Workers World* front-page headline made this appeal fairly clear. Running shortly after the massive American assault on Falluja, *Workers World* prominently emphasized in its front-page headline complex, "U.S. Troops Under Greater Attack," adding afterward: "Only Answer Is, Bring Them Home Now!"

We do not groove on the deaths of American soldiers. They are also being sacrificed to U.S. imperialist militarism. However, U.S. troops are the imperialist armed forces, the instrument of American conquest and enforcers of occupation. As revolutionary Marxists, we have a side in Iraq: against the U.S., its allies and Iraqi lackeys and for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops. Youth and workers should mobilize in protest on the basis of defense of the peoples of Iraq against any U.S.-led attack and repression and for the military

defense of forces on the ground in Iraq when they aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers. As we have stated many times previously, every blow struck against the imperialist occupiers is a blow struck against the enemy of workers and the oppressed all over the world.

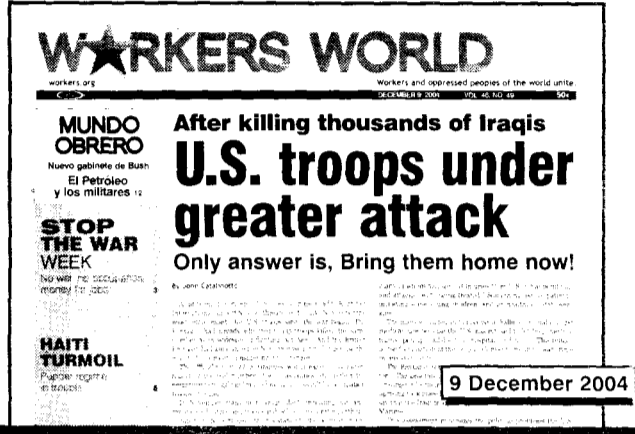
At the same time, we recognize that, in the absence of working-class struggle in Iraq and internationally against the occupation, the victory of any of the reactionary Shi'ite or Sunni forces who apparently compose the "resistance" today is more likely to come about through an alliance with U.S. imperialism than by their fighting against it. We oppose the deadly communal violence against other ethnic, religious and national populations which is often carried out by the *very same forces* fighting the occupation armies: we make it clear that a revolution-

internationally. Our banners—"Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party to Fight for Socialist Revolution!" and "Defend Iraq Against U.S. Imperialist Attack! For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers!"—expressed the revolutionary program of a small, fighting propaganda group whose goal is to build the party that can lead the working class and oppressed in battle against the capitalists.

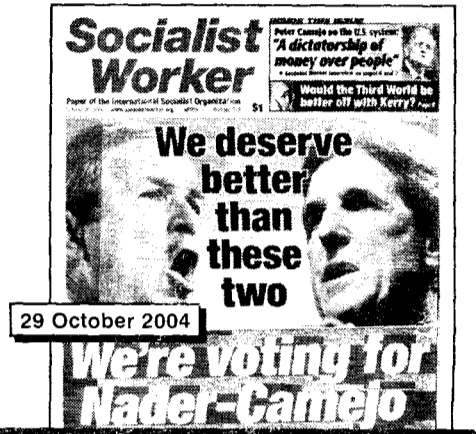
We met a lot of youth in the course of the antiwar movement who responded with enthusiasm to the idea of a workers party that mobilizes against the capitalist ruling class. Many of them claimed they had no illusions in the Democratic Party as a "lesser evil" and that they were desperate to find an alternative to it. But seeing little prospect for the kind of class-struggle fight we described, these same

whose "opposition" to the war in Iraq was and is paper-thin. Nader's "three-step process" for removing U.S. troops has as its first point: "Under the auspices of the United Nations an international peace keeping force, from neutral nations with such experience and from Islamic countries, should be assembled immediately to replace all US troops and civilian military contractors doing many jobs the Army used to do more efficiently" (19 April 2004 posting on votenader.org).

So Nader's for a war against Iraq that's carried out more efficiently with fewer American casualties, by the UN! The UN starvation blockade killed more Iraqis, by orders of magnitude, than has the war and occupation carried out under Bush. The UN is a cabal of the imperialist powers and their victims, which operates as a fig leaf for its most powerful member, the



Left: *Workers World* panders to social-patriotic "support our troops" sentiment. Right: ISO promotes capitalist politician Nader, phony "alternative" to Democrats.



ary party in Iraq today would mobilize against the U.S. occupation first and foremost, but also against the reimposition of anti-woman Islamic *sharia* laws, against communalist, sectarian attacks. Such a party would mobilize the workers movement and unemployed in strikes and demonstrations against the occupiers, the parasitic clerics and nationalist demagogues. This perspective is far removed from that of *Workers World* and the ISO, which combine pandering to the Democrats at home with uncritical, vicarious cheerleading for the "resistance" in Iraq.

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

We Spartacists waged a relentless political battle during the early antiwar movement, as we do today, against the reformist misleaders whose program of appealing to the Democrats can only result in the disorientation and demoralization of those youth and others who genuinely wanted to find a way to end imperialist war. We organized revolutionary contingents at the 2003 antiwar protests with the aim of winning antiwar youth to the understanding that they must break with the capitalist Democratic Party of war and racism and take the side of the working people and oppressed

youth often reluctantly concluded that there was no "realistic" alternative but to vote for the Democrats to get rid of Bush. The ostensibly "socialist" organizers of the antiwar movement—whose stated opposition to the Democrats is at variance with their *practice* of tailoring antiwar protest to be acceptable to them—bear responsibility for this. Having rejected a class-struggle fight against the twin parties of capitalism, they led these youth to the conclusion that there was nothing to be done other than to vote Democrat.

Now the ISO piously sighs: "It can be argued without much difficulty that Kerry's campaign, in fact, *strengthened* support for the 'war on terror' and damaged arguments for immediate withdrawal from Iraq. This was only magnified by the fact that the antiwar movement had no independent public voice with which it could put forward actual antiwar arguments" [emphasis in original].

But what "independent public voice" did the ISO look to for "actual antiwar arguments"? Not independent working-class struggle, which would require a break with the Democratic Party. Having shamelessly pandered to "Anybody but Bush" sentiment, the ISO then threw all of its energies into supporting Ralph Nader for president, another *capitalist* politician

U.S. And what "Islamic countries" should suppress the Iraqi peoples, including the Kurds? Turkey, maybe? How about the Iranian theocratic state, or the Saudi monarchy?

Nader's "opposition" to the Democrats is also empty. Two days after the elections, on November 4, he issued the following press release: "During the campaign Nader/Camejo went so far as to send staff members to Kerry's headquarters carrying ten silver platters each with a method of how to beat George W. Bush.... Nader's pleas fell on deaf ears" (posted on votenader.org). So much for the ISO's "alternative to the twin parties of war" (*Socialist Worker*, 20 August 2004).

