The occupation of Iraq is not going well for U.S. imperialism. For that matter neither is the occupation of Afghanistan. More than 2,000 Americans have forfeited their lives in Iraq, while over 100,000 Iraqis have been killed as a result of the war and occupation. Most Americans are now aware that the expressed reason for the occupation—the "terrorism" of Iraq—as much a hallucination as were the "weapons of mass destruction" that served as a pretext for the war.

The indictment of J. Lewis "Scooter" Libby by the National Security Agency finding that demonstrated that the "incident" was a lie. The Democrats' current protests about Bush's lies are simply due to the fact that things haven't worked out in Iraq. Commenting on the investigations into the Bush administration, Frank Rich wrote in the New York Times (10 October), "We're a long way from putting together the full history of a self-described "war presidency" that bungled the war in Iraq and, in doing so, may be losing the war against radical Islamic terrorism as well." This is the standard Democratic Party criticism of the Bush White House: that it cannot be trusted to defend U.S. interests around the world and to prosecute the war on terror—a war arrived with measures that brutally attack not only immigrants but the democratic rights of blacks and all working people.

As a capitalist party, the Democrats are dedicated to the fundamental interests of U.S. imperialism, which launched the Iraq invasion to assert its unchallenged domination over this oil-rich region and the globe. The reformist and military defense of Afghan­istan and Iraq against the U.S. and allied imperialists, at the same time continuing in irreconcilable political opposition to the reactionary Taliban and the capital­ist regime of Saddam Hussein. Today we call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. As we wrote in "Big Lies and Imperialist War":

"Growing opposition in the U.S. population to the Iraq occupation, revealed over the govern­ment's role in the death and destruction of black people and the poor after Hurri­ cane Katrina, anger at the attacks on fund­amental democratic rights—the situa­tion speaks to the burning need to build a workers party that would organize class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers. The fight against imperialist war cannot be separated from the struggle against the capitalist system that breeds such war. Only when the multinational prole­tariat seizes power from the bloated, arrogant capitalist rulers can we begin to speak of a world rid of imperialist wars and occupations and offering material security and social jus­tice for all."

Bosses' Class War Against U.S. Workers

Even as Bush was faced with tens of thousands of protesters during his trip to Argentina, the U.S. press corps kept hounding him about the Plame investigation. Growing sections of the U.S. bour­geoisie are running out of patience with the challenged president, as clearly expressed in the New York Times (No. 856, 11 October), "President Bush's Walkabout". "(After President Bush's disastrous visit to Latin America, it's stunning to realize that his presidency still has more than three years to run. An administration with no agenda and no competence would be far enough from the wretched mess it has become and the social, economic, and ecological catastrophes it has caused. But the rest of the world simply can't afford an American government that has for that long..."

"The central problem is not Karl Rove or continued on page 9"
I' —_. ------- -

create a power. The old state apparatus will be shattered to its foundations and a new...tor for the sons is John R. Miller, who was Chair...first of all, that we shall have a Soviet government, our own organ of power, in which...administrative apparatus set up in the form of the Soviet organisations.

One man of the Board of the Discovery Insti...rightist Christian billionaires first came to...All the secret treaties must be immediately published in order to strengthen the confi...

peasants will understand that the salvation of the peasantry lies only in an alliance with...We shall institute genuine workers' control over production.

We have learned to make...workers council) the continuing carnage of the interimperialist...The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women defines prostitution as "gang rape" and argues that it should be illegal.

The Executive Support Task Force that be want a smaller, more affluent...by means...by the Salvation of the peasants, our own organ of power, in which...It is clear to everybody that in order to end this war, which is closely bound up with the present capitalist sys...capital, itself must be fought.

We shall institute genuine workers’ control over production. We have learned to make a concerted effort. The revolution that has just been accomplished is evidence of this. We possess the strength of mass organisation, which will overcome everything and lead the proletariat to the world revolution. We must now set about building a proletarian socialist state in Russia. Long live the world socialist revolution!" Stalin reported... - May 1917

 hurricane Katrina evacuees in angry meeting with officials in Houston. Survivors have waited months for government aid.
Twentieth Annual PDC Holiday Appeal
Free the Class-War Prisoners!

This year’s Holiday Appeal marks the 20th year of the Partisan Defense Committee’s program of sending monthly stipends as an expression of solidarity to those imprisoned for standing up to racist capitalism repression. This program revived a tradition initiated by the International Labor Defense under James P. Cannon, its founder and first secretary (1923-28). The PDC sends stipends to 17 class-war prisoners.

Mumia Abu-Jamal: America’s foremost class-war prisoner, former Black Panther Party spokesman, well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and award-winning journalist known as “the voice of the voiceless.” On December 9, Mumia enters his 25th year of incarceration for a killing that the cops know he did not commit. Mumia is currently in the supermax unit of the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner and sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. Four years ago, Mumia’s attorneys submitted to the courts the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner. But to the racists in black robes of both the Pennsylvania and U.S. federal judiciaries, a court of law is no place for evidence of the innocence of this fighter for the oppressed.

This year the Pennsylvania courts dismissed Mumia’s third appeal for post-conviction relief. With the U.S. Supreme Court devoted to the racist death penalty, and with his final federal appeals in motion, Mumia remains on death row locked in a cell that has the stench of a bathroom. It was hence be spoke for the oppressed, such as those left to die in New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, that Mumia faces the ultimate in capitalist repression: the racist death penalty. Workers, immigrants, minorities and all opponents of racist capitalism must strengthen theirs efforts to free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

Leonard Peltier is an internationally renowned class-war prisoner in America. His incarceration for nearly three decades because of his activism in the American Indian Movement has come to symbolize this country’s racist repression of its native peoples, the survivors of centuries of genocidal oppression. Peltier’s frame-up trial for the deaths of two marauding FBI agents in what had become a war zone at the South Dakota Pine Ridge Reservation 30 years ago shows what capitalist “justice” is all about. As in the case of Mumia and the other class-war prisoners, Peltier’s case demonstrates there is no justice in the capitalist courts. Although the lead government attorney has admitted, “We can’t prove who shot those agents,” and the courts have repeatedly acknowledged blatant prosecutorial misconduct, the 64-year-old fighter for Native Americans is still locked away. This year federal authorities transferred Peltier from Leavenworth to the Terre Haute penitentiary, where he was thrown into solitary and denied medicine. He was cruelly transferred again, finally ending up in USP Lewisburg in Pennsylvania. Free Leonard Peltier now!

