

Bush, Democrats Whip Up Nuclear Hysteria

Defend North Korea! Down With UN Sanctions!

“The U.S. extreme threat of a nuclear war and sanctions and pressure compel the DPRK to conduct a nuclear test...as a corresponding measure for defense.” North Korea’s Foreign Ministry issued this stark statement four days before the country conducted its first nuclear test. Less than a week after the test, the United Nations Security Council unanimously voted on October 14 to impose sanctions against North Korea—an act of war, as the North Koreans rightly noted.

Fifty-six years ago, the forces of what became the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea entered the south of Korea with the purpose of liberating that area from the collaborators with the Japanese imperialist occupation—the former colonial masters of Korea—who remained in place under the auspices of the post-World War II U.S. military forces in the region. In the process of attempting to reunify Korea, the Northern-based army unleashed a powerful social revolution in the South and came within a hairsbreadth of driving the U.S. imperialist army off the peninsula. In just over two years, the U.S. military, which led the assault on Korea under the aegis of the UN, sustained nearly as many losses as it did during the ten-plus years of the Vietnam War. In the process, the U.S. slaughtered over three million Koreans, incinerating and suffocating many villagers with oceans of napalm.

As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state, and thus welcome the development of nuclear weapons by North Korea as a necessary deterrent against imperialism. Our defense of North Korea—ruled through primogeniture by Kim Il Sung’s son, Kim Jong Il, at the head of the Stalinist bureaucracy—is a defense of the overturn and expropriation of capitalism. To abandon defense of the workers states is to abandon the cause of international proletarian revolution. That cause and, thus, the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states of China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea, form the cornerstone of the International Communist League’s program.

The Korean War has never ended, not just technically because the U.S. refused to sign a peace treaty, but in reality. Far from being the product of the steroid-enhanced “axis of evil” delusions of the Bush administration, U.S. imperialism’s sole policy toward the Stalinist-led North has always been to destroy it on the road to overturning the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Today, it is the Democrats who posture as “tough” on North Korea, attack-



Above: Demonstrators in Seoul, South Korea, protest visit by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, October 19. Below: Five-megawatt reactor at North Korea’s Yongbyon nuclear facility.



ing the Bush administration from the right.

The Korean War was initiated by Democratic president Harry Truman and continued by his Republican successor, Dwight Eisenhower, while General Douglas MacArthur promoted the notion of nuking China. There is little question that the possibility of a nuclear riposte by the USSR gave pause to the Dr. Strangeloves, while the entry of a million-plus “volun-

teers” of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army, after China itself was militarily threatened by the U.S., allowed North Korea to survive. To this day, the U.S. maintains nearly 30,000 troops in South Korea, including a naval base and three air bases. These troops have been repeatedly used to back up the suppression of working-class militancy and social uprisings in the South and are a signal of U.S. imperialism’s intent to reverse its defeat in

the North. *All U.S. troops and bases out of South Korea!*

The day before the statement was issued by North Korea’s Foreign Ministry, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Chris Hill warned, “We are not going to live with a nuclear North Korea. [It] can have a future, or it can have these weapons. It cannot have both.” The anti-nuclear pretensions of the U.S. are the purest hogwash designed to erase the memory of the incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II. It is the U.S., in its 2002 “Nuclear Posture Review,” that has targeted China and North Korea, among several other countries, for a potential nuclear first strike. Meanwhile, on several occasions South Korea has covertly sought to develop the technology necessary for nuclear weaponry. Japan, which has more than 40 tons of plutonium, is a screw’s turn away from developing nuclear weapons. And then, of course, there is Israel’s large nuclear arsenal.

Nevertheless, North Korea’s nuclear test has been characterized by most bourgeois commentators as the product of a bizarre, deranged and rogue dictatorship. There is much peculiar about the dynastic, mythologized bureaucratic rule of the Kims in general and specifically about the proclivities of “Dear Leader,” Kim Jong Il. But North Korea’s decision to conduct the test is not only rational; it is an essential first step to developing nuclear weaponry to deter imperialist attack. It is no accident that North Korea’s only partial respite from the unrelenting pressure of U.S. imperialism was during the period when it was economically and militarily in alliance with the USSR. Indeed, had it not been for the Soviet nuclear arsenal, it is likely that much of China, Vietnam as well as North Korea would be irradiated rubble.