The ISO's Kolodner makes a revealing indictment in "Rebuilding the Antiwar Movement" that particularly deserves comment. In lamenting the fact that political life in the U.S. is dominated by two conservative, pro-war capitalist parties, she comments: "The silence of the movements—against the war, for gay marriage, against attacks on Arabs and Muslims—contributed to an extremely narrow, conservative political framework defined primarily by two pro-war, pro-PATRIOT Act, anti-gay marriage politicians, which

continued on page 8

mies of the Soviet state power. But this anti-authoritarian "principle" was one of the few that the Makhnoites respected when confronted by the practical realities of the Civil War. Achieving military success meant forced conscription, summary executions and recruiting anti-Semitic pogromists into their ranks; hostility toward the Bolsheviks meant establishing an alternative government hostile to the central Soviet workers state. As anarchist historian Paul Avrich wrote in his sympathetic account of Makhno (*Anarchist Portraits* [1988]):

"The Second [Makhnoite Regional] Congress, meeting on February 12, 1919, voted in favor of 'voluntary mobilization,' which in reality meant outright conscription, as all able-bodied men were required to serve when called up. The delegates also elected a Regional Military Revolutionary Council of Peasants, Workers, and Insurgents to carry out the decisions of the periodic congresses. The new councils encouraged the election of 'free' soviets in the towns and villages—that is, soviets from which members of political parties were excluded. Although Makhno's

aim in setting up these bodies was to do away with political authority, the Military Revolutionary Council, acting in conjunction with the Regional Congresses and the local soviets, in effect formed a loose-knit government in the territory surrounding Gulyai-Polye.

"Like the Military Revolutionary Council, the Insurgent Army of the Ukraine, as the Makhnoist forces were called, was in theory subject to the supervision of the Regional Congresses. In practice, however, the reins of authority rested with Makhno and his staff. Despite his efforts to avoid anything that smacked of regimentation, Makhno appointed his key officers (the rest were elected by the men themselves) and subjected his troops to the stern military discipline traditional among the Cossack legions of the nearby Zaporozhian region."

Since the majority of anarchists in Russia and the Ukraine at the time were generally familiar with the class character and practices of the Makhnoite forces, they did *not* support the Makhnoites. For this, Voline and Arshinov, the two leading anarchist intellectuals who joined with Makhno, both strongly condemned the anarchist major-

ity. Today, however, almost every anarchist in the world has embraced the Makhnoites as their own. We pointed to this contradiction in concluding our 1996 exchange: "Why is that? Because in their

hostility to Leninism, they have bought into the anti-Communist prejudices which pervade the bourgeois society in which they live and which have shaped their political consciousness." ■

A Spartacist Pamphlet

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"War on Terror"...

(continued from page 1)

the government's "terrorist" designation against them is wrong!

Giving Legal Sanction to State Terror

To see how these laws can be used for political witchhunts—i.e., against anyone protesting government policies—just look at the massive police mobilizations in the name of "fighting terrorism" that met the protesters at the Republican and Democratic National Conventions last summer. The "terrorist" scare campaign leading up to the conventions, promoted by the media, from the right-wing *New York Post* to the more "respectable" *New York Times*, had nothing to do with Al Qaeda. Rather, it had to do with antiwar protesters, from anarchists to cyclists to liberal demonstrators, like those in the War Resisters League, who simply wanted to engage in nonviolent civil disobedience. That the government was treating acts of "disorderly conduct" as acts of "terrorism" underlines that the real intent of the measures and acts instituted following the September 11 attacks had nothing to do with "terrorism" and everything to do with increasing the power of the American capitalist state to repress and stamp out expressions of political dissent.

The "material support" charge also enables the government to financially destroy organizations they don't like. On December 8, a Chicago federal court ordered three U.S.-based Islamic charities to pay \$156 million to the parents of an American-born Zionist settler who was shot and killed in the West Bank in 1996. The basis for this award was the theory that the charities had allegedly made donations to the fundamentalists of Hamas, and Hamas in turn was behind the settler's shooting. The charities refused to defend themselves at the trial, protesting the judge's refusal to grant them more time to prepare their case. "What



WV Photo

9 February 2002: Oakland labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrant rights initiated by Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League.

we are witnessing is a modern day lynching and a mockery of justice," said Yaser Tabbara of the Council on American Islamic Relations (www.NBC5.com, 6 December 2004).

Leftist attorney Lynne Stewart is being prosecuted by the U.S. government on charges of providing "material support to terrorism" for providing legal defense to her client, a blind Islamic cleric jailed for life on charges stemming from the 1994 World Trade Center bombing. The Stewart trial threatens pointblank the right of an attorney to defend anyone with unpopular views without themselves being charged with a crime. And if an attorney can't do that, then nobody is assured the right to vigorous legal defense in this country.

We in the Spartacist League have fought every attempt by the capitalist government to brand Marxists as "terrorists." In 1983, we filed a lawsuit against the FBI's Domestic Security/Terrorism guidelines, which equated left-wing political activity with terrorism and organized crime. In announcing our court suit, we

wrote (WV No. 340, 21 October 1983): "We are compelled to undertake this legal battle, not only to defend ourselves against the new FBI red-hunt but also to fight to preserve the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement. We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night." As a result of our lawsuit, the government conceded the central aim of our legal challenge—that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or criminal terrorism. This was a modest but genuine blow to the government's new efforts to criminalize leftist political dissent. But as we wrote at the time (WV No. 368, 7 December 1984):

"We have no illusions that the government's secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration and disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government. We do know that the secret police have not changed since Karl Marx was harassed by secret agents of Prussia, that as long as the capitalists hold state power, their police agents will continue their dirty work

against any real or perceived challenges to their class rule."

Government spying, secret political files, torture and assassinations are hardly aberrations, but have always been part of American "justice." We will never forget Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, two young Black Panther Party leaders gunned down in their beds in a hail of bullets fired by the FBI in 1969. We will not forget Abner Louima, the Haitian immigrant beaten and sodomized with a broomstick by New York cops at a police station in 1997. We continue to fight for freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, former Black Panther and MOVE supporter, framed up, effectively as a "terrorist," for his eloquent writings and radio broadcasts on behalf of the oppressed.

But in the past these grim methods of policing the population were carried out in back alleyways and basements. Now, under the guise of its "war on terror," the government is turning what once were dirty secrets into *officially sanctioned public policy*. There is growing popular opposition to the USA-Patriot Act, as evidenced by over 360 state and local government resolutions calling for its repeal. A key goal of the White House in the coming year is to renew the parts of the Patriot Act that are set to expire in December, including the notorious provision allowing the government to inspect what books you've been checking out at the library. Even more ominously, the administration is still pushing to enact the sinister "Patriot II act," secretly drafted by the Justice Department in early 2003, which would empower the government to accuse a U.S. citizen of giving "material support" to "terrorism" and then strip the defendant of citizenship.

U.S. Torture, Inc. and the Bush Legal Posse

Even as Bush was signing the new intelligence Act, the government faced new, detailed revelations of torture at the U.S. detention centers in Iraq and Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. As the result of

Antiwar Movement...

(continued from page 7)

then had an impact on popular consciousness. For the antiwar movement, in particular, we must take stock of how our virtual silence contributed to this right-wing political atmosphere." It is hard to deny that political life has become increasingly "right wing" in this country. This is largely due to the low level of class struggle, particularly over the past couple of decades—which is facilitated by the reformist program of reliance on the Democratic Party, either directly or through the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy.

