

Release Palestinian Government Leaders! Zionist Rampage in Gaza

JULY 4—As we go to press, Israel's rulers, with the approval of their paymasters in Washington, continue to unleash hell on Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. Israeli forces have invaded parts of Gaza while warplanes and helicopter gunships have destroyed Palestinian government buildings, including the prime minister's office, bridges and

Gaza's only power plant. In the West Bank, Israeli troops have rounded up at least 64 members of Hamas, including eight members of the Palestinian cabinet and 23 legislators. The pretext for Israel's wave of "collective punishment" was the June 25 attack on an Israeli military outpost, in which two soldiers were killed and a third seized. On June 28,

four Israeli F-16 fighter jets provocatively buzzed the residence of Syrian president Bashar al-Assad near the city of Latakia, claiming that Hamas leader Khaled Meshal, who resides in Syria, was responsible for the June 24 attack.

Gaza is little more than a concentration camp, an impoverished and devastated strip of land where 1.4 million

Palestinians are trapped, surrounded by the sea, an electrified fence and a wall sealing its southern border with Egypt. With Gaza's sole power plant destroyed, the only electricity available is the small amount allowed in by Israel, leaving most residents with only a few hours of power each day. Many hospitals and

continued on page 12

Defend North Korea!

JULY 4—In the midst of concerted threats by the U.S. and Japanese imperialists, the North Korean deformed workers state today launched several missiles into the Sea of Japan. While the Japanese Kyodo news agency reports that they were medium-range Rodong missiles, CNN cites claims by U.S. government sources that several short-range Scuds were fired along with at least one long-range Taepodong-2 missile that failed in flight.

The imperialists have been claiming that North Korea was preparing to test-launch its multistage, Taepodong-2 rocket, with Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi proclaiming that Japan "would have to respond harshly." Today a senior U.S. State Department official denounced the missile launches as a "provocative act." Last month, a North Korean diplomat at the United Nations commented: "North Korea as a sovereign state has the right to develop, deploy, test fire and export a missile. We are aware of the U.S. concerns about our missile test-launch. So our position is that we should resolve the issue through negotiations" (*Washington Post*, 22 June).

Leading representatives of the Democratic Party have been so rabid over North Korean missiles that they make even the demented Bush administration look relatively peaceable. Clinton's former secretary of defense, William Perry, and Perry's former deputy Ashton Carter declared in a *Washington Post* (22 June) opinion piece that the U.S. "should immediately make clear its intention to strike and destroy the North Korean Taepodong missile before it can be launched. This could be accomplished, for example, by a cruise missile launched from a submarine carrying a high-explosive warhead." An alarmed *New York Times* (26 June) editorialized against such "Really Bad Ideas on Korea." Dick Cheney, no less, observed that "if you're going to launch a strike at another nation, you'd better be prepared to not just fire one shot."

The warmongers in Washington promote the absurd lie that North Korea may be about to attack the U.S. In fact, it is North Korea that is in the cross hairs of the U.S. military machine. The just-

Imperialist Frenzy Over Missile Tests



U.S. Navy

U.S. warships during military exercises in Asian Pacific in June. Three aircraft carrier groups were mobilized in provocation against North Korean deformed workers state.

concluded annual "Valiant Shield" war games off Guam brought together three U.S. aircraft carrier strike groups in the Pacific for the first time since the Vietnam War. Japan last month dispatched ships and planes to monitor North Korea, while the U.S. intends to install its antimissile Patriot system in Okinawa. The U.S. has also deployed an advanced spy plane to South Korea, and North Korea has accused the U.S. of repeated spy flights over its territory.

The U.S. capitalist rulers have tried to crush North Korea ever since capitalist/landlord rule was overthrown there under the protection of the Soviet Army following World War II, freeing the northern half of the country from imperialist domination and establishing proletarian, collectivized property relations. While in the South the American occupation army sought to crush a revolutionary upsurge by Korean workers and peasants, the North became a deformed workers state, saddled from birth with a nationalist, Stalinist bureaucracy under the late Kim Il Sung that is currently headed by Kim's son, Kim Jong Il.

The U.S. and its imperialist allies devastated the Korean peninsula in the Korean War of 1950-53, killing some *three million* Koreans. The imperialists leveled the entire peninsula with high explosives and napalm in their drive to "roll back" not only the social revolution in Korea but also the Chinese Revolution of 1949. This drive was stopped by the heroic struggle of Korean workers and peasants, with the aid of a massive Chinese military intervention. To this day, the U.S. maintains some 30,000 troops in capitalist South Korea alongside the South Korean military, dedicated to reversing that victory. *U.S. troops out of Korea now!*

Under Democrat Harry Truman, Washington made preparations to nuke North Korea during the Korean War, deterred only by Soviet military might, including its newly developed nuclear arsenal. Today North Korea is targeted by the U.S. imperialists' massive nuclear arsenal, including the weapons at the disposal of the Pacific fleet. But the main strategic target of that arsenal is China, the strongest of the remaining bureaucratically de-

formed workers states. In a dangerous provocation against China, last year Japan and the United States ominously declared capitalist Taiwan a "mutual security concern." U.S. imperialism continues to pursue the military encirclement of China, with plans for two huge new bases in Australia, as part of its drive for capitalist counterrevolution.

As Trotskyists, we call for the unconditional military defense of North Korea and China—as well as the Cuban and Vietnamese deformed workers states—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. In the face of U.S. imperialism's unchallenged global nuclear hegemony, the only meaningful guarantee of any nation's sovereignty today is the possession of a credible nuclear deterrent, as the imperialist threats against capitalist Iran's nuclear program highlight (see "U.S. Hands Off Iran!" WV No. 863, 3 February). North Korea claims to have developed nuclear weapons, and the Taepodong-2 could be critical to making them deliverable. Such weapons are necessary to deter imperialist attack and

continued on page 12



More from a Labor Opportunist

We received this letter by e-mail.

19 June 2006

Dear Editor;

In WV #864 (17 February 2006), you devote over a page (titled “Jack Heyman: ‘In the Bag’”) replying to a letter I wrote criticizing WV’s skewed coverage of a Partisan Defense Committee rally last October where I spoke emphasizing the need for the workers movement to mobilize its strength to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and citing the 24 April 1999 West Coast ports shutdown for Mumia’s freedom. Your response says that my complaint was because your coverage criticized me. No, I objected because your coverage of the event (in WV #859, 25 November 2005) *dishonestly* distorted my remarks and tried to obfuscate the Spartacist League’s refusal to fight in the unions on this vital question.

Your reply continues this pattern. In it you make two main points: 1) On the call for a workers party: according to your account, it was hypocritical for me to raise this demand at an international labor solidarity rally in Tokyo because during the 2004 Million Worker March (MWM) rally, I supposedly disappeared it. 2) on labor’s defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal, you say that I gave a “labor cover” to the reformist call for a “new trial” for Mumia.

First, on the workers party, you claim that at the October 2004 MWM rally in Washington, D.C., I left a banner calling to “Break with the Democrats, Build a Workers Party!” in the bag it had come in. What you fail to mention is that the

banner was made, transported and left in the bag not by me but by an SL supporter. You know this, because he told you so. And I hardly dropped the question of a workers party. In my speech from the MWM podium, I said: “We need a party, a fighting workers party to represent us because the Democrats and Republicans, as Mumia said, never will represent us.” Your readers don’t have to take my word for it, they can listen and see for themselves because it was broadcast on C-SPAN and the video is available at <http://clogic.eserver.org/2005/million>.

It is the SL that has a history of leaving political posters in the bag when the going gets tough. During the 1984 longshore anti-apartheid ship boycott in San Francisco an injunction was imposed against ILWU Local 10. We, union militants, on the picket line tried to defy it, and continue the solidarity action in the face of police intimidation and Stalinists, fearful of a fine against the union. As in many situations in the class struggle, timing and the relationship of forces are decisive. At that critical moment the SL and its supporters, observing from the sideline with posters in their bags departed for a safer haven. Had you not abstained from that now-historic action and instead joined the picket line, we class struggle militants may have prevailed and similar actions could have spread to other West Coast ports, and perhaps internationally. Again, in 1997, you refused to participate in the Oakland picket line against the ship Neptune Jade in solidarity with the sacked Liverpool dockers.

13 October 2004 issue of *Maritime Worker Monitor* supported by Jack Heyman promoted pro-Democratic Party Million Worker March, claiming it calls “for the independent mobilization of workers.” Nine months later, Heyman saw the light.



a rank and file newsletter for maritime workers
Issue #7 • October 13, 2004

**STOP THE WAR ON IRAQ AND THE WAR ON WORKERS!
Join the Million Worker March!**

The Maritime Worker Monitor supports the Million Worker March on Washington on October 17th because workers in this country are catching hell and we need to organize to fight back. Millions of workers in this country remain jobless, homeless and without health care, while the U.S. government wages a bloody, and increasingly unpopular, war for oil and empire supported by both the Democrat and Republican Parties. We give the march critical support because it is calling for the independent mobilization of workers from the politicians of both big business parties, but does not explicitly call for a break with those parties and building an independent labor party, which was until recently ILWU’s position. Ironically, the anti-war ILWU, as well as other unions, is supporting the pro-war Democratic Party presidential candidate John Kerry.

Not only don’t workers have a party to fight for them, the overwhelming majority (87%) have no union to fight

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As the MWM march was being organized, I called for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and for a workers party, as I regularly have done for decades. But after the October 2004 event I came to the conclusion that it was a mistake to have joined in the MWM because it did not represent a genuinely independent political mobilization of the working class willing to take on the AFL-CIO bureaucrats’ shackling of unions to the Democrat Party. Instead the MWM served as a “get out the vote” event for John Kerry (or Ralph Nader or the Greens) by the “anybody but Bush” people. I publicly stated this in an 8 July 2005 letter posted on the ILWU discussion list and various internet sites.

Second, on the April 1999 port shutdown for Mumia’s freedom, you write that the SL “made a mistake in not fielding ‘Free Mumia’ contingents in the 1999 protests.” But it wasn’t just that you didn’t have a contingent. You initially *dismissed* this work stoppage as nothing but a “two-hour” union meeting, supposedly intended to “minimize” the impact on port shipping.

Then, after the work stoppage, when I objected in a letter to the editor, you responded with a huge four-page spread (WV #714, 28 May 1999) claiming that the port shutdown was just “regular monthly meetings,” that I was guilty of “touting these as ‘work stoppages,’” that the impact of a longshore work stoppage was “minimized” because it “didn’t violate the contract,” and so on. So only a wildcat strike counts? You quoted a Pacific Maritime Association official, claiming that the stoppage would have little effect on shipping because it was announced weeks earlier. But while you were happy to parrot the bosses’ excuses, you didn’t mention that PMA threatened to take the Los Angeles ILWU local to court over this work stoppage.

Mind you, this stoppage simultaneously shut down every port on the West Coast for a full eight-hour shift, for the demand “Stop the Execution! Free Mumia!” It was the first time that workers in the U.S. had undertaken job action

in defense of Mumia, something the SL had called for over the years, but had never carried out. Anyone seriously interested in defending Mumia Abu-Jamal should have hailed it as an important first step. But not you, at least not at the time. Since then you have been all over the map about the April 1999 port shutdown. In WV #815 (5 December 2003), editorial board member George Foster wrote a letter to the editor saying that the L.A. longshore local’s stop work meeting to rally support for the striking Safeway workers was not such a bad tactic after all. And that was one port in an economic struggle, not a coast-wide shutdown over a political issue.

In that same WV #714 article you attacked the Internationalist Group for objecting to WV’s smears and distortions, but you didn’t mention that the IG’s supporters in Brazil had sparked a union work stoppage in the schools of the state of Rio de Janeiro calling for Mumia’s freedom, which was held in conjunction with the ILWU port shutdown. As far as I know, you have never acknowledged the Brazilian work stoppage for Mumia’s freedom.

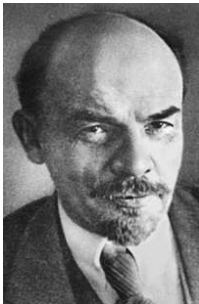
To justify your vituperation over the 1999 port shutdown, you argue that it was just “window dressing” for the demonstration held that day which called for a “new trial” for Mumia. Yes, calling for Mumia’s freedom and calling for a new trial represent two different perspectives, because the latter presumes that he could get justice in the capitalist judicial system. But the resolution I put forward in the ILWU said explicitly that “the organized labor movement has the power through action to ensure justice for this principled and courageous freedom fighter, which he can’t get in the courts,” and gave that as a reason for calling to shut down the ports for the demand “Free Mumia.”

When the Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal was trying to build support in the unions for the work stoppage, you outrageously accused me in WV #711 (16 April 1999) of wanting

continued on page 13

Immigrant Rights in the Early Soviet Republic

In its 1918 Constitution, the Soviet workers republic granted citizenship rights to all foreign working people in its territory, while taking measures to safeguard the proletarian dictatorship against counterrevolutionaries. Today, based on the program of Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolshevik Party, the Spartacist League calls for full citizenship rights for all immigrants as part of our struggle for new October Revolutions.



LENIN



TROTSKY

20. Acting on the principle of the solidarity of the toilers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic grants all political rights enjoyed by Russian citizens to foreigners resident within the territory of the Russian Republic provided they belong to the working class or to the peasantry not using hired labor. Local Soviets are authorized to confer the rights of Russian citizenship upon such foreigners without any formalities or difficulties.

21. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic offers asylum to all foreigners persecuted for political and religious offenses.

22. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, recognizing the equality of all citizens, regardless of race or nationality, declares it contrary to the fundamental laws of the Republic to institute or tolerate any privileges or advantages based upon such grounds, or to repress national minorities, or to limit their rights in any way.

23. To safeguard the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic deprives individuals and groups of rights which they may use to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution.

—James Bunyan, ed., *Intervention, Civil War, and Communism in Russia: April-December 1918—Documents and Materials* (The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936)

Defend Immigrant Rights!

Seattle, WA
19 May 2006

To the Editor,

President Bush plans to spend billions of our dollars to turn the Mexican border into a war zone, using paramilitary troops and high tech equipment. It’s a horrible idea that Congress should quash immediately. Immigration is a result of social and economic forces that the U.S. has a major part in creating, such as poverty and joblessness in South America. The great wealth that undocumented workers create in the U.S. is unacknowledged, while the government illegally declares war on border communities in the U.S. and Mexico. Who can doubt that Chicanos and Mexicans, and other brown-skinned people, will

be abused and killed by trigger-happy, privatized soldiers whose bosses care only for the money they make. The dismal record of privatized prisons shows what poor and workingclass people of color can expect.

Millions of immigrants and their supporters in the streets on May Day displayed a powerful force for change that can also help U.S. citizens who are feeling the contempt of our government for their jobs, wages, pensions, and freedom of speech. It’s time that unions, women, the elderly, and all people of color join undocumented workers and stop the destruction of their rights and ours.

Sincerely,
A.W.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is July 4.

No. 873

7 July 2006

Sam Hunt, a longtime cadre of the International Communist League, died in South Africa on June 2 at the age of 59. He resigned from the ICL in 1998. At the time, he lived in South Africa, where he taught history and basketball. Here we honor his almost 30 years' work as a communist internationalist, which forms a deep strand in the living net that is our political organization. Sam was a cadre of the Marxist movement beginning with his fight inside the Socialist Workers Party for the Trotskyist legacy of James P. Cannon, a fight which led him to the Spartacist League. His ICL assignments spanned trade-union work in steel, oil and auto in the U.S. and later international work in Japan and South Africa, as well as enthusiastic research into the history of Trotskyism.

A comrade in Chicago, recruited to Marxism by Sam over 30 years ago in Madison, Wisconsin, wrote: "Sam was a very intense, self-taught guy with a penchant for drink. As long as that intensity was harnessed by the collective, Sam could make great contributions.... I told his daughters...that he was for the most of his life 'one in a million.' That is to say, in this reactionary time, one of the precious few who represent the future of mankind. But of course there is a great deal of pressure that goes with that position." He noted Sam's fondness for the music of Frank Zappa as well.

Sam was born on 4 September 1946. Like many of his generation, he was radicalized by the Vietnam War. When he was 19 and facing the draft, he "wound up doing a four-year hitch in the Air Force from 1966 to 1970," as he wrote in 1990 to his Spartacist comrade Garry Gianinoto, who had been a Navy medical corpsman in Vietnam. Commenting on Garry's article, "Vietnam: Racism and Rebellion Behind the Lines—A GI's View of America's Dirty War" (WV No. 513, 2 November 1990), Sam noted: "My experiences were stateside, and while we were not under fire, we had to put up with the chicken-shit saluting and 'sir'ing of the 'little shitfaced 20-year-old lieutenants' you described. And the racism you described was just as intense at every base and fort. When I was...publishing an underground newspaper and held temporarily in the brig, the population inside this little prison was virtually all black." Sam's underground paper was called the *Aerospaced*, with the "o" as a peace symbol.