Jamal Hart, Mumia’s son, was sentenced in 1998 to 15 years on bogus firearms possession charges. Hart was targeted for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania (the office of two marauding FBI agents law”) that took credit for bank “expropriations” and bombings in the late 1970s and 80s against various targets including military and corporate offices. Before their arrests in Ohio and Virginia in 1984 and 1985, they were targets of massive manhunts throughout the East Coast and Midwest. Their children were kidnapped at gunpoint by the Feds and their Pennsylvania prison cells as eleven of their MOVE family members, including five children, were massacred by Phila cops, many of them “veterans” of the 1978 assault.

Joan Lauman, Thomas Manning and Richard Williams are the remaining anti-imperialist activists known as the Ohio 7 still in prison. They were convicted for their role in a radical group of leftist anti-Communist organizations and the courts concluded it was their “intent” to engage in illegal activity. The political of the Ohio 7 were once shared by thousands of radicals during the heyday of the Vietnam antwar movement and by New Leftists who wrote off the possibility of winning the working class in a revolutionary transformation and saw themselves as an auxiliary of “Third World” liberation movements. Yet, like the Weathermen before them, the Ohio 7 were spurned by the “respectable” left. From a proletarian standpoint, the actions of these leftist activists against imperialism and racist injustice are not a crime. As the PDC has said from the time the Ohio 7 were first contested by the capitalist state, those three courageous fighters should not have served even a day in prison.

Ed Pincus and Wopashitwe Mondale We Langa are former Black Panther Party supporters and leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska, National Committee to Combat Fascism. They were victims of the FBI COINTELPRO operation launched against the Communist Party and then deployed to “neutralize” radical organizations in the 1960s, particularly the Black Panther Party, whose members were framed up and imprisoned by the hundreds while 38 were killed in cold blood. Pincus and Mondale were railroaded to prison for a 1970 explosion which killed a cop; convicted on perjured testimony; sentenced to die and have now served more than 30 years.

The Nebraska Board of Pardons refuses to lessen their sentences so they can be considered for parole.

Ed Pincus is the last of the San Quentin 8 still in prison. He was a militant anti-racist and anti-racism prisoner organizing along with his comrade and mentor. George Jackson, who was gunned down by prison guards in 1971. Pincus has been incarcerated for more than 40 years. He repeatedly denied parole despite hundreds of letters of support; many job offers and no disciplinary write-ups or rules infractions for over a quarter of a century. Now in his 60s, Pincus continues to serve a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay Security Housing Unit in California.

Contribute now! All proceeds from the Holiday Appeal will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund. This is not charity but an elementary act of solidarity with those imprisoned for their opposition to racist capitalism and imperialist depredations and their contribution to the PDC. P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013; (212) 406-4525.

Evidence Explodes Frame-Up: Declarations and affidavits of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Arnold R. Beverly, Rachel Wolkenstein and others prove that death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man. Published September 2001

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Benefit for Class-War Prisoners

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Sunday, December 11
2 p.m.
Oakland YMCA Tea Room
1515 Webster Street
For more information:
(510) 839-0862
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station
San Francisco, CA 94107

Los Angeles

Saturday, December 10
2 p.m.
Mount Hollywood Congregational Church
11200 Koenig Street
For more information:
(213) 348-1870
www.mundia.org

New York

Friday, December 9
11 p.m.
6 Harrison St. (at Hudson)
"Manhattan"
Tape 1 of 2 (framed Art.)
For more information:
(212) 267-4638
P.O. Box 39, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013

Chicago

Sunday, December 11
2 p.m.
United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)
For more information:
(312) 663-0442
P.O. Box 320877
Chicago, IL 60660

Toronto

Saturday, December 10
7 to 10 p.m.
Steve Nash Park Hall
175 Simcoe St.
For more information:
(416) 362-1756
P.O. Box 514, Station B
Toronto, Ontario M5T 3J5

Benefit for Class-War Prisoners

This is not charity—it’s a duty and an act of solidarity with those in prison. Their fight is our fight!
The success of the 2005 Workers Vanguard subscription drive is a tribute to the hard work of the comrades and sympathizers of the Spartacist League and Spartacist Youth Club. The six-week sub drive from late August through early October netted more than 1,500 subscriptions to WV, 76 subscriptions to Espartaco, the newspaper of the Grupo Esperantista de México, Mexican section of the International Communist League, and 102 subscriptions to the press of other ICL sections. Altogether, we exceeded in the 1921 Spartakus Tour, netted 24. As well, comrades made trips to intersect strikes by the Northwest Airlines AMFA's mechanics and cleaners and Boeing IAM workers.

Our new readers will find that WV is hard-hitting and polemical. We strive for clarity and forthrightness when presenting our revolutionary views, in opposition to the liberal-reformist program of the reformist left shift with the pre-1917 Bolshevik Party. That's right. The opportunist politics of the reformist left shift with the pre-1917 Bolshevik Party led the working class to power with the success of the Cuban deformed workers state in repeatedly safely evacuating masses of people was especially appreciated by immigrant and black students. Additionally, our article on the 1955 lynching of Emmett Till and the fight for racial justice--also the subject of a well-attended sub drive forum in Chicago--attracted readers early in the campaign.

Last year's sub drive took place in the lead-up to the presidential elections, when many young people were swept up by "a people's war" fervor. The reformist left seized on anger over the Iraq war and occupation to promote the Democratic Party "lesser evilism." What we intersected this year was colored by Bush's re-election. November brought a series of united-front rallies, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, against government repression, highlighting the cases of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Lynne Stewart and Assata Shakur (see WV No. 855, 30 September).

WV is a vehicle for introducing youth and workers, along with black people, immigrants and other oppressed layers, to a revolutionary Marxist program. The role of the communist press was delineated in the 1921 Organizational Guidelines adopted at the Third Congress of the Communist International, which codified the experience of the Bolshevik Party that led the working class to power in the October Revolution of 1917. Emphasizing the importance of subscriptions, the Guidelines observed: "Use must be made of every situation in which there is increased motion among the workers and where political or social life is further inflamed by any sort of political and economic events." During the sub drive, WV, in its content and distribution, served our intervention into expressions of social discontent and class struggle--above all the reaction to the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina and the growing opposition to the occupation of Iraq--to demonstrations across the country on September 24. As well, comrades made trips to intersect strikes by the Northwest Airlines AMFA's mechanics and cleaners and Boeing IAM workers.

As many of you have noticed, subscriptions to each full newspaper are guided by the program and principles of the revolutionary forebears as we fight to organize a workers' fight for socialist revolution. We are proud of our political history, making available back issues of our journal of record through sales of bound volumes of WV and other publications.