But there's another aspect to it. Consciousness, not only in this country but internationally, has been greatly thrown back over approximately the past 15 years, so that today it is less commonly recognized that the working class even *has* interests counterposed to those of the capitalist ruling class, much less that it *must*

fight for these interests against the capitalists. This throwback in consciousness did not arise spontaneously. It was the result of a world-historic defeat of the working class: the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92.

Just as war provides a litmus test for

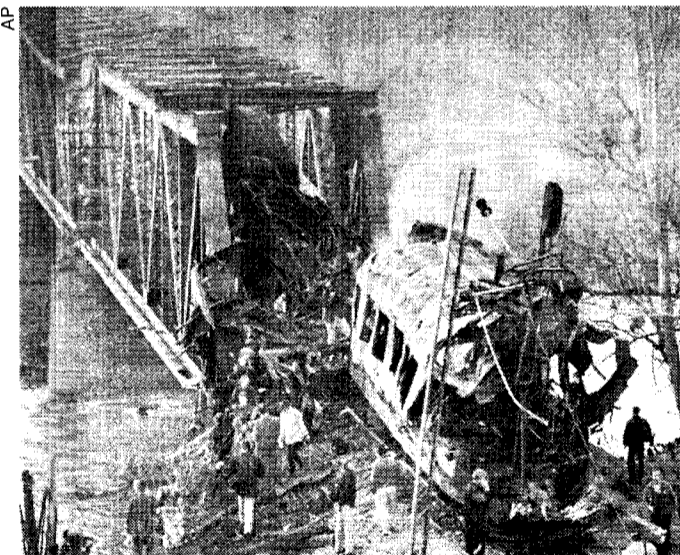
ostensible revolutionaries to show on which side they stand, so does revolution and counterrevolution. The capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union provided one of the decisive tests of the last century. We Spartacists remained until the end on the side of the Soviet working class in opposing counterrevolution—as we do today in defending the remaining workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. We understood that, despite over 60 years of Stalinist degeneration and misrule in the Soviet Union, there were still gains to be defended in the world's first workers state and that the restoration of capitalism would be a catastrophe. The ISO throughout its existence claimed that there was nothing to defend in Soviet Russia and in 1991 they, along with myriad other "socialist" organizations, took the side of U.S. imperialism in hailing Yeltsin's victory. Their then-mother group in Britain enthused: "Communism has collapsed... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991).

In fact, the collapse of the Soviet

Union was a tremendous victory for U.S. imperialism that fundamentally reshaped the globe. It established U.S. hegemony in a "one-superpower world," ushering in the period of intensified, devastating imperialist war in which we now live, and setting the basis for the current war and occupation of Iraq. In their small way, anti-Soviet "socialist" groups like the ISO share responsibility for a world where the U.S. imperialists feel like they can ride roughshod over everybody else.

In the final analysis, an organization must be judged less on the basis of what it says than on what it does. Like the medieval Christian who warded off the dreaded spirits of the night by brandishing his cross, so members of the ISO, Workers World/ANSWER and the RCP/NION can always pull out an obligatory statement against the Democratic Party, taken from a variety of articles, leaflets or statements of program, to ward off Spartacists who object that their party capitulates to the Democrats. Sometimes the statement even sounds genuine. But these groups have been put to the test, most recently as U.S. imperialism launched bloody war against the peoples of Iraq. Throughout the antiwar demonstrations of the past two years, we intervened to counterpose our revolutionary program to that of the reformist organizers. At issue is which class, in this class-divided society, one looks to in order to end war, racism and poverty. The reformist organizers of the antiwar movement did everything in their power to help capitalist politicians spread the lie that the capitalist system can do otherwise than breed imperialist war: we Spartacists took the side of working people and the oppressed in Iraq and throughout the world to combat the rapacious capitalist class. Help build the revolutionary workers party needed to end this system of imperialist war and misery and build a socialist society—join us! ■

Passenger train destroyed during 1999 U.S./NATO bombing war against Serbia, led by Democratic Clinton administration.



AP

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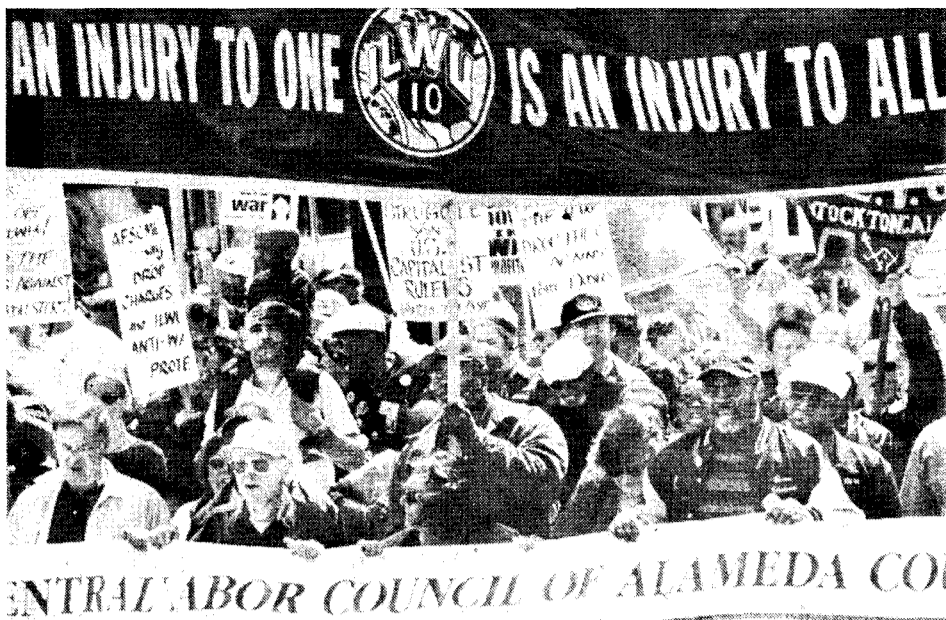
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a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit filed by the ACLU, the Center for Constitutional Rights and other civil liberties groups, in early December the government was forced to produce thousands of pages of documents graphically detailing horrific abuse that has continued even after the Abu Ghraib torture scandal broke last spring. Many of the new materials are e-mails from FBI agents who visited the detention camps. You know the government is up to something grotesquely cruel when even its own FBI agents are nauseated by what they see!

Their e-mails chronicle abuse including vicious beatings, choking and burning prisoners with lit cigarettes. They describe chilling scenes of detainees "chained hand and foot in a fetal position to the floor, with no chair, food, or water. Most times they had urinated or defecated on themselves and had been left there for 18, 24 hours or more." Rooms were supercooled or overheated, leaving one detainee "literally pulling his own hair out throughout the night." In a separate bombshell, a National Guard intelligence sergeant revealed how, when he tried to report the beating of prisoners near Baghdad in 2003, the Army brass responded by telling him that he must be "delusional" and then sent him for mental health review, where he was strapped to a gurney and flown out of Iraq!