Down With Imperialist Nuclear Blackmail!

In the aftermath of the 1962 Sino-Indian border conflict, during which the USSR refused to support China in the service of the Soviet quest for “peaceful coexistence” with U.S. imperialism, we hailed China’s first nuclear explosion in October 1964 as an elementary act of defense in the context of the Soviet betrayal. As we then stated: “The main point is that every increase in the ability of the Chinese to hold the U.S. at bay militarily is an increase in time to prepare the proletarian revolution—above all in *America*—the only final safeguard to all gains thus far

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917

FROM THE KORNILOV COUP TO THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

SEE PAGE 7

Israeli Taaffeites Capitulate to Zionism Over Lebanon

We reprint below an article translated from *Le Bolchévik* No. 177 (September 2006), journal of the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*, section of the *International Communist League*. The statement by *Gauche Révolutionnaire (GR)* referred to in the article was dated 31 July. It appears in English, with a 28 July date, on the Web site of *Socialist Alternative*, GR's U.S. cothinkers.

As the Israeli air force and artillery were shelling Lebanese towns and villages, killing more than a thousand people and displacing a million people—i.e., a quarter of the population of the country; as the bombings were devastating the infrastructure of the country; as the Zionist oppression of the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip was reaching new heights, *Gauche Révolutionnaire*, French section of the Committee for a Workers' International (CWI), reproduced a declaration dated 31 July of its "sister organization in Israel," Maavak Sozialisti (Socialist Fight), which it distributed as a leaflet at an August 12 demonstration in Paris against the Israeli offensive. This declaration opposes the Israeli attack in Lebanon, but on the basis that...the poor Israeli state was a victim of a deadly trap by the Lebanese Hezbollah:

"The massive bombardment has harmed workers more than it has harmed Hezbollah—which is dragging the Israeli army into the trap it has prepared in South Lebanon.

"And now, after having promised us that there will be no need for a land invasion and a re-occupation of South Lebanon, the politicians and generals are sending

the ordinary soldiers to do exactly these things."

So, it was the unlikelihood of an easy military victory and the risk of the conflict being prolonged that drove the Israeli acolytes of *Gauche Révolutionnaire* to want to "stop the second Lebanon war." In other words, the call for an end of the fighting is in no way linked to any kind of solidarity with the population bombed in Lebanon! For these pro-Zionist "revolutionaries," the bloody oppression of the Lebanese and the Palestinians is of little import: their statement appeared on the *day following* the Qana massacre, where dozens of people, including many children, were killed, and their leaflet has not a single slogan addressing the oppression of the Lebanese or Palestinian peoples.

Continuing with such base chauvinism, the Israeli social-patriots of Maavak Sozialisti went so far as to accuse the Ehud Olmert government of having done a poor job and not having sufficiently guaranteed security in Northern Israel against Hezbollah's missiles:

"The government does not care about the residents of the north, neither those who left nor those who remained.

"The capitalist system which in normal times is incapable of providing us with a decent living, health, decent education and affordable housing, is also incapable of providing security and is leading us into a new quagmire in Gaza, the West Bank and in Lebanon."

In this conflict, the LTF/ICL was unambiguously for the military defense of Hezbollah against the Zionist attack, without, however, giving the slightest political sup-

**Qana, Lebanon:
Rescue worker
carries body of
child from home
demolished in
July 30 Israeli
missile attack that
killed dozens
of villagers.**



port to this reactionary Islamist organization. *Gauche Révolutionnaire* in France published another statement, dated 20 July, which, contrary to that of its Israeli group, theoretically accords to Hezbollah "the right to resist Israeli aggression," while adding: "But to do it with indiscriminate attacks on Israeli civilian areas is counter-productive." As for us, we consider the terrorism of the Zionist state in Lebanon to be infinitely greater than that of Hezbollah.

