

Oakland Labor-Centered Mobilization Defies “National Unity”

Defend Immigrants! Defend the Unions!



OAKLAND—For the first time anywhere, on February 9 organized labor was mobilized here to flex its muscle in defense of its immigrant brothers and sisters targeted under the U.S. rulers’ “war on terrorism.” Some 300 unionists, immigrants, blacks and youth rallied in downtown Oakland in opposition to the USA-Patriot Act, the Maritime Security Act and the anti-immigrant witchhunt. At the core of this demonstration were over 30 dock workers from International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10, including members of the drill team. They joined transit workers from Bay Area Rapid Transit, water utility workers from the East Bay Municipal Utility District, printers, federal park workers from San Francisco’s Presidio, day laborers, Asian and Near Eastern immigrants, college and high school students, and the revolutionary Marxists of the Spartacist League to declare that the U.S. working class will fight to defend all the oppressed against their common capitalist class enemy.

In initiating and building this united-front protest, the Bay Area Labor Black



League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee sought above all to win workers to the need to tear through the straitjacket of “national unity” promoted by the U.S. capitalist rulers and break down the poisonous racial and ethnic divisions among the oppressed that they promote. Marching through down-

town Oakland, past the headquarters of the shipping employers’ Pacific Maritime Association and the Federal Building housing the government enforcers of the capitalist attacks, the multiracial, working-class protesters chanted: “National unity is a lie—Bosses profit, workers die!” and “Immigrant rights, black

February 9: Bay Area longshoremen were at core of labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrant rights.

rights: Same struggle, same fight—Workers of the world unite!” Banners of the SF Day Labor Program; AFSCME Local 444; National Parks and Public Employees, Laborers International Local 1141 and the Spartacist League joined those of the PDC and LBL on the march.

For many black longshoremen, acting in defense of immigrants—including the unorganized port truckers—represented a conscious break with widespread sentiment that immigrants and blacks are competitors, not allies—a lie cultivated by the capitalist rulers and their labor lieutenants in the trade-union bureaucracy. At the rally, they joined forces with the Filipino Workers Association and with the largely Latino immigrant workers of the SF Day Labor Program, whose spokesman Eduardo Palomo declared: “We are here to resist the Patriot Act, the law that is going to harm all the workers of this

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ICL Sections Mobilize Against Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Labor Attacks....3

The IG, the Unions and the State

Defense of the trade unions against the capitalist state is elementary for Marxists. As the following article by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, translated from *Espartaco* No. 16 (Fall-

ESPARTACO

Winter 2001), demonstrates, the centrist Internationalist Group (IG) rejects that elementary duty by denying that the corporatist CTM union federation is even a working-class organization because it is linked to the bourgeois Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Underlining the opportunism motivating the IG's spurious claim, which is aimed at pandering to the "independent" union bureaucrats who are close to the equally bourgeois Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), is its very different attitude toward corporatist unions in other countries.

In a January 2002 article on Argentina, the IG accepts as bona fide workers organizations the Peronist unions, whose corporatist pedigrees are no less clear than that of the Mexican CTM, even while acknowledging that "all the main leaders are part of the [bourgeois] 'Justicialist' movement founded by General Perón." Likewise in Algeria, where it has other fish to fry, the IG treats the UGTA, despite its links to the military regime, as a real trade-union federation (see "Algeria Rocked by Mass Protests," WV No. 761, 6 July 2001). The IG provides crystalline evidence of Trotsky's observation that centrist opportunism, defined by differing pressures on various national terrains, is inherently nationalist.

* * *

Last April, the Suprema Corte de Justicia (SCJN—Supreme Court) ruled that articles 395 and 413 of the Federal Labor

Law (LFT) are unconstitutional. The articles establish that a collective contract may include the so-called exclusion clause [*cláusula de exclusión*], which obligates the boss to hire only union members and to discharge any person who resigns or is expelled by the union. We are opposed to this attack on the so-called "closed shop." As we said: "A union's right to demand that all workers at a particular shop be union members is an important tool in labor's arsenal against the bosses who seek to divide the working class and weaken their organizations by hiring non-union labor" ("Mexico: Protest Cop Killing of Worker on May Day," WV No. 758, 11 May 2001).

Around the world, the bourgeoisies are in the midst of an offensive against the gains of labor won in the course of decades of struggle. Under the union-busting slogan of the "right to work," the closed shop has been one of their principal targets. Thus, in the United States the imperialist bourgeoisie has moved a large part of its industry to the historically "open shop" South, with the complicity of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. In Australia, there is an offensive directed in particular against the "closed shop" of construction workers.

It should be basic for any organization that calls itself revolutionary to clearly and sharply oppose the union-busting attacks by [Mexican president Vicente] Fox and his courts. Nevertheless, the Internationalist Group (IG), a group of ex-Trotskyist renegades that deserted from our party five years ago, has joined the anti-union offensive. They recently published (still only in English) a polemic against us, titled "ICL Supports Anti-Union Exclusion Clause in Mexico" (*Internationalist*, Summer 2001). It is clear from the title of their article that the IG believes and fosters the lie that the state is opposed to the exclusion clause because it is "anti-working-class." The IG says: "We oppose both the corporatist labor laws and the recent Supreme Court action." But after reading their article, one is left asking oneself how it is that the IG "is opposed" to the Supreme Court's decision (especially if, as they claim, the exclusion clause is "anti-communist" and "anti-union"). Throughout their entire leaflet they do nothing except make arguments against the exclusion clause. If the IG were honest, they would openly support the SCJN ruling.

The central purpose of the LFT, which went into effect in the 1930s, was to legitimize intervention of the bourgeois state into workers' struggles, giving a "legal" framework for the maintenance of the regime of capitalist exploitation. Toward this end, the nationalist bourgeoisie was also obliged to make concessions. So that while the LFT established the right to strike, the right to unionize, etc., it also subjected workers' struggles to mandatory arbitration, giving the state the "author-

ity" to decide when a strike "exists" and when it does not; it tied the unions to the bourgeois state, demanding their membership lists as a condition to "be recognized," etc. We Spartacists oppose, as a question of principle, the interference of the bourgeois state in the unions and in the struggles of the working class.

Today, even the meager concessions to the proletariat codified in the LFT represent an obstacle to the appetites for even greater exploitation on the part of the Mexican bourgeoisie and imperialism. It is for this reason that the PAN (National Action Party) government, with the PRD and PRI behind it, is leading an anti-union offensive, under the fig leaf of "democracy" and the "ending of the Mafias." The PRI-affiliated unions have been a particularly easy target under this fig leaf. Far from wanting to "democratize" the unions, the bourgeois state is seeking to weaken the workers organizations and to smash their struggles, as well as to get rid of even the right to strike and the eight-hour day.

Justifying their opposition to the exclusion clause, the IG shrieks: "During the last six decades, the exclusion clause has almost never been used to prevent the bosses from 'hiring nonunion labor,'" and "has been repeatedly used to fire reds and militant workers." In fact, since the 1930s, the principal unions of the country, PRI-affiliated as well as "independent," have included the exclusion clause in their collective contracts, and those seeking to become workers have to join the union first to apply for a job. The exclusion clause, indeed, has been used repeatedly by the bureaucracies, especially the pro-bourgeois gangsters of the [PRI-affiliated] CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers), to eliminate all those who are perceived as being an opposition. But the IG fosters the stupidity that, upon eliminating union control over hiring, the bosses will fire fewer communists and union militants than the bureaucrats.

We Spartacists do not recognize a class difference between the CTM-affiliated unions and other unions. Ultimately, a union with a right-wing leadership is better than no union at all. The fundamental premise which guides our fight against the bureaucracy is the complete political independence of the proletariat from the class enemy and its state. The IG, on the other hand, maintains that the unions affiliated to the PRI are not working-class organizations: "Corporatist 'unionism' ...represents the *class enemy*" (*El Internacionalista/Edición México*, May 2001). According to the IG, the only unions are the affiliates of the [newly formed "independent" labor confederation] UNT (National Union of Workers) or the so-called "independents" such as the SME (Mexican Union of Electrical Workers); in other words, *those*

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TROTSKY

The Bolshevik Revolution and Black Liberation

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was a beacon to workers and oppressed peoples around the world, not least black people in the U.S. It had a direct impact on the struggle for black freedom, as Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International fought to make American Communists understand the centrality of the fight against black oppression to socialist revolution in the U.S. Jamaican-born poet Claude McKay, writing after a visit to Soviet Russia, where he

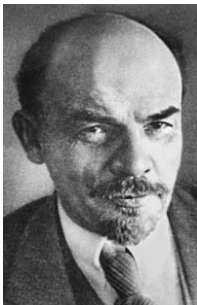
addressed the Communist International's Fourth Congress in 1922, underlined the significance of the October Revolution for American blacks in an essay published in the NAACP's Crisis magazine.

When the Russian workers overturned their infamous government in 1917, one of the first acts of the new Premier, Lenin, was a proclamation greeting all the oppressed peoples throughout the world, exhorting them to organize and unite against the common international oppressor—Private Capitalism. Later on in Moscow, Lenin himself grappled with the question of the American Negroes and spoke on the subject before the Second Congress of the Third International. He consulted with John Reed, the American journalist, and dwelt on the urgent necessity of propaganda and organizational work among the Negroes of the South. The subject was not allowed to drop. When Sen Katayama of Japan, the veteran revolutionist, went from the United States to Russia in 1921 he placed the American Negro problem first upon his full agenda. And ever since he has been working unceasingly and unselfishly to promote the cause of the exploited American Negro among the Soviet councils of Russia.

With the mammoth country securely under their control, and despite the great energy and thought that are being poured into the revival of the national industry, the vanguard of the Russian workers and the national minorities, now set free from imperial oppression, are thinking seriously about the fate of the oppressed classes, the suppressed national and racial minorities in the rest of Europe, Asia, Africa and America. They feel themselves kin in spirit to these people. They want to help make them free. And not the least of the oppressed that fill the thoughts of the new Russia are the Negroes of America and Africa....

Just as Negroes are barred from the American Navy and the higher ranks of the Army, so were the Jews and the sons of the peasantry and proletariat discriminated against in the Russian Empire. It is needless repetition of the obvious to say that Soviet Russia does not tolerate such discriminations, for the actual government of the country is now in the hands of the combined national minorities, the peasantry and the proletarian.

—Claude McKay, "Soviet Russia and the Negro," *Crisis* (December 1923)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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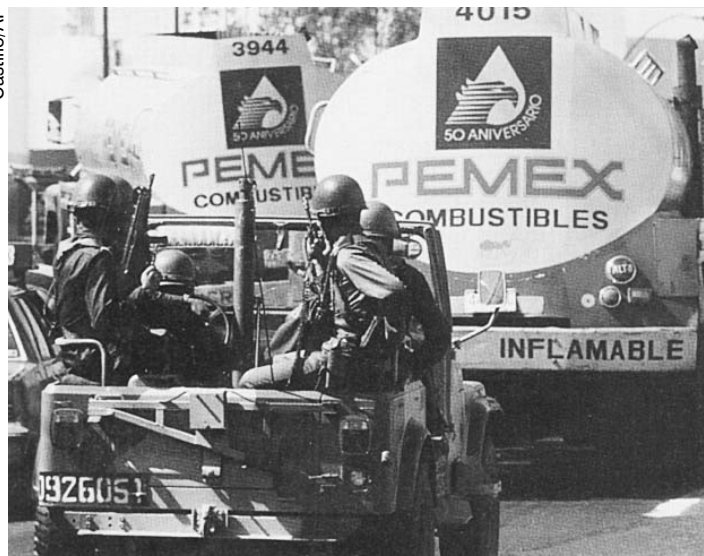
The closing date for news in this issue is 19 February.

No. 775

22 February 2002

Mexican troops mobilized to break 1989 CTM oil workers strike protesting arrest of union head. IG claims CTM is not workers organization.

Castillo/AP



Rallying International Support for Bay Area Protest

ICL Sections Mobilize Against Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Labor Attacks

Since September 11, capitalist governments around the world have seized upon the U.S.-led “war on terrorism” to bolster the repressive apparatus of the state against workers and the oppressed. Everywhere, they aim their fire in particular at immigrant workers, who are set up as scapegoats for the unemployment that is an inevitable consequence of capitalism’s economic crises. The February 9 united-front mobilization in Oakland against the anti-immigrant witchhunt and the USA-Patriot Act and Maritime Security Act demonstrated to besieged immigrants and class-conscious militants in the U.S. and internationally both the necessity and possibility of implementing the perspective that the International Communist League fights for: mobilizing labor’s power in defense of immigrants. This exemplary action in the U.S. was also a powerful refutation of the anti-Americanism that is pushed by a range of fake leftists in West Europe and elsewhere in order to amnesty their “own” capitalist ruling classes.

A statement of solidarity from the French SUD PTT postal union local at the Créteil parcel sorting facility testified to the international significance of the Oakland mobilization:

“After the recent slaughters in Iraq, Serbia and Afghanistan, imperialism is now trying to establish its hegemony, just as they want to crush the working class whose social power they fear.

“The aim of these vicious laws is to divide the working class by fomenting racist poison, and to weaken the working class by setting up as a target its already doubly oppressed component.

“We will popularize as much as we can,



Australasian Spartacist

February 2: SL/A contingent at Sydney antiwar demonstration protests attacks on immigrants, publicizes Bay Area mobilization. Asylum-seekers imprisoned in Australian concentration camps.



AAP

with our limited means, your exemplary initiative, which shows us the way to follow, including in France where black and Maghrebin workers are violently subjected to the reinforced Vigipirate plan, to police and army repression, at any time and everywhere. The reinforced Vigipirate plan was put into place by those lackeys of the French bourgeoisie, the social-democratic government, just after September 11 and with the complicity of the overwhelming majority of the French left and trade-union bureaucracy. Be assured, comrades, of our friendship and our solidarity.

“DOWN WITH THE RACIST LAWS IN THE U.S., IN FRANCE AND EVERYWHERE ELSE! LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF WORKERS!”

The Créteil postal union was among more than 50 labor organizations and

union officials to endorse the February 9 action. These ranged from International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10 in the Bay Area to the SITUAM campus workers in Mexico City and the Metro Toronto Region of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. Also lending its support was the strategic National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, where Thabo Mbeki’s African National Congress government is waging a war on black immigrants from Mozambique and other neighboring countries. The protest was also endorsed by a score of immigrant and minority rights groups.

From New York to Paris, the mobilization struck a chord among Palestinians and others of Near Eastern descent, who have been particularly targeted for

state harassment, detention and worse in the U.S. and Europe. In Germany, a racist dragnet first aimed at Arab students has been extended to Turkish and Kurdish immigrants as well as black people. In France, even second- and third-generation residents of North African (Maghrebin) origin are deemed “immigrants” and subjected to vicious police rampages. As the government intensifies its longstanding “Vigipirate” campaign, plainclothes and uniformed cops routinely stop people on the streets in working-class and minority neighborhoods and check their papers, and *sans-papiers* (undocumented immigrants) are increasingly being deported.

In Ireland, where the bourgeoisie fell

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Prometheus Research Library Memorial Book Fund

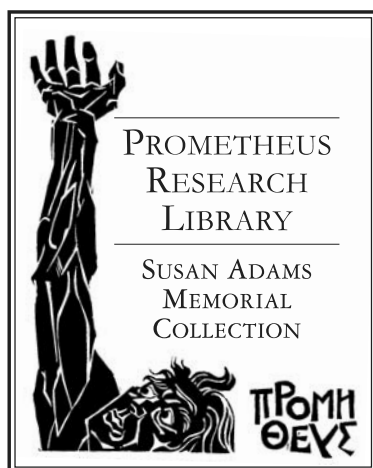
In Honor of Susan Adams 1948–2001

February 6 marked one year since the death of our comrade Susan Adams after a two-year struggle with cancer. In her 30 years as a communist cadre, Susan served on many of the battle fronts of our international party, from the Bay Area and Detroit branches of the Spartacist League/U.S. and our central office in New York to Paris and Moscow. When she returned to the U.S. to work in the central party administration after nearly 20 years of overseas assignments, she focused particularly on training and educating a new layer of youth recruits in New York and nationally. She also devoted much of her waning energy to preparing her public presentation on “Women and the French Revolution,” which was published shortly after her death in *WV* No. 752 (16 February 2001) and subsequently in the *Women and Revolution* pages of English, French, Spanish and German editions of *Spartacist*.