The capitalist media—which broadcast every lie by the U.S. government linking Saddam Hussein with Al Qaeda and the September 11 attacks, as well as fabricating stories about Iraq's "weapons of mass destruction" to rev the population up for war—is "shocked" by the torture scandals from U.S. military hellholes at Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. The photographs and reports



Kim/Oakland Tribune

Labor contingent in Oakland march protesting police attack on antiwar demonstration at Port of Oakland on 7 April 2003, where cops fired wooden bullets and concussion grenades. Right: Wounded protester.



Jakob Schiller

by federal judge James Robertson, who rejected the White House position that the Geneva Conventions do not apply at Guantánamo and went on to rule that the proposed military tribunals are illegal because the defendant could be banned from the hearing during testimony by confidential informants. This ruling (which the government is appealing) is not the first setback for the Guantánamo system. Last June, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the 550 Guantánamo detainees can file federal *habeas corpus* suits to challenge their detention. Declaring that "a state of war is not a blank check for the president," the Supreme Court also ruled that Yasser Esam Hamdi, an American citizen taken into custody in Afghanistan in 2001, could not be held indefinitely as an "enemy combatant" without notice of the

'war against obesity' or a 'war against immorality.' Like the 'war against communism' and the 'war against drugs,' this 'war' is a pretext to increase the state's police powers and repressive apparatus, constricting the democratic rights of the population. The Executive's declaration that its 'war against terrorism' forfeits constitutional protections for designated individuals echoes the regimes of shahs and colonels and presidents 'for life' from the Near East to Africa to Latin America, to justify the mass imprisonment and unmarked graves of political dissidents. Like them, the Executive is proclaiming the *right to disappear* citizens of its choosing."

Free Jose Padilla and all the detainees— from Guantánamo to Iraq to the U.S.!

Break with the Democrats! For Class Struggle at Home!

The Intelligence Reform Act was supported by virtually every Democrat in Congress, including liberals like Wisconsin Senator Russ Feingold (the only Senator who voted against the Patriot Act) and black Democratic representatives Barbara Lee and Jesse Jackson Jr. Only one Democratic Senator (Byrd of West Virginia) and eight Democratic Congressmen voted against the Intelligence bill. This comes as no surprise, given that the Democrats have supported Bush in his "war on terror" at every step, from passing the Patriot Act to the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. While the Democrats may posture as "friends" of labor and black people, they are a capitalist party, no less committed to the maintenance of the capitalist system than the Republicans.

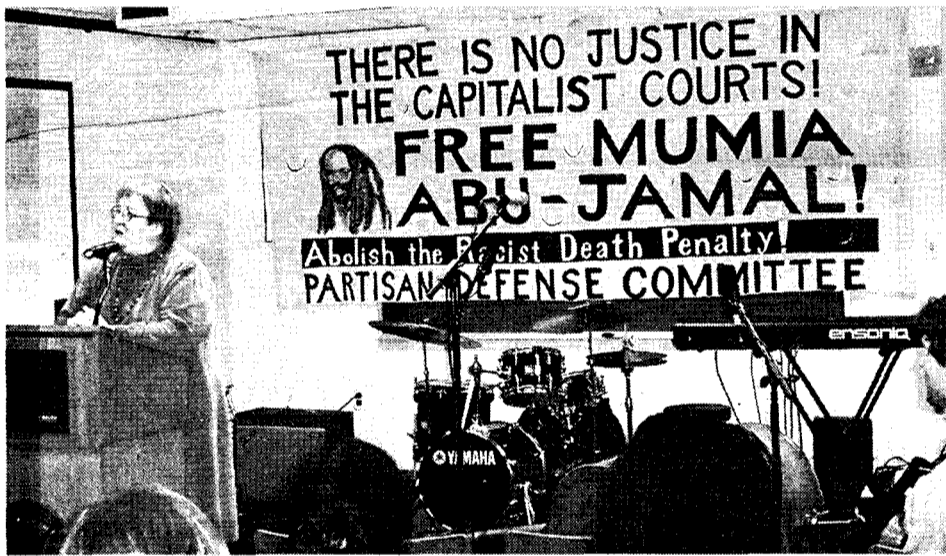
In the end, what the rapacious rulers can get away with will be determined by class struggle. While a number of trade unions have passed fine resolutions against the Patriot Act, those resolutions are just paper tigers unless they become the basis for *labor action* against the anti-immigrant witchhunts and the crack-down on civil liberties. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy threw over \$150 million into the coffers of the pro-capitalist Kerry campaign. If they would spend even a fraction of that money for a campaign to unionize Wal-Mart, or put their muscle into the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, or to bring down the Patriot Act and fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, it would go a long way toward shattering the myth of "national unity" and opening the road for hard class struggle against the attacks on civil liberties and civil rights, against the neocolonial occupation of Iraq, and against two decades of anti-union attacks.

The current trade-union bureaucracy, however, is an obstacle to militant class struggle because it is tied to the capitalist system, most often through its support to the Democratic Party. It is necessary to fight for a class-struggle leadership in the unions, a leadership that can fight not only for immediate, economic demands, but on broader social and political issues.

What broke the back of the McCarthyite witchhunt of the 1950s were the tumultuous struggles for black freedom in the civil rights movement, particularly

when organizations like the Louisiana Deacons for Defense and Justice got fed up with "turn the other cheek" pacifism and began to champion and practice the right of armed self-defense. In the midst of the burgeoning social struggles of the 1960s, there was a brief period of judicial expansion of democratic rights in which the Feds had to put on ice their plans for massive detention of subversives and landmark gains were won for everyone, from criminal defendants to women seeking abortions. The existence of the Soviet Union often provided an obstacle to the U.S. rulers' ambitions abroad *and at home*—because police-state abuse of black civil rights marchers or leftist antiwar activists posed a potential embarrassment to the imperialists' anti-Soviet "human rights" rhetoric.

The repressive instruments that form the core of the capitalist state—the cops, courts, prison system and military—serve and protect a social system based on the exploitation of labor for the profit of the capitalist rulers. No gain for black people, women, labor and the oppressed was ever won by beseeching Democrats for reforms. Every liberty, every conquest for the oppressed was wrested from the capitalist class and its state through powerful social struggle. The working class has the social power and interest to overturn that whole system, fighting at the head of all the oppressed. But to mobilize that power it is necessary to break the chains that bind the proletariat to the capitalists' profit system through the trade-union tops' prostration before the capitalist Democratic Party and their obedience to the bosses' "law and order." What's needed is to forge a revolutionary workers party that will fight to sweep away the war criminals in the White House and Pentagon with all their prison houses and torture chambers, as part of a socialist revolution that would smash the greater prison house which is the capitalist system itself. ■



WV Photo

Embattled leftist attorney Lynne Stewart addresses New York PDC Holiday Appeal, December 2004.

from Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo are indeed sickening and infuriating. But the media's "exposés" largely serve to cover up what is *government policy* by treating the scandals as the acts of a few wayward and low-level soldiers.

After the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, the government started looking for a rationale to justify torture carried out by American troops under direct American orders. In late 2001 and 2002, White House counsel Alberto Gonzales—now nominated to replace John Ashcroft as Attorney General—led a team of lawyers that ticked through a list of possible torture techniques, from mock drowning to mock burial, to give the thumbs up or down on what was acceptable (*Newsweek*, 27 December 2004). Gonzales narrowed down the definition of "torture" so that only techniques "specifically intended" to cause severe pain or permanent damage would be off limits. Abuse which was merely "cruel, inhuman or degrading" was not "torture" under the new Gonzales rules, and was thus sanctioned for use in the detention camps.