We continue to work toward the value we attach to our revolutionary continuity, took place on one of two "Northern Tours" trips in the Pacific Northwest. Our comrades found a statue of Lenin in Fremont, Washington, defaced by an anarchist symbol and anti-communist graffiti written in spray paint. So they purchased a paint remover and scrubbed clean the statue of the leader of the world's first successful proletarian revolution, prompting a worker from a nearby restaurant to come outside and thank us for a job well done.

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Philly Transit Strike 
Beats Back Bosses' Assault

NOVEMBER 2005 — A solid one-week strike by over 5,000 transit workers throughout Philadelphia subways, buses and trolleys to a halt and beat back a union-busting assault by the Southeast Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) against workers' pensions and access to affordable health care. This is the third Philly union strike—Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 234 and United Transportation Union (UTU) Local 131—brought the battle together. And yesterday, they walked back into work together. While the contract talks drag on, they will be voting, contain some compromises, the strikers successfully fended off the most onerous demands of the SEPTA bosses. This strike by predominantly black transit workers should help steel the resolve of other workers under attack, not least New York City transit workers in TWU Local 100 whose contract expires on December 15. Hours after the announcement of a Philly settlement, officials of Pittsburgh's Amalgamated Transit Local 85, which has been without a contract since July, authorized a strike vote that will go to the membership on November 20.

According to press reports, the tentative contract puts union members' wages have not increased over the past four years, as well as pension increases. The union also reported some stipulations against workers' rights to a fair day's pay. SEPTA had demanded that workers pay 5 percent of their base wages into their health plan.

October 31: TWU Local 234 members on picket line in strike against SEPTA.

And although union negotiators held the line against SEPTA's demand to eliminate retirees' prescription drug plan, they agreed that workers hired after the new contract goes into effect would lose this benefit when they become eligible for Medicare.

In the face of SEPTA's attacks and a vicious anti-union propaganda barrage by the city's bourgeois press, transit workers stood solid and united. With the strike costing the region's businesses as much as $1.5 million a day, Democratic Pennsylva-nia governor Ed Rendell intervened to get a deal worked out. It was the determination of the transit workers on the picket line, demonstrating their social power, that beat back SEPTA.

From Northwest and United Airlines to the NY City transit workers, the capitalist exploiters in this country are on a union-busting tear. In the face of this assault, the trade-union tops' strategy has been to sacrifice hard class struggle in favor of impotent appeals to "friends" in the capitalist parties, especially the Demo-crats. To answer the capitalists' attacks on working people, what's needed is a fight by the labor movement for jobs for all at union wages, for free mass transit and free health care for all, for labor minority mobilizations against racist attacks. To carry out this struggle, the unions must fight for the rights of black people and all the oppressed. In Philadel-phia, this immediately raises the need for the unions to champion freedom for MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was framed up and sent to death row in 1982 for the murder of a Philadelphia cop that he did not commit.

The cops, along with the courts, pris-ons and the military, form the core of the capitalist state, which exists to defend the capitalist order of exploitation and racial oppression. The same racist police force that helps frame up black strikers can be the ones called out against striking workers to enforce anti-union injunctions or impose snarling strikebreakers. The capitalists' frame-up system targets mi-nority strikers and fighters for black rights alike. Unions seeking to end capitalist rule through socialist revolution ■

If You Stand For—

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs for union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students.

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabberdリング and strikebreaking through mass pickets as union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting; keep the capitalist control out of the union shop! Organize. Unorganize. Unionize! South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek! No at $600 per year. It was the determina-tion of the transit workers on the picket line, demonstrating their social power, that beat back SEPTA.

From Northwest and United Airlines to the NY City transit workers, the capitalist exploiters in this country are on a union-busting tear. In the face of this assault, the trade-union tops' strat-egy has been to sacrifice hard class struggle in favor of impotent appeals to "friends" in the capitalist parties, especially the Demo-crats. To answer the capitalists' attacks on working people, what's needed is a fight by the labor movement for jobs for all at union wages, for free mass transit and free health care for all, for labor minority mobilizations against racist attacks. To carry out this struggle, the unions must fight for the rights of black people and all the oppressed. In Philadel-phia, this immediately raises the need for the unions to champion freedom for MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was framed up and sent to death row in 1982 for the murder of a Philadelphia cop that he did not commit.

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2 Full democratic rights for home-owners! Down with the mass evictions and foreclosures! Full democratic rights for homeowners!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on de-mand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, qual-ity health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immi-grants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to rac-ial "English only" laws! Down with anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Defend the separation of church and state! Full democratic rights for homosex-uals! Down with the mass witch-hunts! cops and courts out of the bedroom! Down with all laws against consensual activities such as "crimes without vic-tims" like pornography, gambling, drugs and prostitution!

6 Support the Labor Black League for social defense! Support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

7 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of pub-lic works—high-quality integrated hous-ing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor.

8 Down with the fascist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend the deformed workers states— Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea—against capitalist restoration and imperi-alist attack! For proletarian political revolution to oust our Stalinist bureaucracies! For labor action against U.S.-imperialist war moves and military adven-tures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

9 Support the Socialist Workers Party! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

10 Down with the fascists and Repub-licans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! For the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America as a socialist planned economy.

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Ireland: The Fight for Abortion Rights

The Church, the State and Women's Oppression

I want to start off by talking about a recent excellent book by Ray Kavanagh, ‘Mamie Cadden: Backstreet Abortionist’ (Mercier Press, 2005), which tells the story of Nurse Mamie Cadden, who provided abortions in Dublin from the late 1920s to the 1950s. The story of her work and her persecution tells us a lot about the nature of the clericalist capitalist state in Ireland. It also shows how the clericalist state was consolidated and how the Catholic church attained a dominant role in society not immediately at independence but through a process extending over decades.

As in Nurse Cadden’s time, the 1861 Offences Against the Person Act still criminalises abortion on the island of Ireland. buttressed in the South by the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution which followed the [anti-abortion] 1983 referendum. In Britain, the 1967 Abortion Act legalised abortion—a huge advance for women’s rights. Today over 6,000 women each year having an abortion in Britain can address the right to choose in Northern Ireland. There were huge demonstrations here in 1992 over abortion rights and the struggles of that period were responsible for bringing about significant changes for women and girls. However, abortion is still totally illegal.