The Prometheus Research Library, central reference archive of the SL/U.S., has honored Susan by creating a special collection as a tribute to her lifelong commitment to Marxist education and the fight for women’s libera-

tion through socialist revolution. This special memorial collection of archival and current materials of the Marxist and workers movement related to the woman question, particularly its international aspects, will enable our comrades and visiting researchers to pursue further study in this area of great importance to Marxists.

There is hardly a section of the International Communist League or an area of our work that did not benefit directly from Susan’s exceptional talents as a



Spartacist

teacher and trainer of a new generation of proletarian leaders. In 1976, she became the representative of our International Secretariat in Europe. Until 1992, Susan was the principal leader of the Ligue Trotskyste de France. Determined to implant the Cannonist understanding of party building and Bolshevik norms of functioning which were largely alien to European cadre, she worked closely with often inexperienced leaderships in the European sections, getting them to seize on opportunities for building the party, to carry through regroupments with leftward-moving elements of opponent organizations and to combat the incessant pressures of French parochialism, British Labourism, resurgent German nationalism and so on.

When the incipient proletarian

political revolution erupted in East Germany in the fall of 1989, Susan threw herself into guiding and pushing forward our Trotskyist intervention. Three years later, she accepted the difficult assignment of heading up our small ICL station in Moscow, taking up the work of our comrade Martha Phillips who had been murdered at her post there in February 1992. Our Moscow group fought to reimplant Bolshevism in the face of the devastation of capitalist counterrevolution and of the retrograde Stalinist-derived chauvinists of the “red-brown” coalition. A prime achievement of our Moscow Station was the publication of Trotsky’s *The Third International After Lenin* in Russian and its distribution.

Throughout her years as a communist, Susan had an intense commitment to the study of history and culture, which she put to particular use as a member of the Editorial Board of *Women and Revolution*. We salute the memory of our comrade, whose critical-mindedness, integrity and revolutionary determination serve as an inspiration to us all as we go forward to realize the task to which she dedicated her life, the reforging of a Trotskyist Fourth International and the achievement of communism worldwide.

Those who wish to contribute to the book fund set up by the PRL in Susan’s memory may make checks payable to Spartacist, earmarked “Susan Adams Memorial Fund.” Mail to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Young Spartacus

From Korea Through the Vietnam War

The U.S. Left and the “American Century”

We print below the second part of an educational on the American left given over two days by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour to a gathering of Spartacus Youth Club members and youth from throughout the International Communist League in New York last summer.

At the very moment that a mass exodus from the Communist Party was underway in late 1956-early '57, the black community of Montgomery, Alabama—at one time the capital of the old Confederacy—was concluding a successful boycott of the city's racially segregated bus line. The leading spokesman for this action was a then little-known local Baptist minister, Martin Luther King Jr. Over the next decade, the civil rights movement would massively disrupt and polarize American society and would give rise to a new generation of young leftist radicals, black and white.

When I was arrested in the 1964 World's Fair protest and taken to Rikers Island, in the same group as me was a young black veteran of the Southern civil rights movement. He commented that the food in Rikers was terrible. It really was. By contrast, he said the food at the Parchman State Prison Farm in Mississippi was pretty good because the inmates grew it themselves. Here was a 19- or 20-year-old black activist with the demeanor of a professional revolutionary. He was making small talk about the quality of the food in the various prisons he had been in.

Some years ago, a British comrade commented that the 1960s was the only period in modern history when the American left influenced the European left. The usual direction of influence is the reverse. I had never thought about that before, and I pondered why. Why did the American left in the 1960s appear to be something radically new, dynamic and attractive to European leftists?

The answer, I believe, lies in the historically anomalous and unique character of the civil rights movement, which in turn lies in the historically anomalous and unique character of the American South. The United States in the 1950s was the only advanced capitalist country in the

Part Two: The Civil Rights Movement and Its Contradictions

world that had a major region which was *not* bourgeois democratic. The political and legal superstructure of the American South, though not its socio-economic base, was a lot closer to South Africa (to which it was commonly compared) than to the American North. It would not be an exaggeration to describe the Deep South in the early '50s as a racist totalitarian police state as far as blacks were concerned.

Thus the civil rights movement was a mass, trans-class bourgeois-democratic movement in an advanced bourgeois-democratic capitalist country. In his famous and controversial speech at the 1963 March on Washington, the young black civil rights leader John Lewis called for completing “the unfinished revolution of 1776.” He wasn't just saying it for rhetorical effect. That was how he thought. In the early 1960s in the U.S., one could be in a subjective sense a bourgeois-democratic revolutionary.

Unlike every other bourgeois-democratic movement in history, the civil rights movement was not directed at the central government of the country. It was directed at the governments of a region of the country. Civil rights leaders looked to and called on the central government to bring bourgeois democracy to the South, although those were not the terms they used. In effect, King and also John Lewis were

demanding the Northern bourgeoisie re-fight the Civil War by using the military power of the federal government to secure democratic rights for blacks in the South. A sympathetic history of the young Southern civil rights militants organized in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), written in the mid '60s, was aptly titled *The New Abolitionists*.

The emergence of a mass movement of blacks in the South that not only protested but also defied racist legality posed a problem for the Northern bourgeoisie which controlled the federal government, first under the Republican presidency of Dwight Eisenhower, then under the Democratic Kennedy/Johnson White House. The Northern bourgeoisie could go along with the suppression of the civil rights movement by the Southern state authorities and local governments in an attempt to restore the racist police-state conditions of the early '50s. Alternatively, the Northern bourgeoisie, utilizing the federal government, could favor policies that would introduce to the South the same bourgeois-democratic norms as in the rest of the country: ending legalized racial segregation, giving blacks the right to vote, integrating the upper echelon of the black petty bourgeoisie into the state apparatus—from local sheriff's departments to state legislatures to the U.S. Congress. The dominant sections of the Northern bourgeoisie opted for the latter course. Why?

First, legalized white supremacy in the South had become a serious embarrassment, even a weakness, for American imperialism in the Cold War with the Sino-Soviet states, especially in the newly independent countries in Africa and Asia. When Martin Luther King became a nationally known figure following the Montgomery bus boycott, he received a letter of congratulations from the mainstream Republican Clare Boothe Luce, who was then serving as U.S. ambassador to Italy. She wrote: “No day passed but the Italian communists pointed to events in our South to prove that American democracy was a

‘capitalistic myth.’ ... Our enemies abroad have profited greatly from the efforts of these Americans who would deny their own Constitution” (quoted in Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963* [1988]).

While legalized white supremacy in the South was clearly strengthening the Communist cause abroad, it could also potentially strengthen Communism or, more generally, left-wing radicalism in the U.S. itself. One of the very few Communists ever elected to public office as an official representative of the American CP was black: Ben Davis, who was elected New York City councilman from Harlem in the 1940s. In their own way, the American ruling class recognized the explosive potential of “black and red,” and repression was *not* always the best way of keeping blacks and reds apart.

Important sections of the American ruling class were worried that if the Southern regimes succeeded in suppressing King and the Baptist preachers, more extremist and radical black leaders would come to the fore. There might even develop a large-scale race war in the South. Of course, the blacks would lose; they would be massacred. But this would severely disrupt the American bourgeois order. Consider black soldiers at a military base in Alabama 20 or 30 miles away from where the Alabama National Guard was besieging a black community or black college. These black soldiers might defy their officers, take their weapons and shoot it out with the National Guard. Eisenhower, who was a former general, and the Pentagon generals could envision this as a worst-case scenario if the situation in the South got totally out of hand. In short, by the late 1950s, legalized white supremacy in the South had become a disruptive factor in the American bourgeois order.



John Herman Williams
Robert F. Williams (center) organized armed self-defense of black people in Monroe, North Carolina.



1960s protest. Mass civil rights movement in the South sought end to legalized racial segregation.

At the same time, the Northern bourgeoisie was not going to re-fight the Civil War. They would use the federal government to pressure but not to compel their Southern class brethren to grant democratic rights to blacks. Furthermore, the Northern liberal bourgeoisie was concentrated in the Democratic Party, whose national dominance since the 1930s was based on their alliance with the Southern white-supremacist Dixiecrats. Northern liberal Democrats tried to preserve this alliance with the Dixiecrats, though in the end it broke apart under the pressure of the civil rights movement.

Thus the Eisenhower and Kennedy/Johnson administrations engaged in a continual series of compromises between the civil rights movement and the Southern state and local authorities. On the one hand, Northern bourgeois public opinion encouraged an entire generation of young liberal idealists—black and white—to involve themselves in the civil rights movement. When in 1960 black students in North Carolina sat in at segregated lunch counters, Eisenhower was asked to comment on this at a press conference. He replied that he was “deeply sympathetic with the efforts of any group to enjoy the rights...guaranteed by the Constitution.” King’s Southern Christian Leadership

Conference (SCLC) was generously funded by the Taconic Foundation (financed by the Mellon family), the Field Foundation and the Ford Foundation, the top echelon of American capital.

At the same time, the Northern liberal establishment, as it was called, sought to restrain the most militant elements of the civil rights movement. And both the Eisenhower and Kennedy/Johnson administrations usually did very little to prevent the violent suppression of civil rights activists by the Southern authorities and sometimes collaborated in that suppression.



Supporters of Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party engage in protest to unseat white-supremacist state delegates at 1964 Democratic Party National Convention in Atlantic City.

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Radicalization of Civil Rights Militants

As a result, young civil rights militants became increasingly frustrated, then disillusioned with and finally hostile toward the Northern liberal establishment. One of the few good books on the American left in this period is Clayborne Carson’s *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (1981). It traces the evolution of the main body of young black activists from the mainstream liberalism of King to “revolutionary” black nationalism.

For example, one of the earliest SNCC projects was a voter registration drive in rural Mississippi. The leading black local involved in this campaign was shot and killed by a prominent white politician who was then acquitted by an all-white jury after claiming self-defense. The head of the SNCC project, Robert Moses, located a black eyewitness who agreed to testify that it was murder and not self-defense. Moses turned the name of this witness over to agents of the U.S. Justice Department who, as was their usual practice, turned it over to the local sheriff’s department. Predictably, the black eyewitness was severely beaten by a deputy sheriff and was later shot and killed. In 1968, Moses exiled himself to Africa, bitterly hostile toward white American liberals.

For most SNCC militants, the decisive

act of betrayal at the hands of their white liberal “allies” came at the 1964 Democratic Party convention. SNCC had organized the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), which claimed to be the legitimate representative of the national Democratic Party in the state. The MFDP delegation demanded that it be seated at the convention in place of the official white-supremacist delegation. Of course, Lyndon Johnson was not going to exclude the Mississippi Dixiecrats from the convention. That would be tantamount to self-destruction of the Democratic Party in the South.

Instead, Johnson offered a typical compromise. In addition to the official white-supremacist delegates from the state, the MFDP would get two at-large delegates, and the rest of its representatives would have honorary, non-voting seats. All of the big guns of Northern liberalism—Hubert Humphrey, the recognized leader of the Democratic Party liberal wing, United Auto Workers head Walter Reuther—were brought to bear on the SNCC/MFDP people to accept this compromise. They refused. Afterward, Stokely Carmichael stated that “black people in Mississippi and throughout this country could not rely on their so-called allies. Many labor, liberal and civil

rights leaders deserted the MFDP because of closer ties to the national Democratic party” (quoted in Carson, *In Struggle*). Two years later, SNCC, with Carmichael as its chairman, would openly break with Democratic Party liberalism under the deliberately inflammatory slogan of “Black Power.”

The question of “nonviolence” was a major issue defining the right-left divisions in the civil rights movement. The right wing, represented by King, maintained that nonviolence was a principle. The center-left, represented by most SNCC militants, held nonviolent resistance to be an appropriate tactic. The far left, represented by Robert F. Williams in Monroe, North Carolina, rejected nonviolence in favor of armed self-defense.

From today’s vantage point, it’s far from obvious why nonviolence was such an important defining question. As the radical black nationalist H. Rap Brown later put it, “Violence is as American as cherry pie.” Christian pacifism, as espoused by King, has never been a significant part of American political culture. The large majority of black supporters of the SCLC and the vast majority of members and supporters of SNCC were not Christian pacifists. Very few of the tens of thousands of young men who participated in the civil rights movement refused to be drafted by claiming to be conscientious objectors.

Why then did the leadership of the civil rights movement claim to be committed to nonviolence and the Northern liberal establishment insist that they better be committed to nonviolence? This was not primarily a practical or tactical question. Armed self-defense, as practiced by Williams in North Carolina and later by the Deacons for Defense in Louisiana, was effective only against extralegal racist terrorist groups like the Klan. It was not effective against the police and military forces of the Southern states. When the FBI and the North Carolina authorities decided to get Williams, they got him. They had a

Liberal civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. and NAACP head Roy Wilkins, here with Robert Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, were beholden to racist Democratic Party.



lot more firepower than he did. There was no possibility and no one thought there was any possibility of a successful black armed insurrection against the Southern white-supremacist governments.

The real importance of the question lay on a different political plane. As was often the case in those days, Malcolm X went to the crux of the matter when he denounced King and the SCLC:

“The greatest miracle Christianity has achieved in America is that the black man in white Christian hands has not grown violent. It is a miracle that 22 million have not *risen up* against their oppressors—in which they would have been justified by all moral criteria, and even by the democratic tradition!”

—*The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965)

The basic question was whether black people had the moral and democratic right to overthrow the white racist government which oppressed them. Nonviolence versus armed self-defense was the way in which the question of reform versus revolution was posed in the civil rights movement.

Our Tendency’s Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism

To assert that black people have a moral and democratic right to overthrow the oppressive racist system and government does not, of course, give them the capacity to do so. That’s where the revolutionary Marxist program, strategy and leadership come into play.

There are very few historical conjunctures in which a small Marxist propaganda group with a couple hundred members can within a few years transform itself into a workers party leading a significant section of the proletariat. I believe the American South in the early 1960s offered such a rare historical opportunity. In this sense, the rightward degeneration of the once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the 1950s was a negative factor that may have altered the entire future course of American and, therefore, world history.

Had the SWP remained a revolutionary party and concentrated its forces, especially its young members and cadre, in the Southern civil rights movement, I believe

it could have won to Trotskyism a large fraction of those young black radicals who eventually became black nationalists. Had there been 50 black veteran SNCC militants won to Trotskyism and the perspective of revolutionary integrationism in the mid ’60s, they would have had the capacity and the acquired political authority to organize and lead significant sections of the black working class in the South.

By the time what became the Spartacist League was formed in 1964, having been expelled from the SWP, we were too little and too late. We did intervene in the Southern civil rights movement. But we lacked the numbers and, more importantly, the acquired political authority to decisively influence the internal factional struggles in SNCC.

Between 1964 and 1966, SNCC experienced a prolonged political identity crisis. It had broken with mainstream liberalism but had not yet locked onto black separatism. In fact, it was common among SNCC activists to call themselves revolutionaries. In late 1964, SNCC held what it called a retreat in Waveland, Mississippi to discuss its future program and strategy. There were 37 different position papers presented on everything from the woman question to the role of whites in the movement. But there was no respected veteran SNCC cadre at Waveland to present the perspective of revolutionary integrationism in opposition to both bourgeois-democratic radicalism and black nationalism.

Our strategic perspective—first expressed as an opposition in the SWP, then as an independent tendency—was to transform the left wing of the civil rights movement into a *revolutionary workers party* capable of organizing and leading much of the black working class and impoverished petty bourgeoisie in the South. We encapsulated this perspective in the call for a “Freedom Labor Party.”

Here it’s important to understand that black working people in the South in this period were deeply alienated from the American bourgeois order. The dominant Democratic and smaller Republican parties were exclusively white. The large

continued on page 6

Black History Month Forums

Capitalist Rulers Wage War on Immigrants, Blacks, Labor

No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act! Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!