Sam wrote in 1990: "The point we've been making in the paper [WV] about how anti-war radicals did not spit on soldiers but tried to help them is very important. My experiences certainly testify to that. It was student radicals at Antioch College that helped us publish our newsletter.... The only people that ever spit on me when I was a soldier was the Klan and they were itching to do a lot worse." Sam's letter to Garry concluded: "My last point is about your description of the carnage American imperialism inflicted upon the heroic Vietnamese. In looking back to my days in USec [United Secretariat, the fake Trotskyists to whom the SWP was politically linked] I personally find the most disgusting thing they did was to adopt their social-patriotic line on the Vietnam War with their highlighting of 'our boys' in Vietnam. The SWP marched with '55,000 Americans killed' on their banners but NEVER with banners paying homage to the MILLIONS of Vietnamese that were slaughtered by U.S. Imperialism.... We're going to have to make this fight again today over a Persian Gulf war and I think your article will help a lot.... I bet you drank a few beers in 1975 when Saigon fell—I did. F--- the social patriots; f--- YAWF and today's SWP—Vietnam was a victory!"

As Sam wrote, after he got out of the military he was "mad as hell and joined the first group I came into contact with—the SWP." He ran for governor of Wisconsin on the SWP ticket. His real education in Trotskyism began in political struggle, in a series of oppositional groupings, against the wretched SWP leadership. Sam (who had been reading Cannon's *Socialism on Trial* and about the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes of 1934 before joining the SWP) later wrote, "While I thought I was joining the SWP of 1938, I began wondering why there were no trade-union fractions." He joined the Proletarian Orientation Tendency (POT) of the SWP, which, as Sam described it, "challenged the party's

Sam Hunt



1946-2006

orientation but had no counterposed political program.... The bottom line is that the POT leadership thought we could bring the reformist SWP line to the working class and that would make a difference. So while bemoaning the Barnes leadership's undemocratic functioning, they never challenged the political program that the organizational abuses flowed from" ("Memories of a 1970s SWP Oppositionist," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 38-39, Summer 1986).

In the SWP's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, Sam first met Martha Phillips; as another comrade recalls, Sam "thought very highly of Martha Phillips and of James P. Cannon. These two things are probably related (i.e., that she won him to understanding the importance of Cannon)." Sam joined Martha in the Leninist Faction (LF). Through internal struggle, he fought his way, along with eight other comrades of the LF, toward Trotskyist clarity, centrally on the necessity for a democratic-centralist vanguard party, and thus they all ended up joining the Spartacist League. "Letter of Resignation from the LF of the SWP" (WV No. 14, December 1972), signed by Sam and three other former LF members, describes this process. This was one of several regroupments of experienced leftists that forged the core of Spartacist cadres for many years.

When our comrade Martha Phillips was murdered in Moscow in 1992, Sam was in Tokyo. He wrote us on February 14 of that year about Martha: "We were very close friends for 22 years but lived in the same city (Madison and the Bay Area) for only about 6 or 7 of them. But that never bothered us. We were very happy to be in the same party fighting for the same program. I remember many times we would go drinking together in a bar in Japantown in San Francisco.... On bar napkins we would try to write the Russian and Japanese alphabets while sharing our hopes to do political work in new countries. And we were plotting to some day go drinking together in Vladivostok."

Sam's comrade Pam E., who also came over from the Leninist Faction, recalled their days in the Cleveland local, when Sam worked at the U.S. Steel plant in Lorain. Pam wrote that Sam "was a rigger at one point and he would have to get on top of the pipes that were being loaded on the back of trucks—which required good balance—and not slip off or lose his footing. He did well there.... He was not a trade unionist in the party, but a communist in a trade union. He helped build the steel fraction by taking a disparate group of young comrades from all over the country (some fresh off a college campus) and honing their skills and talents." Sam went on to other industrial union jobs in Chi-

cago, the Bay Area and Los Angeles.

Sam was a mainstay of security details. He was also a party educator, as well as a good writer and reporter. "Sam was the WV reporter during the Morenci copper miner strikes," wrote one of his former organizers. She recalled the time "when the strikers came under attack and took special care to protect Sam from harm, recognizing that he would tell the story from their point of view."

Diana Kartsen, the librarian of the Prometheus Research Library, told WV: "Sam did extremely valuable archival work for our party. It covered quite an international array in the history of Trotskyism—from Frank Glass and work in China to Baruch Hirschson in South Africa to Dick Fraser in L.A. You'll see in the *PRS* bulletin in memory of Dick [No. 3, "In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser: An Appreciation and Selection of His Work," 1990] a letter written by Sam about his experience with Dick. As an associate of the PRL, Sam established a friendly relationship with the Workers Library in Johannesburg."

The Prometheus Research Library in New York has a copy of Sam's September 1988 senior thesis, "A Short History of Chinese Trotskyism 1928-1941," which was inspired by Sam's interviews with Frank Glass. Glass was then 86 years old, in a Los Angeles nursing home where he was "left to wilt on a vine," as Sam put it, by "an ever increasingly bizarre Socialist Workers Party (SWP) that jettisoned their senior members." Glass, originally a South African Trotskyist, had been a leading member of the small

Trotskyist organization in China prior to World War II—and Sam found him through his connection with Dick Fraser in Los Angeles, thus tying another knot in the net of our history.

In 1988 Sam transferred to Japan. A comrade of his there notes that "most of the articles on Japan and South Korea that appear in WV from 1989 to 1995 were written by him." He wrote *Heroic Defenders of the Red October Revolution: All Honor to Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi* (Spartacist Group Japan pamphlet, November 1994), commemorating these Soviet spies on the 50th anniversary of their execution by the Japanese state.

The last assignment Sam fulfilled was assisting in establishing a section in South Africa. Comrades in South Africa wrote us of their sadness that "such a unique political person died outside our ranks. We believe Sam would have been quite pleased to know that his fine and broad-gauged library is now in the hands of the section where it will be a tool in training future African recruits in a Trotskyist worldview."

Sam's skills and political enthusiasms came together in one episode that we can now reveal. In the San Francisco Bay Area in 1984, under the regime of Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein, a Confederate flag was flying from a Civic Center flagpole. The Spartacist League undertook a campaign to remove this eyesore and incitement to race terror—Richard Bradley twice scaled the flagpole and tore down the flag, making a third climb to install the Union Fort Sumter garrison flag. When "Dixie Dianne" (now Senator, and today, appropriately, a Homeland Security groupie) ordered that flag shredded and put up yet another Confederate flag, we reported that "In the early morning hours of June 29, militants took down not only the banner of the slaveocracy but the entire pole" ("Militants Bring Down Confederate Flag...And the Flagpole," WV No. 358, 6 July 1984).

WV then printed a letter from "A Worker" ("Timber!" WV No. 359, 20 July 1984) that recounted:

"Myself and a few trusted union brothers entered SF City Plaza.... Using an acetylene cutting torch we first cut out a wedge, or fish mouth, to determine the direction of the fall.... Despite being delayed by a few passing patrol cars we dropped the pole *exactly* where we planned.... Most important was that *nobody* was hurt. We regret not having the time to torch the flag itself but we know this downed flag pole delivered a strong message to Feinstein and Co. that this is a union town and *that* flag will stay down. By doing so we salute the Union Army that fought to rid this country of the barbaric institution of slavery."

Now, with sorrow at his death but pride in his work, we can tell our readers that "A Worker" was Sam Hunt.

Chicago: Successful Music Benefit for Mumia



WV Photo

CHICAGO—On June 15, over 200 people turned out in Chicago for a live music fund-raiser for Mumia Abu-Jamal sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee. The event, held at the Hot House, a premier jazz venue, netted over \$1,500 for Mumia's legal defense. "Thanks to everyone attending this event," Mumia said in a message conveyed by Rachel Wolkenstein, PDC counsel and formerly one of Mumia's lawyers. "I appreciate your support. It reminds me that despite the best efforts of the state, I am not alone."

Mumia is an innocent man whose case is a blatant example of racist and political frame-up. A former Black Panther Party member, a MOVE supporter and acclaimed journalist, Mumia was framed up in 1981 for shooting a Philadelphia cop and has languished on Pennsylvania's death row for 24 years. Court after court has ignored the mountains of evidence proving Mumia's innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he shot the cop and that Mumia had nothing to do with it. The case has now entered a critical phase. It is on the "fast track" for legal decision in the federal court of appeals, with the state as determined as ever to execute him.

The significance of the Chicago music benefit went well beyond the money raised, because it succeeded in putting

this case back on the political map in the city. In building for the event, PDC representatives were featured in three live radio interviews on WVON's Cliff Kelley show and on WHPK. The fund-raiser was also featured on the official weekly "short list" of musical events to go to in the widely circulated *Chicago Reader*.

The attendance at the Hot House was very integrated and included several transit workers, hospital workers and other trade unionists. A hard core of longtime Mumia activists turned out, including attorney Standish Willis, and Tracy Kostenbader of the Chicago Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal. One man stopped as he passed the Hot House and bought two tickets, saying his son had a "Free Mumia" T-shirt and that he wanted to learn what the case was all about. A group of over 40 student interns came from the Chicago Urban Life Center program. People also came to show their solidarity from Gary, Indiana, and as far away as Detroit and Ann Arbor, Michigan. Even the International Socialist Organization's Campaign to End the Death Penalty sent two supporters.

"There is an important link between Mumia and events in Chicago which put Mumia at the top of the FBI and Philadelphia police radar," Wolkenstein told the

gathering. "In December 1969 Chicago cops and the FBI murdered Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark as part of the FBI COINTELPRO attacks which led to 38 Panthers killed nationwide and hundreds more arrested on frame-up charges. Mumia traveled to Chicago to view the site of the FBI's murderous assault and then was a main spokesman at the memorial meeting/protest in Philadelphia."

Many at the fund-raiser who had participated in protests on Mumia's behalf in the 1990s questioned where the protest movement had gone. Our comrades argued that the movement was *demobilized* by reformist illusions that the capitalist courts would dispense justice or a "fair trial." As Wolkenstein said:

"While all legal proceedings and legal remedies should be pursued on Mumia's behalf, we cannot have any illusions or reliance in the capitalist courts. There is a concerted effort by all wings of the capitalist class—represented by both the Democratic and Republican parties—to see Mumia executed. Demands for a new trial will not lead to Mumia's freedom. These demands only breed illusions in the capitalist courts. These illusions demobilized a movement of millions around the world."

The music for the event was provided by the popular world music dance band Funkadesi, who mixed reggae, Latin and

Bollywood beats. The group's founding "baba," Philadelphia jazz great Byard Lancaster, joined as special guest. Lancaster, a jazz avant-gardist in the 1960s whose range now stretches from reggae to blues to classical, has been associated with Mumia's case for many years. In 2000, after he led a march of thousands for Mumia while visiting France, Lancaster began facing regular harassment from the Philly cops while street playing, for which he sued the cops and won. Lancaster's latest release on the CIMP label is named *Pam Africa* after the coordinator of International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal (and it received a rave review in the June *JazzTimes*).

One musical highlight was Mars Caulton's performance of her spoken word piece "Eve of an Execution," for which she is known in Chicago as "the Mumia Poet." Backed by Lancaster's flute and Funkadesi's hand drums, the poet asked:

"Why would they be afraid to kill Mumia
Fearing violence in the streets
Why would they fear thousands in the streets tomorrow
Unless we're in the streets today?
See isn't that the question
Deserving full public attention
Of just how to make the rulers
Fear the price they'll have to pay?"

Central to any strategy of building a mass movement to win Mumia's freedom must be mobilizing the ranks of the labor movement behind his cause. In building for the Chicago fund-raiser, our comrades sold dozens of tickets to members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), United Auto Workers (UAW) and the Teamsters Black Caucus. In important shows of solidarity, both ATU Local 308, representing rail transit workers, and UAW Local 6, representing Navistar workers, made contributions directly to Mumia's legal defense. As Wolkenstein urged the crowd: "Those of you here need to spread the truth about Mumia—that he is innocent. That the capitalist state has spent decades framing him up is the truth. That the state has put its lying corrupt class- and race-biased forces to see Mumia dead is the truth. Mumia needs you to join in the campaign for his freedom. To bring out more power, social power—to fight for Mumia's freedom NOW!" ■

Join the Campaign!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of our pamphlet, *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* This 32-page pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom with the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for 50 cents. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—\$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—\$10 for DVD, \$15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—\$2 for 25 copies. Order from, make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



Partisan Defense Committee • e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net

P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099(212) 406-4252

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Join the Struggle for Mumia's Freedom

June 7, 2006
Hastings, PA

Spartacists and WV,

The Coal Country Coalition (CCC), formed in the early 1990's to battle the fascist KKK in the coalfields of Western Pa., wishes to announce that it supports the efforts of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) to build a mass movement based upon the working class to win freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, who sits on death row, framed for the murder of Daniel Faulkner, a Philadelphia cop. The CCC is very aware of the fact that Mumia was targeted by the racist capitalist state due to his membership in the Black Panther Party at a young age, as we are also aware of the fact that the capitalist state wants Mumia to die for his belief in the liberation of black people and all the oppressed from the ignorance breeding capitalist system. It is certainly a testimony to Mumia's spirit that he continues to study and write articles dealing with issues facing the oppressed and CCC members follow these articles closely.

While the US imperialists continue to claim that the US imperialist military is occupying Iraq to bring them a democracy, the war against democratic rights continues on the home front. As we know and as the WV article, "Government Spy Network

Exposed, Again" [WV No. 871, 26 May] points out, the US capitalist government is trampling upon basic rights, as it spies on millions of American citizens in the name of the "war on terror," which gives them an excuse to wage their vicious imperialist wars and institute a fascist like police state in the US. 9/11 was in many ways a godsend to the capitalist-imperialist ruling class, and they, both Democrats and Republicans, picked up the ball and ran with it. However, the CCC knows that the only real solution to this increasingly repressive bourgeois order is for the working class to sweep away the capitalist system through a workers' revolution led by a revolutionary communist party like the Bolsheviks and ushering in an egalitarian communist society.

Concerning Mumia, the CCC vows to do everything possible to make a contribution to the battle for Mumia's freedom, including working to convince unionists and left leaning local organizations such as Citizens for Social Responsibility (CSR) of Johnstown, Pa. to become involved in this fight.

Concerning the issue of government harassment and spying, I, as the main force behind the founding of the CCC and organizing united front protests against the Klan scum, experienced this sort of thing on a

personal level. Not only was I harassed by the local police but also watched very closely by other government agencies. On one occurrence, I was involved in a theatrical production, "The Crucible," at St. Francis University in Loretto, Pa. The head honcho of the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission called the theatre department at the University and asked the director if I was going to attend a Klan rally in Somerset, Pa. that Saturday. The director told this person, a woman, that he had no idea and the woman then gave him an 800 number for me to call. When I called her, she asked me if the CCC was associated with any national organizations. I, of course, explained to her that this was none of her concern, and then asked her how she had known that I was in a play at St. Francis and why she would call there anyway. She told me that she had been told this but she refused to elaborate.

On another occasion, I had filed for SSI benefits, due to the fact that I had a disability. It was all documented and a Medical Doctor had signed the required form. When I received a letter denying me the benefits, the letter made an unusual comment that I had taught myself to ride the bus and had used the bus as a means of transportation. I had not rode in the bus for many years, except on one occasion. I

rode the bus to a Progressive Labor Party organized May Day March in Washington, DC. So I could only conclude that someone had been watching my activities.

So if the government and its repressive apparatuses would find the need to harass and spy upon somebody like me, I have no trouble believing that they would attempt to frame Mumia Abu-Jamal. Therefore, the CCC devotes itself at this time to working to win the freedom for Mumia and making his case known in the coalfields through letters to the editor of local papers, and hopefully, taking out an ad in a paper signed by local citizens.

N. B.

PS I received the May 26 issue of WV on June 3 and I also received a notice that my sub will expire after the next issue. I definitely plan to renew my sub as I do not want to miss an issue of WV. Enclosed you will find one of my letters to the editor of "The Altoona Mirror."