It is necessary to overthrow the Zionist capitalist rulers, and the only social force which can accomplish this task is the proletariat, Hebrew-speaking and Arabic-speaking. This is why the fight for socialism in Israel/Palestine is inseparable from the fight to mobilize the Hebrew-speaking proletariat in defense of the Palestinian people, and more generally, to break it from the Zionist ideology which today chains it to the Israeli bourgeoisie. Likewise, Arab workers must break with nationalism and reactionary, anti-Semitic Islamic fundamentalism. We fight to forge authentic revolutionary workers parties in the Near East, based on such a perspective. This would be in fact the antithesis of the despicable social-patriotism of Maavak Sozialisti.

This is not the first time, and certainly not the last, that GR has been caught red-handed capitulating to Zionism. Last year they published an article in their paper complaining that the wall that imprisons the Palestinians of the West Bank is "an expression of the failure of the Israeli rul-

ing class to respond to rampant insecurity and to the social conflicts caused by the economic crisis" (*L'Egalité*, March-April 2005). In other words, for GR, the problem with the Zionist terrorists who rule the state of Israel is not that they oppress the Palestinians, but that their methods are ineffective for bringing the Palestinians to heel.

This said, while Maavak Sozialisti is a social-democratic organization committed to the Israeli Zionist bourgeoisie, GR, for its part, is a social-democratic organization committed to the French bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie of the Dreyfus Affair and of the anti-Semitic raids under Vichy. GR proved this once again during the Israeli attack against Lebanon by publishing two leaflets, neither of which mentioned, much less condemned, the criminal maneuvers in Lebanon of the Chirac/de Villepin government, whose UN resolution No. 1559 (together with the U.S.) laid the basis for the Israeli attack.

Only the creation of a socialist federation including the Hebrew-, Farsi-, Kurdish-, Arabic-, etc. speaking peoples, Sunnis and Shi'ites, Christians and Muslims can bring about peace in the region. This will be realized only through a series of workers revolutions led by multiethnic proletarian parties, in the Near East as well as in the imperialist centers of Europe, the United States and Japan. This is what all the sections of the International Communist League are dedicated to. *For a socialist federation of the Near East!* ■

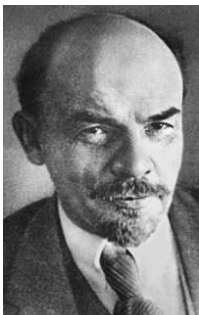
Karl Marx on Historical Materialism

Writing in 1859, Karl Marx provided a classic summary of historical materialism, which lies at the basis of the worldview developed by himself and Friedrich Engels.

In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic



TROTSKY



LENIN

structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or—this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms—with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution.

—Karl Marx, Preface, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859)

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

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

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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

The closing date for news in this issue is October 24.

No. 879

27 October 2006

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

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)

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

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

Oakland

Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

Public Office:

Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco

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

NYC Notice: The New York Spartacist League's public office will not be open on Sat., October 28, due to our rally to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. See page 11 for details.

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKyste DU CANADA

Toronto

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

Vancouver

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

Edward A. Wolkenstein

On August 11, Ed Wolkenstein died from leukemia, three weeks after the diagnosis, in his home in Brooklyn, New York, which he shared with his wife of 60 years, Gloria. Ed was a lifelong communist and fighter for black liberation. Ed was a leader in the Young Communist League, editor of *New Foundations* during the Korean War, worked at Bethlehem Steel in Lackawanna, NY, as part of the Communist Party's fraction, and was elected as a USW shop steward and convention delegate. Ed was subpoenaed twice to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee, in 1957 for his Communist Party activity and in 1964 as a founding member of Progressive Labor (PL). In 1964, Ed helped build mass protest in Buffalo against the Committee and he appeared in defiant opposition to it. After leaving PL, Ed put out his own newsletter, *Spirit and the Sword*, dedicated to the fight for black rights. His intervention into the New Left was to establish the John Brown Institute for Marxist Studies in Buffalo, and he founded the Socialist Club at the University of Buffalo, in which membership was based on agreement with Lenin's *The State and Revolution*.