Includes Report on February 9th Mobilization

Thursday, February 21, 6:30 p.m.
Tearoom, YWCA of Oakland
1515 Webster Street, Oakland

Tuesday, February 26, 6:30 p.m.
West Oakland Library, Room 103B
1801 Adeline Street, Oakland

BAY AREA

For more information: (510) 839-0851

Anti-Terror Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labor

Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!

Saturday, February 23, 4 p.m.

Immanuel Presbyterian Church
3300 Wilshire Blvd.

LOS ANGELES

For more information: (213) 380-8239

New Left...

(continued from page 5)

majority of black workers (as well as white workers) in the South were not unionized. This meant that black workers were not subject to the direct political and organizational influence of the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy that had its own liberal black anti-Communist cadre.

Redbaiting was not effective among Southern blacks because the white racist power structure had always identified integration and black rights with communism. Here the experience of Robert F. Williams is instructive. In the mid 1950s, Williams organized an NAACP chapter in Monroe, North Carolina that was unique in the South because it consisted of working-class types rather than the usual “teachers and preachers.”

Williams visited Castro’s Cuba in 1960 and came back an enthusiastic supporter of the revolutionary government. He did not become a communist, but he might just as well have. He was redbaited as well as violence-baited by the entire black liberal establishment. He was directly attacked by the head of the national NAACP, Roy Wilkins, and by Jackie Robinson, the first black Major League baseball player. Despite these attacks, Williams’ working-class base in Monroe remained loyal to him. To get rid of him, the FBI had to go after him on trumped-up kidnapping charges.

While a Freedom Labor Party would have initially been predominantly black, it would, I believe, have attracted small pockets of militant, class-conscious white workers who were willing to work with reds. For example, the coal miners in Hazard, Kentucky. In 1964—this is shortly before I joined the Spartacist tendency—I was involved in the defense of seven coal miners in Hazard who were being prosecuted by the federal government for conspiracy to dynamite a railroad bridge during a strike.

In order to build student support for the case, we organized a conference/rally in Hazard. Some 75 to 100 students carpooled in and stayed in the homes of the miners and their sympathizers, sleeping on the floor. I stayed in the home of one of the indicted miners, named Clayton Turner. He and his wife had around a dozen kids and a big sprawling house. Also staying there was a mainstream liberal, and we got into what was a common argument at the time. He defended King’s policy of nonviolent resistance, while I argued for armed self-defense. I wasn’t aware of it, but Clayton must have overheard some of this conversation. As I was about to leave, Clayton said, “I have nothing against communists. Communists helped build this union.”

Now, there were relatively few white workers like Clayton Turner in the South—or in the North, for that matter. But there were a lot of black workers like him. The problem was that to build a party with a lot of black Clayton Turners and a few white Clayton Turners you had to have a cadre of revolutionary Marxist black intellectuals who had gained their authority in the civil rights movement. And the young black radicals who could have formed such a cadre were moving in the direction of black nationalism.

The Impact of the Cuban Revolution

Before considering that development, I want to discuss the impact of the Cuban Revolution on the American left in the early 1960s. The Cuban Revolution coincided with the civil rights movement and reinforced its most radical leftward-moving tendencies. SNCC was formed in the spring of 1960 about the same time that Castro nationalized the American oil refineries in Cuba because they refused to process Soviet crude oil. A few months later, all American capitalist investment in Cuba was nationalized, as well as the property of the Cuban bourgeoisie. The following year, to avoid arrest by the FBI,



Mario García Joya

Havana youth literacy brigades in 1961. Nationalization of American holdings in Cuba, marking the creation of a deformed workers state, meant a great improvement in the condition of black people in Cuba.

Robert F. Williams fled to Cuba. From Havana, he broadcast into the South a radio program called “Radio Free Dixie.” The former SNCC leader James Forman wrote in his memoirs, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*: “In the fall of 1962 I had read Che Guevara’s book on guerrilla warfare and drew some lessons from it for our work. I saw SNCC establishing bases throughout the South, bases that would grow into larger units.”

In its own way, the Cuban Revolution was just as historically anomalous and unique as the American civil rights movement. To begin with, Cuba was the only country ever to become Communist—in our terms, a deformed workers state—that was not geographically adjacent to the Soviet Union or adjacent to another deformed workers state. Not only was Cuba in the very backyard of American imperialism, but it was an extreme and blatant example of an American semi-colony.

Cuba in the 1950s was ruled by the exceptionally brutal right-wing military dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, which was openly backed by Washington. Its main export product, sugar, was controlled by United Fruit. The casinos and brothels of Havana were owned by the Mafia. The Cuban telephone company was owned by the American conglomerate ITT, which once gave Batista a solid gold telephone as a token of their esteem.

Unlike Mao Zedong and Ho Chi Minh, Fidel Castro was not a Communist—or in our terms, a Stalinist—when he led a revolution and came to power. He was a left-liberal petty-bourgeois nationalist. When Castro launched his guerrilla insurgency against Batista in 1956, he was associated with the Ortodoxo Party, one of Cuba’s two main bourgeois parties. Only after he had come to power was Castro driven to expropriate the bourgeoisie and ally Cuba with the Soviet Union, as a consequence of an escalating conflict with U.S. imperialism.

When Castro’s rebel army overthrew Batista in 1959, this revolution was widely and strongly supported among all sections of American liberalism. For militant young left-liberals like myself, Castro was a hero, a real warrior, a tough guy—not like that turn-the-other-cheek wimp Martin Luther King. Of course, when Castro declared himself a Communist and allied Cuba with the Soviet Union, most American liberals denounced him for “betraying” the revolution.

However, a small but vocal and influential current of left-liberal intellectuals—represented by the sociologist C. Wright Mills and writer Norman Mailer—continued to support Castro’s Cuba against the American government on democratic principles, centrally the right of national self-determination. Basically, Mills argued that Castro was forced to nationalize the Cuban economy and ally with the Soviet Union in order to prevent the U.S. ruling class from reconquering Cuba and restoring the colonial-type conditions of the Batista era.

Among the older generation of American liberal intellectuals, support for Castro’s Cuba was very much a minority current. But among young liberal activ-

ists, including civil rights militants, support for the Cuban Revolution was much more widespread. The particular and peculiar nature of the Cuban Revolution led a significant number of young American radicals to support certain Communist states and movements by identifying these primarily with national liberation rather than with socialism as such and not at all with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There was another important way in which the Cuban Revolution influenced the American New Left. Castro and Che Guevara, the chief ideologue of the Cuban Revolution, were the New Leftists of the world Communist movement. Even after the Cuban leadership declared itself “Marxist-Leninist,” they interpreted this tradition in a very different way than the Soviet leadership. Castro and especially Guevara openly challenged basic premises of Soviet Stalinist doctrine.

First, they maintained that in Latin America it was *not* the urban industrial proletariat that was the social vanguard of the revolution. Castro and Guevara called on Latin American leftists to take the Cuban road, to abandon the cities in favor of peasant-based guerrilla warfare.

Furthermore, Guevara challenged the identification of socialism with economic growth and development. For Guevara, “building socialism” did *not* mean, as the Soviet leaders contended, surpassing the advanced capitalist countries in economic production and productivity. For Guevara, “building socialism” was primarily a *subjective* process. It meant overcoming individual material self-interest so people would identify with and work for the common good. In the gospel according to Che, “Yea, though a socialist country may be poor in material wealth it will yet be rich in spiritual wealth.” Or in Guevara’s own words:

“I am not interested in dry economic socialism. We are fighting against poverty, but we are also fighting against alienation. One of the fundamental objectives of Marxism is to remove interest, the factor of individual interest, and gain from men’s psychological motivations. Marx was preoccupied both with economic factors and with their repercussions on the spirit. If communism isn’t interested in this, too, it may be a method of distributing goods, but it will never be a revolutionary way of life.”

—quoted in Bertram Silverman, Introduction to *Man and Socialism in Cuba: The Great Debate* (1971)

To some of you, it may seem completely off the wall to compare Che Guevara with Martin Luther King. However, each in their own way, Guevara and King both advocated radical social change primarily through a change in the prevailing *moral attitudes and values* rather than by a change in economic institutions. Many young American liberal idealists who admired and supported King in the early ’60s became Stalinist idealists who admired Guevara in the late ’60s. Guevara’s anti-Marxist and utopian version of communism as universal altruism was far more compatible with the underlying moralistic and idealist outlook of young American radicals than the mechanistic pseudo-Marxism of official Soviet Stalinism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Charlie Brooks

26 December 1980 – 14 February 2002

On Thursday, February 14, a close friend and sympathizer of the Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League/U.S., Charles “Charlie” Brooks, 21, died quietly in Richmond, Virginia from complications resulting from treatment for leukemia. His family and girlfriend Amy were at his side.

Charlie became politically active around the Republican National Convention protests in Philadelphia, motivated by his desire to fight for a democratic society. His experiences there and his further discussions with comrades made him realize that his abstract idea of democracy was an impossibility under capitalism and that a genuinely egalitarian society could only be achieved through workers socialist revolution.

In January 2001, Charlie drove all the way to Gary, Indiana through heavy snow with a group of friends to participate in a Partisan Defense Committee-initiated anti-Klan mobilization, which concretized for him the essential leadership role of a Leninist party. This June he traveled to Charleston, South Carolina to work with us in the fight to free the Charleston Five longshoremen who faced incarceration for defending their union against a brutal police attack. Charlie regularly intervened in SYC classes at Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) and helped man our campus lit tables, effectively defending our politics. Expressing solidarity with our program, he also discussed his intention to move to New York City to join the SYC.

Charlie was an art student at VCU, focusing on photography and film, and his thirst for understanding the world allowed him to discuss Einstein with as much ease as he discussed Eisenstein. Many who knew Charlie will remember his sharp wit and irreverent sense of humor. With a wisecrack or a quip, from which even his friends were not safe, he could zing his target or make an incisive political point.

Even after Charlie began debilitating medical treatment, he continued to read and discuss politics and up until his last return to the hospital was requesting material on the Russian Revolution and on the Jewish question. He will be greatly missed by Amy, his family, friends and comrades.



Young Spartacus

Mobilizing Youth for February 9

"Rally Behind the Workers"

The young communists of the SYC canvassed much of the Bay Area to help build the February 9 Oakland mobilization in defense of immigrant and labor rights. Our efforts brought out contingents from Laney College in Oakland and the School of the Arts in San Francisco and youth from such schools as Berkeley High, UC Santa Cruz, UC Berkeley and San Francisco State. One Latino student from Laney visited our office to discuss further the Marxist politics animating the call for the demonstration. He offered to help organize a sign-making session on his campus, indignantly commenting that racism directed against him and other Latinos, along with the lack of available jobs, is forcing many Latinos to go "back to their countries."

The SYC also intersected the outrage felt by many workers at the anti-immigrant attacks carried out by the bosses and their government. One example was the experience of two SYCers building for the demo outside a National Association of Letter Carriers local hall. Invited inside, our comrades were loudly applauded when they spoke of the central role of organized labor in the fight for immigrant rights. For many young protesters, this demo marked the first time they had marched alongside workers in social protest. One demonstrator remarked, "Unions? I didn't think much of them but today I realized they are cool.... These longshore workers here are really powerful!"

The racially and socially integrated character of the demonstration was striking to many present. As an SYC'er remarked, "Crossing those racial barriers put up by the capitalists was part of the political call for the demonstration. It was seen in the presence of lots of workers, longshoremen, day laborers and students brought out in defense of immigrant rights." One demonstrator from the University of California at Santa Cruz was impressed by the sight of hundreds of blacks and Latinos together in downtown Oakland chanting socialist slogans.

The SYC talked with many of the protesters, seeking to broaden their healthy opposition to the anti-immigrant witchhunt into an understanding that the entire capitalist system must be overthrown to end racism and imperialist war. Black youth were particularly receptive to the call to join us in the fight to build a revolutionary workers party that would take up this struggle against racist American capitalism. Inspired by the demo, one black high school student said, "It's not the size of the demo that matters, it's the fact that there are so many longshoremen here, and they have power. They'll go back and talk to their co-workers about this." Immediately after the demonstration, he announced he wanted to fight for a classless society, and joined the SYC on the spot!

When the protest march stopped in front of the Federal Building, SYC member

Mike R. delivered a rousing speech, which we are printing below in excerpted form.

* * *

We stand for the independent mobilization of the working class. A few of you are probably thinking, "Why does this kid keep talking about the working class if he is a student?" Students have no role in production, we have no social power. Any student who wants to fight to change the world needs to rally behind the workers because—isolated from those who actually have the power to sweep away capitalism—we have nothing but our voices. The generation of leftist youth today has grown up without having lived through any mass social struggle. To all of the youth here today: watch carefully because you will learn today more than you will ever learn going to rallies at your school campus or by reading a sociology textbook. The capitalists *cannot* abolish the class struggle because the farther they go to increase their profits, the more intensely they exploit and oppress the proletariat. The working class is inevitably drawn into this historic battle. Our task is to win radical youth to the side of the working class in this battle.

This strategy is counterposed to the reformist view that the government can be reformed by pressuring Democratic Party politicians like Kriss Worthington and Barbara Lee. This government is *not* our government, and the Democrats are *not* our friends. Organizations like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) claim that this is "Bush's war." But this is the *Democrats'* war, too.

Another popular slogan in the antiwar movement is "No to War." What is wrong with organizing around the call "No to War" or "War Is Not the Answer"? These calls for an alternative to war are calls for the imperialists to pursue a different policy to achieve their aims. Imperialism is a *system*, not a policy. Simply saying "no" does not present any alternative.

The SYC doesn't just say "no." When the anti-immigrant witchhunt came to San Francisco State University last year, we were there to fight it. The campus administration handed over confidential information on foreign students to the FBI and INS bloodhounds, so we initiated a united-



Young Spartacus
SYC rallied support for February 9 mobilization in Oakland's Chinatown and other immigrant neighborhoods.

front protest raising the demands: Down with the SFSU collaboration with the FBI anti-immigrant witchhunt! Defend immigrant rights! By the way, the ISO not only refused to endorse this protest, but they actively boycotted it by setting up a large table and display on the other side of campus. You might want to ask some of them why they call us sectarian when they wouldn't defend immigrant rights when it mattered.

In contrast, we actively *oppose* U.S. imperialism. We called for a united-front protest against the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) at UC Berkeley last spring. ROTC recruits college students to be the next generation of officers who send ghettoized black and Latino youth off to die in wars to fill the coffers of Wall Street bankers. We raised the demand: ROTC off campus! The SYC says: U.S. bloody hands off the world! If you are a youth looking for a way to end the worldwide degradation, insanity and suffering caused by imperialism, to put a stop to racism and class exploitation for good, you are looking for the Spartacus Youth Club. Join us! ■

UIC Speakout Demands Jamal's Freedom

Chicago
31 January 2002

Dear *Young Spartacus*,

The December 18 statement of the Partisan Defense Committee published in WV No. 771, "Jamal Death Sentence Reversed—Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Mumia Now!" inspired the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club to organize a united-front protest at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) on January 17, under the slogans "Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

We made Mumia's cause known all over campus, announcing the demonstration at classes, addressing meetings of student groups and distributing hundreds of leaflets. We found a resonance among many students, including regular readers of *Workers Vanguard* who eagerly stepped forward to help distribute flyers. Students were animated into action when we explained that this case wasn't just an isolated injustice. As our statement noted, "Mumia's only 'crime' is that he is an outspoken champion of the oppressed and exploited.... His case lays bare the nature of the state—cops, courts, and military—as an instrument of repression for the capitalists against the workers and oppressed, and the nature of the death penalty as legal lynching and a legacy of slavery."

Our demonstration also found support elsewhere on campus and in the city, with the Chicago Chapter of Refuse & Resist! (who additionally spoke at the protest), the Chicago Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and two UIC professors among the endorsers. Acting on the call to mobilize labor behind the cause of black rights, we

obtained the endorsement of the union steward for SEIU Local 73, which organizes the campus workers at UIC.

Overall, about 25 people joined our spirited protest, holding signs, distributing flyers and listening to speeches. One black student commented on the racist garbage prevalent on campus, including from an educational system that tells black students *they* are the problem, not this disgusting racist system of capitalist exploitation. This was particularly relevant as only days before, a massive tuition hike (10 percent) was proposed at UIC. Our emcee stated, "The SYC protests this tuition hike as a reactionary move designed to bar the working class and minorities from receiving the benefits of an education." He then led a chant: "Education for all, education for free! Labor/black power is the key!"