By the way, I seem to be on the SWP's shitlist, as I disagreed with their position that the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union was a positive event and that US imperialism lost the cold war. These are the ideas of Barnes and as I mentioned in a previous letter, he is a tad bit off the wall. Anyway, they stopped sending me notices for their forums. ■

The "N" Word and Racist Terror

QUEENS, NEW YORK CITY—On June 9, a multiracial jury convicted Nicholas "Fat Nick" Minucci, 20, of assault and robbery as hate crimes for the attack on 23-year-old black Army veteran Glenn Moore in the notorious white racist enclave of Howard Beach. Minucci faces a maximum sentence of 25 years in prison for the 29 June 2005 attempted lynching. The "hate crime" charge increases the minimum sentence from five to eight years. The racist thug savagely pummeled his victim with an aluminum baseball bat, leaving Moore with loss of cognitive skills and, as one doctor testified, "dementia as a result of head trauma." Meanwhile, Minucci's accomplice Anthony Ench screamed, "This is what you get when you rob white boys, n----r!" (See "NYC: Racist Beating in Howard Beach," WV No. 851, 8 July 2005).

In fracturing Moore's skull with a Louisville Slugger, Minucci was carrying out the racist *program* symbolized by the "N" word—a word that took root on the tongues of the bloody slave-traders, overseers and plantation owners who helped found this country and was carved into the flesh of black victims of Jim Crow lynch mobs. Just a few days ago, on June 26, a black Brooklyn 15-year-old, Winston Johnson, was hit by a car and brutally beaten by a white mob screaming "f--king n----r" after he and three friends inadvertently bicycled into another white enclave, Gerritsen Beach, Brooklyn.

While the racist criminal thug Minucci was convicted of "hate crimes," black people and opponents of racist terror should have no illusions these laws serve to protect them. Unlike liberals and many of our fake-left opponents, we are opposed to the various "hate crime" laws which serve only to enhance the powers of the racist capitalist state. These laws, and the related campus speech codes, give the cops and courts added powers against those who are truly in their cross hairs—blacks seeking to defend themselves against racist terror, antiwar protesters, union militants and leftists. The city's rulers will undoubtedly use this case to enhance the authority of their racist thugs in blue, who on a daily basis seal the borders of the city's white enclaves and terrorize the city's black

Howard Beach Verdict

population to a degree that Fat Nick could only dream of.

Black oppression is the bedrock of American capitalism and a direct legacy of black chattel slavery. The capitalist ruling class and its Democratic and Republi-



Seit/NY Times

Glenn Moore, victim of racist attack in New York City's Howard Beach.

can parties deliberately foster anti-black racism to forestall, with no small success, united class struggle. For decades, not least through the "war on drugs," the bourgeoisie has been waging a concerted onslaught against the ghetto masses through the cops and courts. This has led to the imprisonment of up to one million young black men and women at any given time. In every way it can, the bourgeoisie seeks to pit white workers and immigrants against black people, obscuring their shared interests against the capitalist class enemy.

As we wrote in "The 'N' Word in Racist America: For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution" (WV No. 807, 1 August 2003): the "N" word "was and remains the white-supremacist rallying cry heralding cross-burnings outside black homes, firebombings of black churches and assaults on black people on city streets. Cops bark it as they rampage through the ghettos, beating down black youth and dragging them off to jail." Yet in the current backwardly spiraling political and cultural climate, Minucci

felt emboldened to claim he used the "N" word as a "term of familiarity and greeting" while beating Moore.

Fat Nick's defense attorney called black Harvard Law School professor Randall Kennedy as an expert witness. Best-selling author of *N----r: The Strange Career of a Troublesome Word*, Kennedy is the most famous of a layer of black intellectuals who have apologized for the widespread casual use of the "N" word by youth of all ethnic backgrounds—use driven in part by the hip-hop lyrics that are a big-dollar revenue stream for capitalist music giants. Kennedy said he had testified as an expert "to advance the aims of justice" since "somebody's liberties are at stake here."

The jury did not buy the garbage Kennedy was put on the stand to sell and convicted the racist thug Minucci. Significantly, a key factor for the jury was the revelation that Minucci was also convicted of shooting a paint ball at a Sikh outside a temple—on 11 September 2001—while screaming, "You f--king Indians, you killed our people." This cut through Minucci's cynical attempts to portray his bloody attack on Moore as self-defense.

Liberal calls for "hate-crime" legislation are consistent with the false view that the source of racism and oppression is backward *ideas*. Our article on "The 'N' Word in Racist America" cited a contribution by a comrade of the Spartacist League who aptly wrote:

"We are materialists which, with respect to the issue at hand, means our interest is in changing material reality, that is, in forever destroying the social basis for racist oppression in this country by welding labor/black power and effecting a proletarian socialist revolution. We do not hold that this can occur by sanitizing social reality à la...the advocates of 'politically correct' discourse. The mirror opposite of such efforts is attempts to make the 'N' word hip and thus, according to the proponents of this 'strategy,' to erase its racist impact. Either of these idealist pursuits shares the assumption that it is what people think that is responsible for racism and not that racist oppression is the bedrock on which the American capitalist order is maintained."

Last December, Transport Workers Union Local 100 crippled New York City, the world financial center, with its three-day transit strike. This majority black, multiracial workforce showed the social power of labor in struggle when it struck and defied the racist attacks of the bosses. This same power of organized labor needs to be brought to bear against racist attacks wherever they occur. We fight for labor/black defense to stop racist terror. But unions like the TWU are hamstrung by class-collaborationist leaderships that tie workers to their enemies in the form of the Democratic Party, the cops and the bosses' courts.

While the trial and conviction of Minucci highlighted that the "N" word is a program of racist terror, the attack on Glenn Moore represents some of the unfinished business of the Civil War in this country. When the Klan tried to march in lower Manhattan in 1999, we built a united-front labor/black demonstration of some 8,000 to stop them. We fight to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party that will finish the Civil War through workers revolution! ■

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1

Black History and the Class Struggle
No. 18

WE WANT FREEDOM
A Life in the Black Panther Party
Review of a Book by Mumia Abu-Jamal
Page 24

How the Liberals and Reformists Derailed the Struggle for Integration
For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
Page 6

The "N" Word in Racist America
Page 17

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Break with the Bosses' Parties: PRI, PAN, PRD!

Mexico: Down With Brutal Repression Against Oaxaca Teachers!

We print below a translation of a June 15 leaflet issued by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, protesting brutal state repression against a continuing teachers strike in the state of Oaxaca. The strike, led by Local 22 of the National Educational Workers Union (SNTE), is part of a series of labor battles in recent months in Mexico that have met with vicious state repression carried out by the three major bourgeois parties. (See “Miners, Steel Workers Strikes Shake Mexico,” WV No. 872, 9 June.)

The teachers strike has rallied the support of the workers and poor in Oaxaca and throughout Mexico, including a demonstration of some 300,000 in Oaxaca City on June 16. The union has called three meetings of a Popular Assembly of the People of Oaxaca, with the participation of unions, students, social organizations and others, demanding the resignation of Oaxaca state governor Ulises Ruiz Ortiz of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

The strike and repression take place in the context of the July 2 presidential elections in Mexico. The union vowed to cast a “punishment vote” against the PRI’s presidential candidate Roberto Madrazo and the National Action Party’s (PAN) Felipe Calderón, and thus effectively threw its support to Andrés Manuel López Obrador, the candidate of the bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). Support to López Obrador means derailing the militancy of the workers and poor into support for a party of the class enemy. In the same vein, a national strike called for June 28 by the union federation, the National Union of Workers, and other unions was called off because the unions “did not want to put obstacles in the way of the campaign of Andrés Manuel López Obrador, nor do they want to be accused of creating a climate of tension in the electoral process of 2 July” (*La Jornada*, 27 June). As we go to press, election officials have declared the results too close to call, and López Obrador and Calderón have both claimed victory. The GEM stands for the political independence of the proletariat, calling for no vote to the bourgeois PRI, PRD or PAN, and for the construction of a revolutionary workers party.

Initial reports that the June 14 police attack resulted in deaths were inaccurate. The strikers’ militant repulsion of the police onslaught forced the state to release those arrested on June 14, and the governor has “suspended” (for now) orders for the arrest of 25 union leaders. Here in the U.S., teachers unions and others have picketed the Mexican consulates in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco and other cities in solidarity with the Oaxaca teachers. In New York City, the Spartacist League joined two demonstrations initiated by the Internationalist Group. In another example of international solidarity, Local 22 has signed a statement issued by the Partisan Defense Committee demanding freedom for U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

* * *

JUNE 15—After the criminal attacks on the miners strikes in Lázaro Cárdenas and on the Atenco peasants, for the third time in eight weeks the state unleashed murderous repression yesterday, this time on the Oaxaca teachers, organized in SNTE Local 22 (which belongs to the



Left: Cops brutally attack striking teachers occupying plaza in Oaxaca City, June 14. Below: Union members protest at Senate building in Mexico City on the same day.



dissident CNTE [National Educational Workers Coordinating Committee]), who have been on strike since May 22 demanding decent wages. Up to 80,000 teachers had participated in combative demonstrations to win the strike, demanding greater resources for public education and raising slogans against the PRI government. At 4:50 a.m. yesterday, the PRI state government unleashed some 3,000 police with firearms and concussion and tear gas grenades, supported by at least one helicopter throwing gas grenades, to clear out an occupation the teachers were maintaining downtown. The presence of many children, the teachers’ sons and daughters, was of little concern to them. According to the teachers union leadership, two teachers and two minors were killed in the attack (there are reports indicating up to ten dead). Over 90 people were injured and an indeterminate number were arrested.

Among the arrested are teacher Eduardo Castellanos Morales, university student Acelo Ruiz Méndez and Oziel Martínez Martínez, against whom the state has pressed charges, as ridiculous as they are sinister, of terrorism and of bearing firearms and explosives. The governor of Oaxaca, Ulises Ruiz Ortiz, maintains the transparent lie that the police found AK-47 assault rifles and a backpack full of grenades inside Local 22 headquarters. Paraphrasing General Anaya [of the Mexican-American War], had the teachers possessed such an arsenal, the cops would have never made it that far. In reality, as the Lázaro Cárdenas miners did last April, the teachers fought the police heroically with stones and sticks—and they managed to re-take the city’s main square. *La Jornada* (15 June) reported: “As the teachers picked up what was left of their belongings, they indignantly displayed the traces of the battle: pillows, food, burnt TVs, tents cut with knives, diapers, walkers, babies’ bottles, the

children’s toys.” Airport workers have warned that the government is sending 700 members of the PFP [Federal Preventive Police] to definitively break the strike. We Trotskyists of the Grupo Espartaquista de México protest this attack in the strongest manner possible and solidarily fully with the teachers strike. ***Freedom now for all the arrested! Drop all the charges! Victory to the teachers strike!***

The impoverished Mexican masses keenly feel the need for education; teachers have a long history of combativity and they form a link between the powerful industrial unions and the poor peasantry. The teachers of Oaxaca—one of the poorest states in the country—and of Mexico as a whole, earning miserable salaries, struggle under horrendous conditions to provide education to children who often don’t have anything to eat. Especially in rural areas, most times there aren’t even school buildings, and teachers give classes in miserable huts or inside abandoned buses and lack books and all kinds of elementary educational materials. Barely 45 percent of students finish junior high school. Over two million indigenous children between six and 14 years old can neither read nor write. This gives an idea of why the 1999-2000 UNAM student strike in defense of free education was so explosive and awakened widespread sympathy and support among workers and the impoverished masses. The struggle of the Oaxaca teachers is the struggle of the entire working class. ***An injury to one is an injury to all!***

Many workers and a great part of the poor population in general place their hopes in the PRD as an alternative to the rapacious economic policies of the PAN. While the population is highly polarized on the eve of the elections, the bourgeois parties are united like fingernail and flesh in repressing workers and the poor. And this is so because the elementary interest of the bourgeois parties, the PRI, PAN

and PRD, as well as that of their tiny competitors, is to maintain the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. As we warned in *Espartaco* No. 25 (Spring 2006), the PRD “is an *enemy* of the working class. As it has already done in Mexico City, in the event that it wins the presidency it will administer brutal capitalist exploitation on the national level—and it will not hesitate for a second to unleash the repressive force of the state against those who support it today.” Thus, on April 20 the PRI, PAN and PRD united in a failed police attack to break the powerful miners and steel workers union strike—whose recent mobilizations represent the most important outbreak of class struggle in the last decade—in Lázaro Cárdenas [state of Michoacán], where two workers were killed. On May 4, in an attempt to behead the combative organization of the Atenco peasants, the Peoples Front in Defense of the Land, the three main bourgeois parties united once more, sending at least 3,500 police to occupy the town of San Salvador Atenco, state of México, killing two youth, arresting over 200 people, beating them brutally and raping at least seven women.

This increase in state violence is an attempt by the three capitalist parties to intimidate and smash anyone they perceive as an opponent, and in the last analysis is directed against the working class, its organizations and its right to strike. The entire bourgeoisie is fearful of the threat of social explosions in the face of the growing polarization around the presidential elections that will take place in little over two weeks, and is trying to eliminate the so-called “red flashpoints” in the most open, cynical and criminal manner. The working class should defend itself decisively against this murderous attack by the bosses. The UNT [National Union of Workers] and other union groupings already some time ago had called for a national strike on June 28 in solidarity with the miners and steel workers and in defense of union autonomy. Hernández Juárez, leader of the telephone workers and of the UNT, has ratified this call in the face of state repression in Oaxaca. On this morning’s TV news shows, some bourgeois commentators mocked this call, given that the UNT has called in the recent past for national strikes that simply don’t happen or are so weak they pass nearly unnoticed. But the working class—some of whose strategic components are organized in the UNT—has immense social power which allows it to paralyze the entire economy. It is necessary for the working class to flex its powerful muscle against bloody repression, in defense of its union organizations and the elementary right to strike. ***All out on strike this June 28!***

The working class must abandon all illusions in the bosses’ parties. It is necessary to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the working class in the struggle to smash the murderous capitalist system, which is based on the drive for profit, and replace it with the rule of the workers. Only thus will murderous state violence directed against the workers and the poor end, once and for all. That is the purpose of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). ***Victory to the teachers and miners strikes! Drop all the charges against Napoleón Gómez Urrutia and all the miners on trial! Freedom now for all the arrested in Atenco and Oaxaca! ■***

How the Fake Left Amnesties the Democrats

The huge protests this spring against the anti-immigrant “Sensenbrenner bill” (HR 4437) were, on the one hand, an important demonstration of the potential for class struggle for immigrant rights against the onslaught of the capitalist rulers. On the other hand, the workers who turned out for these demonstrations were not organized as workers. Rather, they were dissolved into the classless “people” against Bush & Co. by the demonstrations’ leadership, made up of, among others, the Democratic Party and Catholic church. Nor did the pro-Democratic Party trade-union bureaucracy seek to mobilize workers power independently and where it counts—in class-struggle action in defense of immigrant rights and against deportations. Thus it was no accident that the mobilizations petered out as Democrats joined “moderate” Republicans in brokering a compromise bill (S.2611) that passed the Senate on May 25.

The Senate bill would add thousands more border patrol agents and immigration cops to hunt “illegals,” build concentration camps for detainees, and further militarize the border, where National Guard troops are already on duty. It promises a years-long “path to citizenship” for some immigrants, which would be unattainable for vast numbers in practice; it calls for payment of back taxes, significant fines and fees; it declares English to be the sole official language. Moreover, it proposes a “guest worker” program, under which hundreds of thousands of immigrants would be at the mercy of particular employers.

This nasty racist bill was supported as the “lesser of two evils” by the bourgeois liberal organizers of the spring demonstrations. They have organized virtually no protest in the run-up to the November 2006 elections, as both houses of Congress take the legislation to a House-Senate conference committee.

The Spartacist League opposes all anti-immigrant laws and demands full citizenship rights for all immigrants. We stand for full equality of all languages and defend bilingual education against English-only bigots. As we explained in the “Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program” of the International Communist League (of which the SL is the U.S. section):

“Modern capitalism, i.e., imperialism, reaching into all areas of the planet, in the course of the class struggle and as economic need demands, brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labor, principally immigrants from poorer and less-developed regions of the world—workers with few rights who are deemed more disposable in times of economic contraction. Thus capitalism in ongoing fashion creates different strata among the workers, while simultaneously amalgamating the workers of many different lands. Everywhere, the capitalists, abetted by aristocracy-of-labor opportunists, try to poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. The struggle for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism is thus a vital task for the proletarian vanguard.”

—*Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 54, Spring 1998



WV Photo

ISO banner and International ANSWER sign at April 10 New York City immigrant rights demonstration. Reformist left has promoted the illusion that equality for immigrants can be achieved under capitalism.