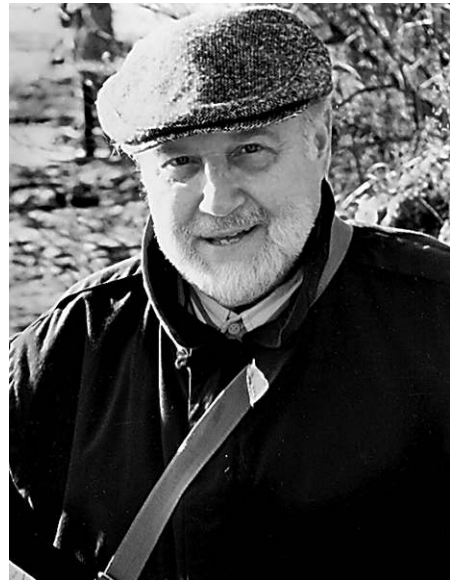
In the mid '70s, Ed withdrew from political activity and taught reading in vocational schools, and he became president of his teachers union local. Later, he considered him-

self a supporter of the Spartacist League, particularly motivated by the SL's anti-fascist mobilizations and intervention into the political revolution in the DDR (East Germany). He founded the Buffalo Committee to Free Mumia, supporting the work of the Partisan Defense Committee.

Ed was steadfast in his love, devotion, pride and support of his children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, who gave him much pleasure. He was the father of four children: Rachel, Naomi, Seth and Noah. Rachel's husband, Gary, joined the family early on. Ed's three grandchildren, Rebecca, Deborah and Gabriel, and five great-grandchildren, Felicia, Joshua, Zachary, Mia and Ezra Jai, were very much in his consciousness through the last days of his life. Ed welcomed his grandchildren's spouses, John, Tony and Thoureth, into the family. In the days before his death, Ed's family, including his brother Jack, was with him.

The onset of Alzheimer's inhibited Ed from active participation in politics. However, to his death he maintained his disdain of scabs, finks and government agents and never stopped raging against the crimes of American imperialism, at home and abroad.

We extend our deepest condolences to comrades Rachel and Seth Wolkenstein as well as to all of Ed's family and many friends.



Wolkenstein Family

1925-2006

North Korea...

(continued from page 1)

made by the international working class" (*Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965).

For revolutionary Marxists, it is axiomatic that for socialist revolution to survive, it must in relatively short order achieve world dominance by the proletarian seizure of power in the most advanced strongholds of imperialism. The bureaucratic castes that rule in the deformed workers states have no such perspective. They derive their relative economic privilege and social power from their parasitic relationship to the workers states and, thus, fear most of all a reawakening of any proletarian militancy that would threaten to replace their dominance. Thus, while occasionally forced to defend the revolutions over which they hold political sway from imperialism's attacks, these Stalinist bureaucrats seek to maintain a futile policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism as part of their nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country" (or even half a country in North Korea).

During the U.S.-mobilized Cold War that followed World War II and targeted the Soviet Union for nuclear attack, the USSR offered important military and material support to the newly formed Chinese deformed workers state, similarly targeted during the Korean War. With the easing of the Cold War, the Stalinists in the Soviet Union were willing to trade off that support for rapprochement with the U.S. imperialists. Similarly during the Vietnam War, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) seized the "opportunity" to throw in its lot with the American imperialists in opposition to a fictional Soviet "social imperialism." As the U.S. sought the overturn of the military, industrial powerhouse that resulted from the 1917 October Revolution, the CCP's efforts were much appreciated by the U.S. and assisted in preparing the way for counter-revolution in the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, a world historic defeat for the international proletariat.