The International Socialist Organization pointedly refused to endorse our call because our insistence on holding a principled united front meant that we wouldn't drop debate over political differences. Meanwhile, their Campaign to End the Death Penalty was busy building a rally disgustingly titled "The Illinois Death Penalty: Too Flawed to Fix" with Jesse Jackson, Sr. as the keynote speaker. This exposes their real appetite—unity with the Democrats, yes; unity with the Communists, no!

Particularly now, the fight to free Jamal is a vital part of the struggle against the new wave of "anti-terror" state repression, and this demonstration, in a small way, was a blow against the bosses' racist "national unity" campaign.

Chicago Spartacus Youth Club

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON

Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

February 28: **The Struggle for Black Liberation**

Boston University
College of Arts and Sciences, Rm. 315
725 Commonwealth Ave.
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.

March 5: **We are the Party of the Russian Revolution!**

University of Illinois at Chicago
104 Stevenson Hall,
701 South Morgan Street
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
spartacist@iname.com

LOS ANGELES

Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.

March 2: **Labor, Latinos, and the Fight for Immigrant Rights**

3806 Beverly Blvd., Suite 215
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

February 26: **Trotskyists Hailed the Red Army in Aghanistan! For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

Columbia University (116th and Broadway)
Hamilton Hall, Room 306
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

Wednesday, 5:30 p.m.

March 6: **The Family and Women's Oppression**

York University Student Ctr., Room 313
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Alternate Wednesdays, 6 p.m.

February 27: **Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

UBC Student Union Building, Rm. 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
tltt@look.ca

Mobilization...

(continued from page 1)

nation.... We want all the workers in all parts of this nation to come out to protest this law.” In mobilizing for the rally, *Workers Vanguard* supporters sought to win workers to the understanding that in defending immigrants, they were defending the whole working class.

This was no abstraction but flesh and blood reality to longshoremen threatened with losing their hard-won union jobs under the background checks mandated by the Maritime Security Act, a law pending in Congress aimed at purging the waterfront of blacks, Latinos and other immigrants and at undermining union power. The political impact of this mobilization spread far beyond those who came to the rally, raising the class consciousness also of the hundreds who took stacks of leaflets to distribute, and the thousands reached through discussion, leaflets and copies of *Workers Vanguard*.

The protest was built in distributions to key workforces: longshore dispatch, port truckers, bus barns and BART yards, postal facilities, municipal utilities, industries with heavily immigrant workforces organized by ILWU Local 6 and the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union, in Chinatown and other immigrant neighborhoods, campuses and high schools. The campaign intersected struggles from Santa Clara—where the husband of Alia Atawneh, a Palestinian woman fired in an act of anti-immigrant persecution by Macy’s, endorsed the rally—to Salt Lake City, where hundreds of immigrant airport workers were fired. Solidarity greetings from one of the lawyers representing these workers were read to the protest.

The seriousness of longshoremen at the rally, which Local 10 endorsed, was

underscored by the fact that a number of lower-seniority B-men had foregone a trip to L.A. to pick up a weekend’s work, a real sacrifice during a slow month at the Port of Oakland. At the end of the protest, several longshoremen made a point of taking home the mobilization placards on which they had written the name of their union. Discussions afterward at a celebration in a local bar and restaurant grappled with key questions: which way forward for workers, why we need a revolutionary workers party to get rid of capitalism and how to build it, why unions in themselves are not enough. One youth joined the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club at the party, and a number of workers expressed interest in joining the LBL.

Many longshoremen take a great deal of pride in their union, particularly in the gains that were won for black workers. At the same time, several longshoremen asked us why it took communists to fight to mobilize the social power of labor in defense of immigrant rights and in defense of the unions. To mobilize the multiracial proletariat in defense of immigrants, black people and all the oppressed requires a conscious struggle against the million and one ways the capitalist exploiters, aided and abetted by their labor lackeys, foster the racial and ethnic antagonisms that divide the proletariat and undermine its fighting strength. At bottom this is a question of program and perspective. The worldview of the labor tops—even those of the most “progressive” stamp—is defined by what is possible or “practical” under capitalism, a system which is predicated on the exploitation of labor. We communists pursue another road, one based not only on improving present conditions but fighting to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery.

This rally was held during Black History Month to underscore both the com-



WV Photo

mon interests of black and immigrant workers and the need for the labor movement to take up the fight against racial oppression. In a speech for the Labor Black League that was translated into Spanish, Adwoa Oni declared:

“The frenzied anti-Arab and anti-immigrant witchhunt is a deadly danger to all racial and ethnic minorities. This is especially true for the black population, whose forcible segregation at the bottom of this society is rooted in the history of chattel slavery and the defeat of Radical Reconstruction. Black oppression is the very foundation of this racist capitalist system—but also its Achilles’ heel. It’s time to finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers state!”

Death row political prisoner, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal sent his endorsement, and a statement of support was read out at the rally. Speaking for the PDC, the legal and social defense organization associated with the SL, Steve Bull called for

“mass protests centered on the social power of the labor movement to demand Jamal’s immediate release.” Also endorsing was Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), the former Black Panther who spent 27 years in prison on a similar government frame-up before mass protest brought about his release. Speaking at the rally, former Panther Kiilu Nyasha brought attention to the plight of Haitian immigrants as well as that of Hugo Pinell and Ruchell Cinque Magee, political prisoners who have spent well over three decades in the prisons of the U.S. capitalist system of racist injustice.

This united-front action intersected contradictions within the labor bureaucracy and exposed how this conservative layer resting atop the workers organizations acts as the key internal obstacle to mobilizing workers power. From the time the new “anti-terror” legislation was introduced in September, ILWU International officials, instead of opposing the MSA, proposed that the capitalists make the ILWU a partner in the “national security” war, including against other sections of dock workers who are heavily immigrant. The Teamsters and East Coast International Longshore Association tops likewise refused to oppose the MSA. It was the ILWU tops who pointed to the port truckers to be targeted by the bill. As the call for the demonstration pointed out: “It is not the job of the workers to enforce the laws, ‘security’ or otherwise, that will be used against them: cops and security guards have no place in the union movement!”

In Local 10, however, with its heavily black membership, there was a lot of pressure from the ranks to do something to oppose this attack. Secretary-Treasurer Clarence Thomas helped build and spoke at the rally. Also present were both business agents, Trent Willis and Jack Heyman, who put the motion at a



Oakland mobilization struck a chord among immigrants (clockwise from left): Chinese-language *Singtao Daily* and *World Journal*, local Japanese community daily, Spanish-language biweekly.

“We endorse and will help build a united front labor/black demonstration with the following demands: ‘Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labor—No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act!’ and ‘Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!’.”

Initiated by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee

- Endorsers of the February 9, 2002 Mobilization**
Mumia Abu-Jamal, Revolutionary Journalist, Death Row, PA
Larry Adams, Local President, Mail Handlers Local 300,* New York, NY
African Students Union, Hunter College,* New York, NY
AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
Al-Awda/Palestine Right To Return Coalition - NY/NJ Committee
Robert Allen, Ethnic Studies, University of California Berkeley*
Amalgamated Transit Union Black Caucus
Asociacion Tepeyac de New York, New York, NY
Association des Palestiniens en France
Marcellus Barnes, President, Amalgamated Transit Union Black Caucus
Jan Bartlett, Producer, Radio 3CR Melbourne,* Australia
Willie Lee Bell, retired Recording Secretary, IAM&AW Local 739 and 1584,* Oakland, CA
Berkeley Stop the War Coalition, Berkeley, CA
Berlin Afrikanisches ImmigrantInnen Projekt, Berlin, Germany
Wanda J. Black, President/Bus. Agent, Local 241, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union AFL-CIO*
Canadian Arab Federation, Toronto, Canada
Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Metro Toronto Region
CARECEN, Central American Resource Center, San Francisco, CA
Caribbean Students Union, New York, NY
Daniel Carreno, Section Syndicale SUD PTT CRETEIL PFC, France

- Leroy Collier**, President, National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
Comité de Lucha Conciencia y Libertad-CGH, Mexico City, Mexico
Coordination Nationale des Sans Papiers, Paris, France
Patricia Osorio Córdova, Sindicato Independiente Nacional de Trabajadores del Colegio de Bachilleres (SINTCB),* Mexico City, Mexico
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Day-Mer, Turkish/Kurdish Community Centre, London, England
Saikou A. Diallo, President, Amadou Diallo Educational Humanitarian & Charitable Foundation,* Maspeth, NY
Ron Dicks, V.P. for Political & Legislative Action, International Federation of Professional & Technical Engineers Local 21,* San Francisco, CA
Filipino Workers Association, Richmond, CA
Freedom Socialist Party
GEW, Landesverband Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany
Nicholas Harrigan, Love & Rage,* Sydney, Australia
Leon Harris, Interim Secretary-Treasurer, International Longshore and Warehouse Union, Local 6, Oakland, CA
John Holmes, Delegate, Representative Assembly, Typographical Sector, Northern California Media Workers Union #39521, CWA*
Mustapha Houamed, Secretary, Student Committee for Peace in Palestine, St. Denis University, Paris, France
Paul Howes, Organising & Research Assistant, Labor Council of New South Wales,* Sydney, Australia
Hakim Husien, Chicago Chapter President, Palestine Aid Society,* Chicago, IL

- International Federation of Iraqi Refugees (Sydney) Inc.**, Sydney, Australia
International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 6, Oakland, CA
International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10, San Francisco, CA
Internationalist Group
Geronimo ji Jaga
Justice Action, Sydney, Australia
Kaws.El.Karama (newspaper), Tunis, Tunisia
Zak Khanfar, Santa Clara, CA
Randell Kim, previous 2nd Vice President, AFSCME Local 444
Fidan Kucuktepe, Kurdish, Turkish Human Rights Committee, Melbourne, Australia
Kurdish, Turkish Human Rights Committee, Melbourne, Australia
La Raza Centro Legal, San Francisco, CA
Labor Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, CA
Labor Council for Latin American Advancement - SF (LCLAA), San Francisco, CA
Latino Workers Center, New York, NY
Adam Lincoln, Industrial Workers of the World,* Sydney, Australia
Patricia Loya, Executive Director, Centro Legal de la Raza,* Oakland, CA
LTS-Contracorriente, Mexico City, Mexico
Stephen Lysaght, President, East Bay Area Local, American Postal Workers Union,* Walnut Creek, CA
Patricia Macarthy-Schaefer, Advisor, Berlin Afrikanisches ImmigrantInnen Projekt, Berlin, Germany



WV Photos

Labor contingents at February 9 protest included AFSCME East Bay water utility workers (opposite page), SF immigrant workers and Laborers International parks workers at Presidio.

Local 10 meeting that the union endorse the mobilization. In his speech, Thomas noted, “There are people here today that don’t necessarily share the same political views” but “we’re all here to stand together against the issue of the USA-Patriot Act and the Port Maritime Security Act.” All those at the rally were able to compare openly Thomas’ views with those of the Spartacist League speaker, Brian Manning, as they presented two different perspectives on which way forward for the working class—class collaboration vs. class independence from the capitalists and their state.

Thomas upheld as a model the “legacy of Harry Bridges,” under which in the 1930s “longshoremen refused to load and unload cargo in the form of scrap iron that was destined for Japan.” Far from an act of international working-class solidarity, this boycott was rather very much in line with U.S. imperialism’s battle with their

Japanese capitalist competitors over which of these gangs of robbers would dominate the Pacific. The pre-World War II longshore action is an example of the same poison promoted today by the labor tops that pits workers of different countries against each other. This protectionism, premised on defending American capitalism, is part and parcel of the union bureaucracy’s support for the capitalist Democratic Party.

In contrast was the powerful example of Japanese dock workers described in greetings read to the rally from the Spartacist Group of Japan: “To protest Japanese imperialism’s cooperation in the U.S.-led war in Afghanistan, dock workers near Nagasaki showed some of their potential power by refusing to load Japanese warships bound for the Indian Ocean.” ILWU members also greatly appreciated meeting a young German worker who read greetings to the rally from the Spartakist-Jugend, youth group of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League.

This joint action by immigrant, black and white workers here in the U.S. against the bloodthirsty U.S. imperialist rulers struck a chord internationally. Reflecting the international character of the world market and common interests of the working class of all nations, greetings to the rally brought attention to the struggles of immigrant workers from Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and Basothans in South Africa to North Africans, Turks and Kurds in Europe, from Koreans in Japan to Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants in Australia. A solidarity statement to the rally by Pedro Wasiejko, secretary of international relations for the Central de los Trabajadores Argentinos union in Buenos Aires, declared that in the “profound political and economic crisis” of that country, “the social discipli-

narians of today are basically two: unemployment on one side and judicial prosecution of social struggles on the other.”

Other messages of support came from the National Federation of Undocumented Workers of France (Coordination Nationale des Sans-Papiers de France), Australia Asia Worker Links and the Brescia branch of the Italian FIOM (Federation of Metal Workers and Employees), which has been very actively involved in defense of Pakistani, North African and Senegalese immigrants in Italy. Statements were sent by sections of the ICL not only in Japan but Mexico, South Africa, France, Britain, Ireland, Germany, Italy, Canada and Australia.

The Oakland demonstration repudiated in action the equation of the working class in the U.S. with the racist, imperialist U.S. state—an equation pushed both by the U.S. ruling class and those who killed thousands of working people in the attack on the World Trade Center, as well as nationalists of all stripes, and widely believed by people throughout the world. The statement by the Grupo Espartaquista de México in particular had a strong impact when read out near the end of the demonstration. Noting that Mexican immigrant workers in the U.S. create “a broad human bridge between the working class of the two countries,” it went on:

“It is of great importance for workers and the oppressed in Mexico to see American workers, blacks, immigrants and youth fighting against the repressive and racist measures of the U.S. imperialist rulers. Down with the lie of national unity!

“A fundamental part of our fight to forge a revolutionary and internationalist workers party in Mexico is to expose the lie of nationalism, an ideology that seeks to deceive the workers, tying them to their own exploiters.... The true allies of the Mexican workers are not their brutal exploiters. Their true allies are you: the American workers fighting for their rights and those of all the oppressed. For

joint class struggle against capitalist rulers in Mexico and the U.S.!”

While the demonstration helped workers to concretely see the need for and be part of joint struggle with immigrant workers, radical-minded students who came from as far away as Santa Cruz and Los Angeles were impressed to see the presence of workers who represent the only force that can defeat the imperialist rulers of the U.S. and put an end to racism, exploitation and war. Students who drove up from the University of California at Santa Cruz were joined by a contingent of high school students from San Francisco’s School of the Arts; among others were students from Berkeley High, UC Berkeley, San Francisco State and Oakland’s Laney College.

In contrast to other recent protest demonstrations, this rally was a mobilization of the working class and the oppressed *independent of the capitalists*, their parties and their state. It was built despite the boycott by most of the rest of the left, who claim to fight for an end to war and for solidarity with immigrants but who will not breach the bourgeoisie’s “national unity” campaign, instead placing their hopes in allying with the liberal Democratic wing of the class enemy. The International Socialist Organization flatly refused to endorse the protest, falsely counterposing a rally at the San Francisco Marriott for largely immigrant hotel workers. The Bolshevik Tendency attended but would not endorse the demonstration; the Socialist Workers Organization and Freedom Socialist Party endorsed but did not attend.

This demonstration illustrated on a small scale what a revolutionary workers party would do. The task ahead of us is to forge such a party, in political struggle against the pro-capitalist misleaders of the working class, which will mobilize all the oppressed in a united struggle for workers power. Those who labor must rule. Join us! ■



WV Photo

Arabic sign proclaims: “Anti-Terror Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks and Labor.” Mobilizing leaflets were issued in English, Spanish, Arabic and Chinese.

It Took \$\$\$ to Mobilize in Defense of Immigrant Rights

Building the successful February 9 labor/black/immigrant mobilization in Oakland cost a lot of money for posters, thousands of flyers and other demonstration expenses. Show your support for this crucial labor-centered protest! Send donations to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099. Please earmark checks “Immigrant Defense Demonstration.”