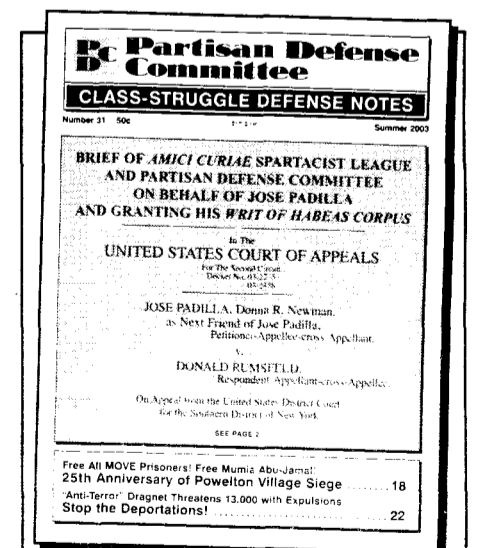
Gonzales and his legal posse also came up with the idea of military tribunals for the detainees—a plan which after three years has yet to result in a single actual trial. On November 8, the whole military tribunal system was thrown into question

reasons for his incarceration or a hearing at which he could rebut the charges. So the Feds revoked Hamdi's citizenship and deported him to Saudi Arabia!

Now, the London *Guardian* (3 January) reports that "the United States is preparing to hold terrorism suspects indefinitely without trial, replacing the Guantánamo Bay prison camp with permanent prisons in the Cuban enclave and elsewhere.... The new prisons are intended for captives the Pentagon and the CIA suspect of terrorist links but do not wish to set free or put on trial for lack of hard evidence."

Jose Padilla, a U.S. citizen detained as an "enemy combatant" since 2002 after his arrest at O'Hare airport, continues to languish in a military brig in Virginia. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee filed a friends of the court brief on behalf of Jose Padilla in the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit and the U.S. Supreme Court. Our brief exposes the government's "war on terror" as a bogus political pretext for U.S. repression at home, which is ultimately aimed at the labor movement. Our brief states:

"The 'war against terrorism' is a fiction, a political construct, not a military reality. It is a political crusade conducted in the name of ridding society of a perceived evil. It is no more a 'war' in a military sense than 'war against cancer,'



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“Working Class Has Power to Defeat American Imperialist System”

The Partisan Defense Committee's 19th Annual Holiday Appeal for class-war prisoners drew hundreds of participants to benefits in six cities in the U.S. and Canada. The December events raised thousands of dollars for the PDC's program of sending monthly stipends and holiday gifts to imprisoned fighters for black freedom, antiwar activists, labor militants and members of the Philadelphia MOVE commune and their families. Generous contributions were received as well for the legal defense of political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a focus of this year's appeal, as part of the battle to free this eloquent and courageous militant from his death row hellhole. We print below the remarks of Spartacist League speaker Mohan Nair who addressed the San Francisco Bay Area event on 5 December 2004. More coverage on the Holiday Appeal will appear in a future WV.

The vast mobilization of “family values,” “born-again” religious types combined with the continued attempts to disenfranchise black voters has ushered in four more years of Bush, as you all know. The elections were marked by the whipping up of terrorism fears, anti-immigrant bigotries and all kinds of religious and sexual backwardness. Bush begins his term with Republican control of Congress and an ominous declaration that he has earned “political capital.” Plain and simple, it is bad news for working people, black people, gays and immigrants. It has been especially brutal for the peoples of Iraq with the murderous campaign in Falluja. One thing is for sure though, a Kerry victory would not have been good news—Kerry promised to continue the Iraq occupation, to increase the American military by 40,000 new recruits, and to “get tougher” with North Korea. The Democrats, no less than the Republicans, are dedicated to upholding the interests of American capitalism.

There is an irreconcilable antagonism between the interests of the property-owning bosses who exploit workers to obtain profits, and the workers themselves, who own nothing but their labor power and who create the wealth of society. Working people need a workers party to fight to overturn the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie altogether and replace it with a workers government, to organize a society based on production for human needs.

The elections have been a dramatic confirmation of the rightward shift in the American political scene. Every kind of reaction is emboldened. Just scan the papers since the election. Eleven states passed referendums banning gay marriage. Abortion rights are under attack. The “intelligent design” dimwits, who would ban the teaching of evolution and science, are gathering momentum. The IRS has opened a racist witchhunt against the NAACP. Even plain, gratuitous cruelty seems to be on the march. In the South earlier this fall, Taser guns were used on 6- and 12-year-old schoolkids.

What is seriously wrong is the talk which blames the supposed ignorance and backwardness of the American populace for Bush's victory. Responsibility for the lack of militant class struggle and, therefore, the backward consciousness of many workers in the U.S. lies with the chief pushers of reformism—the political outlook that capitalism can be reformed. The top bureaucrats of the union movement and the reformist left that tails them are responsible for the demoralization and the demobilization of the American

working class through the agency of the Democratic Party.

This has been a long process but anyone who saw the demoralization of the Iraq antiwar movement in 2003 can begin to understand by analogy what has happened with respect to the general rightward shift. The Workers World organization with its ANSWER coalition, and the International Socialist Organization and Revolutionary Communist Party with its Not in Our Name, organized coalitions whose antiwar strategy was to build platforms for the left-talking Democrats like Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson who were

dence of massive civilian death: disease is spreading; some doctors report evidence of the use of chemical weapons and cluster bombs.

We say: *U.S. out of Iraq, now!* We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops from Iraq! We call for the defense of the Iraqi peoples against the U.S. occupiers and their puppet Iraqi troops and police. Insofar as the forces on the ground aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers and the mercenaries, we call for their defense. Every blow struck against the U.S. military and allied powers in

go forward? We need class-struggle leadership. We have seen no shortage of militancy and sacrifice on the part of the working class—indeed there have been a number of significant struggles here on the West Coast—transit workers in L.A., the hard-fought UFCW strike, the port truckers work stoppage and the recent hotel workers strike and lockout. In every instance, we see a labor leadership that has left these struggles isolated. Had the unions diverted one-tenth of the resources and manpower that their pro-capitalist misleaders mobilized for Kerry to the UFCW or the SF hotel strike, things could be very different. And then there's the Million Worker March. This was nothing more than a thinly veiled election rally for Kerry. While left-talking bureaucrats did their job for Kerry, Mumia Abu-Jamal's message of support to the demonstration plainly exposed the core reality of the partner parties of capitalism, a message that the march organizers consciously worked to obscure. Mumia says: “If we speak the truth, it doesn't matter who wins the White House; workers are catching hell. That's because the only choices before the American people are corporate choices: a thin narrow slice between two, quite similar ‘brokerage parties,’ who sell their souls to the highest bidder.” Instead of sending workers across the country to Washington, D.C. for the Million Worker March, what if the left-talking bureaucrats in the ILWU longshore union had mobilized their members to walk a few blocks from their union hall to help locked-out hotel workers in San Francisco shut down the hotels and actually win the strike?