In the U.S., the fight for immigrant rights intersects the struggle for black freedom. The oppression of black people as a race-color caste segregated at the bottom of society is integral to American capitalism. Without winning the multiracial workers movement to the fight for black liberation, there will be no socialist revolution in this country.

Contrary to this internationalist, proletarian and revolutionary perspective is that of our reformist opponents on the left, ever

Worker, 31 March). Later, the ISO wrote: “A specter is haunting Congress—the specter of amnesty.... The movement is putting pressure on Congress to come up with a ‘plan B’ to the Sensenbrenner Bill” (*Socialist Worker*, 7 April).

It was in this context that the reformists laid claim to the call for “amnesty,” which right-wing Republicans have wrongly attributed to the (overwhelmingly) Democratic Party-sponsored legislation. Should anything like genuine amnesty for undocu-

For a Class-Struggle Fight for Immigrant Rights!



WV Photo

SL/SYC banner at March 25 Los Angeles immigrant rights demonstration. We fight for full citizenship rights as part of the struggle for socialist revolution.

eager to push “Anybody but Bush” lesser-evilmism. Thus, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) wrote of the recent massive demonstrations: “Potentially, the movement can break the logjam of U.S. politics, in which the Republicans launch attack after attack with little or no response from the Democrats” (*Socialist*

mented immigrants be proposed, we Marxists would be in *favor* of it, as an elementary democratic gain for immigrant workers and the proletariat as a whole, while explaining that it falls short of our demand for full citizenship rights. However, *nothing resembling amnesty has been proposed from any bourgeois quarter.*

Both the ISO and Workers World Party (WWP) acknowledge the limitations of the Democrats’ current legislation, but conclude that Democratic Party-led protests are “sending chills down the spine of Corporate America” (*Socialist Worker*, 7 April) and have “shaken the very foundations of the imperialist order,” asserting that the protests were “taking a path independent of both Republicans and Democrats” (*Workers World*, 27 April). These reformists are disappearing the role of the Democrats and Catholic church in organizing and leading the protests. Behind this is their reformist, class-collaborationist program, which ties the working class and oppressed to the capitalist rulers.

Thus the ISO is running Todd Chretien for U.S. Senator from California on the ticket of the *capitalist* Green Party (see “ISO Goes All the Way with Capitalist Greens,” WV No. 866, 17 March). In point of fact, the Green Party’s 2004 platform called for “controls on immigration, if only for the sake of national security.” Ralph Nader, who ran on the Green Party ticket in the 2000 presidential election and was supported by the ISO then and in 2004, told reactionary bigot Pat Buchanan in a June 2004 interview: “We have to control our immigration. We have to limit the number of people who come into this country illegally” (*The American Conservative*, 21 June 2004).

As opposed to the program of the reformists, what is urgently needed is a struggle to break the working class from its allegiance to all capitalist parties, a struggle to forge a politically independent revolutionary workers party dedicated to fight for all the oppressed and to the overthrow of the capitalist system. The parliamentary cretinist ISO can prattle about the “third side” in the immigration debate, that of “the U.S. working class, led by millions of immigrant workers” (*Socialist Worker*, 7 April). But it stands indicted by the Green company it keeps and promotes. Ditto the WWP, which appeals to “progressives in general” to support the struggle for immigrant rights, while promoting, on the ground, the enemies of the working class.

These reformist outfits’ agenda is to prettify the ugly face of U.S. imperialist capitalism. Our aim in intervening on behalf of immigrants, both at the massive demonstrations and within the working class, is to win workers to the understanding that they must oppose the whole capitalist system. We do not seek to tinker with the system, looking for an alternative immigration policy. We will support such reforms as are offered. But, our bottom line is that we will worry about the ebbs and flows of the world economy when the proletariat under revolutionary leadership runs it. We are not responsible for, nor do we seek to advise, the bourgeoisie on its immigration or other policies. We seek to organize the social power of the proletariat to smash this system and establish proletarian rule. ■

Defend Workers World Party Against Robber Baron Lawsuit!

In an attack on free speech rights and the left, the Renco Group, owned by billionaire industrialist Ira Rennert, has filed a “defamation” lawsuit in New York Supreme Court against *Workers World* newspaper. The Renco Group is a union-busting outfit with holdings in real estate, mining and metal industries, and it is a significant contractor to the U.S. military. Rennert, whose mansion in the Hamptons is one of the largest homes in the U.S., also helps finance the right-wing Likud party in

Israel and hobnobs with its leaders.

Renco alleges that it was defamed by a 23 February article in *Workers World* titled “WCI Steel Bankruptcy Robs Workers’ Pensions,” which reported on how WCI Steel and its parent company, Renco, were attempting to use bankruptcy courts to terminate the workers’ pension plan. The *Workers World* article noted: “This is an episode in a bigger story about the widespread campaign of corporations like United Air Lines, Delphi Automotive

Systems and Bethlehem Steel to use bankruptcy to steal workers pensions.”

According to *Workers World* (25 May), Renco and Rennert are absurdly “basing their argument on a very narrow definition of the article’s use of the word ‘rob.’ They define robbery as ‘forcible stealing’ accompanied by the use or imminent threat of physical force.” In 2004, a union-busting mining company sued the Socialist Workers Party’s *Militant* newspaper for “defamation” for reporting the miners’ side in a battle for unionization of the Co-Op mine in Utah (see “Defend Utah Miners! Victory to the UMWA!” WV No. 840, 21 January 2005). That lawsuit was recently dropped.

Behind these lawsuits, which may seem

frivolous, is a truly sinister purpose: to intimidate and silence pro-working-class forces and to overwhelm leftist groups, financially and otherwise, that have limited resources with the task of mounting a legal defense campaign. We have our differences with Workers World Party. Nonetheless, it is vital that the workers movement defend *Workers World* against Renco’s lawsuit. The Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has made a contribution to *Workers World*’s legal defense. We urge others to do the same. Send checks to “Workers World/Pension Defense Project” c/o Workers World, 55 W. 17 St., 5th fl., New York, NY 10011. ■

The Truth About the 1984 Nedlloyd Kimberley Boycott

In late 1984, longshoremen in San Francisco refused to touch South African cargo aboard the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* in solidarity with black South African workers battling the racist apartheid regime. The significance of American workers taking union action against apartheid was such that Nelson Mandela made a point of thanking the longshoremen following his release from the apartheid prisons in 1990.

In the years since the boycott, everyone from the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) bureaucracy to the leftover Stalinists of the Communist Party (CP) to the dubious “International Bolshevik Tendency” (BT) has rushed forward to claim this action of international solidarity as his own. On the contrary: all honor goes to the longshoremen. For ten days, not a man touched that South African cargo despite being set up for individual victimization by the ILWU bureaucracy and its Stalinist and BT front men, who did their level best to sabotage union action against the apartheid regime.

For 20 plus years, the BT has tried to cover the dirty role its supporter Howard Keylor played—hand in hand with the Stalinists and the labor bureaucrats—with slanders that it was the Spartacist League and its well-known supporter, ILWU Local 10 Executive Board member Stan Gow, who “sabotaged” the boycott of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. More than two decades later, when what actually happened on the docks in 1984 is unknown to a new generation of longshore workers and others, it’s important to set the record straight, not least because the real story of the boycott of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* provides lessons in the fight for an internationalist class-struggle perspective.

Solidarity with Black South African Workers

Throughout the 1970s and ’80s, a rising tide of black workers struggle in South Africa, from strikes in auto factories to dock workers fighting for union recognition, shook the hated white-supremacist apartheid regime. Black people in this country identified strongly with these struggles, justly seeing in South Africa the reflection of black oppression in the U.S. By late 1984, the recently organized National Union of Mineworkers led strikes by thousands of black gold miners, and black townships erupted over rent increases and a new apartheid constitution. All these struggles were met with fierce repression. Cops and troops opened fire on strikers and township residents and carried out mass arrests.

Our front-page article in *Workers Vanguard* No. 362 (14 September 1984), titled



ILWU Militant Caucus fought consistently for class-struggle action in support of South African black masses. Left: Stan Gow leaflet calls for union boycott of South African shipping. Top: Gow (third from left) and other union militants picket *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, 24 November 1984, in San Francisco. Right: *Longshore Militant* calls for mass union picketing of the ship.

“Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution! Black Masses Revolt in South Africa,” urged: “At this crucial moment all class-conscious workers and enemies of racist oppression must act in solidarity with South Africa’s black toilers. For mass, united-front protests against apartheid terror! For international labor boycotts of all cargo to and from South Africa!” In ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco, Stan Gow, a longtime union militant and a member of the Militant Caucus in the ILWU, whose work was politically supported by the Spartacist League, issued a leaflet in the union on 20 September 1984 under the call: “LONGSHOREMEN: HOT CARGO ALL SOUTH AFRICAN SHIPPING!!”

Gow, who was still recovering from having seriously injured his back in an industrial accident on the docks the previous June, urged: “NOW is the time for

us to come to the aid of our working class brothers and sisters in South Africa with concrete acts of solidarity. Black workers in South Africa have the power to break the chains of apartheid slavery—we must stand shoulder to shoulder with them in their fight. Local 10—take the lead! Stop all cargo to or from South Africa! Call on the ILWU, ILA [International Longshoremen’s Association] and international transport unions to do likewise.”

The members of Local 10, not least the black workers who made up the majority of its membership, wanted the union to take action against the hated apartheid regime. But the ILWU bureaucracy didn’t want to do anything that would mean going up against the maritime bosses. Coming to their aid were a couple of operators in the union who worked to undermine a solid union action. First was Howard Keylor, a member of the Local 10 Executive Board at the time, who is a longtime supporter of the so-called “Bolshevik Tendency” (then known as the “External Tendency” [ET]). Three weeks after Gow issued his September 20 call, Keylor put up a watered-down motion for a one-shot boycott of “the next Nedlloyd Line ship carrying South African cargo to the Bay Area” at an October 11 meeting of the Executive Board.

Even the boycott of a single ship was too much for Leo Robinson, then known as a supporter of the Communist Party in the union. At the Local 10 membership meeting on October 18, Robinson amended Keylor’s motion to call for longshoremen

to work the ship and refuse to unload only the South African cargo. With Keylor’s support, the amendment passed while the bureaucracy kept Gow’s proposal to shut down all South African shipping from coming to a vote.

This “work the ship, not the cargo” motion fell far short of mobilizing the ILWU’s power in a coastwide emergency boycott of all South African shipping, an action that could have had explosive impact and would have struck a real blow against the apartheid regime. Nonetheless, as we wrote at the time, despite its limitations the motion posed taking “concrete *union action* in defense of South Africa’s embattled black toilers” (see “Longshoremen: ‘Hot-Cargo’ South African Butchers!” WV No. 365, 26 October 1984).

But concrete union action wasn’t what the ILWU bureaucracy had in mind. The bottom line for the ILWU tops, headed by International president Jimmy Herman, was that there would be *no official union backing* for the work action because that would violate the contract with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) bosses. And their purposes were served by Keylor and Robinson. Longshoremen were left to go it alone, dispatched to the ship where they refused to work the South African cargo and then were fired for the day. Throughout, the ILWU tops declared that the boycott was not sanctioned by the union. This charade was complemented by daily protests at Pier 80 by Bay Area radlibs, reformists, Democratic Party politicians and others whose purpose was simply to provide “moral witness” for the longshoremen. When the PMA got a court injunction against the boycott, the Local 10 leadership immediately capitulated, the boycott was scuttled and the South African cargo unloaded.

Twenty years later, in December 2004 at an anniversary commemoration of the boycott of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* by ILWU Local 10, Robinson and Keylor alternately claimed credit for initiating this labor action. Needless to say, the role played by Stan Gow in fighting to build a solid union action was disappeared. On the contrary, long after the fact, Keylor saw the opportunity to peddle the self-serving lie that Gow and the Spartacist League had tried to wreck the boycott. This slander is echoed in the pages of the BT’s publications, where we stand accused of sabotaging the boycott, of calling the longshoremen who carried it out “scabs,” and of providing “Exhibit No. 1” to the maritime bosses to get a court injunction against the action.

As Leon Trotsky—co-leader with V. I. Lenin of the October Revolution of 1917—argued in his concluding speech at the 1937 Dewey Commission hearings on the Moscow Trials, answering the outrageous slanders by the Kremlin Stalinists that he had engaged in a “conspiracy” with Hitler: “I wrote books, articles and letters and held conversations devoted to the defense of Socialism, the proletarian revolution and the struggle against fascist and all other forms of reaction.... One gets the impression that I built a skyscraper to ‘camouflage’ a dead rat. No, it is not convincing!” (*The Case of Leon Trotsky*, 1937).

Similarly, everything that the SL wrote at the time of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* boycott and all of the actions taken by Stan



Leo Robinson (right), Howard Keylor (second from right), seen with Democrat Julianne Malveaux at Pier 80 in 1984, undermined a solid union action against the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*.

Gow and the Militant Caucus to make this a solid union boycott of South African shipping stand as a total refutation of the BT’s smears. One need only look at the historical record, which we preserve in carefully indexed bound volumes of *Workers Vanguard*. This is not camouflage for a “dead rat.” But the BT’s slander that we tried to “wreck the 1984 boycott of South African cargo by longshoremen in the port of San Francisco”—as they wrote in their 2005 pamphlet “Whatever Happened to the Spartacist League?”—is indeed nothing more than camouflage for their role as “rats on the waterfront” during this action.

A Class-Struggle Fight

Stan Gow was a militant and longtime Local 10 Executive Board member with 25 years of accumulated authority in the union at the time of his 1984 call to action against apartheid. That call was based on a decade of work by the *Longshore Militant* and the Militant Caucus in fighting for the ILWU to take class-struggle action to aid the workers and oppressed internationally—from union leaders imprisoned in the torture chambers of Pinochet’s Chile to leftist rebels fighting against the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador to African National Congress (ANC) guerrilla fighters and black workers battling the apartheid regime.

The ILWU bureaucracy has a long history of fine words of “solidarity” that cover for inaction or betrayal in practice. During the Vietnam War, for example, historic ILWU leader Harry Bridges made much of his opposition to this military onslaught by U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. ILWU banners flew at the antiwar demonstrations of the time. A boycott of U.S. military shipments to Vietnam by the ILWU would have had a greater impact, by orders of magnitude, than all of the antiwar protests. It also would have had an explosive effect in advancing the workers’ struggles here “at home.” But Bridges made sure that military shipments were kept moving during the 1971 longshore strike, saying it would help “get this war over faster.”

As the Militant Caucus wrote in its *Longshore Militant* (4 January 1985—misdated 1984 in the original):

“For a long time, Stan Gow has been arguing that there are two counterposed political programs at work in the ILWU and other unions. Stan and the Militant Caucus have fought for the program of militant class struggle and political action independent of the capitalist parties, courts and government. This program is based on the fact that the bosses own the government, and together they are the enemies of working people and always will be until the working people take over society. The other program, represented by the International officers and the revolving door of Local 10 ‘leaders’, is class collaboration, a legalistic strategy that says there is a partnership between labor and the bosses, and that the government can be pressured to be a friend of the working man—as long as we obey its laws. This is a lie.

“What these counterposed programs mean in action was very clearly shown in the sabotage of the potentially powerful union action against South African cargo aboard the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*.”

At the time of the boycott, U.S. imperialism’s renewed Cold War against the Soviet Union was white hot. The apartheid butchers were the “free world” allies of the racist rulers of this country. So too were the sadistic rulers of El Salvador, whose war against leftist insurgents was bankrolled and armed by the Reagan government. The “war against Communism” abroad was matched by a war against the unions, black people and other minorities and the poor at home.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy served on the front lines in fomenting the cause of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe. In collaboration with the CIA, they played a key role in bankrolling and backing reactionary Solidarność, which spearheaded capitalist restoration in Poland. At home, the union tops openly acted as the bosses’ agents in enforcing givebacks and concessions and sabotaging strikes against these attacks. Their “answer” to the union-busting assault that had opened with Reagan’s destruc-

tion of the PATCO air traffic controllers union was to go all out in hustling votes for the Democratic Party in the 1984 elections. And the Democrats lost big.

At the same time, strikes by South African workers and students were having an electrifying impact on black people and opponents of racism in the U.S. Black Democrats, seeking to refurbish their image after having delivered a massive black vote for the Democratic Party, tried to put themselves at the head of the burgeoning protests against apartheid. As we wrote at the time: “They know what a tremendous impact a black-centered revolution in South Africa would have on American blacks, and their job is to head it off” (“Black Democrats ‘Discover’ South Africa—Free South African Black Militants!” *WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984).