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Fausto Basurto Maleno, Secretary of Political Matters, Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria Química, Petroquímica, Carboquímica, Similares y Anexos de la República Mexicana, CTM, Local 97, Michoacán, Mexico
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Charles Minster, Steward and SFCL delegate, National Park and Public Employees, LIUNA Local 1141,* San Francisco, CA
National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA)
Eugene “Gus” Newport, former Mayor, Berkeley, CA*
NY Labor Black League for Social Defense, New York, NY
Kiilu Nyasha, Producer/Programmer, “Connecting the Dots” KPOO 89.5 FM,* San Francisco, CA
October 22nd Coalition, San Francisco, CA
Gary Okihiro, Professor, Columbia University,* New York, NY
One World Society, Trinity College,* Dublin, Ireland
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David D. Owen, Executive Board Member, Amalgamated Transit Union, Local 308,* Chicago, IL
Pacific Islanders’ Club, San Francisco State University, San Francisco, CA
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Raylene Pileggi, Regional Education Organization Officer, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Metro Toronto Region
Pilipino Workers Center of So. Cal., Los Angeles, CA

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Raza Recruitment and Retention Center, Berkeley, CA
Revolutionary Reconstruction Club @ Bronx Community College, Bronx, NY
German Reyes, Shop Steward, SEIU Local 87,* San Francisco, CA
Wilson Riles, candidate, Riles for Mayor,* Oakland, CA
Eduardo Rosario, Vice President, GCIU Local 4N,* and President, LCLAA-SF, San Francisco, CA
Michael Rossman, archivist, Free Speech Movement Archives,* Berkeley, CA
Stephanie Ruby, Secretary-Treasurer, HERE Local 2850,* Oakland, CA
Renée Saucedo, Director, SF Day Labor Program, San Francisco, CA
SF Day Labor Program, San Francisco, CA
Gordon Saticieli, Accredited Union Representative, Sydney East Letters Facility, Communications, Electrical, Electronic, Energy, Information, Postal, Plumbing and Allied Services Union,* Sydney, Australia
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Sindicato Independiente de Trabajadores de la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (SITUAM), Mexico City, Mexico
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Stephen Noble Smith, Living Wage Campaign,* Cambridge, MA
Socialist Workers Organization
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Union of Workers of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (STUNAM), Mexico City, Mexico
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Alejandro Echevarria Zarco, Comité de Lucha Conciencia y Libertad-CGH, Mexico City, Mexico
Steve Zeltzer, Bay Area Workers Democracy Network,* San Francisco, CA
Gerald Zero, Secretary-Treasurer, Teamsters Local 705,* Chicago, IL

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

Speeches at Bay Area Mobilization

“Black Rights, Immigrant Rights Go Forward Hand in Hand”

We print below in excerpted form a selection of speeches from the February 9 rally. In addition, the crowd also heard from Eduardo Palomo of the SF Day Labor Program; John Holmes of the Typographical Sector, Northern California Media Workers Union No. 39521; Kiilu Nyasha, producer/programmer of “Connecting the Dots” (KPOO 89.5FM) and Mike R. of the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club.

Charles Minster

Steward and San Francisco Labor Council delegate, National Park and Public Employees, LIUNA Local 1141

I bring you apologies from my president, who couldn’t be here but who has endorsed this demonstration. He’s a Vietnam veteran and is very concerned about the erosion of our civil liberties since 9/11. We as a union at the Presidio are under attack by the government, which is trying to privatize that park; if they’re successful there, they’ll try and privatize the parks around the country. As it’s come out in the paper recently, they’re going to try and privatize Amtrak. We know what this privatization means if we look around the world at what’s been happening. In Argentina the water supply was privatized and Enron became the owner of the water supply of Buenos Aires. They milked it, they threw the workers they could on the street, and took the money and ran.

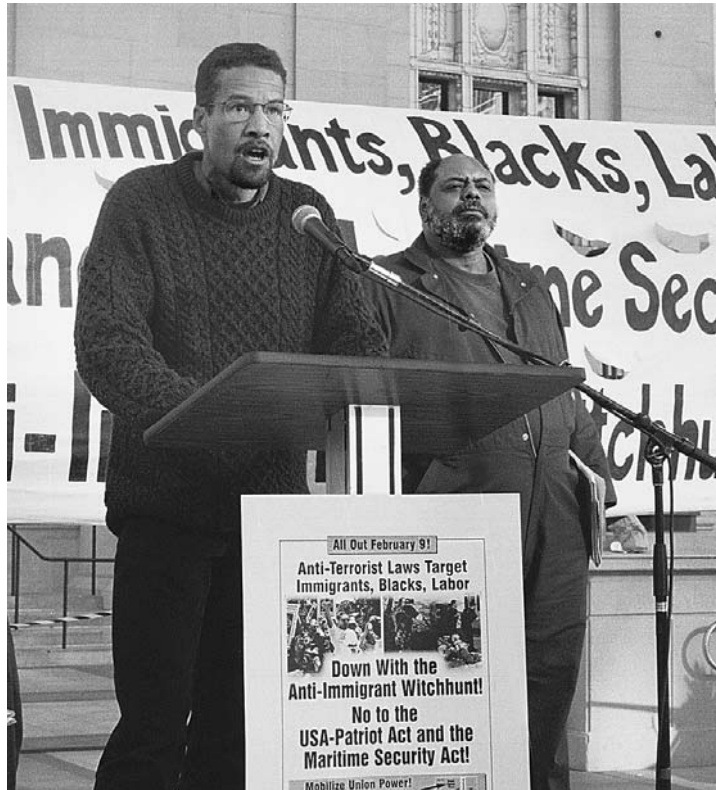
We’re here today to defend the immigrant population against the attacks of this government. It’s always the case when there’s an economic decline—“let’s kick the immigrants around.” That’s the way this government gets the average working stiff not to look above at those who are stealing from him left and right, but to try to kick that person that’s below him. I would let anybody in the labor movement know this: Unless we as an organization, the AFL-CIO, defend the immigrants in this country, we won’t have a damn chance of organizing anybody in this country because today the immigrant population makes up a good percentage of the workforce and especially of the unorganized workforce. In the private sector over 90 percent of the workforce is unorganized. Every one of us who’s a trade unionist should be an organizer to defend the immigrant population and win them to our side.

Adwoa Oni

Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense

The Labor Black League for Social Defense stands for mobilizing the multi-racial working class, leading all the oppressed, in a united struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, a multi-racial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black League is part of the revolutionary movement of the workers against the bosses and for socialism.

To line up the population behind their war-crazed ambitions abroad, both capitalist parties, the twin parties of capital, the Democrats and Republicans, are fanning the flames of patriotic bigotry through jingoistic “united we stand” anti-immigrant campaigns. They are fostering the false notion that the ruling class has common interests with the workers even as living standards plunge and the ranks



WV Photo

SL speaker Brian Manning, rally chairman Jeff Higgins of Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense.

of the unemployed grow. This racist lie means accepting second-class status for black people and denial of citizenship rights for the foreign born. This assault has particularly targeted immigrants of Near Eastern origin. The racial profiling of Arabs and Muslims is promoted by Attorney General John Ashcroft, a lover of the Confederate flag, the bloody flag of slavery and racist terror.

Many black people buy into the capitalist rulers’ campaign to pit American-born workers against immigrants. The racist white ruling class promotes the revolting lie among black people that poor immigrants are the reason why blacks continue to be forcibly segregated at the bottom of this society. This lie is aided and abetted by black demagogues like Louis Farrakhan. He denounces the small Arab and Asian ghetto shopkeepers as “bloodsuckers,” thereby diverting black people away from a united struggle with immigrants for equality.

At the same time immigrants are taught to despise black people by swallowing wholesale the racist filth spread by the ruling class that the black masses remain at the bottom because they lack a “work ethic.” Immigrant workers must grasp that the fight against black oppression is central to any struggle to defend democratic rights in America. Black rights, immigrant rights go forward hand in hand and our struggles advance the cause of emancipation of the whole working class.

Our program of revolutionary integrationism means, as Karl Marx put it, “Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded.” This emancipation is only possible in a socialist egalitarian society based on the fullest integration of black people. We, the workers—black, white, Hispanic and Asian—create the wealth of society. Those who labor must rule!

American workers must rise up from their knees, fight for their own interests with no regard to the interests or property rights of the capitalist exploiters. The main obstacle to such independent political action by the working class is political loyalty to the Democratic Party. So black Bay Area Congresswoman Barbara Lee cast the sole vote against giving Bush a blank check for war powers. But her vote also served to foster the illusion

that the racist Democratic Party, the party of Jim Crow, the party of massive prison construction and wholesale welfare destruction, can be “pressured” to serve the interests of workers, blacks and immigrants. Black Democrats like Lee are positioning themselves to contain and head off increasing discontent as economic recession and racist repression devastate the working class. But as Malcolm X once said, a vote for the Democrats is a vote for the Dixiecrats.

The Labor Black League stands for the building of a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed. It is time to fight or starve! For a world without racial oppression, without imperialist war, join the Labor Black League for Social Defense and fight for a socialist future!

Guillermo Ponce de Leon

Filipino Workers Association

Warm revolutionary greetings to all!

The Filipino Workers Association is supporting the struggle of the immigrants for the protection of their rights. These are called the basic human rights. We are also demanding justice for the baggage screeners at the airport. I read in the papers that about 800 baggage screeners lost their jobs because of the citizenship requirement, even if they are technically competent.

Twice in about the last two or three weeks, we held demonstrations in front of

the Philippine consulate in San Francisco, at 447 Sutter Street, where we decried the situation of the Filipino workers plus, of course, do you know that U.S. troops now have been introduced in the Philippines? The scenario is a repeat performance of Vietnam. You know, they sent in troops—right now, advisers, trainers, et cetera, and then later on we know that the number of troops will increase, and so they’ll no longer just be operating as advisers but as regular units, maybe battalion strength or even regimental strength or even division strength. So, the thing is, many would get killed, and among those who would die will be American youth that were being sent to fight against the New People’s Army and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. It’s sad, but we have to do something now to wake up the American public.

There was a Filipino who wrote a letter to the editor, to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and he said he saw the demonstration in front of the Philippine consulate on Sutter Street and they were airing the same “tired anti-imperialist slogans.” Now this gentleman is an idiot, actually, because the reason why there are so many immigrants in the United States, the reason why we are here, is because of imperialism; that’s the reason. Because imperialism impedes the industrialization of our country, and year to year the backward agricultural sector keeps on supplying labor which cannot be absorbed by industry. So what will they do now? What will the citizens of the Philippines do? They will go abroad to pursue survival; they’ll go to Saudi Arabia, they’ll go to Kuwait, they’ll go to Canada, they’ll go to the United States, and so on. So that’s the reason why we are here. And therefore, instead of saying it’s a “tired slogan of anti-imperialism” we should in fact shout “Down with U.S. imperialism!”

Steve Bull

Partisan Defense Committee

(speaking immediately following the statement by Mumia Abu-Jamal)

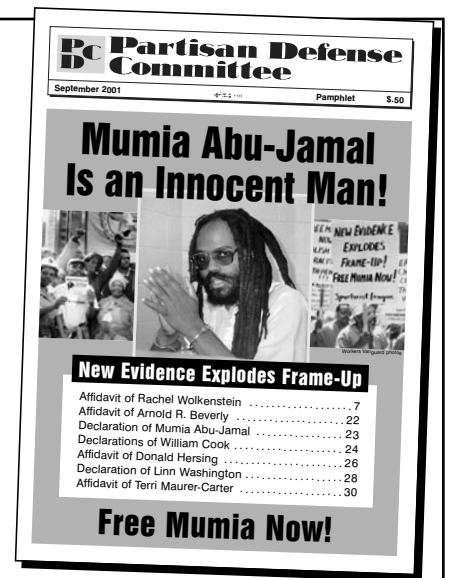
You have just heard the words of a powerful spokesman for all the oppressed—a man who as a young Black Panther walked these very streets in Oakland when he worked on the Panther newspaper, honing his skills as a journalist.

Jamal continues to speak out so eloquently—unbroken and unbowed—from his death row cell. We must not let them bury Jamal alive. Workers, minorities and all the opponents of racist capitalist

New 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.

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repression must mobilize mass protests centered on the social power of the labor movement to demand Jamal's immediate release.

There are those who still persist in calling for a new trial for Jamal—an innocent man, sent to death row for his political views in a racist frame-up to once again be dragged before the very forces that railroaded him in the first place! I ask you today: Can we expect justice from a state that assaults and arrests striking workers and labels them terrorists, as was done to the Charleston Five? [roars of “No!”] Can we expect justice from a state that rounds up immigrants and deports them? Hell no! Jamal should be freed!

We place no confidence in the capitalist courts. Rather we look to the power represented here today of the working people and the oppressed engaged in social struggle. That is what has kept the executioner at bay—mass protest in this country and internationally, especially by trade unions representing millions of workers worldwide. Jamal's freedom and the fight for black liberation are inextricably linked to the fight for the emancipation of labor as a whole.

Steve De Caprio

October 22nd Coalition Against Police Brutality and Repression

I'm with the October 22nd Coalition Against Police Brutality and Repression. We stand here united against the USA-Patriot Act. We have documented 5,000 people killed by the U.S. police in a span of 12 years; that's 5,000 people dead and counting.

The October 22nd Coalition looks at the USA-Patriot Act as a green light for more brutality and more repression when we're already in the midst of an epi-



Bay Area mobilization bringing together trade unionists, blacks, immigrants, youth illustrated role of a revolutionary workers party as tribune of the people.

This Port Maritime Security Act is a terrible thing. It reminds me of what longshoremen endured during the 1950s when the Magnuson Act was in effect. And what that did was target people who worked on the waterfront for their political views. If you were a Communist, on the left, or were a person who spoke out against the government during the McCarthy era, you were forbidden from working military cargo. Before that law was subsequently overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court, thousands of dockworkers' lives were disrupted, and many of them had to leave the waterfront. So this is nothing new for longshoremen, and many of our young members who are here today need to understand that.

ing our own union hall, because the employer and the bosses were determining who could work. Here we are again, brothers and sisters, with these background checks determining who can and cannot work. And that is wrong. We *must* come together, I don't care how long it takes, to get that message across.

What I would like to do right now is to lead you in a chant. And it goes like this: To heck with background checks! An injury to one is an injury to all!

Brian Manning

Spartacist League/U.S.

We're showing that we have some power today, that these attacks on immigrants and workers will not go unans-

the woman-hating *mujahedin* in 1979, we said: Hail Red Army! For once, the Stalinist bureaucracy was unequivocally on the side of social progress, offering the possibility of extending the social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution to the downtrodden and impoverished Afghan peoples, particularly the brutally enslaved women. When the Soviets withdrew in 1989, it was a colossal betrayal which opened the door to capitalist counterrevolution throughout Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Now that the Taliban is in the sights of the ruling class, the fake lefts, groups like the ISO and Socialist Action, rail against them. But when the U.S. was arming the anti-Soviet *mujahedin*, they echoed the imperialists and lined up against the Soviet Union. The RCP, the parent group of the October 22nd Coalition, even recently bragged that Maoists were fighting alongside the *mujahedin* against the Soviets! Not surprisingly, the same scoundrels applauded the destruction of the USSR, which we defended till the bitter end, despite its Stalinist degeneration.

So the bourgeoisie is screaming for blood, but also the agents of the ruling class within the working class—the trade-union bureaucrats—are doing the same. AFL-CIO head John Sweeney says that “no sacrifice is too great” for workers to make in the U.S. capitalists' reactionary “war on terror.” The labor bureaucracy is the top layer of the unions which long ago separated itself from its working-class base and which sees through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. It conciliates bourgeois authority, both political and juridical, and that's where the poison is. So the ILWU International won't oppose the Maritime Security Act but are trying to blunt it. But you can't modify the weapon that the bosses want to use to beat down the workers.