In the case of North Korea, China criminally voted for sanctions against North Korea in the UN Security Council, having earlier condemned the nuclear test in an October 8 joint statement with the newly elected right-wing Japanese prime minister, Shinzo Abe. And all along, Beijing has been working to pressure the Pyongyang regime into the "six party talks" whose aim is to disarm North Korea. For its part, North Korea is pushing for "bilateral" talks with the U.S.

What has been the net result of China's shameless toadying? To be sure, the imperialists now accord China the stature of a

major, if aberrant, operator on the world stage. And there is the imbibing of heady beverages at sumptuous banquets accompanied, no doubt, by numerous opportunities to enrich oneself for favors accorded to the imperialist investors. But since the overturn of the degenerated workers state in the USSR, the U.S. has redeployed to Asia forces it once used to contain the Soviet "threat," and these forces endanger not just Pyongyang but centrally Beijing. At the same time, the U.S. has been strengthening its ties with Japanese imperialism, targeting China under the guise of "defending" capitalist Taiwan. For its part, Japan has sought to prettify its vicious occupation of China and Korea during

internationalism. A workers political revolution in China would be a spur for a similar uprising in North Korea while igniting socialist revolution in South Korea, providing the basis for the *revolutionary reunification* of the Korean peninsula. It would arouse the powerful Japanese proletariat in opposition to its capitalist rulers and set the stage for a worldwide proletarian offensive against imperialist rule.

For International Socialist Revolution!

In the U.S., the Democrats have seized upon North Korea's nuclear test to portray themselves as the hard wise guys who

must be to ensure that this alleged first nuclear test is also the last" (Agence France-Presse, 9 October).

One thing is clear: if the Democrats regain control of the Senate and/or House in the upcoming elections, it will be in large part because voters are dismayed by the seemingly endless occupation of Iraq. But the Democrats are, in fact, imperialist warriors par excellence. Virtually every major U.S. imperialist action in the 20th century was carried out by Democratic presidents—because U.S. rulers are aware that the Democrats' posture as "friends" of working people makes them better able to sell U.S. imperialism's wars to the population. Indeed, Bill Clinton was preparing to bomb North Korea into submission in 1994 had he not obtained a promise from Kim Jong Il to cease attempts to reprocess plutonium from fuel rods. What the Democrats are offering is a superior "war on terror," one that would have as today's prime target North Korea as an opening shot against the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

The predatory aspirations of the U.S. are so apparent that even some of those sham socialists who eschew the defense of the deformed workers states under the preposterous fiction that these are capitalist societies feign sympathy for North Korea's plight. Thus, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) described the current conflict as a "Bush-initiated U.S. confrontation" and "the latest example of more than a half-century of military pressure from the U.S. and its client state, South Korea, beginning with a war between the Koreans from 1950 to 1953" (*Socialist Worker* online, 13 October).

It takes no small amount ofchutzpah for the ISO, whose progenitors were baptized during the Korean War when they capitulated to British and U.S. imperialism and refused to defend the Korean social revolution from imperialist attack, to offer such concern. Now they sigh that no sane person wants a war in Korea as they promote a "real disarmament" that starts "with the driving force of militarization of foreign policy in Asia—the United States government."

Here the ISO betrays their abjectly reformist faith that a good and harmless imperialism can be created. A vote for this or that version of imperialist policy will have zero impact on the aspirations of America's rulers, who seek nothing less than world domination. An end to war and devastation requires the overthrow by the proletariat of the imperialist world order, and that task cannot be accomplished without the forging of a revolutionary Trotskyist international party committed to that end. It is to that purpose that the ICL devotes all its resources. ■



Captain C.W. Huff/National Archives

Seoul, 1950. Under UN flag, U.S. imperialists slaughtered some three million people in Korean War, reduced peninsula to rubble.

the first half of the 20th century until its defeat in World War II, while currently using North Korea as an excuse to overturn the restrictions on its military contained in the postwar constitution.