With the reformist left in tow, the black Democrats and labor tops appealed to the racist U.S. imperialist rulers to stop investing in South Africa. This “divestment” campaign was premised on illusions in the “democratic” credentials of American capitalism, whose profits are no less



Peters/NY Times

extracted through brutal exploitation that is reinforced by racial oppression. Moreover, had the imperialists massively divested their holdings in South Africa, it would have meant mass layoffs and even greater destitution, weakening the power of black workers to fight against the apartheid regime.

Instead of impotent appeals to the “good will” of U.S. imperialism, Stan Gow and the Militant Caucus fought to bring the social power of organized labor to bear in struggle against the apartheid regime and to advance *the class struggle* of the workers in this country against their own capitalist rulers. The Militant Caucus’ program of working-class political independence stood in opposition to the ILWU bureaucracy’s support for the capitalist Democratic Party, through which the working class and black people are shackled to their exploiters and oppressors. Gow’s struggle was rooted in an internationalist revolutionary perspective of fighting to defend the workers’ gains that were embodied in the collectivized property of the Soviet workers state despite its degeneration under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It was part of the fight to build a new leadership of the unions—based on the policy of class struggle, not pandering to the class enemy—and for a revolutionary workers party.

The *Longshore Militant* was founded in 1975 by Stan Gow, together with Howard Keylor. But Keylor, faced with the all-sided reaction in Reagan’s America, threw in the towel in the fight for a class-struggle opposition in the union. He quit the Militant Caucus in 1981. A year later, he lent his support to the foundation of

the so-called “External Tendency.” The ET was a bunch of quitters, too—people who had individually left the Spartacist League in the early 1980s. Their fear of that period of anti-Soviet reaction was matched by a distaste for our response to it: work among the black masses to galvanize resistance to racist terror; political combat against the pro-imperialist trade-union bureaucracy; unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state. In particular, our calls to hail the Soviet Red Army intervention in Afghanistan against CIA-backed Islamic reaction and to stop Solidarność counter-revolution in Poland had them running. What later brought these quitters together was intense subjective malice against the party they had fled.

Such political positions as the ET espoused in its early days were colored by Keylor’s aspirations to influence within the union bureaucracy. When Keylor split from the Militant Caucus, he couldn’t move fast enough to offer his services to the bureaucracy against Stan Gow and the Militant Caucus. In 1983, Gow was put



Spartacists fought for international working-class solidarity with black South African masses against apartheid capitalism. Left: Black gold miners at union rally in Welkom, South Africa, 1983.

on trial by the Local 10 tops for fighting to put some teeth into the ILWU’s paper opposition to U.S. arms shipments to the blood-drenched Salvadoran junta by picketing a ship bound for El Salvador. In a 15 May 1983 leaflet hypocritically titled “No Trial Against Stan Gow!” Keylor boasted that he “had conducted an independent [sic] investigation of the facts and wanted to present his findings to the [Executive] Board”!

Some defense! Keylor ridiculed Gow’s action as a “stunt” and “a sign of growing disorientation and disbelief that union members could be won to action” (*Militant Longshoreman*, 7 January 1985—misdated 1984 in original). The membership didn’t think so. After Gow was convicted by the bureaucracy, he mobilized support

among the union ranks, who voted down his conviction by a ten-to-one margin amid chants of “No! No! No!” A key component of this victory was the June 1983 picket by Gow and the Militant Caucus of none other than the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* to protest the execution of ANC fighters. Keylor mocked this action as well, but it found ready sympathy in the local, particularly among its black members.

BT/Stalinist “United Front”

In the 1984 boycott of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, Keylor cemented an alliance with the Stalinists. He attacked Gow for making much of “the difference between working the cargo and working the ship,” dismissing this as “just a matter of tactics.” But this had been a longstanding fight in the ILWU. It was Jimmy Herman—then the president of ILWU clerks Local 34—who, backed by Robinson, introduced the “work the ship not the cargo” subterfuge in 1977 over a boycott of the very same *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. At the time, Keylor, then co-publisher of the *Longshore Militant*, fought together with Stan Gow against Herman’s attempt to undercut the boycott. In 1984, Keylor was working the same side of the street as Robinson and Herman.

The first Nedlloyd ship that pulled into port in the Bay Area following the 1984 “work the ship not the cargo” Local 10 motion was the *Nedlloyd Kyoto*, carrying South African pig iron. All of the cargo on the ship was worked. Gow’s *Longshore Militant* No. 65 (19 November 1984) described what happened:

“[T]he Kyoto’s schedule was changed and it arrived here on Nov. 8 (instead of Nov. 14), where it was diverted to the Levin Terminal in Richmond where 1500 tons of pig iron from South Africa were off-loaded by members of Operating Engineers Local 3! But the Levin Terminal uses ILWU linesmen, who were dispatched and who did tie up the Kyoto. (Howard Keylor is a linesman. Why didn’t he blow the whistle?)”

In his own newsletter, the *Militant Longshoreman* (7 January 1985), Keylor waxed apoplectic about this “slander.” He argued that a boycott of the *Kyoto* might not be successful “without adequate preparation” to get the Operating Engineers on the boycotters’ side. But if the ship is not tied up to the dock, it can’t be unloaded. Thus Keylor’s arguments were an implicit admission that he opposed stopping the *Kyoto* blood cargo in Richmond. After they knew the *Kyoto* was gone, Keylor and Leo Robinson held a meeting to plan a demonstration...if it should return.

In contrast, Stan Gow and the *Longshore Militant* (No. 65, 19 November 1984) fought to keep the membership alert to the arrival of the Nedlloyd ships:

“The time to act is now! It is reported that the Nedlloyd Kimberley is putting into SF on Monday, Nov. 19. Last word on the Nedlloyd Kyoto is that it is arriving here from Tacoma on Wednesday, Nov. 21. But the ship owners, PMA (and the union officers) are playing cat and mouse with dates, cargo and locations. Be alert! With the mass arrests, ‘detentions’ and murders of black unionists going on in South Africa, these are blood ships—hands off!”

When the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* docked
continued on page 10

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1984 Boycott...

(continued from page 9)

at Pier 80 on November 24, longshoremen on the first shift voted with their feet and the ship was not worked at all. This was not in the bureaucrats’ plans. On the pier, Keylor and Robinson had assembled a “community” demonstration of some 150 people. This protest was not intended to bolster union action against apartheid but rather was largely built by those seeking to pressure the U.S. capitalist rulers to “divest” from South Africa. The *Longshore Militant* published the following week vividly described what happened that day:

“The pressure from below was so great last Saturday morning that the officers were forced to declare that the ship was not to be worked. That night Keylor and Robinson were down there in person explaining how the morning policy was a ‘mistake’ and the ship should now be worked. Most of the men didn’t like this one damn bit. Some said to Stan Gow and others, ‘Set up a picket line and we won’t cross it.’ So Stan and other Local 10 and Local 6 members set up a picket line, and Keylor, Robinson and their assembled ‘community’ demonstrators went completely apeship! ‘You guys are trying to wreck a legitimate union action!’ they screamed.... After Keylor and Robinson worked them over for a half-hour, the men were reluctantly persuaded it was for the good of the union to cross the picket line. Robinson led the way, while Keylor said the gang should cross the line, but he personally wouldn’t cross it unless he had to. This policy of dispatching and setting up individual members has been in force ever since, even though there hasn’t been anything else but South African cargo on the Kimberley since Sunday!

“It is Keylor and Robinson, acting for the officers, that have been ‘wrecking a legitimate union action.’ PMA is hanging tough on this action, while the officers and their flunkys are playing by the bosses’ rules.”

—*Longshore Militant* No. 66,
30 November 1984

Local 10 Tops Set Up Membership

In the guise of protecting the union from sanctions by the PMA and the courts for an “illegal” work stoppage, the bureaucrats purveyed the fiction that the ILWU members implementing the boycott were carrying out individual “acts of conscience.” Local 10 official Tom Lupher told the *San Francisco Chronicle* (29 November 1984) that “the action was not officially sanctioned by the union membership, but was an action of protest by individuals.” This was echoed by Keylor’s

and their stooges. These stalling tactics are not going to work.... It is necessary to act! We need a leadership capable of leading action. Picket the Nedlloyd Kimberley! Tell PMA to shove it! Shut down the port against any penalties!”

Any leadership worth its salt obviously fights to defend the union against the bosses’ anti-labor laws—but not at the cost of setting up the membership of the union for victimization at the hands of these very laws! Yet this is exactly what the Local 10 tops’ efforts to “fool” the PMA did. Longshoremen dispatched to the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* refused to work the day. The PMA then withheld two weeks of Pay Guarantee Payments, paid to non-casual longshoremen working out of the union’s hiring hall who have been unable to obtain enough work to meet a minimum income level. After the South African cargo sat untouched for ten days, on December 3 the PMA obtained an injunction against the action. The Local 10 leadership immediately caved in.

As *Longshore Militant* No. 67 (4 January 1985) reported: “The officers seized on the injunction as a legal pretext to end the action on December 3. At the Exec. Board that night only Stan Gow argued to stop the dispatching and set up a union picket line and to shut down the port against PMA penalties. The cowardly attempt to play by the bosses’ rules only emboldened PMA to get a standing injunction ‘prohibiting’ future union action against the Nedlloyd ships.”

Keylor did nothing to support Gow’s motion to mobilize the union’s power—the only way possible to successfully defy the injunction and to put some teeth into the boycott—which was ruled out of order by ILWU Local 10 president Larry Wing (see “Battle Over Union Action at South Africa Ship,” WV No. 368, 7 December 1984). Having *opposed* a solid union boycott, Keylor, on the morning after the bureaucrats succeeded in killing the action against the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, was down on the pier urging the community protesters to set up a picket line! This was pure grandstanding, designed as a last-minute cover for his own despicable role.

Keylor later complained in his *Militant Longshoreman* (7 January 1985) that in this after-the-fact charade, his erstwhile Stalinist allies “managed to turn the picket line into an impotent demonstration, and thereby destroyed it.” Sound familiar? This is exactly the role Keylor had played ten days earlier when he was working in cahoots with Robinson and the CP against the picket line set up by Gow and other ILWU members! As we

Robinson and the CP right up until the injunction.”

After doing everything he could to prevent the boycott from becoming a union political strike action, when it was all over, Keylor had the nerve to boast that “our union’s action was the longest political strike in memory on the West Coast”! As *Longshore Militant* No. 68 (1 February 1985) put it: “It’s not simply that Keylor is a liar. His leaflet reveals a method we’re all familiar with. The ILWU and especially Local 10 have a reputation as a ‘progressive union.’ What this means in practice is that union bureaucrats who know their way around the left are very good at spouting a lot of hot air in support of ‘social issues.’

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

Issue No. 10 Published by Howard Keylor Oct. 12, 1984
(415) 562-5308 PO Box 43052, Oakland, CA 94624-0054 Labor Donated

PROTEST ARMY OCCUPATION
OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS
AND KILLING OF OVER 80 BLACKS

At the September membership meeting I tried to raise a motion in support of black South African goldminers whose strikes for union recognition were being suppressed with at least eight miners killed by police. I intended to bring the same motion to the following meeting, but - as often happens - it was cancelled.

12 October 1984

UPDATE:
DATE:

Local 10 Executive Board unanimously passed this motion Thursday night, October 11. Come to the membership meeting Thursday, October 18, and vote for final approval of the motion!

Giving the lie to BT slander: Keylor’s *Militant Longshoreman* published Local 10 Executive Board motion calling for a boycott.

But afterwards they do nothing concrete and/or sabotage efforts for real action.”

The BT School of Falsification

To cover their tracks, Keylor and the ET/BT let loose with a barrage of lies against Stan Gow, the Militant Caucus and the Spartacist League. In its article “Militant Longshoremen ‘Hot-Cargo’ South African Goods—11-Day Anti-Apartheid Struggle On San Francisco Docks” (*Bulletin of the External Tendency of the iSt* No. 4, May 1985), the then-ET charged that we did “nothing to initiate or build the action.” In fact, the entire docu-



WV Photo

LONGSHORE-WAREHOUSE MILITANT

Joint Issue No. 4 Published by the Militant Caucus Jan. 17, 1977
(415) 653-5027 P.O. Box 33, 81 Corcoran, Ca. 94530 Labor donated

**International Labor Call:
Boycott South African Cargo!**

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has called for a world-wide week of trade union action to protest the vicious apartheid regime in South Africa, beginning today, Jan. 17. The specific purpose of this strike is to bring economic opposition against the banning or arresting of 24 black as their activities in organizing black workers into trade union determined to smash all attempts to expand black trade union power of the black working class which has emerged in a series of spontaneous spontaneous general strikes to defend black and "coloured" youth fighting apartheid. The moderate media is urging anti-racist demonstrations against these 24 anti-stateism.

17 January 1977

January 1977: SL-initiated protest on San Francisco pier of *Nedlloyd Kimberley* in solidarity with international labor boycott of South African transport. Above: Militant Caucus fought for ILWU action.

bloc partner, Robinson, in a television interview in which he said, “This is an act of conscience on the part of individual longshoremen and it will remain as such.”

The *Longshore Militant* (30 November 1984) exposed this treachery:

“This policy is and has been intended to kill this union action by running it into the ground....

“Furthermore, the union’s position in the arbitration hearing on Wednesday is that PMA should penalize and fine individual members, not the union. Maybe we’re not real smart. We thought it was the job of the union to protect its members, not the members’ job to protect Herman’s cozy relationship with PMA....

“PMA means to break this action and they are getting help from the union officers

wrote in “ILWU Anti-Apartheid Action Sabotaged—Labor Traitors and Their Lackeys” (WV No. 374, 8 March 1985):

“In his leaflet, Keylor has some oh-so-polite criticisms of Robinson and his supporters who ‘honestly believe that Local 10 had no choice but to give in to the injunction,’ and who ‘have a commitment to individual acts of consciousness,’ etc. He wagged his finger at [the CP newspaper] *People’s World* for its reliance on the liberal Democrats. But you would never know from this that Keylor supported Robinson’s amendment to work the ship at the October 18 Local 10 meeting, that he chaired meetings of Robinson’s Southern African Liberation Support Committee (which was put in charge of the action by the officers), and worked hand in glove with

mented record shows that it was Gow and the Militant Caucus who fought for genuine labor action on the docks against the hated apartheid rulers—in *opposition to Keylor and Robinson* in their self-appointed role as flunkys for the bureaucracy.

The BT charges that we called the longshoremen who went onto the ship “scabs.” We certainly denounced Keylor and Robinson for pushing longshoremen across the picket line to work the ship. But WV *saluted* the longshoremen who refused to move the South African cargo. And, as the *Longshore Militant* (No. 66, 30 November 1984) said: “Not a man has touched that South African cargo, in spite

of all this two-faced treachery and stupid dispatching. They are the real heroes, not Keylor and Robinson who stand outside the gate and applaud the very men they are setting up for victimization.”

Well after the fact, Keylor and the ET/BT would invent the biggest lie of all in this whole frame-up, charging that Gow and the Militant Caucus acted as finks for the bosses because they had publicized the motion passed by Local 10. In its May 1985 article on the boycott, the ET/BT declared that “the SL-supported Longshore Militant (19 November) provided the crucial evidentiary material for the maritime employers’ injunction which ended the action,” adding that “the SL supporters knew perfectly well what they were doing when they published their report of the Local 10 boycott motion. This was the only ILWU-associated documentary material which the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) could lay its hands on which mentioned the motion.”

Four months earlier, in the 7 January 1985 issue of his *Militant Longshoreman*, Keylor had accurately charged that it was ILWU International president Jimmy Herman who had “laid the legal basis for PMA being able to get their apartheid injunction,” pointing out that Herman had “agreed with the PMA that our action was an ‘illegal work stoppage’ in violation of the contract.” Now, Keylor and the ET/BT were screaming that the Militant Caucus supplied the evidence for the injunction! Although on a smaller scale, this absurd smear job is cut of the same cloth as the charge that Lenin was being funded with gold from the German Kaiser, a slander circulated by those “socialists” in tsarist Russia who hated and feared the Bolsheviks’ fight for proletarian revolution. In the case of Keylor and the ET/BT, slandering us was once again used to cover for the criminal treachery of the bosses’ “labor lieutenants” in the ILWU bureaucracy.

For that matter, if making motions passed by the union publicly available to the membership is to turn “state’s evidence,” then Keylor himself stands indicted. A month *before* Gow’s supposedly offending newsletter, on 12 October 1984 Keylor had issued his own leaflet publicizing the motion passed at the Local 10 Executive Board meeting that the union would “not work the next Nedlloyd Line ship carrying South African cargo” and urging the Local 10 ranks to “come to the membership meeting Thursday, October 18, and vote for final approval of the motion!”