We need a leadership to fight not only for the immediate economic demands but on broader social questions—defense of immigrant rights against the government's “war on terror,” freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolishing the racist death penalty. The reactionary forces that are growing in confidence in America today, that mobilize in opposition to gay marriage, abortion rights and any expression of social liberalization also target and despise black people. From the days of slavery to the present, the oppression of black people has been a fundamental feature of American capitalism. Black people are both segregated at the bottom of American society and integrated into the economy. If it is to fight for its own emancipation, the multiracial proletariat must take up the struggle for black freedom. The working class will only transcend its divisions through class and social struggle. Only through common struggle under the leadership of a revolutionary workers party will a socialist revolution be made. The building of a party to lead these struggles will require a fight against the class collaborationist politics of the existing labor leadership. It is in the process of class struggle that a new leadership in the workers movement can emerge, overturning the current betrayers.

This year's Holiday Appeals represent a renewal of our commitment to class-struggle social defense. Standing with those fighters already in the grasp of the capitalist prisons is a necessary step in organizing a class-struggle fight against the all-sided reaction in American society today. This is not a routine re-enlistment. In defense of class-war prisoners, in opposition to the barbaric occupation and enslavement of Iraq—in short—in our proletarian, revolutionary, internationalist purpose, *we are needed*. We encourage you to join us in this struggle. ■



Spartacus Youth Club at united-front rally at City College of San Francisco in defense of striking UNITE HERE hotel workers, October 2004.

there to get young activists and working people to vote Democrat. To maximize the appeal to liberals, any mention of the deadly Zionist occupation was dropped. We counterposed: *Defend the Palestinian people!* You can't fight the capitalist program for war by uniting with one or another wing of the capitalists. And sure enough, after mass classless and pacifist demonstrations, the war proceeded and the antiwar movement fizzled.

It is precisely the move to vote Democrat—expressed in this election through the “Anybody but Bush” sentiment—that has bolstered the fortunes of the Republican right. Pushing votes for the Democrats is consciously designed as a substitute for class and social struggle, advocating that workers and the oppressed place their confidence in capitalist politicians instead of relying on their own power and organizations. The role of black and “progressive” Democrats, those who addressed the antiwar rallies like Barbara Lee, is to head off any possibility of social struggle and to direct discontent toward the ballot box. The absence of class and social struggle—the kinds of struggle that can transcend racial, ethnic, and religious divisions—provides the basis for the racist fundamentalists to gain ground.

What is happening in Iraq is nothing short of imperialist mass murder. Upwards of 100,000 Iraqis have been killed as a result of the war. The ongoing slaughter in Falluja must be seared into the collective memory and consciousness as a monstrous war crime, as My Lai was for a generation before. Falluja, a city of 300,000, has been flattened; hundreds lie dead in the rubble; the hospital was the first place to be seized to hide the evi-

Iraq is a blow in the interests of the international working class. The magnitude of the crime of Falluja demands huge international protest. The international working class, not least the American proletariat, should mount class-struggle actions, demonstrations, strikes and hot-cargo shipments of war matériel. We do not say this in the light-minded belief that this will be easy to do in this repressive climate where “national unity” is pushed by both the labor misleaders and the capitalist parties. We say it because it is essential to win the working class to the understanding that it alone has the power to defeat the American imperialist system.

U.S. imperialism flexes and prepares its military power for broader purposes than Iraq and its Middle East oil interests. The American ruling class' military adventures and colonial atrocities must be seen in the context of their strategic interests for counterrevolution in China and the other deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, and North Korea. We are for the unconditional military defense of these states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. These are places where capitalism has been overthrown and the imperialists seek to bring it back. There have been powerful defensive struggles by the Chinese working class. Unlike the imperialist bourgeoisies and the reformist left, we do not believe that the die is cast for counterrevolution in the Chinese deformed workers state. We are for political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracies that sit atop these societies, endangering the defense of the very workers states that they control.

So now let's come back to the American post-election hangover. How do we

For a Union Fight for Safety!

Gruesome Death of NYC Transit Worker

NEW YORK—As a maintainer of the 600-volt third rail and a well-known safety-conscious worker, one of the main responsibilities that Harold Dozier took upon himself was to take care of his work crew. On December 14, the 13-year veteran transit worker was doing just that while retrieving warning flags from the tracks near the Newkirk Avenue subway station in Brooklyn at the end of the day. Tragically, he was run over and killed by a train on an adjacent track. According to John Samuelsen, acting Vice President for the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 Maintenance of Way, there was a gap where Dozier was walking in a leaf-covered drainage grate wide enough for him to put his foot through, indicating he may have tripped into the path of the train and then been dragged. Witnesses told police that, apparently unable to move, he cried for help just before he was struck.

Harold Dozier, 54, was the 21st transit worker killed on the tracks in the last two decades, including Kurien Baby and Joy Antony who were killed in the space of two days in November 2002. He leaves behind nine brothers and sisters and a host of nieces and nephews. When a cop dies, the bosses' newspapers and television are filled with pomp and praise for these agents of the capitalist class. There are no such tributes for workers who risk their lives to make the city run. Whenever a transit worker is killed because of the bosses' mad drive for productivity and profit, the workforce should down its tools in honor of the slain fellow worker and as part of the union fight for safe working conditions.

In the days following Harold Dozier's death, many of his workmates were so traumatized that they couldn't work. A worker who attended his funeral on December 21 told *WV* that the hall spilled over with fellow workers who joined his family in mourning the loss of this respected worker, who was "known for standing up for his co-workers against

management whenever they tried to cut corners." A crew member spoke at the funeral pointing out how Dozier cared above all for the health and safety of his workmates.

Harold Dozier's death cannot be separated from the New York City Transit (NYCT) bosses' relentless drive for greater "productivity" through job cuts and speedup. Every worker knows that the main purpose of the NYCT Office of System Safety is to limit the company's liability by blaming the worker for accidents, injury or even death. A transit worker who used to be a third-rail maintainer told *WV*, "Management only acts when someone dies: the body is checked for shoes, the shoes are checked for 'grip,' and the corpse is checked for drugs." In 1998, Thomas DeStefano, a Power Distribution Maintainer, died after falling on the third rail, and transit management concluded he "exercised poor judgment" by having worn-down treads on his shoes! Tellingly, the NYCT bosses scrambled to fix the defective storm drain within days of Harold Dozier's death (*Chief-Leader*, 31 December 2004). When train conductor Janell Bennerson was killed in January 2003 when her head hit an eight-foot-high gate as the train left a station, the bosses immediately lowered the height of the gate, and then they blamed Bennerson for her own death!

A worker told *WV* that much of the signal and communication technology dates from the original installation of the 100-year-old subway system. But New York City's rulers and the transit bosses let the infrastructure deteriorate and don't give a damn about the well-being of transit workers or the riding public—largely working people. Passengers depend on token booth clerks for safety countless times each day, but the NYCT is presently closing 164 token booths to save cash and ultimately slash jobs. The MTA is spending hundreds of millions on "new technology," including trains without



Harold Dozier

Dozier Family

conductors. Modernization, efficiency and safety should be inseparable. But under capitalism, improvements in technology are opportunities to attack workers' jobs.