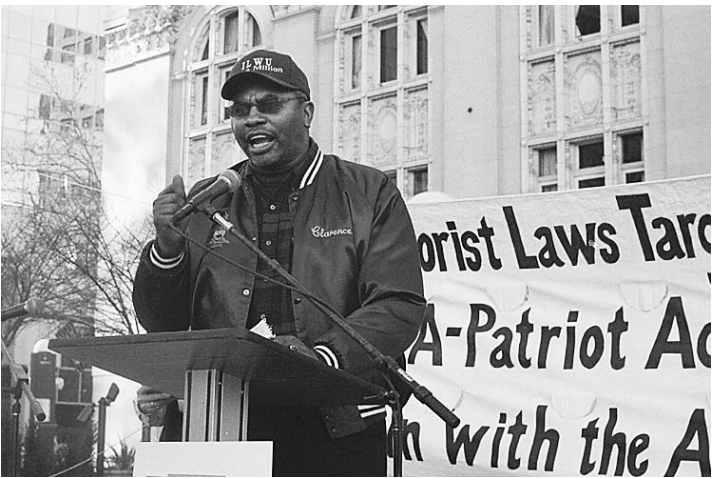
The ILWU International is offering longshoremen to police the docks while pointing to the port truckers to be targeted by the MSA. This is poison, like protectionism is poison, like the anti-Japanese chauvinism during World War II—a war between many imperialist powers to divide up the world—was protectionist poison. Now, it is not the job of the workers to enforce the laws, “security” or otherwise, that will be used against them. Cops and security guards have no place in the union movement.

The trade-union bureaucrats are the agents of the capitalists, and you can see that in particular by the role of the trade-union bureaucrats tying the working class to the Democratic Party. You cannot have a government that serves two masters. The workers and the capitalists have irreconcilable interests: the capitalists want to extract as much profit as possible, drive down wages, etc. The capitalists have a state to help them do this—the cops, the courts, the prisons—and then they try to scam you and say this is democracy. Well, it isn't a democracy, it's a ball and chain, and the trade-union misleaders telling you to vote for the lesser evil, they're the chain tying you to the ball. A class-struggle leadership in the trade unions must be forged, a leadership that knows who our friends are and who our enemies are. We need a workers party to fight for a workers government.

In fighting every injustice and every oppression, we in the Spartacist League have the aim of making the working class as a whole conscious of its historic tasks: bringing down this whole system of greed, exploitation and war that is capitalism. It's necessary to fight, and in the process forge a party of professional revolutionaries that acts as a tribune of the people—addressing questions like the oppression of women, the right to abortion; a party that fights against anti-gay bigotry; a party that recognizes the centrality of the fight against black oppression in the fight for socialist revolution. Join us in this fight! ■



Labor Black League speaker Adwoa Oni at rally podium, with Alma Gomez, who translated into Spanish. Right: ILWU Local 10 Secretary-Treasurer Clarence Thomas.



dem of police violence. This epidemic did not stop on September 11th and it did not start on September 11th. This is just giving a green light for more: more killings, more repression and now sweeps of immigrants. We stand united against this repression and against this brutality with all of you here today, and thank you for having this event, and I really appreciate the people who organized it.

Clarence Thomas

Secretary-Treasurer, ILWU Local 10

Good afternoon, brothers and sisters. I'm glad that I didn't hear any snickers when my name was called. That happens on many occasions, and I always respond in this fashion: The judge and I had nothing to do with selecting our names, but we've had a hell of a lot to do with our reputations, and I'm proud of mine.

The first thing I'd like to say today is that this is an important occasion. Let's not worry about how many people are here today. The important thing is that there are people here today that don't necessarily share the same political views, who don't have the same political agendas, because this is a united-front effort. We're all here to stand together against the issue of the USA-Patriot Act and the Port Maritime Security Act. So let's give a round of applause for us being here today. [applause]

We are the union that refused to load ships destined for South Africa. When Nelson Mandela came to the Bay Area after his release, he acknowledged the work of the ILWU. During the legacy of Harry Bridges, one of the founders of this great union, longshoremen refused to unload and load cargo in the form of scrap iron that was destined for Japan. We have a long history of speaking out on issues of economic and social justice, and we know that the government does not like that, the employer does not like that.

So we see this as another move, with these background checks, to undermine the authority and the power of unions, because this is what it does: when people who may have committed, let's say, an indiscretion—“youthful indiscretion” is what Bush described his run-ins with the law; he said it was “youthful indiscretions.” Well, that also applies to us, too. Many of our people have committed youthful indiscretions. But more importantly, racial profiling has targeted blacks, people of color, and our union is one of the most diverse unions in the country. So we see the background checks as a means of determining who can and cannot work on the waterfront. And that is wrong.

In 1934 a historic strike was engaged by our union that shut down the entire city of San Francisco. One of the principles of that strike had to do with our hav-

wered—and believe me, people are watching this all over the world. This is the first effort to mobilize the power of the working class independently, against “national unity” here in the belly of the American imperialist beast.

The liberals and reformists assert that the system can be more humane, more just, if only there were a few cosmetic changes. But capitalism cares for nothing but profit, and there's millions of starving broken bodies, millions of corpses, from Argentina to Iraq to Afghanistan, to prove it.

The attacks on immigrants and the working class that we are addressing at the rally today cannot be separated from the broader aims of the ruling class. The American colossus, waving the criminal destruction of the World Trade Center on 9/11 like a bloody shirt, lashed out at Afghanistan to assert its unchallenged supremacy as the world's nuclear cowboy. Now the American imperialists are plotting their next moves in an open-ended “war on terrorism”—be it attacks on Iraq, Iran or North Korea. We defended Iraq and then Afghanistan when they were attacked by the imperialist war machine, and we will do so again.

The imperialists are able to go unchecked only because of the destruction of the Soviet workers state. In Afghanistan, when the Soviets intervened against

ICL Sections...

(continued from page 3)

over itself to support the U.S. bombing of Afghanistan despite its professed “neutrality,” the “war on terrorism” has likewise meant increased racist terror. As the Dublin Spartacist Group, section of the ICL, stated in its greetings to the February 9 demonstration, “The subsequent upsurge of anti-immigrant racism resulted two weeks ago in the murder of a Chinese student by a racist gang. Hundreds of Irish and Chinese people took to the streets to protest this murder. We distributed a leaflet which told who was really responsible: ‘Capitalist State’s Anti-Immigrant Crusade Fuels Racist Murder of Chinese Student.’... We have told workers, youth and others about this Bay Area demonstration as an example of what is necessary in response to racist terror: mobilisations of the social power of the integrated working class.”

For Class Unity with Mexican Workers!

Any fight to defend immigrant rights in the U.S. must address the plight of workers from Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America who make up a large proportion of immigrant workers here. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, “legal” and “illegal,” and oppose NAFTA (and its extension to the rest of the hemisphere under the FTAA), which has meant the “free trade” rape of Mexico by U.S. imperialism. But the pro-imperialist AFL-CIO leadership condemns NAFTA from the standpoint of chauvinist protectionism, targeting Mexican workers for rabid denunciation.

Breaking the chains forged by the labor tops that shackle the proletariat in the U.S. to its “own” ruling class is central to a revolutionary perspective throughout the hemisphere. Across the border, our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México fight to break the proletariat there from the nationalism that binds it to the Mexican bourgeoisie. In its greetings to the demonstration, the GEM stressed that “the fight of workers for a just society in Mexico cannot be completed without solidarity in struggle with their class brothers on the other side of the border.”

Among the endorsements garnered for the protest by the GEM was that of some 600 striking chemical workers in Michoacán, members of the CTM union federation. It is a measure of the potential for joint class struggle that these striking workers reached across the border in solidarity with a demonstration in the U.S. It also flies in the face of the line peddled by the centrist Internationalist Group (IG), which claims that the corporatist CTM—whose bureaucracy is tied to the former ruling party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party—is in no way



AFP



Spartakist

Paris, February 9: Undocumented immigrants demonstrate to demand legal papers (left). Hundreds protest racist cop killing of Achidi John in Hamburg, Germany.

a workers organization. The IG writes off the CTM in order to pander to the phony “anti-imperialist” posture of the “left” bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution, which has the support of the bureaucrats of the “independent” unions, deemed by the IG to be the only “real” unions in Mexico.

Elsewhere in Latin America, a team of ICL comrades publicized the labor-centered mobilization in Argentina, which has been shaken by mass protests against the harsh austerity measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund and enforced by the Argentine rulers, who are beholden to imperialist patronage. In his greetings to the demonstration, the secretary of international relations of the CTA union federation declared:

“The social disciplinarians of today are basically two: unemployment on one side and judicial prosecution of social struggles on the other. The most illustrative case of the latter is that of Emilio Ali, a young man condemned to five and a half years in prison for pleading for food at a supermarket at the head of a line of unemployed people.

“From Argentina, the Central de los Trabajadores Argentinos sends out its solidarity and support to your struggle for civil rights and on the road toward constructing a world of greater justice and solidarity.”

We say: **Down with NAFTA and the FTAA! For socialist revolution throughout the Americas!**

Anti-Immigrant Terror in “Fortress Europe”

No less than in the U.S., the need for the organized workers movement to mobilize in defense of immigrant workers is posed pointblank throughout racist “Fortress Europe.” From the Labour Party in Britain to the Socialist Party in France and the Social Democrats (SPD)

in Germany, the social democrats currently administer capitalist states in much of West Europe, enforcing the racist repression that in turn feeds the growth of the far right and fascists.

The German city of Hamburg has been targeted as a hotbed of “Islamic terrorism”—a “city of sleepers”—by the SPD capitalist government and the media. On December 9, Achidi John was killed while in police custody, a victim of the sadistic use of induced vomiting, a means of torture meted out to immigrants by the government in its “war on drugs.” Some 140 mostly immigrant students have been subjected to computerized “racial profiling” (*Rasterfahndung*) and hauled in for police “interrogation.” Among those victimized was Abdelwahab Osman K.-M., a German researcher of Sudanese origin, whose apartment was ransacked by police while he was on vacation and whose name was dragged through the mud for weeks in the bourgeois press. An international arrest warrant was issued against him only to be lifted for lack of proof. Our comrades of the Hamburg Spartakist Youth organized a protest at his university, demanding “Hands Off Abdelwahab! Down With the *Rasterfahndung*!” and issued a leaflet raising the call, “For Student/Immigrant/Worker Mobilizations Against Racist State Terror.”

Our comrades not only pointed to the role of the ruling Social Democrats in perpetrating anti-immigrant outrages but also exposed illusions in the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), which is peddled as an alternative to the SPD by much of the fake left. The PDS is the social-democratic heir of the Stalinist bureaucracy that sold out the East German deformed workers state to West German imperialism. The counterrevolutionary reunification of Germany in 1990 brought in its wake mass unemployment, rising fascist terror and the devastation of the East, while encouraging attacks on the living standards of the working class throughout Germany.

As the Spartakist Youth leaflet explained, the PDS’ treachery “paved the way for 12 years of massive attacks on the workers and for the deployment of the Bundeswehr [German army] all over the world. Since then the PDS has been lusting to participate in the government of German imperialism.” Now the PDS, which continues to have the support of many workers in the East, has joined the SPD in a coalition government in Berlin, the more effectively to administer anti-working-class austerity and to enforce it by unleashing more cops on the streets.

In a chilling demonstration that the “war on terror” is aimed against the workers movement as a whole, on February 2 the SPD government in Munich deployed hundreds of cops to surround the DGB trade-union hall as an anti-NATO meeting was taking place inside. It was only the mobilization of workers who came out to the meeting site upon hearing of this massive police provocation that persuaded the cops to stand down and let the anti-NATO protesters leave the

building unmolested. One unionist remarked that not since Hitler had a union building been surrounded by cops. But the force behind the police provocation was not Hitlerite Nazis but the SPD, whose base is in fact the unionized workers of Germany. Moreover, many of the cops who surrounded the hall are, grotesquely, members of the DGB union federation! The Spartakist Workers Party and Spartakist Youth demand: Cops out of the unions!

In the tow of the West European social-democratic governments is the bulk of the reformist and centrist left, who invariably call for a vote to these class traitors in the name of “fighting the right.” In France, this means support to the Socialist-led popular-front government that presides over Vigipirate state terror. The reformist Lutte Ouvrière (LO) strikes a left posture by opposing a vote to the popular front in the upcoming presidential elections. But its deafening silence on Vigipirate amounts to a tacit embrace of this anti-immigrant state repression, which is a central mechanism for tying the working class to the capitalist rulers against a feared, loathed and invented “enemy within.” The reformist and centrist groups who support the popular front likewise serve to bind workers in France to their “own” rulers by peddling anti-American nationalism.

In their greetings to the February 9 demonstration, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) noted:

“Your demonstration also gives us the chance to fight against anti-American chauvinism which is spread far and wide by the bourgeoisie here. Even parties which claim to be socialist push this chauvinism, pretending that all the world’s problems come from the U.S. We seek to demonstrate to French workers that their best ally against capitalism is the international working class. Your mobilization in the United States allows us to introduce workers to internationalism in action.”

In France, as throughout West Europe, a strong component of workers of immigrant origin are integrated in the working class in strategic sectors of industry. This underlines the critical importance of the defense of immigrants in advancing the cause of the revolutionary unity of the proletariat.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The Bay Area mobilization in defense of immigrants had particular resonance in Australia, where John Howard’s right-wing Liberal government, backed by the Australian Labor Party (ALP) tops, is waging a barbaric campaign against refugees, many of them Afghans, Iraqis and Iranians. This has provoked desperate protests in refugee detention camps, with hundreds threatening suicide or going on hunger strikes, some even stitching their lips together with fence wire and torn blankets. It has also sharply polarized Australian society, as demonstrations erupt in cities around the country against the brutal incarceration of asylum-seekers and thousands

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Mexico...

(continued from page 2)

that are politically close to the bourgeois-nationalist PRD. This position has no purpose other than to relieve the IG of having to defend the CTM unions from the bosses’ offensive and to prettify the pro-PRD bureaucracy. Defense of the unions is concrete: the IG has not written a single word about one of the most important union struggles in recent years, the strike of 45,000 CTM-organized sugar workers that was declared “non-existent” by the government in December 2000. The IG has also declared it “non-existent” in their minds. They said not one word in this respect because it would be in contradiction to their mythology about the nature of the CTM.

The development of the unions, as Leon Trotsky explained, is characterized by their ever-closer connection to the state. In Mexico this took the form of corporatism: the organization of society within social “corporations” or “sectors.” Mexican corporatism was consummated with the integration of the CTM into Lázaro Cárdenas’ PRM (Party of the Mexican Revolution) in 1938. This is not exclusive to Mexico; in Argentina, trade unions have been linked to the Peronist bourgeois party for decades, and yet today they feel pressured to lead general strikes. The CTM bureaucracy has a well-deserved reputation for using the most brutal methods to discipline the working class. But Marxists do not choose to our liking either the arena of our work or the conditions of our activity. The class antagonisms which are inherent to capitalism are such that they will burst out independently of the particular superstructure of the capitalist regime. Essentially, the point is to struggle to win the advanced layer of the working class to the struggle for socialism.

announce their willingness to shelter escaped refugees. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Australia have intervened in meetings and protests to fight for union/minority action to defend refugees and immigrants, arguing in a 10 February leaflet:

“The racist ruling class won’t be swayed by the servile appeals to their ‘morals’ pushed by the Laborite left and liberals. The capitalists’ only ‘moral’ calculus is their bottom line. To carry out huge job massacres and shredding of health care, education and welfare unopposed, the capitalists whip up racism to divide the working class, going after the most vulnerable first, so as to paralyze workers’ ability to struggle. But the working class, with its strategic immigrant component, makes the wheels of profit turn. A political strike combining defence of immigrants with opposition to union-busting attacks would be a major step in the fight to push back the bosses’ union-busting and divisive racist schemes. Asylum now and full citizenship rights for refugees and all immigrants! Close the concentration camps! No deportations!”