Mamie Cadden was born in the U.S. to immigrants from [County] Mayo in 1891 but returned to Mayo with her family at the age of four. Mamie moved to Dublin in 1925 and qualified as a midwife, a highly skilled and, at that time, highly respected profession. In 1929, just a couple of years after qualifying as a midwife, Mamie established her own maternity nursing home. At the time, Dublin had up to 50 such private nursing homes. These homes were a challenge to the Catholic church, which, with the cooperation of the capitalist state, was attempting to establish a monopoly in the field of medical care, especially in relation to women, reproduction and sexuality. Ray Kavanagh notes that “the nursing-homes would have had a far more liberal and woman-centred ethos than the religious hospitals.” It was this struggle of the church to establish absolute control over women’s sexuality which was to shape the rest of Nurse Cadden’s life.

The 1920s were a relatively prosperous and hopeful time in Ireland after independence and the Civil War [1922-23] and before the economic depression of the 1930s. The latter coincided with the deeply conservative premiership of Éamon de Valera and its nationalistic pro-tionist economic policies. Lack of jobs led to mass emigration, mainly to Britain. Married women were barred from many workplaces, in 1935 contraception was banned and in 1957 woman’s role in the home was enshrined in the Constitution. Kavanagh describes Nurse Cadden’s attitude towards these anti-woman attacks: “All the men thought that women should be scrubbing and cooking in the kitchen, having a baby every year until they died of thrombosis or high blood pressure... Well, that was not for Mamie Cadden, she would fight them all, as she had all her life.

Nurse Cadden’s nursing homes (firstly in Rathenagh and from 1931 in Rathmines) were operated by the church and offered various services for pregnant women, including adoptions (which were unregulated at the time and viewed with suspicion by the church) and care of women who had suffered complications from backstreet (or self-administered) abortions. Illegal abortions may also have been performed in the nursing home, but were not the main focus of the business. These activities brought much attention from the gardaí [national police], but Mamie’s first serious run-in with the law occurred in the summer of 1938, when she was charged with child abandonment after the case of a baby found buried in a garden. Kavanagh describes how “the nursing-home was dug up and the remains of a foetus were discovered, This became the source of one of the enduring myths about Nurse Cadden: that there were the bodies of more than a dozen dead babies buried in her garden. In fact this was the only set of remains ever found there. Margaret Berkery had been admitted to the nursing home in February 1938 suffering from severe bleeding after she tried to terminate her pregnancy by drinking liquid ergot [a potentially poisonous fungus]. The stillbirth was buried in the garden. Kavanagh describes how “the baby was totally unrepentant: ‘You cannot say that was a child,’ she said when confronted by the gardaí with the find, ‘it’s in a foetus’.

The trial on the child abandonment charges (and two additional charges of having demanded money under false pretences for arranging adoptions) dragged on for months. When Mamie was found guilty in May 1939, she was sentenced to one year’s hard labour. Moreover, she was struck off the registry of midwives in Meath shortly after Mamie had been seen in the area. In fact, with contraception and abortion both being outlawed and there not even being any regulated adoption service, cases of child abandonment and infanticide were frequent.

As part of the investigation, the gardaí searched the nursing home and discovered the remains of a foetus. This became the source of one of the enduring urban myths about Nurse Cadden: that there were the bodies of more than a dozen dead babies buried in her garden. In fact, this was the only set of remains ever found there. Margaret Berkery had been admitted to the nursing home in February 1938 suffering from severe bleeding after she tried to terminate her pregnancy by drinking ergot. The stillbirth was buried in the garden. Kavanagh describes how “Mamie was totally unrepentant: ‘You cannot say that was a child,’ she said when confronted by the gardaí with the find, ‘it’s in a foetus’.

The trial on the child abandonment charges (and two additional charges of having demanded money under false pretences for arranging adoptions) dragged on for months. When Mamie was found guilty in May 1939, she was sentenced to one year’s hard labour. Moreover, she was struck off the registry of midwives and was left financially ruined by her legal fees. When she was released from prison in 1940, she was living in desperate straits but was determined to rebuild her life. She began providing various medical procedures, including cures for constipation and dandruff, but especially illegal abortions. There were a lot of illegal abortions being carried out in Dublin at this time, even more so because of the travel restrictions introduced during World War II which limited the ability of women to travel to England.

At the same time, with its new Constitution in force, the Irish bourgeoisie really had the wind in its sail. They carried out a concerted crackdown on abortion services. Kavanagh explains that: “In the 1940s was the greatest onslaught against abortion in Ireland since the foundation of the state, events hardly unconnected with the start of the episcopate of John Charles McQuaid which had commenced in 1940. He was a deeply conservative prelate especially in matters relating to women’s fertility and sexuality. Abortion was to be expelled from the face of Catholic Ireland.

Many backstreet abortionists were prosecuted in this campaign. Cadden was a particularly significant figure and target for the new rules of Ireland because, as Kavanagh notes: “She was startlingly different too from the abortionists’ Dr James Ashe. Whereas he was on the top of the social scale with Dublin’s upper echelons in his client list, Mary Anne Cadden was truly the abortionist to the new independent Ireland—to the very heart of Ireland. Since her time running the nursing-home in Rathmines, her patients had included the wives of farmers, gardaí and shopkeepers—in fact, the emerging Irish middle- and lower-middle class.”

Nurse Cadden was arrested in 1944 and charged with “intent to procure the miscarriage” of Ellen Thompson. She was again found guilty and in April 1945 sentenced to five years imprisonment.

After completing her second prison sentence in 1950, Nurse Cadden again set up a medical practice providing abortions and other services. Now, following the anti-abortion crackdown of the 1940s, she was Ireland’s only well-known abortionist. Approaching 60, her health was failing and she operated in only a single room flat where she could see no more than a few clients a week. Over the next several years, two of her clients died of an air embolism during an abortion. Legal abortion in a hospital or clinic is a quite safe and routine medical procedure, but the chance of complications (including the death of Ellen Thompson) was startlingly different too from the abortionists’ Dr James Ashe. Whereas he was on the top of the social scale with Dublin’s upper echelons in his client list, Mary Anne Cadden was truly the abortionist to the new independent Ireland—to the very heart of Ireland. Since her time running the nursing-home in Rathmines, her patients had included the wives of farmers, gardaí and shopkeepers—in fact, the emerging Irish middle- and lower-middle class.”

Nurse Cadden was arrested in 1938 at time of first jailing.
deadly embolisms is much higher in a backstreet abortion, even when the abortionist is, like Nurse Cadden, a trained and conscientious medical professional. After the second of these tragic incidents, the death of Helen O’Reilly in 1956, Nurse Cadden was arrested. Indicative of the changed political climate, she was charged with the murder of O’Reilly rather than merely providing an abortion.

As the arresting officer, Superintendent George Lawlor said: “This is a breaking of minds, and very good minds too.”