Publicizing decisions made at union meetings would seem elementary not simply to have an informed membership but in order to mobilize the union for struggle. Keylor and the ET/BT boasted of their role in leading “the most important political strike in at least a decade.” Gee, how do you wage such a strike without informing the membership and without the bosses knowing?! As we wrote at the time:

“Yes, it’s quite a trick to conduct a political work stoppage, particularly the ‘longest in U.S. history,’ without running afoul of the capitalist state. In fact, it can’t be done. In the end, their whole charade about individual ‘acts of conscience’ didn’t fool the PMA, the arbitrators or the federal court. Robinson and Keylor did all this dirty work because the officers were afraid a union action would be ruled illegal under Taft-Hartley. To them ‘discipline’ means riding herd on the membership, and not even mentioning the local’s October 18 vote to boycott South African cargo, on the grounds that to do so jeopardizes the union. By trying to fool the class enemy with this cynical ploy, they managed to victimize the members *and* have the union hauled into court.”

—“Labor Traitors and Their Lackeys,” WV No. 374,
8 March 1985

To this day, the ET/BT’s lies that we “sabotaged” the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* boycott are used by elements in the ILWU bureaucracy to cover their own tracks. An example is Jack Heyman, a former Local 10 business agent who has often served on the union Executive Board and in other official capacities. We have had many exchanges with Heyman over the years. Virtually every time that we have

caught him out on the contradiction between the militant words that he sometimes spouts and what he actually does on the ground, he falls back on the deception that we opposed the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* boycott. (See letter page 2.)

Last October, Heyman was Local 10's speaker at a united-front rally in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal—America's foremost class-war prisoner—radical lawyer Lynne Stewart and exiled Black Panther Assata Shakur. The rally was organized by the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League. ILWU Local 10 has for many years been active in the defense of Mumia and was one of the first unions to lend its support to the PDC's efforts to save Mumia from the capitalist state's executioners. At the October rally, Heyman made much of his part in organizing the West Coast port shutdown in defense of Mumia on 24 April 1999—an expression of the kind of social power that needs to be mobilized in a *class-struggle* fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty. But Heyman didn't like to be reminded that a Local 10 motion he authored explicitly endorsed the "Millions for Mumia" demonstration the same day whose central demand was the call for a "new trial."

As an SL speaker at the October rally argued, this is not a matter of mere words but of counterposed political perspectives and strategies. The fight to free Mumia means a class-struggle fight in opposition to the capitalist state that framed up this innocent man and sentenced him to death in 1982 because of his defiant and eloquent opposition to the racism, brutality and terror of capitalist class rule (see "For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!" WV No. 872, 9 June). The call for a "new trial" sows the illusion that Mumia can get justice from the same racist *injustice* system that railroaded him. It is aimed at liberals and others who see Jamal's case not as the frame-up of an innocent man but simply as an isolated "miscarriage of justice." (For our response to a letter from Heyman complaining of our coverage of this rally, see "Jack Heyman: 'In the Bag'," WV No. 864, 17 February.)

Trying to get out from under the role he played in providing a "militant" cover for the liberal-reformist politics of the rally organizers in April 1999, Heyman played the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* card at the October rally, arguing: "In 1984 there was an important action against the ship that came in from South Africa, against apartheid, that the Spartacist League had a problem with. And initially they did not support this action. In the midst of it—it was a ten-day action against a ship from South Africa—the longshore union decided to protest apartheid by not working the ship. And it took several days before the Spartacist League changed their position on that." He used this charge to tar us as sectarians "abstaining from important class struggle," including



New York City 1981 SL demonstration exposed Polish Solidarność as company union for CIA, Wall Street and the Vatican. BT founders deserted from Trotskyism in face of Cold War II drive for counterrevolution in Soviet bloc.

"when it's important to be there to fight for Mumia Abu-Jamal."

Sneering at the "Ghetto Unemployed"

That the BT's lies are picked up to go after us in the urgent fight for Mumia's freedom is grotesque. The Partisan Defense Committee took up Mumia's cause almost 20 years ago, working to make his case widely known and to get broader forces, particularly the unions, to take up the fight for his freedom. When a death warrant was signed against Mumia in the summer of 1995, tens of thousands of people in the U.S. and many more around the globe rallied in his defense. As part of the rulers' efforts to portray Mumia as a depraved "cop killer," the *Wall Street Journal* (16 June 1995) happily picked up the BT's slanders of our organization as a deranged "cult" in order to smear the PDC. This May at a Socialist Action meeting on Mumia's case in San Francisco, Keylor shamelessly defended this, declaring that it wasn't their "fault" that the *Wall Street Journal* picked up the BT's lies against us.

But while its voluminous writings against the SL provided ammunition for the media mouthpiece of American capitalism to try to undercut the campaign on behalf of Mumia, the Bolshevik Tendency did not write an article in its press in Mumia's defense until 1996! And why would they? Their shameless boasts of having led a "political strike" in solidarity with the brutally oppressed black workers and masses of South Africa are all the more cynical when one considers that Keylor and the ET/BT were at the same time sneering at our efforts to mobilize the power of the multiracial working class in defense of the black population of this country against racist terror. Following the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League that ran the Klan off the streets of Washington, D.C., on 27 November 1982, Keylor's *Militant Longshoreman* (No. 5, 4 February 1983) opined that the Militant Caucus "and their co-thinkers in *Workers Vanguard* are increasingly directing their organizing activity away from the

unions and towards the unemployed, particularly in the ghettos!"

In the U.S., the vicious segregation and racial oppression of the black population is a key prop to maintaining the raw exploitation of labor. By the same token, the fight to mobilize labor's power in defense of the black masses is central to the fight for the emancipation of the working class as a whole through socialist revolution. This understanding, captured in Karl Marx's statement in *Capital* that "labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded," has infused the work of our organization since its inception—from our efforts to intervene into the civil

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
16 June 1995

Not Much Left:
'The Movement' Is
Pretty Still Nowadays
* * *
Despite the GOP Revolution,
Radical Groups Can't Win
Converts to Their Brand

... Communist Party USA member...
The Spartacists are led by a man named James Robertson, prompting the International Bolshevik Tendency, a group of former Spartacists, to deride their old party as "Jimstown," a takeoff on Jonestown in Guyana, the jungle site of mass suicide.

As SL and PDC mobilized to stop execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1995, capitalists' mouthpiece picked up BT's "cult" smear to vilify Mumia's supporters.

rights struggles of the 1960s to our later anti-fascist mobilizations and our fight for Mumia's freedom.

In one of its first major documents, the then-External Tendency derided our efforts to build labor/black defense leagues (which are currently active in New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles and the Bay Area) as a "shift away" from "the organized working class" toward "community organizing." Our mobilizations for the unity and integrity of the working class against capitalist "divide and rule" racism and its fascist shock troops are themselves a fight in defense of the unions. Only those for whom "the working class" means the labor bureaucracy could think otherwise.

It was precisely such an identification of the working class with the union misleaders that animated the ET/BT around the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* boycott. The ET/BT cried in shocked disbelief when we compared then United Auto Workers president Doug Fraser's joining the Chrysler board of directors to the German Social Democrats' voting for war credits for the German capitalist rulers on 4 August 1914. This was the point at which the Social Democrats acted not just as sellouts but as direct agents for the Kaiser, mobilizing workers to die for the profits of German capitalism in the inter-imperialist World War I. Likewise, Fraser became an open company cop in the pay of the auto bosses, and one need look no further than the devastated remains of

Detroit, the former "Motor City," to see the results to which he contributed.

Renegades for Hire

At the time of the 1984 *Nedlloyd Kimberley* boycott, the ET/BT was screaming that we were capitulating to Stalinism because of our hard-edged defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist-inspired counterrevolution. Meanwhile, in the ILWU Keylor was making common cause with a supporter of the Communist Party—apologists for the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy and its treacherous policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism—against those fighting for a program of proletarian internationalism. The history of the U.S. labor movement is riddled with such types who, having given up on class struggle, find their place doing the bidding of the union bureaucracy. People who no longer have the stomach for revolutionary politics also sometimes bear animus toward Marxism as the "god that failed" them. But it is odd indeed to found an organization based on such malice, which has overwhelmingly defined the ET/BT since its inception. For some 25 years, this outfit has devoted much of its energies to destroying the party that they so ignominiously deserted.

As we have noted, hostility doesn't make a political program or reason for existence as a putatively socialist organization. That takes a different kind of animating principle. And the BT has its own Dr. Frankenstein in its leader Bill Logan. Logan was expelled from the international Spartacist tendency at our first international conference in 1979, following a thorough International Control Commission investigation and a trial, as "a proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism."

The BT's slanders of the Spartacist League as a sinister "obedience cult" are a responsive cover-up for Logan, who has the demonstrated credentials of a manipulative cult leader. He willfully broke up couples and pressured comrades into sexual relationships. He pressured a young comrade to have an abortion, and when she refused he prodded her to put her child in a foster home, ultimately driving her to attempt suicide. These days, Logan advertises his services as a "celebrant" for baby funerals and "partnership break-up" among other things. The head of a putative "Bolshevik" organization, he refers on his Web site (www.bl.co.nz) not to the influences of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Trotsky but to the "Anglican and Presbyterian influences of my childhood."

The motion expelling Logan from our organization, which was passed unanimously by the delegates at the 1979 conference, concluded that he "cannot be and should never have been a member of a working-class organization." But he was happily embraced by the BT because he suits its purpose (or perhaps its purpose suits him). And that should tell you a lot about this organization.

Our purpose is to fight to build the mass revolutionary party that can lead the necessary struggle for the socialist liberation of humanity from the increasingly depraved rule of capitalist imperialism. Taking on the ET/BT's lies over the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* is a defense of our revolutionary program, purpose and heritage, which goes right back to the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the working class to power in the first, and only, successful proletarian revolution—in Russia in 1917. Examining the real history of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* boycott is also crucial to arming a new generation of working-class fighters. Learning from the past is a vital component of the struggle to make the unions instruments of the revolutionary movement of the working class, not the secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism in which the labor bureaucracy serves to discipline the workers and obstruct the program and policies of class struggle. ■



November 1982 SL-initiated labor/black mobilization that stopped Klan in D.C. Keylor/BT sneered that we were turning away from the unions toward the ghettos.

Hands Off Ward Churchill!

We print below a June 19 protest letter in defense of Professor Ward Churchill sent by the New York Spartacus Youth Club to the interim chancellor of the University of Colorado (CU) at Boulder and to the CU Board of Regents. On June 26, Interim Chancellor Philip DiStefano announced his decision to fire Professor Churchill, who has ten days to appeal the decision to a faculty committee.

We protest the transparent political witchhunt being carried out against Professor Ward Churchill by the University of Colorado under the guise of an investigation into charges of “academic misconduct.” As Professor Churchill noted: “The May 9, 2006 Report of the University of Colorado (CU) Investigative Committee is but the latest step in CU’s ongoing attempt to fire me for political speech and, more fundamen-



Anthony Artol

Ward Churchill

tally, for scholarship which challenges the orthodox ‘canon’ of historical truth” (“Summary of Fallacies in the University of Colorado Investigative Committee Report of May 9, 2006,” May 20). Professor Churchill now faces dismis-

sal or suspension as per the June 13 recommendations of the standing committee established by CU. We demand that there be no sanctions against Professor Churchill as the result of this ludicrous “investigation”!

The witchhunt of Professor Churchill has been engineered by right-wing forces that brook no opposition to the crimes of the U.S. capitalist rulers. Leading the charge are racist ideologue David Horowitz and his McCarthyite minions who seek to purge leftists and liberals from the campuses. These forces revile Professor Churchill for his views and for the political content of his scholarship, which includes powerful exposures of state-sponsored terror from the genocidal treatment of Native Americans to the bloody repression carried out against black, leftist and Native American activists under the FBI’s COINTEL-

PRO program. While no less than the Republican governor of Colorado has called on the university to fire Professor Churchill, the campus witchhunters’ purported campaign for “academic freedom” would be completely exposed if they were to call for firing Professor Churchill for his views. Thus, the “investigation” into “academic misconduct” provides a convenient, if threadbare, cover for a political witchhunt.

The campaign against Professor Churchill is designed not only to silence and discredit him for his political views, but also to intimidate others and chill dissent. This takes place in the context of the bipartisan “war on terror,” under which the U.S. rulers are carrying out bloody imperialist rampages in Afghanistan and Iraq and waging war on democratic rights at home in an effort to suppress the struggles of immigrants, black people, the labor movement and the left. This finds its expression on campus in the witchhunting of professors such as Ward Churchill. We demand: Hands off Professor Churchill!

North Korea...

(continued from page 1)

defend the workers state, a historic gain of the international working class.

Chinese premier Wen Jiabao has treacherously echoed imperialist warnings against North Korea, appealing last month to the various “parties” to “proceed from the greater interest of maintaining stability on the Korean Peninsula and refrain from taking measures that will worsen the situation.” Moreover, Beijing continues to pressure Pyongyang back to the “six party talks” with which the imperialists hope to gain North Korea’s nuclear disarmament. The Beijing Stalinists’ illusion that there can be “peaceful coexistence” with imperialism undermines China’s own defense. Likewise, Kim Jong Il’s nepotistic, cultist Stalinist regime heads a parasitic bureaucratic caste whose extreme nationalism and class-collaborationist politics *stand in the way* of defending North Korea.

We fight for the *revolutionary reunification of Korea*—for socialist revolution

in the South and workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats in the North. The fight for revolutionary reunification must be linked to the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China and to the extension of proletarian power to Japan, the industrial heartland of Asia, and to the U.S. imperialist colossus. Key to this struggle is the creation of Leninist-Trotskyist parties as sections of a reformed Fourth International.

Doves on Iraq, Hawks on North Korea

It is one thing for the U.S. to invade semicolonial Iraq, where American forces are bogged down in the occupation, and quite another to go after North Korea, which has some means to defend itself. Many of the Democrats who opposed Bush on Iraq complained that that war was a distraction from the “real threats” to U.S. imperialist interests, singling out Iran and North Korea. Thus black Democratic Congresswoman Barbara Lee, quintessential spokesman for the party’s “progressive” wing, asked then secretary of state Colin

Powell in a House committee hearing just prior to the invasion of Iraq: “What will it take for the Administration to focus as much attention on North Korea, which has demonstrated its nuclear and missile capabilities, as it is focusing on Iraq?” As an alternative to Bush’s “doctrine of preemption,” Lee favors the kind of “engagement” carried out under Clinton, when Perry (among others) drew up plans for air strikes in 1994 on North Korean nuclear facilities.

Yet it is just such “antiwar” Democrats that reformist groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Workers World Party (WWP) have promoted throughout the Iraq invasion and occupation in their class-collaborationist “peace” coalitions. The WWP, which proclaims its *political* support to the Stalinist Kim Jong Il regime, and the anti-Communist ISO, which is openly hostile to the North Korean deformed workers state, share the same program of pressuring the “liberal” wing of U.S. imperialism to give its bloody rule a more human face.

The ISO’s political godfather, the late Tony Cliff of Britain, broke from the Trot-

skyist movement during the Korean War when he refused to defend the Soviet Union, China and North Korea against the counterrevolutionary war waged by “democratic” U.S. and British imperialism. The ISO hailed the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92, which was a massive defeat for the world working class. The collapse of the Soviet Union played out particularly harshly in North Korea, which faces economic isolation and increased vulnerability to imperialist attack.

It is in the class interests of the American proletariat to defend North Korea and all the remaining deformed workers states against the U.S. capitalist rulers, whose wars and occupations abroad are combined with a war at home against the working class, black people, immigrants and all the oppressed. The U.S. imperialists’ murderous depredations will not be ended through the reformists’ appeals to the capitalist rulers to become “peaceful” but only through socialist revolution in the belly of the beast. We fight to forge the revolutionary workers party needed to lead that revolution to victory. ■

Gaza...

(continued from page 1)

clinics are without power. Many of the water pumps and treatment plants can no longer function. With the borders largely sealed, supplies of water, fuel and food are running dangerously low. A massive public health crisis, including the spectre of cholera, looms. Now, Israel’s interior minister threatens the Palestinians that if the seized soldier is killed, “The sky will fall on them.”

Unlike the criminal attacks against civilians in Israel carried out by Hamas and other Palestinian groups, the June 25 raid was directed against a genuine military target. At the same time, the brutal onslaught by Israel’s coalition government following the successful raid underlines the massive disproportion of military forces between Israel and the Palestinians. We defend the Palestinians in their just struggle against Zionist occupation.