According to a track worker, workers who toil daily on life-threatening, filthy, dark and rat-infested tracks usually are not even issued radios so that they can communicate with oncoming trains or a control center. The only way that this subway system can be safe is when *workers control safety*; what's needed is *elected union safety reps, backed by the entire union, with the power to shut down any unsafe working conditions on the spot.*

The NYCT's disregard for safety goes hand in hand with its union-busting attacks on union members and officials who blow the whistle on unsafe working conditions. Carlos Blackman, the TWU Local 100 shop chairman of the 240th Street maintenance shop in the Bronx, was fired in September because he fought for safety. In December 2003, Blackman temporarily halted unsafe repair work in

the shop when, among other hazards, fluid was leaking from one of the hydraulic jacks holding up an 80,000-pound subway car. This was the last straw for management, who later framed him up on phony charges using their new bogus "workplace violence" policy (see "Reinstate TWU Shop Chairman Carlos Blackman!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 832, 17 September 2004). Blackman's firing will embolden management to intimidate and penalize any worker who even voices concerns about safety.

The TWU—an integrated union made up of immigrant, black, Latino and white workers—has tremendous social power. But the sellout union leadership shackles that power. Like the rest of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, the TWU tops support the capitalist private property system and play by the bosses' rules, appealing to Democratic and Republican politicians, government agencies and the bourgeois courts. New York City Transit is not subject to government safety regulations. In fact, when the state legislature passed a law last year to enforce some minimal NYCT track safety standards, including the right to challenge unsafe work orders, New York governor George Pataki vetoed it.

The TWU's 9 December 2004 *Local 100 Express* has plenty of verbiage about job safety, but no one in the union leadership—from the International to the local leadership—has a program of mobilizing the working class independently. To win safe working conditions, decent health care, to stop speedup, to fight for a decent contract with a full cost-of-living allowance, and to defeat the slave-labor Taylor Law require a political struggle to replace the existing union leadership with one committed to hard class struggle using the union's power. Ultimately, to have consistently safe working conditions in New York Transit and in all industries, will mean eliminating the profit system of capitalism and creating a society run by the working class. ■

Kinsey...

(continued from page 5)

to an increase in sexual misery, disease and death: that correctly used condoms can greatly reduce the risk of HIV transmission, for example, is something *every* sexually active person needs to know. But knowledge itself is seen as evil—a very intentional Biblical concept, recalling the myth of Eve and the tree of knowledge, whose fruit was forbidden. Sex research is under renewed attack and so is teaching evolution in the schools; "intelligent design" is the new code word for forcing scary Old Testament myths on schoolchildren.

Fifty years after Kinsey, why are ignorance and fear about sex again being pushed on society? Why are the same people from the book-burning 1980s Reagan era, like the ridiculous yet sinister Judith Reisman, still running around loose trying to convince people sex is a crime? Reisman, recall, is the former *Captain Kangaroo* songwriter who got over \$700,000 from Reagan's Justice Department to study pornography, and is now calling for a Congressional investigation into Kinsey's work, charging he was a "sex offender." "The consequences of this sexual adventurism include AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases, child sexual abuse, incest and pornography," she charges. According to a recent *New Yorker* (6 December 2004) "Talk of the Town" piece, "Reisman also endorses a book called 'The Pink Swastika,' which challenges the 'myths' that gays were victimized in Nazi Germany." The anti-

Kinsey campaign isn't just a few oddballs, either. New York City's PBS TV station, WNET, panicked and refused to air a spot for the movie *Kinsey* because of right-wing pressure. A scientist at San Francisco State University said about sex research, "I have been in this field for 30 years, and the level of fear and intimidation is higher now than I can ever remember" (*New York Times*, 9 November 2004).

So why have things changed so much and yet so little? At bottom it is a question of the level of social struggle. This is a class-divided society, as we said. It is wracked by racial oppression and the segregation of black people, by the subordination of women and children within the institution of the family, and by the enforced poverty and exploitation of labor that are the lifeblood of capitalism. The capitalist profit system and its state must be shattered through socialist revolution and replaced with an integrated workers government, which will run production for human need. This will lay the basis for social alternatives—in caring for children, the sick, the elderly, housework, etc.—to the oppressive family, which is shored up by the ruling class as its transmission vehicle for private property (thus requiring female sexual monogamy to ensure the husband's legitimate heirs). Religion, which enforces mindless subordination to "higher authority" and is responsible for so much guilt and misery, will wither quickly through education once its state props are kicked away. And in a world of plenty, most of the misery and despair which seeks solace in religion will be gone.

Until then, different periods of up-

heaval will result in some surges forward and some periods of reaction in the struggle for human freedom. Thus, following the Kinsey reports of 1948 and 1953, instead of a blossoming of sexual possibilities in the U.S., down came the ax of the hideous witchhunts of the McCarthy years, as not only Communists but homosexuals and lesbians were relentlessly purged and ostracized from society. Many thousands of gays were also kicked out of their jobs and some even committed suicide, as an important new book by David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare* (University of Chicago Press, 2004), details. The soldiers returning after World War II expected their jobs back, so women were pushed out of the factories and told to just be little dependent housewives again.

A decade later, seething resentments broke out. Black World War II veterans, used to fighting gun in hand, weren't about to be pushed around again by Jim Crow laws. This kicked off the civil rights movement for black freedom. The U.S. became embroiled in the long, losing Vietnam War. A generation was inspired by the heroic battles of the North Vietnamese fighters and rebellious guerrilla leaders like Fidel Castro and Che Guevara in Cuba, who successfully challenged the U.S. empire. In the 1960s to 1970s there were, briefly, some fruits of "sexual liberation"—women got "the Pill" and abortion rights, the gay liberation movement took off—as broad political radicalization led to greater freedom in the personal sphere. This died down as the U.S. managed to extricate itself, albeit badly wounded, from Vietnam.

Today's reactionary climate is conditioned by a long ebb in class struggle and the historic defeat of the working class in the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and associated East European deformed workers states. But deep tensions remain and things change: the reactionary McCarthyite '50s exploded into the 1960s. The movie *Kinsey* is an encouraging sign of resistance to today's wave of reaction, a valuable history lesson and a reminder of the final goal of socialist revolution: the expansion of human knowledge and freedom, and its extension to every human being, in all aspects of life. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Why the Antiwar Movement Didn't Stop the War

On January 20, thousands of people are expected to turn up in Washington, D.C. to protest the inauguration of imperialist-in-chief George W. Bush. The counter-inaugural demonstration in Washington will have coinciding events in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle and other cities under the slogans "Bring the troops