The case was based on circumstantial evidence and contradictory testimonies, but the state was determined to try Cadden guilty. She was faced with the full force of the state, the church and the sin­
ed. but she was ruled insane and lived out her remaining days in the Central
health, the_Mother and Child Scheme.

After the second of these tragic incidents, Nurse Cadden was duly found guilty and condemned her? How many are living today operation when all else had failed them? She had information on priests, bishops, and laundries and to create residential nurseries. This and the need to raise the new generation of wage slaves, is the basis of the family sys
tem which really serves as a building block of the capitalist system. The family is a conservatising institution which oppresses women and children and those who don’t fit into it, for example gays. Religion is a key prop of capitalism: it attempts to give a justification for the monogamous family and the misery inher­ent in capitalism. So the questions of exploitation, wom­en’s oppression and religion are inex­tricably linked under capitalism. Rather than promoting any dead-end strategy of reforming this or that aspect of the capitalist system, we need to build a new society based not on private property, but on socialised property in order to remove the material basis of the oppression of women. With the working class in power we will be able to socialise the necessary duties now carried out by women in the family, e.g., childcare, cooking. Furthermore, consensual sexual relations will be a purely private matter, and relig­ion will necessarily wither without its state props and the misery which it exists to justify.

The 1917 Russian Revolution demon­strated that such a society is possible by putting into practice for the first time what Marx and Engels had fought for—the dictatorship of the proletariat. The rights granted to women in the early Soviet workers state show the advances possible for all of humanity with the over­turn of capitalism and the institution of a planned, collectivised economy and a regime of workers democracy. Following the October Revolution, the Bolshevists abolished all laws against abortion and conceived of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The rights granted to women in the early Soviet workers state show the advances possible for all of humanity with the over­turn of capitalism and the institution of a planned, collectivised economy and a regime of workers democracy. Following the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks abolished all laws against abortion and contraception. The dicta­tory of the proletariat. The rights granted to women in the early Soviet workers state show the advances possible for all of humanity with the over­turn of capitalism and the institution of a planned, collectivised economy and a regime of workers democracy. Following the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks abolished all laws against abortion and contraception. The dicta­tory of the proletariat. The rights granted to women in the early Soviet workers state show the advances possible for all of humanity with the over­turn of capitalism and the institution of a planned, collectivised economy and a regime of workers democracy.

It is clear that a lot has changed in Ire­land since the time of Nurse Cadden. But if we look at exactly what has changed and what has stayed the same, we see that what Engels described as the funda­mentals of capitalist society, including the oppression of women, are still pres­ent today. One key difference since Cad­den’s time is the increased numbers of women in work. Women also have access to contraception, which was illegal at the time. Homosexuality was decriminalised in 1993; divorce was legalised in 1997.

And the 1967 British Abortion Act did have a huge impact on the quality of life here; although only legal in Britain, legal abortion came within reach of a large number of Irish women. But it has always remained out of reach for poor women and is out of reach for many immigrants. Without a temporary travel permit, a preg­nant asylum-seeker or immigrant on a restricted visa travelling abroad for an abortion risks not being allowed to re­enter Ireland, or having to seek a back­street abortion here. In 2004 there were two reports of backstreet abortions having been carried out on immigrant women. We call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants including the right to abortion.

Attitudes to marriage and children have changed vastly. One report found that 3.2 percent of children born in 1973 were born outside marriage. But 30 years later, in 2003, this had risen to 31.4 per­cent. The church’s power to pressurise unmarried mothers to give their children up for adoption is and is less socially stigmatised to choose to remain child­less. On the other hand, many of the old prejudices persist, especially in rural areas. Commenting on a recent survey which found that the rate of women con­cealing their pregnancy was much higher in the West of Ireland than in Dublin, a spokeswoman for the Crisis Pregnancy Agency said: “It shows that there is still a considerable stigma among women to give their children up for adoption, because the church is now very much against them.”

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The church has been reduced in society, in no small part due to the revelations of the endemic bru­tality towards children in the schools and other institutions. However, the church’s power has not been broken. The church still runs the vast majority of National Schools and the control of most of the hospitals. The fact that the church runs the schools means that sex edu­cation is perforce not very good. The “Catholic ethos” of most hos­pitals means that even if abortion were legalised, there would be few if any places where the procedure would be carried out. For separation of church and state! For free quality health care for all!

While there are more women at work, childcare is so expensive that it is very difficult for women to return to work unless she has a very well­paid job or family members who can look after the children. This helps to keep women at work. And in work, women are paid a good deal less than men. Having to pay for childcare helps to keep women in poverty. There are no marriage rights for gay couples. Gay people are not provided with the same rights as heterosexual couples. This is not to say that gay rights are not important, but it is clear that gay rights are not the same as marriage rights.

Full democratic rights for gays! Full democratic rights for gays!
We need to educate the working class to power in its own name. This means a political revolution which will provide the economic means to the working class to lead the working class to power.
War Crimes... (continued from page 1)

Treasurer Secretary John Snow or even Donald Rumsfeld: it is President Bush himself.

Compounding Bush's current problems are former House majority leader Tom DeLay's indictment for financial shenanigans and investigations into Senate majority leader Bill Frist, who is suspected of similar transgressions. The Republicans are concerned that, given the occupation's unpopularity, their hold on Senate and House may be in danger in next year's Congressional elections. Republicans, as well as Democrats, are calling for greater restrictions on the FBI's ability to procure and indefinitely retain business and personal records in connection with anti-terrorism investigations without a judge's approval. The Republicans rebelled against Bush in the Senate, voted unanimously for a measure outlawing the torture of prisoners.

This has not stopped Cheney from doggedly pursuing an official waiver for the CIA on the use of torture. With the European Union now investigating reports of secret CIA prisons in Poland, Romania, and elsewhere, the last four years—the U.S. rulers have even more reason to worry that their pretensions to democracy abroad are being shredded.

Fearing that the weakness of the Bush regime would lead to the fall of the Supreme Court with anti-abortion, anti-civil rights zealots, the religious right rose up to oust Justice Harry A. Blackmun, prompting Bush to select a candidate from the Catholic right. Samuel Alito, Jr., has already produced reactionary and pro-big-business court decisions unambiguous.

This comes after the installation of the reactionary John Roberts as Chief Justice. The conservative core of the party, answering to its wealthy constituents, is taking an ax to the bankruptcy courts to cut union wages. Marx said almost 150 years ago is ever bit as true today: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

Spartacist initiated-contingent at March 2003 antiwar rally in New York City

For Working-Class Independence!