Palestinians in Gaza City line up for gasoline, among basic necessities virtually cut off by Israeli regime.



However, as long as the conflict remains one of nation against nation, the Palestinians can only lose out to the heavily armed (including with nukes) and more technologically advanced Zionist state.

The much-vaunted August 2005 “disengagement” of Zionist settlers and troops from Gaza has in fact allowed Israel to even more effectively strangle the population economically while giving the army a freer hand to unleash military terror. On June 9, Israeli artillery rained down on a Gaza beach, killing eight Palestinians, nearly wiping out a family having a picnic. This was followed by a series of massacres in Gaza in which at least 16 Palestinians were slaughtered and dozens more injured.

Relentless state terror and devastation by Israel have been visited upon the Palestinians. These, combined with the political bankruptcy of Palestinian nationalism—

exemplified by the ignominious 1993 Oslo deal between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel—have driven much of the once cosmopolitan Palestinian people into the arms of the reactionary, anti-woman and anti-Semitic outfit Hamas. The electoral victory of Hamas in January has been met with a starvation embargo by the U.S. and European Union imperialists and Israel. With the rounding up of a third of the Palestinian cabinet, the Zionist rulers, like their U.S. imperialist patrons, are asserting their “right” to carry out “regime change” against any Palestinian government not to their liking. *Down with the starvation embargo! Defend the Palestinian people! Release the Hamas ministers, legislators and other victims of Zionist repression! Israel out of Gaza, the West Bank and all the Occupied Territories!*

At bottom, the Israeli/Palestinian con-

flict is one of interpenetrated peoples, two populations laying claim to the same small piece of land. There can be no equitable resolution to the conflicting national claims of the Palestinians and Hebrew-speaking people under capitalism. It is necessary to break the Hebrew-speaking proletariat from Zionist chauvinism and the Palestinians from Arab nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism. This requires the construction of Leninist-Trotskyist parties committed to the overthrow of capitalist rule in Israel and throughout the region, and the forging of a socialist federation of the Near East.

We have no illusions that winning the Hebrew proletariat to defense of the Palestinians will be an easy task; it will likely require some historic event, such as the victory of social revolution in another country in the Near East extending a hand of proletarian internationalism to the Israeli working class. As we wrote in “Zionist Butchers Strike Gaza” (WV No. 834, 15 October 2004): “So long as the national axis is emphasized, the situation will always be bleak and hopeless. But if the *class* axis is emphasized, there is at least a *realistic* chance at an equitable resolution.” ■

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NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August. Our next issue will be dated August 4.

(continued from page 2)

WV is correct WV #872 (June 2006) in criticizing the reformist resolutions that emanated from the 2000 “Labor Conference for Mumia”, initiated by the LAC. With our small forces we sought to gather together workers across the country, especially those engaged in militant struggles like the predominantly black Charleston longshore union, to take up Mumia’s defense. Neither the LAC nor the SL participants supported the reformist resolutions. But then the SL didn’t support our resolution “For a Nationwide Day of Labor Action for Mumia!” in which we prevailed against an attempt to substitute “new trial” for “free” Mumia.

One has to ask, what is the purpose of this skewed and dishonest reporting? It is to excuse your own zigzagging and a kind of paralytic abstentionism from the class struggle that has characterized the SL increasingly in recent years and to disparage those who carry on your principled, earlier trade union work.

SPARTACIST

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SPRING 2004

Fourth ICL International Conference, Autumn 2003

The Fight for Revolutionary Continuity in the Post-Soviet World

PAGE 2

Forty Years of *Spartacist*

"Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International"

PAGE 14

**The Origins of Japanese Communism,
Debate over "Two-Stage Revolution"
and the American Occupation**

The Meiji Restoration: A Bourgeois Non-Democratic Revolution

Appendix: Historical Documents

- Manifesto by the Preparatory Committee for the Japanese Communist Party (1921)
- Program of the Communist Party of Japan (1922)
- Report on Differences at the Special Congress of the Japanese Communist Party (1923)

PAGE 20

Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Woman, Anti-Sex: U.S./UN Crusade Against "Sex Trafficking"

PAGE 60

AUSTRALIA...\$3

BRITAIN...£1

CANADA...CND\$2

IRELAND...£1.50

SOUTH AFRICA...R3

USA...USD\$10

In our exchanges over the last several years, I've challenged you to show where SL supporters in the trade unions have called for work stoppages to defend Mumia, i.e. unleashing the social power



**Above: ILWU banners
at October 2004
Million Worker
March rally in
Washington, D.C.
Right: WV photo of
the banner Heyman
kept in the bag.**

You add, “If we had influence in the unions,” then you would “fight it out over what kind of actions the unions should undertake to win Mumia’s freedom.” This is a new twist, and one that is apparently being used to justify the SL’s capitulation to union bureaucrats. In response to a letter from the SL supporter mentioned earlier, WV #872 (9 June 2006), where he asks why the SL leaflet on the transit strike doesn’t criticize TWU head Toussaint, who was obviously prepared to sell out the strike from the beginning, you write: “The leaflet did not directly attack Toussaint. Since we could not point to an alternative leadership of the strike, to do so would only have served to weaken the strike.”

wake of the New York transit strike, WV launched a campaign to appeal to union bureaucrats to sign a petition (no union action required) to defend Toussaint and oppose the fine against the union. A united-front defense is supportable, but is no substitute for a class-struggle caucus to fight the bosses, the state and the class-collaborationist union bureaucracy.

Nowadays, the Spartacist League has opted for “softer” defensive postures in the trade unions. In the ILWU’s contract struggle in 2002, you took a similar tack, warning against state repression while soft-peddling criticism of the social-patriotic, business union bureaucracy. You didn’t even call for rejection of the concessionary contract or preparation for strike action, saying that “If workers in one of the most powerful unions in the country feel they have little choice but to vote for this contract, it is a searing indictment of the labor bureaucracy” (WV #795, 17 January 2003)!

With its obsession of defense work over other aspects of party work, one has to ask: Has the PDC eaten the SL?

All this adds up to a hard right turn by the Spartacist League, and not just on the trade unions. In WV #868 (14 April 2006) you call for “the right of self-determination” for Puerto Rico, without mentioning that the SL used to call flat out for independence for that U.S. colony. When I was an organizer in the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union, a class-struggle opposition group supported by the SL, “independence for Puerto Rico” was a key demand in our internationalist program, understandably because there was a large number of Puerto Ricans working aboard ships. Dust off the archival copies of “The Beacon” and let your younger members see what class-struggle work in the trade unions looked like.

Mobilize Labor Action to
Free Mumia!
Jack Heyman

It seems that we stung Jack Heyman with our answer to his previous letter. For years an International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10 official, Heyman is particularly exercised by our exposure of his opportunism over the October 2004 Million Worker March (MWM). As we wrote in “Million Worker March: Tail of Lesser-Evilism” (WV No. 831, 3 September 2004) and “Exchange on the Million Worker March” (WV No. 834,

Heyman is like a bad carpenter who keeps hitting his thumb instead of the nails.

Now he tells us that some nine months after the event—when AFL-CIO bureaucrats themselves had awakened with bad hangovers after backing the loser Kerry—he saw the light and realized that the MWM was not “a genuinely independent political mobilization of the working class.” This is sheer cynicism. Heyman continued to be an active builder of the MWM even after Democratic politician Jesse Jackson was invited to speak at the rally. And barely three weeks before Heyman “publicly stated” his about-face, he had written an article, dated 14 June 2005, for *Socialist Viewpoint* (July-August 2005) that still described the MWM as “an independent mobilization of workers”!

Heyman's story about the workers party banner at the MWM is beyond pathetic. He worked with a union activist—who has also worked with the SL for many years—to make the banner and bring it to D.C. with them. On site, as Heyman helped mount several official ILWU and MWM banners, the workers party banner never saw the light of day. Seems that when Heyman arrived at the demo, he just got cold feet. And now he leaves this union activist holding the bag for Heyman's own opportunism. (How seriously Heyman takes the call for a workers party can be seen in the inane slogan that concludes his *Maritime Worker Monitor* No. 7, 13 October 2004: "Build a Workers Party to Fight for Workers!")

As for Heyman's truly skewed and dishonest rendition of the ILWU's 1984 *Ned-lloyd Kimberley* ship boycott, we refer readers to our article on page 8. The article also recounts Heyman's role in the 24

continued on page 14



Jack Heyman:
"In the Bag"
 Article from WV No. 864
 17 February 2006

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Opportunist...

(continued from page 13)

April 1999 “Millions for Mumia” protest and ILWU stop-work action. Heyman initiated the ILWU motion that explicitly endorsed the Millions for Mumia rally with its central demand for a “new trial,” a fact he continues to slither around. We have commented extensively on this matter in “Fight Government Repression!” (WV No. 859, 25 November 2005) and “Jack Heyman: ‘In the Bag’” (WV No. 864, 17 February). Readers are also referred to the article cited by Heyman, “A Hard Look at Recent Party Work and Current Tasks,” which acknowledges our mistake in not fielding “Free Mumia” contingents at the April 1999 rallies. The article also acknowledges that rather than commend the stop-work action as a taste of the kind of social power needed for Mumia’s defense, “we effectively equated the action with Heyman’s pandering to the call for a ‘new trial.’” These articles are posted on the ICL Web site.

Heyman complains that the inclusion of his name on a list of “Labor Organizations Calling for a New Trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal” was due to an “error” committed by one of his allies. Does this ring a bell? At any rate, Heyman’s appearance on that list was perfectly consistent with his ILWU motion. What Heyman did on the Millions for Mumia rally podium was typical of his opportunist m.o.: He threw out some left-sounding talk without saying a word against the “new trial” demand that promotes faith in the capitalist courts. Five years later, at the MWM, Heyman worked some verbiage into his speech about a workers party as a left cover for a pro-Democratic Party mobilization.

Who is Heyman to pose as a spokesman for “those who carry on your principled, earlier trade union work”? At one time Heyman was a member of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC), a class-struggle opposition in the National Maritime Union whose work was politically supported by the SL. But that was then. Heyman long ago abandoned a class-struggle perspective, becoming instead a house leftist for the ILWU tops. His occasional militant rhetoric serves only to cover the union bureaucracy’s policies of class collaboration.

A case in point is his *San Francisco Chronicle* (5 March) op-ed piece, “When ‘Port Security’ Targets Workers.” Heyman notes that the hysteria over “port security” has been a battering ram against the longshoremen and their union. But this is window-dressing for his conclusion: “Real port security means inspecting all containers offloaded and ending imperialist wars abroad that spawn terrorists, not stifling the free-speech rights of those who work in the ports.” Here is pure Heymanism: mouthing progressive sentiments about ending imperialist wars while reassuring the government and his employers that he is in favor of one of the main planks of the “war on terror.” No wonder he denigrates our work in defense of labor and democratic rights in this period as an “obsession.”

This consummate labor faker complains about our reply to a letter we printed in our last issue where we explained why an SL leaflet issued in support of the December NYC transit strike did not go after Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Roger Toussaint. It is “astounding,” Heyman blusters, for us to assert that it would only have weakened



The Beacon, newspaper of Militant-Solidarity Caucus of National Maritime Union, raised class-struggle program and called for a workers party. Above right: 1978 M-SC union election brochure.

the strike to directly attack Toussaint when he and the union were under attack by the bourgeois state for having defied the Taylor Law, and when we could not point to an alternative leadership.

During the 1966 TWU strike, a Spartacist leaflet was issued after the arrest of Mike Quill and other TWU leaders, calling on all unionists to support the strike—including by engaging in sympathy strikes against the injunctions and arrests—and raising such demands as a shorter work-week to create more jobs. The leaflet did *not* directly attack Quill, who was a notorious anti-Communist and local bigwig in the Democratic Party. In a New York Spartacist League Local meeting, a motion by Harry Turner objecting that the leaflet did not single out the Quill leadership for criticism was defeated. Quill died shortly after his release from jail and was considered a labor hero for the strike.

A contrary experience occurred in 1937 when Socialist Labor Party (SLP) supporters distributed a leaflet to steel workers at Indiana Harbor, near Chicago, in the midst of an industry-wide union organizing drive. Workers incensed at the leaflet’s attack on John L. Lewis for being a murderous labor bureaucrat (true enough) not unreasonably thought that the SLPers were anti-union, particularly as their attack echoed the steel bosses’ vituperations against Lewis. Trotskyist militants at the time defended the SLPers by pointing out that they were not enemies but simple-minded sectarians.

Heyman throws out a red herring by contrasting our 2005 TWU strike leaflet with WV’s coverage of the 1977-78 coal strike and our treatment of United Mine Workers leader Arnold Miller. During the nearly four-month-long coal strike, miners increasingly reviled Miller for his attempts to sell them out. They demanded his resignation, stormed the union headquarters and sent him into hiding. Unlike the transit strike, it wasn’t the state that was screaming for Miller’s head but the union members! As for Heyman’s complaint that we don’t sufficiently criticize the union bureaucrats, he sure howls when we criticize him.

Heyman charges the SL with “abstentionism” because, for example, we do not currently urge our supporters in the unions

to launch oppositional caucuses. Supporters of our views seek to win co-workers to the urgent need for class struggle against the capitalist exploiters and for the complete independence of the working class from all agencies of the class enemy. A caucus is specifically an internal union formation to vie for leadership of the union.

In the late 1960s-early ’70s, at a time of heightened social and labor struggle, the SL’s growth and transformation into a fighting propaganda group laid the basis for extending our efforts in support of class-struggle caucuses in the unions. The Militant-Solidarity Caucus, for one, was defined by its programmatically based opposition to the corrupt NMU leadership under Joe Curran. The M-SC raised a program of transitional demands, including for a workers party and a workers government, and was known for its opposition to the bureaucracy’s protectionist calls to “save American jobs.”

This is in marked contrast to what Heyman appears to want us to do in TWU Local 100, which is to vilify Toussaint in the midst of the transit strike. In the NMU, the opposition led by James Morrissey centered its campaigns on the Curran regime’s corruption and violence. Morrissey early on suffered a vicious beating by Curran’s goons and increasingly turned to the capitalist courts in his drive to oust Curran. Heyman used to be a member of the M-SC, so he should know better.

Today we are faced with a different conjuncture than in the ’60s and ’70s. Decades of capitalist attacks, combined with the effects of deindustrialization in the U.S.,

have greatly set back the unions. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 has served to throw back proletarian consciousness generally, albeit unevenly. Under these conditions, for two or three supporters lacking a solid programmatic base of support to form a caucus would serve to unnecessarily set them up for victimization and/or lead to their accommodation to the labor tops, likely through a bloc with trade-union careerists. Heyman has taken the latter course, as exemplified by his support for Brian McWilliams for ILWU International president in 2000 despite McWilliams’ explicit support for the capitalist Democratic Party.

The fight for a new labor leadership based on a class-struggle program and the principle of working-class political independence is essential if the unions are to be transformed from serving as a secondary instrument of capitalist-imperialism for disciplining the workers into organs of the revolutionary struggle of the workers. But the forms this effort takes are not and cannot be the same in all periods or in all unions. A relevant historical example is the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) founded by the Workers (Communist) Party in the early 1920s. The TUEL was launched in the period marked by the victory of proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917. Its purpose was not to contest for leadership in the unions but to educate workers in the program and principles of the October Revolution, seeking to recruit the more conscious workers to the revolutionary party.

In today’s period defined by “death of communism” ideology, basic Marxist education, including through struggle, is the order of the day. One vehicle for such education is the Labor Black Leagues, which are currently engaged in the urgent effort to mobilize labor’s power in the struggle for Mumia Abu-Jamal’s freedom. Heyman can rest assured that supporters of our views in the unions are actively engaged in this work, which is vital to winning workers to the understanding that the fight for black emancipation is central to the emancipation of the entire working class.

As a Marxist propaganda group committed to building a revolutionary workers party, our task is to lay the political groundwork for the emergence of a class-struggle leadership in the unions when the inevitable upsurges in struggle occur, propelling workers toward an alternative to the pro-capitalist misleaders. This perspective will be carried out in sharp opposition to the likes of Heyman, who, as we observed in “In the Bag,” “reveals himself as nothing more than a component of the labor bureaucracy whose support to the capitalist profit system has sapped the workers’ fighting spirit in the face of the bosses’ one-sided class war over the past several decades.” ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston

Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

Oakland

Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

New York

Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

San Francisco

Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartacan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver

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

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Video Showing: *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*

BOSTON

Spartacus Youth Club Event
Thursday, July 13, 6 p.m.
56 Brattle St.
Room B-2
(Harvard T stop on the Red Line)
For more information: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

NEW YORK

Labor Black League & Spartacus Youth Club Event
Sunday, July 23, 6:30 p.m.
Carlito's Cafe y Galeria
1701 Lexington Avenue
(between 106th and 107th St.; 6 train to 103rd St.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

Roundup...