Beijing's craven appeasement of the imperialist drive against North Korea is particularly dangerous to China's own defense. Capitalist counterrevolution in China would be a devastating defeat for the international proletariat, turning the world's most populous country into one giant sweatshop directly for the imperialist exploiters, or perhaps some other eventuality not now envisioned. What is urgently posed is the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China to oust the ruling Stalinist bureaucrats in Beijing and replace them with a regime based on workers democracy and revolutionary

know how to defend America against the real rogue states like North Korea and Iran. Former Democratic Senator Sam Nunn summed up the lessons of the North's nuclear test as follows: "What it tells you is that we started at the wrong end of the 'axis of evil.' We started with the least dangerous of the countries, Iraq, and we knew it at the time. And now we have to deal with that" (*New York Times*, 10 October). And Senate minority leader Harry Reid put it even more sharply: "Distracted by Iraq and paralyzed by internal divisions, the Bush administration has for several years been in a state of denial about the growing challenge of North Korea, and has too often tried to downplay the issue or change the subject.... The first step toward ending North Korea's nuclear weapons program

IG: Dangerous Lies and Cynical Slanders

A Link in the Syphilitic Chain of Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism

We reprint below a 20 October supplement to *Espartaco* No. 26 (September 2006), newspaper of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League.

The Internationalist Group (IG) was never known for its concern for the truth, but now it has burrowed to new depths in the dunghill of lies. Their new article titled “‘Fight the Right’ Rhetoric and Apologies for ‘Labor’ Death Squads—GEM: Caboose of the Mexican Popular Front” (*The Internationalist* online, October 2006) is a campaign of slanders for use in circles hostile to Trotskyism, directed against the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), section of the International Communist League. Whereas Stalin had Trotsky airbrushed out of photographs, the IG, with a click of the computer mouse, doctors its Web site from one day to the next in a guilty cover-up. Their article is designed to be read not in Mexico but is for international consumption. Not only is it not available in Spanish, when it was first posted, some of their comrades in Mexico didn’t even know that their *líderes máximos* in New York had written it. And they have the nerve to charge us with “imperialist arrogance”!

In a crude attempt to paint us as acolytes of the bourgeois PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution], the IG cut in half the front page of *Espartaco* No. 26 (September 2006) and a Spartacist [GEM] forum leaflet, disappearing our call to “Break with AMLO [Andrés Manuel López Obrador, PRD presidential candidate] and the Bourgeois PRD! Forge a Revolutionary, Internationalist Workers Party!” leaving only: “The Attacks of the PAN [ruling National Action Party] Against Workers and the Oppressed and the Struggle for Socialist Revolution.” Their graphic had a headline reading: “‘Attacks of the PAN’? What About the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] and PRD?” After we pointed out this grotesque falsification to them at the APPO [Popular Assembly of the People of Oaxaca] march in Mexico City on October 9, the IG altered its Internet graphic to show the entire cover page, while still maintaining the headline! Even slander should make some sense.

Caught in the contradictions between their own politics and what is going on in reality, they resort to lies and slanders, which are the opening steps to encourage

and justify violence against political opponents in the workers movement. At the APPO march on October 9, the principal leader of the IG in Mexico—in a calculated provocation to bring violence against us—began to shout to the demon-

members and leaders, including [union head] Napoleón Gómez Urrutia; we called for the victory of their strikes, especially but not only in Lázaro Cárdenas [see “Miners, Steel Workers Strikes Shake Mexico,” WV No. 872 (9 June)]. For the



Panorama

Stalin school of falsification: In photo at left, Lenin addresses Red Army troops leaving for Polish front, May 1920. In later version at right, Stalinists disappeared Trotsky and Kamenev from platform stairs.



Planeta

strators that we defend death squads, which have been responsible for violent attacks and assassinations in Oaxaca and elsewhere. They later threatened to mobilize people to violently oust us from the event, but without success.

After consolidating a bureaucratic stratum, Stalin used slanders in an attempt to silence political opposition; when this did not work, he resorted to violence. Writing at the time of the grotesque Moscow frame-up trials against historic Bolshevik leaders, Leon Trotsky observed in a 1937 foreword to *The Stalin School of Falsification* that “the preparation of the bloody judicial frame-ups had its inception in the ‘minor’ historical distortions and ‘innocent’ falsification of citations.” The IG is not in a position to emulate Stalin’s brutality, but their lies derive from the same opportunist appetites, political incapacity and desperation.