Normally, the stark incompetence of the White House and pervasive social disconnection would suggest that the party in power would do well to pack the chin and look for deals on moving vans while those in the opposition, in this case the Demo­crats, might begin investigating the D.C. housing market. A recent Pew Research Center survey, however, revealed that while Democratic leaders in Congress had a dismal 32 percent approval rating while Bush's rating dropped below 40 percent. Both the excessively venerable Walter Cronkite and New York Times columnist Bob Herbert have recently suggested in the Times that the Democrats should at least appear to articulate differences with the Republicans.

For decades, it was the norm that the Democratic Party, as the capitalist party that sought the votes of working people in order to at least pretend to address their concerns, promising a less savage and heart­less social contract than the New Deal of the 1930s New Deal under Franklin D. Roosevelt, which proposed a set of palliative reforms in an attempt to deflect an unprecedented depression. Instead of leading to the formation of a workers party, the titanic labor battles of the time were channeled by the Stalinist Communist Party and other union militants into support for Roosevelt's Democratic Party. Since that time, it has been primarily through the instrument of the Democratic Party that the trade-union movement has channeled the workers to the capitalists and their state. 

During Bill Clinton's two terms as president, he continued the work of his Republican predecessors in taking an ax to many of the social programs set up under the New Deal. Following years of rollback of the gains of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s, it was left to this consummate hustler to convince black people that it felt their pain as he pushed the death penalty and signed the death warrant for welfare. And it was during his reign of fascist Sherlock Holmes specula­tion and Ponzi scheme "investments" by the dot-com industries attracted the money available to the new capitalism with the result that, when the bubble burst, the pensions of many working people became so many worthless scraps of paper.

The Democratic Party has the same class interests as the Republicans. The Democrats may still wrap their program differently to appeal to their voters, for example social welfare, but it will be the same as the Republicans' abysmal efforts in the mass­ive assault on working people. Why, for example, given the attacks on health benefits, the Democrats offer up the benefit of these by the dot-com industries attracted the pauper workers in the mass­ive social struggle, there is simply no current motivation for the Democrats to offer up the New Deal rhet­oric that some of their liberal ideological demand. Furthermore, ruling-class poli­ticians, Democrats included, will not lightly tamper with the imperial presi­dency. Nevertheless, bourgeois oppo­sition to the Bush administration will well deepen if, for the Iraq occupation gets further bogged down or the dome comes.

Any labor movement worth its salt would use the travails of the White House to mount an attack against the massive assault on working people. Why, for example, given the attacks on health benefits, the Democrats, that is, for its inability to recognize its class identity in opposition to the capitalist class. The primary and day-to-day barrier to the forging of a working-class party is the special oppres­sion of black people as a race-color caste. If the good industrial job has been slaugh­tered, it is to no small degree black work­ers who are thrown into unemployment and the grinding poverty of the ghetto. If education and health care are going down the drain for most everyone, it's been this class in the ghettos. But Karl Marx said almost 150 years ago is ever bit as true today: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

Spartacist Youth Club Classes

BAY AREA
Women's Oppression, the Family, and Capitalism: A Marxist Perspective on How to Fight Flight Hamilton Hall, Room 103
Friday, November 18, 5 p.m.
San Francisco State University
Cedar Chavez Student Center. Rm. 7193
Information and readings: (415) 338-0511 or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

CHICAGO
The Bolshevik Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power
Thursday, November 29, 5 p.m.
Cobb Hall 101
University of Chicago
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441 or e-mail: acabex@uchicago.edu

LOS ANGELES
Women's Oppression and the Family
Saturday, December 3, 2 p.m.
3808 Beverly Blvd., Room 215 (Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)
Information and readings: (213) 390-8399 or e-mail: acabex@uchicago.edu

NEW YORK
The Struggle for Working Class Leadership Today: Break with the Past, Build an HDP!
Build a Revolutionary Party!
Wednesday, November 16, 6:30 p.m.
U of T, Sydney Smith, Room 2128
100 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 569-4138 or e-mail: acabex@uchicago.edu

VANCOUVER
The Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power
Thursday, November 24, 5 p.m.
UBC, Student Union Building. Rm. 212
Information and readings: (604) 687-6033 or e-mail: hlt@tock.ca
Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org
been to pass the bar exam. Political independence of the proletariat from the anti-Communist unions is the key. Full days in the Le Mirail neighborhood, the PS and PCF are using the current riots in order to refurbish their image of the whole nation, which means the overturn of capital and the bourgeoisie. The capitalist state (prison guards, the army), their function is to serve the workers state under the political revolution to oust the Stalinist government. The police cannot be reformed to serve the population. Promotions of racial and ethnic minorities to positions of power within the police, and to the leading role in pushing the building of a collectivized, planned economy, even in the rather miserable circumstances of backward Russia, could provide all with a job, a place to live, basic health care and a decent education, something that no capitalist society has achieved. This was the product of a successful workers revolution—the October Revolution of 1917 led by the Bolshevik Party. Despite the subsequent degeneration of the workers state under the political rule of the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, the International Communist Union defended the Soviet Union against all attempts at capital's counter-revolution, whether of imperialist or domestic origins. We fought for a workers political revolution to est the Stalinist bureaucratic, which daily undermined the gains of the October Revolution, and replaced the rule of workers councils (councils). That is our program for the remaining deformed workers states—China, North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba. The current situation in the U.S. steel industry is a clear example of how the capitalist profit system differs from a planned economy under workers rule. In 1980, some 400,000 workers were employed in U.S. steel plants and produced about one ton of steel per worker every nine hours. Today, only 120,000 workers are similarly employed and produce a ton of steel every two hours. Under capitalism, which is geared toward maximizing profits of the few industrialists, these increased productivity has fueled unemployment, the contraction of wages and benefits and the safeguarding of the unions of union retirees. Under a socialist planned economy, this transformation would be a good thing, shortening the workday while increasing the potential social product available to society as a whole. There is no reform that can bridge these counterposed social systems. The fight to forge the American revolutionary proletarian party requires the exposure and denunciation of those who lead the workers onto the path of reform of the murderous and anarchic imperialist order. This includes the likes of the International Socialist Organization and Workers World Party, whose efforts center on pleasing the Democrats to beat imperialism’s sabers into the plow-shares of jobs and social benefits. Most recently, this has involved the promotion of the anti-Semitic, anti-woman, pro-black-capitalism demagogue Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam. The PS is a reaction of the “Millions More March” in Washington, D.C., last month. Attracting support from Bill Clinton and an army of black Democrats—as well as a handful of “progressive” union officials—that march was called to commemorate Farrakhan’s 1995 rally for “atonement,” which blazed black people for their own oppression. The groundwork for the current attacks on the well-being of all was prepared with a frontal assault on black people. Thus; the PCF and PCF-like groups of the Left and Midwest has been especially devas-

[Image of a map or chart, possibly related to the text.]