(continued from page 16)

Herb Boyd wrote in the *Amsterdam News* (29 June) about the Miami Seven case: “You don’t have to recall the machinations of Cointelpro that helped facilitate the destruction of the Black Panther Party to feel the hot breath of entrapment.... It was even more disturbing to hear a commentator...state that the African American community is stocked with a veritable reservoir of young Black men who would be susceptible to the inducement of al Qaeda.”

Miami’s Liberty City is one of this country’s many decaying urban ghettos. The area first became nationally known in 1980, when the city exploded after five white cops were acquitted for beating to death a black man. The resulting upsurge ended in 855 arrests and 18 deaths. Today across America, over 900,000 black men and women, including one out of every eight black men between the ages of 25 and 29, are in prison, mainly victims of the “war on drugs.” “We used to have agents and confidential informants creating drug deals in Liberty City. Now it looks like they are creating homegrown cells,” observed David O. Markus of the Florida Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers (*Miami Herald*, 25 June).

Conspiracy and Entrapment

“Conspiracy” is what the government uses to nail anyone it wants to silence yet can’t charge with a single demonstrable criminal act. Organizing against slavery was “conspiratorial,” and labor unions used to be considered illegal conspiracies in this country.

Homeland Security’s supposed “trumphs” in its endless “war on terror”

are based on pure entrapment—which means, legally, that the state itself is the *main instigator* of the crime for which it then arrests others. In late May in New York City, Shahawar Matin Siraj was convicted of supposedly plotting to blow up the Herald Square subway station. He was entrapped by a well-paid informer who had been sniffing around Brooklyn mosques. The Brooklyn Bay Ridge Muslim community is so riddled with not-so-undercover spies that, as one high school teacher said, “It’s like a police state here” (*New York Times*, 27 May).

In California, the government claimed it had broken up “an al-Qaida terrorist cell” (*Sacramento Bee*, 10 June 2005) in the small city of Lodi. In fact, two Pakistani Americans, ice-cream truck driver Umer Hayat and his son Hamid Hayat, were victimized by an FBI anti-Muslim witchhunt. An FBI informant managed to milk over \$200,000 from the Feds for his bizarre stories, including that he’d seen Al Qaeda’s second-in-command, Egyptian Ayman al-Zawahiri, at the Lodi mosque! This paid provocateur was the government’s star witness against the

Hayats, who were browbeaten into “confessing” to various FBI-concocted terror training scenarios, all of which they later recanted. Hamid Hayat was convicted and now faces up to 39 years in prison. (His father’s case ended with a hung jury.)

The Canadian state has decided to ramp up its own sting operations. On June 2-3, 17 Muslims, mainly youth, were arrested in Toronto, denied the right to meet privately with their lawyers, and charged with plotting attacks in southern Ontario, another classic case of the state manufacturing a terrorism scare to intimidate the population. As far as we can tell (given that the Canadian state can keep the evidence secret in the name of “national security” and the media is forbidden to write about the court proceedings), the only “evidence” against most of these youth is that they played paintball and, in yet another sting operation, bought fertilizer from a Mountie!

Meanwhile, right next to Liberty City in Miami lie plush enclaves inhabited by actual, certifiable terrorists: the counterrevolutionary Cuban American *gusanos*, who really do have the “mate-

rial resources” (supplied by the CIA among others) to launch massive terrorist attacks. The American government and its *gusano* allies long to reconquer Cuba for capitalist exploitation. The same day as the Liberty City sweep, a former member of the Cuban American National Foundation openly bragged that his group, supplied with an arsenal that included a cargo helicopter, ten ultralight radio-controlled planes, seven vessels and abundant explosive materials, had planned to attack Cuba and assassinate Fidel Castro (*Miami Herald* online, 22 June).

Despite its scare tactics, the Bush administration’s drive for police-state powers has met some roadblocks. On June 29 the Supreme Court ruled that the administration’s military tribunals for Guantánamo detainees violated both federal and international law. Afterward, New York Senator Charles Schumer said that had the administration “come to Congress a few years ago on this issue, my guess is they would have gotten most of what they wanted” (*New York Times*, 3 July). Now, led by Republican Senator Arlen Specter, key members of Congress have started work on legislation that would give the Bush administration a slightly modified version of the military tribunals it wants.

Both the bourgeois courts and capitalist politicians, Democrat and Republican alike, defend the interests of U.S. imperialism and its repressive state apparatus, whatever their temporary differences. We need to build a revolutionary workers party dedicated to the overthrow of this barbaric system and to the establishment of workers rule to remove from power the most bloodthirsty danger to all humanity: the U.S. ruling class. **Down with the “war on terror”! Free all the detainees! U.S. out of Guantánamo! ■**

New Orleans...

(continued from page 16)

across the board due to difficulty in attracting enough workers. Locals including blacks are finally getting work on the canal repairs and debris collection crews. The Port of New Orleans with its long-unionized, heavily black workforce, has been up and running full speed since shortly after the storm. The situation is ripe for badly needed multiracial unionization in this historically under-unionized town.

More evacuees returned to town in April and more still with the end of the school year in June. But the ongoing housing shortage is keeping many away. Rents have doubled due to the huge reduction in housing stock. Especially affected are poor and low-wage working people, families with children, and the elderly. One hundred twenty-five thousand homes were damaged or destroyed, and over 300,000 people exiled. Mail delivery is promised to resume in the flooded areas as of the end of June (ten months after the flood!). Where phone and electricity service is restored in the 80 percent of town that flooded, it is a Sometime Thing.

Last year there were 54,000 public school students. The school year ended in June with 9,000. All but a tiny fraction of these are in union-busting “charter schools” with entrance requirements and tests that most N.O. public school kids couldn’t possibly pass. The only regular public schools open did so in response to parents’ lawsuits. Uncounted numbers of kids are back and not enrolled in any school.

Public housing residents have gotten the brunt of the racist “blacks stay away” barrage. During the recent mayoral election, black Democratic City Council president Oliver Thomas called project residents “soap opera watchers” and declared that only those who could prove they had jobs would be permitted to return. A Houston news editorial replied to Oliver saying that Houston took in all your citizens without discrimination, do you mean to say you won’t take them back?

Mayoral candidate and Republican former City Councilwoman Peggy Wilson repeatedly denounced project residents as “pimps and welfare queens.” Another candidate, Rob Couhig, called for the “culture of entitlement to be replaced with the culture of self-reliance.” These latter two quotes roughly reflect the menu on the race question to be found in the bourgeois Republican and Democratic parties: do you want your white racism served straight up, or do you want it in code words?

Let there be no mistake. Projects are populated by the working poor, the elderly who used to be the working poor, low-wage single mothers and kids, and the disabled. Far from being criminals, they are mostly victimized by criminals. It would be hard to find a project resident who in his or her lifetime hasn’t worked harder than the whole City Council and bushel of mayoral candidates put together.

Alphonso Jackson, Bush’s Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), took up the racist cudgel next. He stated some months back that only “the best people” should be allowed to return to the housing projects. Evacuees in Houston responded by printing T-shirts proclaiming “Best of the Best” and verbally denouncing the Feds at public meetings. Jackson recently announced a plan to demolish four huge housing projects totaling 5,000 units, none with flood damage above the first floor. St. Bernard Avenue housing project residents and supporters have set up a tent camp called “Survivor Village” with protest signs just outside the newly fenced-off project. They aptly note the entire first floors could have been cleaned and gutted for what has been spent on fences and devices barring entry. A group of public housing residents just filed a discrimination suit against HUD and HANO (Housing Authority of N.O.) for refusing residents’ return.

As for the elderly, the Katrina death count recently rose by nearly a third when 32 states reported Katrina-related deaths-in-exile. These were overwhelmingly the elderly and ill. Ripped from their familiar homes and support systems, hundreds of them went down the tubes fast. These are a few: Clarence Gatemouth Brown,

internationally famous R&B guitarist who was performing and recording right up to the storm, died at age 80 in Texas, where he had evacuated, when he learned that his Slidell, LA home and everything in it was lost. So did a 90-year-old widow and Holocaust concentration camp survivor when she heard her N.O. home of 60 years was lost. Leslie Austin, the real-life restaurateur model for the TV show *Frank’s Restaurant*, died of a heart attack in exile. Shebie Kimbrough, Grammy award winning drummer for Professor Longhair, had been playing right up to the storm but died in a nursing home within a month of a harrowing evacuation from his senior housing project.

Fats Domino, 78, survived being pulled from floodwaters in his 9th Ward home where he lost all his treasured pianos, awards and belongings, but he has been too fragile to play publicly ever since.

Everybody now knows the flood damage and resulting death count was caused not by Katrina but by the staggering incompetence and discontinuity of the canal work done over many years and many presidential administrations by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Not a head has rolled in the Corps for this. The same guys who did it are the ones fixing it.

This tragedy was criminally aggravated by the federal government’s racist refusal to come in and rescue the stranded, dying and desperate citizens for four fateful

days. They barred the Red Cross and other rescuers from entering. The smirking and egregious Michael Brown of FEMA was the only sacrificial lamb. “Homeland Security” still ensures security only for Bush and Friends, and does unprecedented trampling on the liberties of the rest of the population.

New Orleans remains endangered in the coming hurricane season by the unrepaired infrastructure, lack of a realistic evacuation plan still, the failure to fix the city’s burned-out pumping stations, and the too-little-too-late approach to fixing the canals.

This manmade disaster has put into stark relief the bankruptcy of the capitalist system and the twin capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. It will take the building of strong, fighting labor unions and a workers party to lead a socialist revolution to smash racial oppression, sweep away the rule of the rich, and establish a workers state.

Ruth
New Orleans

P.S. Thank you for the excellent New Orleans coverage in your April 14 issue, better said than I ever could. I will attest to the authenticity of the interview with the heroic longshoreman who commandeered a boat to rescue people in the absence of any police or military. He was one of many, and that is exactly how it happened. ■



Hundreds remain in detention at U.S. torture center in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

Spartacist/SYC Forum

Against Capitalists’ Divide-and-Rule! The Fight for Immigrant Rights and Black Liberation

Break with the Democrats! Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!
For United Class Struggle Against the Capitalist Rulers!

Speaker: Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee

Thursday, July 27, 7 p.m.

322 W. 48th St., 1st Floor

between 8th and 9th Ave.

(A, C or E to 42nd St., or C or E to 50th St.)

For more information: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

NEW YORK

Racist “Anti-Terror” Roundup in Florida

On June 22, Federal agents and the Miami police SWAT team swarmed through the black ghetto of Liberty City, cordoning off several blocks and blow-torching the door of a warehouse. Following this “gangbusters” stunt, seven young black men, six of Haitian origin, were arrested on a series of fantastical charges—including plotting to blow up Chicago’s 110-story Sears Tower and FBI buildings. Narseal Batiste, Patrick Abraham, Naudimar Herrera, Burson Augustin, Rotschild Augustine, Lyglenson Lemorin and Stanley Grant Phanor now face decades in prison, victims of a racist and outrageous government entrapment operation.

A dramatic announcement by FBI director Robert Mueller on *Larry King Live* and press conferences trumpeted the arrests, seeking to whip up a frenzy of fear, as images of the Sears Tower were all over TV. Attorney General Alberto Gonzales labeled the Liberty City men “a new brand” of “homegrown terrorists.” What he meant was, they’re all black people. Immediately after the September 11 attacks, we warned that the government would wield “the all-purpose spectre of ‘terrorism’ to further the exploitation of labor and the vicious racial subjugation of the black population, to round up immigrants and to target any perceived opponents of the bourgeoisie’s class rule” (“Crazed Imperialists on the Warpath,” WV No. 767, 26 October 2001). The “war on terror” is not a military conflict but a reactionary political agenda for U.S.



Loomis/NY Times



Getty

Protest FBI Entrapment!

Family members grieve (left) after racist “anti-terror” roundup in Miami’s Liberty City ghetto by FBI on June 22 (right).

imperialist marauding internationally coupled with repression at home. It has become yet another stick to beat the black population with, a population already suffering daily cop terror in racist America.

It instantly became obvious that the only “link” the Miami arrestees ever had to any “terrorist” organization was, in fact, *created* by an FBI informant pretending to be an Al Qaeda agent during the eight-month-long sting operation. Even Gonzales admitted that the men posed “no immediate threat,” while the deputy direc-

tor of the FBI allowed that the group’s alleged plotting was “more aspirational than operational.” They were a loose, apparently eclectic religious grouping with no money, let alone explosives.

Behind the government’s absurd tales stands unrelenting state cruelty. These young men face spending up to 20 years in prison, as they are charged with conspiring to provide material support to a terrorist organization, conspiracy to destroy buildings by use of explosives and conspiracy to levy war against the

United States. We say, free them and drop the charges!

Black People Targeted by “War on Terror”

A “guest expert” on CNN’s *Anderson Cooper 360* speculated on possible connections with “black separatist” organizations, outrageously claiming, “especially the African-American community in prison...have been fertile recruiting grounds for Al Qaeda.” Black journalist *continued on page 15*

From Military-Occupied New Orleans

30 June 2006

Dear WV,

I’m writing from military-occupied New Orleans. The National Guard and State Police have been sent into town and a juvenile curfew imposed, because as far as the bourgeois state is concerned, a few too many black people have returned.

Letter

The immediate excuse was five black teenagers being gunned down in a car in Central City in apparent retribution for a previous drug deal gone bad. Rural Slidell across the lake just had a drug-related slaughter of four people, but nobody called for the National Guard to go there. And since when did the government care about the lives of black youth being lost? Louisiana ranks 49th out of the 50 states in all measures of child welfare, from premature birth to death by murder.

Rather this is a crackdown in what has become a largely Wild West town with little police presence. Most of all, it is a line drawn at gunpoint to emphasize official hostility against the “wrong people,” i.e., black people returning home. This coincides with an ongoing campaign of round-ups and deportations of Latino work crews shaping up for work in the early mornings at the local Lowe’s and Home Depots.

On June 7, the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* published a front-page large-print article on a (six-month-old) census report subtitled, “We’re Whiter, We’re



Reuters

June 20: National Guard troops march in New Orleans.

Older, We’re More Affluent.” This may be good news to some old, rich white people, but not to anyone else. Besides, the count of who has returned is a moving target. Many evacuees have come back to stay somewhere nearby, across the river or in the next parish (county). Only two of my Gentilly neighbors are back in their own houses, but most of the rest are here on weekdays or weekends staying in FEMA trailers, staying with friends or relatives, working on their ravaged houses and trying to find a way to move back home for good.

To the consternation of the older-whiter-richer crowd, black Democratic mayor Ray Nagin was re-elected in the

April runoff. Not because of the absentee ballot which was made nearly impossible to file, but because just enough black evacuees made it back here by hook or by crook to vote in person. They came in ACORN-sponsored buses, they came in family cars and caravans, from Houston, from Dallas, they came for Easter, they came because they were homesick. They didn’t particularly come to vote for Nagin, as shown by exit interviews and polls. They said they came because “people died for my right to vote” and because “This is my home and nobody can take it away.”

Nagin was the accidental and underserving beneficiary of these sentiments and only because there was no one else.

And not least of all, in protest against the 22 mostly white candidates who came out of the woodwork thinking a whiter population would elect them. A local black columnist, son of civil rights attorney Lolis Elie, wrote that black New Orleanians were loath to publicly “spank” the mayor especially in concert with white racists.

As of January the population of Orleans Parish remained reduced by a whopping 64 percent. Then in January, the college students returned, or 80 percent of them anyway. They came back to Tulane, Xavier, University of New Orleans, Loyola, Delgado Community College, and even the tiny flooded black Dillard University, which holds classes at the Riverside Hilton. Quite remarkable, since colleges and universities everywhere in the U.S. including the Ivy Leagues gave free tuition for the entire year to any New Orleans student who showed up at their door in September. Eighty percent of the students gave that up after one semester to return to ravaged New Orleans.

The construction and demolition crews are another big part of the re-population, adding to the Old West feeling. Cowboy boots and oversized work trucks with Texas plates are everywhere. N.O. and its cuisine stand to be permanently improved by the influx of Latino workers living in tents, sleeping in their trucks, and in the buildings they are gutting. Without them, there would be no residential roofs or sheetrock going up anywhere in town. Taco trucks and Mexican restaurants are springing up. Wages have increased *continued on page 15*