When Labor competed with the Liberals in racist tirades against desperate refugees during last November’s election campaign, it provoked outrage among immigrant workers, who make up a large part of the membership of many unions. Reflecting such anger at the base, the Laborite trade-union tops have set up “Labor for Refugees,” which avows opposition to mandatory detention. This is a significant break in the climate of racist reaction. But the union tops, and reformist groups like the International Socialist Organisation (ISO), seek to steer opposition to the government’s attacks right back into support to the ALP, which bears direct responsibility for the anti-immigrant and anti-union policies. Hailing Labor leader Simon Crean’s call for detained children to be released to foster care as a “massive boost to every refugee,” the ISO simply enthuses over Labor for Refugees, whose aim is to pressure the ALP into a more “compassionate” policy, as a “terrific breakthrough”

In the same article cited above, the IG presents its “analysis” of corporatism:

“...in the key struggle that consolidated the corporatist nature of the CTM, the imposition of a leader, Jesús Díaz de León (known as ‘el charro’ [the cowboy]), by the right-wing PRI government of Miguel Alemán on the combative railroad workers in 1948-49, the former union leaders including the dissident Stalinist Valentín Campa were arrested and then expelled from the rail union under the exclusion clause, leading to their firing by the railroads.”

The IG doesn’t even mention the entry of the CTM into the PRM of Cárdenas in 1938; instead, it is clear that for them the event that *transformed the class nature* of the overwhelming majority of the unions back then...was the expulsion of the Stalinist Valentín Campa! The so-called “*charrazo*” marked the end of the “democratic” pretensions of the bureaucracies, but to maintain that it made any qualitative, class difference is simply ridiculous. *All of them*—Stalinists, Lombardists, Fidelists [after the late CTM head Fidel Velázquez]—were in agreement about one thing in those years: the working class should be subordinated to the PRM-PRI. The only difference was over which clique should lead this “historic alliance.” The PCM (Communist Party of Mexico), embodied in the Campa union leadership, was one of the principal instigators of the CTM’s entry into the Cárdenist PRM. Lombardo Toledano, the first secretary general of the CTM, was a Stalinist lackey and a direct agent of Stalin’s GPU; he licked the boots of each and every one of the presidents of the PRM-PRI until his death and was complicit in the assassination of Trotsky in 1940. The IG rails against the gangsterism of the post-war CTM bureaucrats, but they prefer to close their eyes to the murderous Stalinist/Lombardist violence directed against Trotsky!

The IG maintains that the PRM was a “popular front,” and that today there is a “popular front” around the PRD [led by

(Australian *Socialist Worker*, 1 February).

With refugees drowning on the high seas or thrown into concentration camps while striking workers are baited as “terrorists,” immigrant and also white Australian-born workers are looking for a position from which to fight in defense of the oppressed and the labor movement as a whole. Our aim is to direct the evident anger and discontent at the base, including through actions like the Bay Area mobilization, to show that working people and oppressed minorities need a revolutionary workers party, not a “Labor” party that supports capitalist rule.

In contrast to the reformists and centrists whose program is defined by pressuring the social democrats for reforms of the existing system, our purpose is to win workers to the understanding that they must sweep away the entire capitalist system, to forge through education and struggle the vanguard party of the proletariat needed to achieve that goal. Our defense of immigrant rights is a vital part of our revolutionary internationalist program. This was underlined in the LTF greetings to the Oakland mobilization:

“While the bourgeoisie attacks immigrants, we must remember the key role immigrant workers have played in the class struggle, such as during the Paris Commune of 1871. It was a Hungarian worker, Leo Frankel, minister of labor and trade, who wrote the decree for the expropriation of the factories during the Commune. The Commune also declared: “‘Loudly proclaiming its internationalist aspirations—because the cause of the producers is the same everywhere and because the enemy is the same everywhere, regardless of one’s nationality (regardless of one’s national dress)—Paris has proclaimed the principle of admitting foreigners to the Commune; Paris has even elected a foreign worker (a member of the International) to its Executive committee....’

“We celebrate the memory of the Paris Commune and we fight for new October Revolutions. Your demonstration in Oakland, modest but exemplary, shows the way forward for all workers.”■

Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas]. For Marxists, the “popular front” is an alliance between the mass reformist workers parties and bourgeois parties that is used to govern a capitalist state. In Mexico, a mass workers party has never existed. The PRM co-opted the working class by means of concessions and the ideological battering ram of bourgeois nationalism, subordinating them to an iron bureaucracy (see “Mexico: NAFTA’s Man Targets Labor,” WV No. 748, 15 December 2000).

The PRM-PRI was *never* anything more than a bourgeois party, as is today its pathetic heir, the PRD. The mythical “popular fronts” that the IG invents around the two Cárdenases is nothing but an attempt to mask the bourgeois class nature of their respective parties. The real position of the IG, which is concealed in order to hold onto their “Marxist” credentials, is that under the hegemony of Lázaro Cárdenas, the CTM was a “legitimate” workers federation and the PRM was not a mere bourgeois party, but rather a “popular front”—but everything came down when “*El Tata*” [Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas’ father] left power. The IG’s “analysis” of corporatism is nothing but a smokescreen to hide its attraction toward the nationalist politics of Cárdenas Sr., which today draws them like fleas toward the blanket of Junior.

Union-Busting Centrist Demagogy

Incapable of giving effective political arguments to defend their positions, the

Mumia...

(continued from page 16)

for her testimony, Veronica Jones testified at the trial that the cops had offered her a similar deal: “They were trying to get me to say something that the other girl said...and they told us we can work the area if we tell them.” Not only was White allowed to work the area, but she did so *with police protection*.

Unlike White, Jones refused to finger Mumia, but the cops did strong-arm her into retracting her initial statement that she had seen two men flee the scene of the shooting. When Jones appeared at a 1996 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) hearing to tell the truth about what she’d seen, the D.A. vindictively had her dragged from the witness stand and arrested on a two-year-old bench warrant for allegedly passing bad checks. At a subsequent hearing in 1997, Pamela Jenkins, another prostitute, testified that White had said “she was in fear for her life from the police,” who “were trying to get her to say something about the shooting.” Now Williams’ affidavit confirms: “Lucky was worried the police would kill her if she didn’t say what they wanted.... She tried to run away after the shooting, but the cops grabbed her and wouldn’t let her go. They took her in the car first and told her that she saw Mumia shoot Officer Faulkner.”

Police coercion and prosecution lies

IG is reduced to demagogically falsifying ours. In *El Internacionalista/Edición México* (May 2001) they accuse us: “*What they are saying is that there is no qualitative difference between the thugs of the corporatist centers and the workers of the Duro, Kuk Dong and Covarrar-factories*” [emphasis in original]. Contrary to this lying cynicism, every reader of our press knows that we are for a relentless political struggle for a revolutionary leadership in the unions that will replace *all* pro-bourgeois leaderships—CTM as well as “independents”—that will make the unions a bulwark in the revolutionary struggle for women’s liberation and workers revolution, combatting the bourgeois macho ideology that permeates the working class.

The IG has the gall to exclaim: “Our position is simple: bourgeois state out of union activities!” These are the words of the group that dragged the Brazilian union of municipal workers of Volta Redonda through the bourgeois courts, in a bureaucratic struggle to hold onto the leadership of this union that was infested with cops, in 1996-97. The IG’s Brazilian comrades turned over the union’s bank statements, account books, statutes and minutes of union meetings to the bourgeois courts as “evidence”! (See “IG’s Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies,” WV No. 671, 11 July 1997.) This is the real nature of the IG’s posture of “opposing” state intervention into the unions and the corporatist laws. The Internationalist Group is a fraud.■

are endemic to this capitalist frame-up system. So is racist jury-rigging. Last week, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a stay of execution for Thomas Miller-El, a black death row inmate in Texas, based on the claim that there had been only one black juror because blacks were unconstitutionally excluded from his jury. In Jamal’s case, Yohn explicitly rejected the very same claim (while “permitting” it to be appealed to a higher court), despite the fact that there were only two black people on the jury that convicted Jamal and the prosecutor had used eleven of his 14 peremptory challenges to exclude blacks.

This only serves to underline that, despite his unquestionable innocence, Mumia cannot expect justice from the capitalist courts. Mumia is not only another black man ensnared in this racist system. He is an outspoken advocate for the oppressed, a MOVE supporter, an eloquent journalist and fighter who was in the cross hairs of the Philly cops and FBI from the time he was a teenage spokesman for the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s. The forces of “law and order” want to see Jamal dead because they see in him the spectre of black revolution. Even if they don’t succeed in overturning Yohn’s reversal of the death sentence, Mumia still faces a life sentence, a living death in his prison hell. *Don’t let them bury Mumia alive!* What’s needed is a massive struggle centered on the social power of the multiracial working class to demand: Free Mumia Now!■

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Immigrants...

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Du Bois, who stood for black equality and was a founder of the NAACP, wrote in 1929: “Colored America has been silent on the immigration quota controversy for two reasons: *First, the stopping of the importing of cheap white labor on any terms has been the economic salvation of American black labor*” [emphasis in the original]. And black immigrants, he said, were to blame for “frustrating our efforts and misunderstanding our ideals.”

A. Philip Randolph, a social democrat and founder of the all-black sleeping-car porters union, stated in reference to a restrictive immigration law under discussion in the early '20s: “Instead of reducing immigration to 2 percent of the 1890 quota, we favor reducing it to nothing.... We favor shutting out the Germans from Germany, the Italians from Italy...the Hindus from India, the Chinese from China, and even the Negroes from the West Indies. This country is suffering from immigrant indigestion.”

But this anti-immigrant chauvinism was literally playing with fire. The Ku Klux Klan had revived in 1915. In addition to blacks, it targeted immigrants, especially Catholics and Jews. By 1925, at its peak, somewhere between three and five million Americans had joined the “Invisible Empire.” When Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans called for a march in Washington, D.C. (the site of the Klan’s new national headquarters) that year, 40,000 robed and hooded Klansmen paraded down Pennsylvania Avenue.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court, Congress, the White House and state legislatures were moving in complete consonance with the race-terrorists. The California Alien Land Laws of 1913, 1920 and 1923 barred those not eligible for citizenship, i.e., all Asian immigrants, from owning or leasing land. In decisions reminiscent of apartheid South Africa, the Supreme Court in 1922 and 1923 further narrowed the definition of who could become citizens under the “whites only” Naturalization Act of 1790. In the *Ozawa* case, it ruled that the category “white person” excluded Japanese and hence all East Asians. In *U.S. v. Thind*, it ruled that although Asian Indians may be considered “Caucasians,” such is not a “white person,” for “these are words of common speech and not of scientific origin.”

In 1929, the Indian writer and Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore visited the West Coast but broke off his tour because of racial prejudice. He commented: “Jesus could not get into America because, first of all, He would not have the necessary money, and secondly, He would be an Asiatic.”

The Immigration Act of 1924 barred entry to any “alien ineligible to citizenship,” thereby excluding almost all immigration from Asia. The 1924 law also cut off immigration from East and Southern Europe. The new anti-immigrant measures dovetailed with an escalation in state repression against leftists and labor radicals in the years after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. It was among the largely pro-



James Earl Wood photos

Filipino and Mexican farm workers in California in early '30s waged bitter organizing battles, striking in defiance of bosses' threats to deport any immigrant worker who "joins the striking 'workers' union'."

socialist workers of South European and East European descent where the impact of the Russian Revolution was most immediately felt in the U.S.

The Palmer raids, carried out in the first week of January 1920 under the “progressive” Democratic administration of Woodrow Wilson, resulted in the arrest of over 6,000 Communists and the deportation of thousands of foreign-born anarchists and other leftists. The frame-up of Italian anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti on murder charges and their execution in 1927 were part and parcel of the racist mobilization of the state and its auxiliaries in white sheets against militant immigrant workers.

The American Empire and Asian Immigration

The American capitalists have always tried to pit one sector of the working class against another in order to undermine labor struggle. In Hawaii, then an American colony or “territory,” the plantation bosses were often successful in playing off one nationality against another. Japanese workers organized themselves into ethnic “blood unions,” demanding equal pay with their Portuguese co-workers. When 7,000 Japanese workers struck on Oahu in 1909, the bosses hired Koreans, Chinese, Portuguese and Filipinos as scabs. Although the strikers were forced back to work after four months, the planters shortly thereafter eliminated the pay differential by raising the Japanese workers’ wages.

Now the bosses turned to Filipino workers to replace the Japanese, setting off the first massive immigration of Filipinos to Hawaii. In December 1919, the Japanese Federation of Labor and the Filipino Federation separately submitted their demands to the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation. Three thousand Filipino workers were the first to walk out, but their Japanese class brothers soon joined them. Together 8,000-strong, they shut down production on Oahu. Spanish, Portuguese and Chinese workers subsequently joined the strike. More than 12,000 workers and their families were evicted from their homes, forcing them to camp in Honolulu parks. The strike ended after a six-month standoff, by which time the workers received some concessions such as increased wages,

the abolition of wage differentials and changes in the system of bonus pay.

The Philippines was also at the time an American colony, and its inhabitants were declared “American nationals.” In 1910, only 406 Filipinos were working on the U.S. mainland. But in 1920 there were 5,600, and in 1930 the number reached 45,000. By that time, 30,500 Filipinos had settled in California, of which 60 percent worked in agriculture and 25 percent were service workers. They were frequently targets of racist attack, especially during the Depression. In Watsonville in December 1929, 400 whites attacked a Filipino dance hall. In the four days of rioting that ensued, many Filipinos were beaten and one was shot to death.

In 1930, Filipino and Mexican workers



Dorothea Lange

May 1942: Japanese families rounded up in California for internment in concentration camps.

organized by the Agricultural Workers Industrial League, which was led by the Communist Party (CP), went on strike after Imperial Valley growers tried to lower wages. Independently organized white packing shed workers joined the strike. After the growers called in the government to break the strike, over 100 workers were arrested, their bail set at \$40,000.

Amid the Depression, some 500,000 Mexicans and Mexican Americans were kicked out of the country. Later, the *bracero* program that began during World War II brought hundreds of thousands of Mexican agricultural workers to *el Norte*. When the need for this labor dried up, over a million Mexican workers were targeted for mass deportations in “Operation Wetback” in 1954. Documented or undocumented, Mexican workers are the industrial reserve army of California agribusiness.

World War II Internment of Japanese Americans

When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, 37 percent of Hawaii’s population was Japanese. Shortly after inspecting the still-smoking ruins of his Pacific fleet, Secretary of the Navy Knox railed against a Japanese “fifth column.” Naval intelligence and FBI investigations concluded that there was no sabotage or espionage by Japanese residents. Nevertheless, the War Department asked the military governor of Hawaii his opinion regarding mass Japanese internment on

one of Hawaii’s outer islands. Negative, he responded: the Japanese and Japanese Americans were too crucial to both military operations and the economy.

On the mainland, the Western Defense Command was constituted with its headquarters at San Francisco’s Presidio, under the command of one General John DeWitt. To get the flavor of this all-round racist, DeWitt protested when he was sent black troops after the attack on Pearl Harbor, ranting that the local population felt that “they’ve got enough black skinned people around them as it is. Filipinos and Japanese.” Beating the drums for internment, a *Los Angeles Times* editorial railed: “A viper is nonetheless a viper wherever the egg is hatched—so a Japanese American, born of Japanese parents—grows up to be a Japanese, not an American.”

On 19 February 1942, Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, providing the basis for internment. The Japanese are not mentioned, but they were the intended targets. When the War Department discussed interning Germans and Italians on the East Coast, Roosevelt squelched the idea, writing that as opposed to them, the Japanese were “strangers from a distant shore.” The armed forces removed 120,000 Japanese, some 70,000 of whom were American citizens (most native-born), from their homes and shipped them for internment to barbed wire-enclosed “Relocation Centers” in the desert and mountain wastelands of seven states. Those Japanese Americans who refused to report for internment, claiming their rights as citizens, were arrested, convicted and sent to prison, and the Supreme Court upheld their convictions.

No wonder that Japanese Americans

were among the earliest protesters against Bush’s domestic “war against terrorism” last fall. Like the new USA-Patriot Act, an acronym for the “Uniting and Strengthening America Act by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism,” the World War II internment was proscriptive. This means: I am going to arrest you because you look like the sort of person who might be a spy or hijack a plane.