France (continued from page 12)

who is still widely hated by undocumented immigrants and by ghetto youths, whom he liked to refer to as sauvages (little savages). He introduced new laws ena-
ting changes to be brought against anyone found helping undocumented workers. "You're backing the PS and PCF to coup and Chevenement’s "urban neighbor-
hood police" days is a deadly omen for minorities and youth. It was Jospin's cops who killed Yasser Ould Hamlaoui in Tour-

coun in 1998, provoking a riot for three full days in the Le Mirail neighborhood, which was quelled by a massive mobiliza-
tion of the riot police, exactly as Sar-
kozy/de Villepin are doing now. Again, in April 2000, a neighborhood patrol killed Ryad Hamlaoui near Lille, provoking another outburst of violence. The PCF issued a special statement (l'Humanité, 4 November) on Chilly, demanding: “Place the police at the serv-

ice of the whole nation, which means democratization, training, neighborhood funds.” LO’s edi-
torial on Chilly mentions immigration or racism only once, in order to warn that Sarkozy’s antics will mobilize against the police and racism among many of its elements. As if putting a different top cop in charge and through a formal inquiry or the front line would create “good” French cops. All these reformists are trying to rehabilitate or contain the oppressed youth, thus promoting deadly illusions in the bourgeois Republic. The police cannot be reformed or allowed to revert to the popular role of the police. Promoting the line that they can be reformed is what distinguishes reformists from revolutionaries. Thus; like the other armed bodies of men that constitute the core of the state (prison guards, the army), their function is to protect the owners of the means of production by the capitalists. The capitalist state has a legal monopoly on weapons and maintain its military and capitalist system: the police are the guard dogs of the bourgeoisie, not workers working in uniform.” Police: the police guards, out of the guards, out of the bourgeois, not workers working in uniform. —PCF, LCR: Architects of a New “Popular Front”

In its statement, the PCF speaks accus-
ingly to the “staggering” Stalinist show of tactics. It has shown that it is incapable of guaranteeing public order. The PS and PCF are using the December 1998 demonstrations to finish their much-tarnished credentials and present themselves as those who are more capa-
ble of maintaining order in the largely minority neighborhoods, and thus can be relied upon by the bourgeoisie to run the bourgeois state more smoothly.

At bottom, the issue for the PCF is to push forward a new coalition, including with bourgeois parties like the Greens, Chevenementistes and Left Radicals, to win the 2007 elections. And the Logement Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) as well as LO (albeit more indirectly) are helping them out. The “left,” including the PCF and the pseudo-Trotskists from the LCR and LO, are sharing a platform on November 8 in Paris with two little Chevenementistes bourgeois parties, MARS and MRC, supposedly against the priv-

atization of the EFDF electricity monopoly. Thus, the LCR and LO promote illusions that you can fight the capitalist onslaught by uniting with capitalist parties!

Down With the Racist Campaign “Against Terrorism”!

In early October at Charles de Gaulle Airport, baggage handlers went on strike for the improvement of hiring of casual workers and for higher wages (following the pri-

vatisation of Air France under the previ-

ous government of Jospin/Buffet). The strike was broken by the government, using Vigipirate and a supposed terrorist threat paid by luggage noises. This shows very concretely what we have been saying for years: Vigipirate targets all unions and unionists and the working class as a whole. It may be wielded again in coming weeks if a major strike gets underway at the French railway. LO has from Day One refused to oppose Vigipirate and this goes hand in hand with its leading role in pushing the racist campaign to expel young women wearing the headscarf from school. In France, Islam is a religion of the oppressed and of the ghettoes. The headscarf represen-
tation of a revolutionary social program that confines women to the home in a position of servitude. The expulsion of Muslim students from school can only reinforce their isolation and oppression and fuel racism against all immigrants. We oppose these Chirac campaigns and defend the girls who wear headscarves against the bour-

geois state. Instead of that, LO welcomed Chirac’s law banning the headscarf, a racist law that is part and parcel of the daily harassment against Muslims, and LO spokesman Arlène Lagüiller even linked his a 6 a March 2004 march of women from immigrant neighborhoods to the “French Secretariat for prison construction from Chirac’s UMP party”! LO does mobilize on behalf of undocumented immigrants, just as many bour-

geois liberals do who believe the French Republic should be able to integrate these immigrants who often have been in France for years and have raised families in this country. However, racism against our youth runs deep and goes to the core of French capitalism, serving to profoundly isolate and suppress all black people. The headscarf, the flag of black struggle, has been used by the fascists to signal the end of the charade in which they painted the issue, talking only of “poor neighborhoods,” avoiding the key ques-
tion of racial oppression. What is needed is to forge the revolutionary unity of the working class, starting with workers and small businesses mobilizations against racist police terror. We fight to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party, committed to lead-
ting the proletariat of this country in socialist revolution.

[Image of a map or chart, possibly related to the text.]

PHOTOGRAPHS

[Image of a map or chart, possibly related to the text.]

Ludovic Bost

Left: High school students expelled from school for wearing headscarves in 2003. Right: Paris cops on road to the workers state under the political revolution to oust the Stalinist government, serving to profoundly isolate and suppress all black people. The headscarf, the flag of black struggle, has been used by the fascists to signal the end of the charade in which they painted the issue, talking only of “poor neighborhoods,” avoiding the key ques-
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New Orleans... (continued from page 2)

There is a massive shortage of housing for both local and returning residents. Contractors and crews got little cooperation from local authorities and are squabbling in mass encampments in City Park and empty lots everywhere. There is to this date not one occupied FEMA trailer in use in all of Orleans Parish.

Cops are enforcing the message that black residents better stay away. A ten-towering 64-year-old black retired schoolteacher back to check on his 9th Ward home was beaten bloody and senseless and arrested outside his French Quarter hotel by NOPD who then men­aced the TV camera man and reporter who recorded the incident. A middle-aged black female friend of mine, also back to check on her home, told me she’s leaving the city for good because she cannot enter a store or place of business without being treated like a probable looter.

That was the line from the bourgeois street cleaner who fired at our vehicle as we were driving out of town. The prostitute bourgeois press duly pulled the lies as fact for four fateful days: Namely that there was nobody in New Orleans to save but criminals and looters, and you couldn’t go in there because your vehicles were stopped by the feds and the most vulnerable elderly and ill died awaiting res­cue. At Boston University (BU), the administration suspended the Friends of the Spartacist Youth Club (FOSYC) midway through the sub drive. The Boston cops used this as an opportunity for a show trial by holding this flagrant political censorship, mobilizing support among BU students and faculty to reinstate FOSYC. As a result of the FOSYC defense campaign, 18 points were sold at BU.