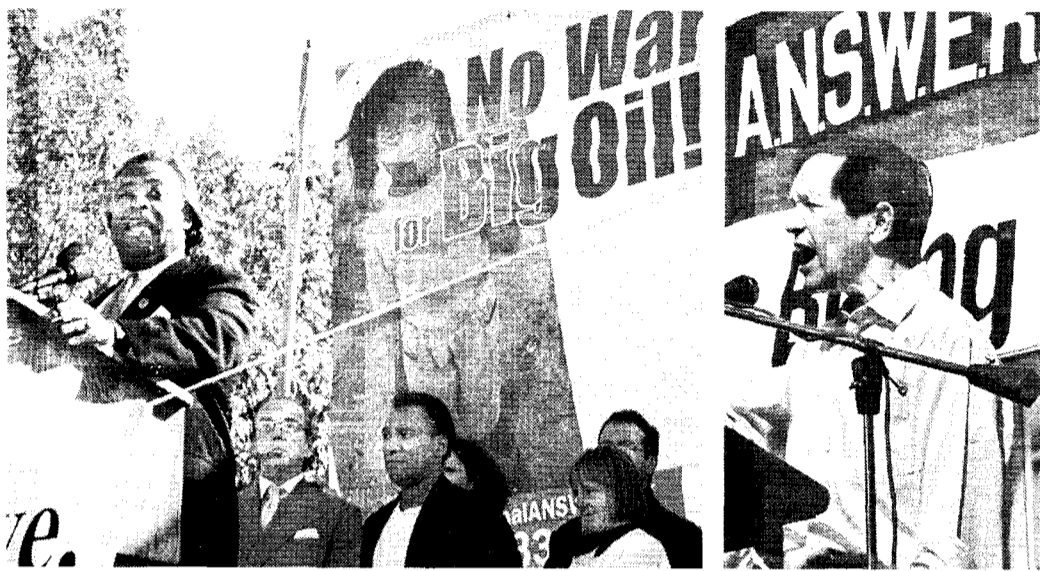
Young Spartacus

home now, end the occupation of Iraq!" These protests—and others planned for March 19 and 20, the second anniversary of the invasion—are being billed as an opportunity for the antiwar movement to get back on its feet and display some of the vigor of its early days, when millions around the world protested U.S. imperialism's march toward brutal war against Iraq. So various organizations that composed the leadership of the antiwar movement at that time have been engaged in tortuously explaining why these huge demonstrations virtually disappeared once Bush declared victory in Iraq and embarked on the occupation of the country.

It is necessary for those seeking an end to the bloody occupation of Iraq to review the history of the antiwar movement, and there's one big point you have to begin with: *It didn't work.* Internationally, people took to the streets in 2003 in the largest protests since the Vietnam antiwar movement. Yet a month after the massive international protests of February 15, U.S. troops invaded Iraq. These protests were an important and heartening expression of opposition, but they didn't delay the war's relentless onslaught for even a day. The point must be drawn from this experience that you can't reform imperialism, which is the inevitably bloody expression of capitalism at its highest stage. Imperialist war will only disappear with the destruction of the capitalist system that breeds it.

It is possible to wage blows against imperialist war, however; the question is, how? In early 2003, Scottish train drivers refused to haul munitions destined for a large NATO base. In Italy, trade unionists and antiwar activists blocked railway lines from being used to transport military convoys from a NATO base to one of the largest munitions depots in Europe. Such class-struggle actions are not simply "good" in the same way that all demonstrations against war are "good." Veteran Marxist Isaac Deutscher once remarked that one dock strike against the Vietnam War would have been worth a thousand peace demonstrations. Such class-struggle actions display the enormous social power of the proletariat. By having their hands directly on the means of production—the factories and mines, as well as transportation and other industries that make society run—workers have the power to cut off the flow of profits to the capitalists by withholding their labor. No other sector of society has that power.

But there are obstacles to unleashing this power. In the U.S., it is chiefly the trade-union bureaucrats with their allegiance to the capitalist system, primar-



Al Sharpton at 2002 antiwar rally (left) and Dennis Kucinich at 2003 Los Angeles rally against Iraq occupation (right). Reformist organizers tailored protests to appeal to Democratic Party politicians.

Break with the Democrats, the Other Party of War and Racism!

ily through the Democratic Party, who shackle the power of the working class, preventing it from effectively fighting for its own economic interests, much less against the depredations of U.S. imperialism. The current trade-union misleaders must be politically combatted and replaced with a class-struggle leadership.

It was precisely in order to bring about the understanding that only the working class has the power to overthrow the imperialist system that we intervened in the antiwar demonstrations and will intervene at the counter-inaugural demos on January 20. The organizations that have led the antiwar movement promote a program and practices that serve as *obstacles* to forging this consciousness.

As the U.S. was gearing up for war against Iraq, these groups called for the greatest possible unity of "all those who oppose the war." But U.S. society is divided into classes: the working class which produces the wealth on one side, and its enemy—the capitalist ruling class which appropriates this wealth—on the other. Such calls for "unity" against the war have a practical *class* content and result: they call to "unite" the working class and oppressed with their own oppressors, members of the capitalist class who, for their own reasons, oppose the war. Instead of instilling in the working class the understanding that it must fight independently of the capitalists in its own interests, such calls

U.S. Out of Iraq Now!



SL/SYC contingent at March 2004 anti-occupation demonstration in Chicago.

for "unity" perpetuate the lie that there are "good" capitalists that can be relied upon to oppose imperialist war. In this way, the reformists perpetuate the capitalist system rather than planting the seeds to destroy it.

Building an Antiwar Movement the Democrats Can Call Their Own

An article on the lessons of the antiwar movement appears in the 19 November 2004 issue of *Socialist Worker*, the newspaper of the International Socialist Organization (ISO). That piece, by Meredith Kolodner, entitled "Rebuilding the Antiwar Movement," doesn't address the not-insignificant point that the antiwar movement didn't stop the war. However, it unwittingly highlights the logical outcome of "unity" of all those who oppose the war: channeling opposition to the war into the pro-war Democratic Party. Kolodner wistfully comments:

"Many had argued in the run-up to the election that we should not counterpose voting for Kerry and building the movement—that, in fact, we could do both, and further, that the election could help to mobilize the movement. But the reality was—as it has been so many times before in the history of social movements and the Democratic Party—that it was a choice, and the movement chose voting for Kerry over building its own forces. The pro-war candidate replaced the movement as the 'liberal' position on the war. And so as the city of Falluja is facing a widely advertised slaughter, the movement is scrambling to respond."

But participants in the antiwar movement didn't just suddenly and spontaneously "choose" to vote for the Democrats and therefore disappear from protest. Ultimately, there are two ways you can seek to protest imperialist war: you can look to the working class and oppressed to fight independently of the capitalist class, or you can appeal to "antiwar" capitalist politicians to help build the "biggest possible movement." The demonstrations in 2003 built by the various liberal pacifist coalitions—the International ANSWER coalition headed by the pseudo-socialist Workers World Party and its recent spin-off, the Party for Socialism and Liberation; the ISO-backed United for Peace and Justice coalition; and the Not In Our Name coalition organized by the Revolutionary Communist Party—took the latter path.

They refused to call for the defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism—i.e., to side with neocolonial Iraq and stand for the military defeat of U.S. imperialism—as this would have alienated liberal Democrats who agreed with the aim of the war but differed over the means. By emphasizing calls like "No to Bush's war," they tailored the protests to be acceptable to the "antiwar" Democratic politicians whom they courted for their speakers' platforms, like Al Sharpton, Cynthia McKinney, Jesse Jackson and Dennis Kucinich. Such politicians perform a particularly valuable service to U.S. imperialism: they keep protest safely within the framework of the capitalist electoral system. By building a movement designed primarily as a

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