Let’s be clear: the decision for mass internment was made at the highest level of government. Roosevelt had been considering such an option since 1936. But helping to pave the way for the internment was the class treason and the decades-long anti-immigrant chauvinism of the California trade-union tops. By the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Stalinist Communist Party, which was still influential in the Bay Area unions, was pushing the line of support to “democratic” U.S. imperialism and its allies against Japan and Germany. The CP expelled its Japanese members, cheered the internment of Japanese Americans and went on to applaud the dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Despite the internment, 33,000 Japanese Americans served in the Jim Crow armed forces in segregated units. The famed 442nd Regiment, formed in Hawaii and the internment camps, was sent to Europe and became the most decorated fighting unit in U.S. history, taking 9,486 casualties and earning 18,143 decorations.

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As the U.S. was herding Japanese Americans into concentration camps on the West Coast, it was using the 1924 immigration law to slam the door in the face of Jews and others fleeing the death camps in Germany and Nazi-occupied Europe. At the height of the Holocaust in 1943, fewer than 6,000 refugees were admitted. Already in 1939, the U.S. refused to allow the luxury liner *St. Louis* to dock with 930 Jewish refugees on board. The Roosevelt administration said that immigration quotas were filled and could not be compromised, and the boat was sent back to Europe, where many of its passengers later died in concentration camps. This event was dramatized in the movie *Voyage of the Damned*. As Trotsky wrote after the outbreak of World War II in Europe:

“The world of decaying capitalism is overcrowded. The question of admitting a hundred extra refugees becomes a major problem for such a world power as the United States.... The period of the wasting away of foreign trade and the decline of domestic trade is at the same time the period of the monstrous intensification of chauvinism and especially of anti-Semitism.”

—“The Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution” (1940), printed in *Documents of the Fourth International* (1973)

The then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) opposed all the imperialist powers in World War II while fighting for unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state. The U.S. rulers' barring of Jewish refugees was fought by the SWP. Following Kristallnacht, the November 1938 Nazi pogroms against Jews in Germany, the SWP issued a call for united action by labor and the left against the American fascists (*Socialist Appeal*, 19 November 1938):

“Show the Hitlerite assassins and pogromists the real position of American labor by your protest meetings!

“Show them that the American working class means it seriously when it says that it detests anti-Semitism and the anti-Semites like the plague!”

“Show the victims of the fascist terror that you mean it seriously, by stretching out to them the hand of fraternal solidarity, by demanding of the American government the free and unrestricted right of asylum for the Jewish scapegoats of fascist barbarism!”

Class War and the Cold War

Massive class battles swept Europe and the U.S. after World War II. For the purpose of this talk, I will briefly look at Hawaii as an example. Restrictions on union organizers there imposed by U.S. military forces and court injunctions were lifted. The International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), whose leadership was around the CP, had united Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Puerto Rican, Portuguese and Hawaiian workers in one



NYC: Unionized garment workers in Manhattan's Chinatown demonstrate against sweatshop conditions, August 1998.

A black and white photograph of a vintage car, likely a Ford Model A, with a group of men standing on top of it. A large sign is mounted on the car reading: "DISARM THE RICH FARMER OR ARM THE WORKER FOR SELF-DEFENSE". The car has a license plate that reads "SB 1614". The men are dressed in casual attire, including hats and jackets. The background shows a rural setting with a small building and a fence.

Mexican farm workers protest during 1933 California cotton strike after armed thugs attacked pickets.

union. Beginning in 1946, it waged a series of long and bitter strikes.

Looking for a showdown with the union, in 1949 the Big Five plantation companies provoked a strike by holding out against the longshoremen's demand for wage parity with their mainland counterparts. The strike began on May 1 and lasted 157 days. AFL and CIO maritime union tops ordered their members to scab as part of the Cold War witchhunt against unions and unionists associated with the CP and other left-wing organizations. The government used the Smith Act to imprison the ILWU regional director in Hawaii and six other strike leaders. Their conviction in 1953 was met with an all-Hawaii walkout.

In 1950, when the Chinese People's Liberation Army came to the aid of North Korea against U.S. imperialism and its United Nations allies in the Korean War, the U.S. bourgeoisie reacted by whipping up anti-Chinese bigotry and intensifying anti-Communist hysteria. In late 1950, Congress passed the McCarran Internal Security Act, requiring American CP members and others to register with the U.S. Attorney General. The Attorney General was authorized to detain them when there was "reasonable ground" that they might engage in espionage or sabotage. Title II of this onerous act pointed to the wartime incarceration of Japanese Americans (which had been embraced by the Stalinists) as a precedent for such a roundup of alleged subversives.

In 1952, Congress passed the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act. The law capped immigration from the so-called “Asian-Pacific Triangle”—i.e., most South and East Asian countries—at 100 people per country per year, and also sharply curtailed immigration from the Caribbean. Although the “white only” color bar of the 1790 Naturalization Act was finally eliminated, even Harry Truman objected to the act because it created a second-class citizenship status by distinguishing between citizens by birth and citizens by naturalization. The law also contained measures for banning would-be visitors with left-wing sympathies and deporting like-minded immigrants.

Later immigration laws served to strengthen the police and military powers of the capitalist state while providing cheap immigrant labor, especially for West Coast agribusiness, which depends on undocumented labor for up to 70 percent of its workforce. American capitalism's dependence on immigrant labor has driven every immigration "reform" in the last century. The 1986 Simpson-Rodino immigration law was completely in this tradition, using the sugarcoating of limited amnesty provisions, riddled with traps, to ram through increased powers for the military and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to control the borders.

**For Full Citizenship Rights!
Organize the Unorganized!**

Today, the number of undocumented immigrants in this country is estimated to be as high as 8.5 million, with five million entering during the 1990s. By far the largest number of undocumented immigrants—probably half or more of the total—

are from Mexico. Another quarter come from other parts of Latin America—Central America (mainly El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras), the Caribbean and South America. Driving immigration from Mexico is the 1994 NAFTA agreement—the U.S. “free trade” rape of Mexico. Real wages in Mexico have plummeted 75 percent in the last 12 years. NAFTA has also made the Mexican economy more dependent on the U.S. economy. Now big brother is in a big slump, and many toilers who have come here from south of the border remember the mass deportations that took place during the Depression of the 1930s and in the 1950s.

If you look at household income averages based on the 2000 census, differences among immigrant groups are more substantial than the difference between immigrants and the U.S.-born. While legal permanent residents, who are often skilled, have incomes near the overall average, undocumented immigrants have the lowest household incomes of any group (\$31,500), more than one-third below those of the native-born. Having no rights, these workers can be exploited by the capitalists to the limit of physical endurance, hired and fired to meet cyclical and seasonal needs.

The huge influx of immigrant workers from mainland China, transported in conditions reminiscent of the Middle Passage of the African slave trade to be hideously exploited in the sweatshops of New York City and the Bay Area, is a searing indictment of the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms." These measures increasingly erode the social gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution that drove out the capitalists and freed women from a servitude no better than slavery. The conditions under which Chinese immigrants labor are also a searing indictment of the bureaucrats of the UNITE garment workers union, who are often no better than contractors for sweatshop labor. They collect their dues while signing sweetheart contracts with the owners of the sweatshops, where the workforce of mainly Chinese women has no rights except to toil 12-14 hours a day at wages far below the minimum wage (see "Chinese Immigrant Workers in Racist America," *WV* No. 719, 17 September 1999).

The immigrant worker is *in* this society, but as the so-called “alien,” he is alienated from it, i.e., he is not *of* this racist social order. That’s why immigrant workers are so often criminalized and seen as a threat. Many, especially those from Latin America, bring with them a tradition of militant social struggle. But, again, the color bar is ultimately decisive. While dark-skinned immigrants are treated as blacks, many light-skinned immigrants adapt to the anti-black racism spread by the white ruling class, which has long used the color bar to obscure the fundamental *class* divide in this capitalist society.

Many of the first black people in this country to rally to the side of the Russian Revolution were from the Caribbean—where black skin is not automatically a badge of shame and humiliation—like the Jamaican-born author Claude McKay. Some of the most powerful protests against lynching were penned by a Vietnamese waiter-dishwasher aboard a

French liner in the early 1920s that would put in at American ports. His name: Ho Chi Minh. He would go on to become the leader of the Vietnamese Communists' struggle against the French, Japanese and U.S. imperialists.

I want to conclude with the example of the Japanese Marxist Sen Katayama. Born in 1860, he came to the U.S. in 1884 to complete his education. Because of his interest in the black question, he became the first Asian to attend a black college, Nashville's Fisk University. Returning to Japan in 1896, he was active in the socialist and labor movements. In 1906, he was sentenced to nine months' hard labor for his activities protesting Japan's war against Russia. He was imprisoned again for his participation in the 1912 Tokyo streetcar strike. After his release, he left once more for the U.S., never to see his homeland again, although he would continue to influence its socialist movement. Attracted to the Bolshevik Revolution, he became a founder of three Communist parties: the American, the Japanese and the Mexican.

In his December 1923 article “Soviet Russia and the Negro,” Claude McKay wrote:

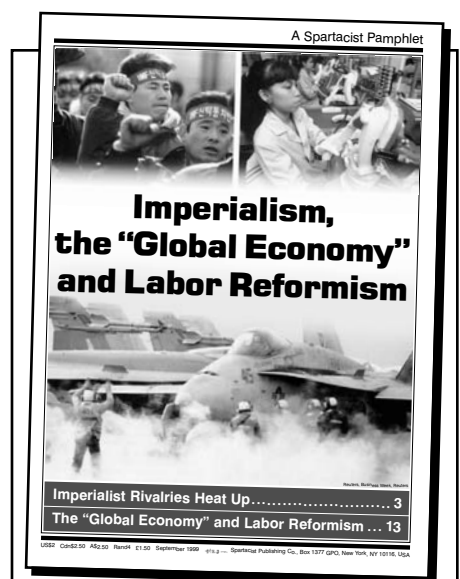
“When Sen Katayama of Japan, the veteran revolutionist, went from the United States to Russia in 1921 he placed the American Negro problem first upon his full agenda. And ever since he has been working unceasingly and unselfishly to promote the cause of the exploited American Negro among the Soviet councils of Russia.”

In his capacity as a representative of the Communist International, Katayama was sent to Mexico in 1921. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in 1922, Katayama protested the refusal of the American party to fulfill its elementary internationalist duty and work together with its sister party in Mexico, a strategically important neocolony of U.S. imperialism:

"Many Communist parties in the West cannot see beyond the borders of their own countries. I would like to give an example: the Mexican party that is still quite young. When I was in Mexico I sought to establish closer relations between the Mexican party and the Communist Party of America. We sent many letters to this party and sent them many articles, but the letters were never answered, and the articles were never printed. Most of us thought that personal reasons were involved. But after I left Mexico a member of the central committee of the Communist Party of Mexico approached the American party with a proposal for collaboration; he too got no answer. That means that the American party has never looked beyond the borders of their country. That is neither the idea nor the principle of the Comintern."

—*Protokolle des IV. Weltkongresses der Kommunistischen Internationale*, Vol. 2 (1923)

The fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants is a fight in the interest of the U.S. working class as a whole. The foreign-born worker won to communism has a crucial and vitally important role in the revolutionary internationalist party we are seeking to build as the U.S. section of a reformed Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. Workers of the world, unite! Our banner. Our challenge. Join us! ■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

New Evidence of Innocence Free Mumia Now!

There can be no clearer indictment of this system of racist injustice than the fact that Mumia Abu-Jamal remains confined to a prison hellhole. It has been nine months since the courts received a sworn confession from Arnold Beverly that he carried out the December 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner for which Jamal was sentenced to death. Though that sentence was reversed on narrow technical grounds in a federal district court in December, Judge William Yohn upheld every single aspect of the discredited police/prosecution case in the face of an avalanche of evidence of Mumia's innocence. Now a new witness has courageously come forward to rip apart the coerced "eyewitness" testimony that

was a cornerstone of the prosecution's edifice of lies, along with a manufactured "confession" and bogus ballistics "evidence."

In a sworn affidavit submitted to a federal appeals court on February 6, Yvette Williams confirmed that Cynthia White, the sole prosecution witness who claimed to have seen Mumia shoot Faulkner, was coerced by the cops to lie in court. It has long been known that White, a Philly prostitute known as "Lucky," was given police protection in exchange for her lying testimony. Now Williams states that White herself admitted this:

"I was in jail with Cynthia White in December of 1981 after Police Officer Daniel Faulkner was shot and killed. Cynthia White told me the police were

making her lie and say she saw Mr. Jamal shoot Officer Faulkner when she really did not see who did it."

At the time of Jamal's trial, White had 38 prior arrests and was serving 18 months in Massachusetts, with three prostitution charges awaiting trial in Philadelphia. Following Faulkner's killing, his precinct was told to refer her to the Homicide Division if she was taken in. In the next ten days, White was taken to Homicide twice—on prostitution charges! Each time she was let off; each time she altered her story more to the cops' liking. Williams described White's reply when asked why she lied:

"She told me it was because for [sic] the police and vice threatened her life. Additionally, the police were giving her money for tricks.... She also said she



COC Productions

Mumia Abu-Jamal

was terrified of what the police would do to her if she didn't say that Mumia shot Officer Faulkner. According to Lucky, the police told her they would consolidate all her cases and send her 'up' (Muncy), a women's prison, for a long time if she didn't testify to what they told her to say."

Despite repeated denials by prosecutors that White had been offered a deal
continued on page 13

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! For a Workers Party That Fights for All the Exploited and Oppressed!

Immigrants and the Class Struggle

Part One of this edited presentation by Bay Area Spartacist League comrade Reuben Samuels appeared in WV No. 774 (8 February).

By the beginning of World War I, one-third of East European and Russian Jewry had emigrated. They were for the most part well educated: 80 percent of the men

PART TWO

and 63 percent of the women were literate; two-thirds were skilled workers. Many became militants in the class struggle in the U.S.

Beginning in July 1909, spontaneous strikes broke out in New York City's Lower East Side garment industry among the mainly Italian and East European Jewish women workers. A thousands-strong support rally for the garment strike was held in Cooper Union on the night of November 22. After a lot of blah, blah, Clara Lemlich, who was only in her teens, rushed up onto the platform and proclaimed in Yiddish: "[The bosses] yell at the girls and 'call them down' even worse than I imagine the Negro slaves were in the South." She continued, "I am tired of listening to speakers who talk in generalities. What we are here for is to decide whether or not to strike. I offer a resolution that a general strike be declared—now!"

There was thunderous applause. The meeting chairman then jumped up on the platform, joined hands with Lemlich and asked the crowd to support the general



ILWU

1947 Labor Day parade in Hawaii: ILWU longshoremen march for wage parity with workers on U.S. mainland. ILWU organized Hawaiian ports and plantations, uniting Filipino, Japanese, Portuguese and other workers.

strike: "Will you take the old Jewish Oath?" The crowd raised their right hands and pledged: "If I turn traitor to the cause I now pledge, may this hand wither from the arm I now raise." The next morning, 15,000 shirtwaist workers were on strike, soon swelling to 20,000. Though beaten by thugs and arrested by police, the strikers stayed solid, and by February 3, 300

of some 450 firms had settled. Several months later, another strike exploded, and 50,000 cloak and suit workers won a wage increase, a 54-hour workweek and preferential hiring for union workers.

It would not be just to leave this period on such a happy note, because until we end capitalism there will be no truly happy endings. The following year saw

the worst factory fire in the history of New York City, at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company. Occupying the top three floors of a ten-story building, the company employed 500 women, mostly Jewish immigrants between the ages of 13 and 23. To keep the women at their sewing machines, the proprietors had locked the doors leading to the exits. A total of 146 women died in less than 15 minutes. The owners of the company were charged with manslaughter but later acquitted. In 1914, they were ordered by a judge to pay the measly sum of \$75 each in damages to the families of 23 victims who had sued.

Anti-Immigrant Chauvinism and Racist Reaction

In racist America, the color bar is a defining characteristic of the capitalist system. In opposing immigration, the most influential black spokesmen in this period thereby fueled the forces of racist reaction. Booker T. Washington, himself an apologist for Jim Crow segregation in the South, declared at the 1895 Atlanta Exposition: "To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted, I would repeat what I had to say to my own race, 'cast down your buckets where you are'."

Other black spokesmen opposed immigration because they thought it would undermine the already precarious status of the oppressed black masses. W.E.B.
continued on page 14