Finally, the $10/50 points included for subscriptions to WV sold by our Canadian comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste as part of their W & BV campaign. Subscriptions mailed in from locations not serviced by a local make up the remainder of the "at large" points. Congratulations again to everyone for all their work!

We welcome our readers, new and long-time, to keep in contact with your local comrades and to support our active supporters and join in the struggles of the working people and oppressed. We encourage you to contact us to discuss the contents of WV and introduce WV to friends and co-workers. If you need our purpose and prin­ciples, join us! 
The following article is based on a leaflet issued on November 5 by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France. PARIS, November 8—On October 27, two youth of African origin, Ziad Benna and Bouna Traoré, were electrocuted in a power substation where they had sought refuge from a police dragnet in Clichy-sous-Bois, near Paris. For over a week, immigrant and minority ghettos and neighborhoods have been in flames. Thousands of cars as well as some warehouses and stores have burned. The unprecedented unrest in the suburban ghettos has also flared up in the center of Paris and spread to suburbs all over France and beyond. Cars were set ablaze outside the main train station in Brussels and in a working-class neighborhood of Berlin. The French government continues to fuel the outrage. A state of emergency invoking sweeping police measures has now been imposed against the seething ghettos. Stone, 10,000 police have been deployed while more than 1,200 youth have been arrested and some have already been sentenced to months in jail. We demand the immediate release of all the jailed youth and the dropping of all charges! Down with racist police terror against youth in the immigrant ghettos! We also oppose Vigipirate, a plan consisting of racist joint police and army patrols in train and metro stations and airports, which has been on “code red” for five months now.

The explosion started in Clichy-sous-Bois, a rundown ghetto with a population consisting heavily of immigrants and French youth of immigrant descent. The official unemployment rate there is 25 percent; in reality, probably more than 50 percent of youth there are unemployed. No wonder Clichy exploded. The bourgeoisie does not have much to offer these youth except police patrols, jail and death—in some prisons about 80 percent of the inmates are of Muslim background, whereas Muslims make up less than 10 percent of the population of France. A recent sociological study documents “apartheid at school,” with racist segregation now even more intense in high schools than in housing. As a result, these youth have little to no perspective of finishing school or getting a job. And the situation has gone from bad to worse over the last 20 years, under “left” and right-wing governments alike. Racism is inherent to capitalism, and in France it is rooted also in its colonial past: the French bourgeoisie still seethes over its defeat in the Algerian liberation struggle over 40 years ago. A consistent fight against racist oppression requires a flight to overturn the whole capitalist system. Riots such as these are an expression of despair by unemployed youth so marginalized that they are deprived of any means to be a factor for effective social change. The unrest has also included incidents of indiscriminate attacks on individuals who happened to find themselves in the wrong place, and has destabilized the neighborhoods these youth have to live in. Yet despite the vast energies expended and the devastation suffered, these outbreaks usually change nothing. This makes it even more important for workers to fight for better conditions for residents of these neighborhoods. The working class is the social force that has the objective interest and power to overturn this whole system of racist exploitation, racism and misery, and build a workers state based on a planned economy.

Clichy-sous-Bois is another city in the 93rd district, a heavily working-class and immigrant region outside Paris that was prominent in the recent riots. In Clichy there is also a large Citroën auto plant where young workers, mostly of North and West African immigrant origin, carried out a winning strike this past March. Thousands of youth from the area have jobs at the nearby Charles de Gaulle Airport, one of the largest in Europe. The power of the multiethnic workforce of the area, French and immigrant, can be unleashed to fight against the oppressive conditions in the ghettos and in defense of the oppressed youth. But for this to happen, what is necessary is a relentless fight against the chauvinist trade-union bureaucracy, which restrains and betrays working-class struggles because at bottom it shares the bourgeoisie’s concern that French capitalism be made more “competitive” against its international rivals.

The government’s vicious attack against a whole generation of youth is intended to fuel racist divisions within the multiethnic working class of this country in a context of savage attacks against the whole proletariat via the working-class resistance. After the seamen of the Corsica-Mediterranean ferry line lost their strike, the government, wielding an anti-strike court injunction, is now trying to break a month-long strike by Marseille trained workers. The workers have mobilized for November 21 by all the major unions of the SNCF railway. This makes it all the more urgent for the organized workers’ movement to oppose the government’s racist onslaught. For the working class, it is a life-and-death question to stand united and fight off the attacks on its standard of living and on social services.

As LTW wrote in Le Bolchevik (September 2005):

"An attack against one is an attack against all. The whole working class must mobilize in defense of its most vulnerable class brothers, the workers coming from North and West Africa in particular, who form a strategic component of the proletariat of this country, whether in construction, auto or among the sanitation workers of Paris. What’s needed is a campaign to mobilize the working class, union leaders, left and right, to fight against the terrible conditions in the immigrant ghettos. We must authorize the workers of Clichy-sous-Bois and other ghettos to defend themselves by launching their own struggles to defend their jobs. Down with Vigipirate! Down with racist expulsions and deportation charter flights! Full citizenship rights for all those who are here! French troops out of Africa!"

**Neighborhood Police and Riot Police: Guard Dogs of the Bourgeois Order**

The government and the reformist parties should be condemned for their refusal to protest the government’s racist attacks against the immigrant neighborhoods and other neighborhoods. They mainly complain that Interior Minister Dominique de Villepin “is not afraid of anything” and that he is simply pursuing his career to become president. They thus give backhanded support to his rival, Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin (a close ally of President Jacques Chirac), who has even increased the level of police repression since he took over the situation after the first days of rioting. The reformists condemn Sarkozy for sending riot police on hit-and-run operations against the minority ghettos. Instead of Sarkozy’s raids, they promote the so-called good old days of “neighborhood police” put in place by the late popular front government of Lionel Jospin of the Socialist Party (PS) and Marie-George Buffet, the current head of the Communist Party (PCF). The PCF and Lutte Ouvrière (LO), which is linked to the American Trotskyist organization Spartak, have even attacked Sarkozy for reducing the number of police working daily in the ghettos. LO wrote in Lutte Ouvrière (July 15):

"The complete contradiction to his promises, the minister Sarkozy has conducted the same policy as his colleagues: playing tricks with the numbers to hide the decrease, closing police prec­

ices, plugging without limits.

The "neighborhood police" was a favorite concept of the Communist Party (PCF), minister of police in the Jospin government, continued on page 10.

![Ghetto Youth Upheavals Sweep France](image-url)