Union-Busting Demagoguery

Where do these slanders that we are “apologists for ‘labor’ death squads” come from? From our principled defense of the SNTMMSRM miners union against [president Vicente] Fox’s and the PRD’s state attack! During the miners strikes, we called for the freedom of all the jailed unionists, for dropping the charges against all their

IG, our defense of Mexican corporatist unions against attack by the bosses and their government, in particular of the miners union, is to “defend strikebreaking, and worse: murdering strikers”—even lying requires a bit more ingenuity! Assuming their readers are mentally deficient, the IG tries to make them believe that we defend the SNTE [teachers union] national bureaucracy (read: the sinister Elba Esther Gordillo) and the [pro-PRI corporatist union] CROC thugs in Oaxaca *against* the APPO and the striking Local 22 *of the selfsame* SNTE.

The type of unions the IG likes is exemplified by the municipal workers union of Volta Redonda, Brazil, a *cop-infested* union led by trade union opportunists determined to protect their own positions. To this end, the IG’s Brazilian group dragged the union through the bourgeois courts in 1996, appealing to the capitalist state to adjust the union leadership to their own advantage. Basically as apologists for Latin American petty-bourgeois nationalism, the IG’s only niche in Mexico can be as the left opposition within the spectrum of the PRD, which is why they argue that the only real trade unions in this country are those tied to the bourgeois-nationalist PRD, while the PRI-affiliated unions (like the miners and some of the most powerful union organizations in the country) represent “the class enemy” (*El Internacionalista/Edición México* No. 1, May 2001)! For the IG, the miners union struggle was “a settling of accounts within the regime,” i.e., *a mere quarrel within the bourgeoisie*, which in some obscure way “affects the workers, and thus there must be mobilizations to reject this frontal assault by the government” (*El Internacionalista/Edición México* No. 2, August 2006). While the IG launches pompous calls for a “National strike against the murderous government!”, conspicuously absent from all their propaganda is any elementary call for government hands off the miners union, any call for victory to their strikes, any call to drop the charges against Napoleón Gómez Urrutia. A very curious way indeed to “defend” a strike! Instead, the IG writes, “Relatives [of the Pasta de Conchos mine explosion vic-

tics] told reporters that the union and the company ‘are the same thing’.” Surely the bosses have their doubts, after *184 strikes* by the miners union in the last five years!

When Jan Norden, leader of the IG, was still a Trotskyist, he edited some of our best polemics against positions that are now held by his own group! In 1989, [former PRI president] Carlos Salinas de Gortari went after the PRI-affiliated oil workers union, imprisoning its leader, Joaquín Hernández Galicia (“La Quina”). Norden at the time was editor of the Spartacist League/U.S. newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*, and member of the Editorial Board of *Spartacist* [Spanish-language edition]. In both papers we took up the defense of the oil workers union, including “La Quina” himself, and wrote:

“Many of the rad-lib intellectuals ask how one can possibly defend this labor kingpin, the embodiment of the corrupt *charro* (cowboy) bureaucrats who have lorded it over the unions for decades, and still claim to be a ‘democrat’....

“The Trotskyists, who understand the class character of the USSR as a workers state despite its bureaucratic degeneration under Stalinist rule, and thus defend it against imperialism, likewise defend the unions against the bosses despite the sellout bureaucracy which sits atop these repositories of workers power. As Leon Trotsky wrote 50 years ago, ‘In the last analysis a workers’ state is a trade union which has conquered power’ (*In Defense of Marxism* [1939]). Those who don’t defend the Soviet Union also can’t defend the oil workers union in Mexico.”

—*Workers Vanguard* No. 470, 3 February 1989, and *Spartacist* [Spanish-language edition] No. 22, April 1989

Catering to Latin American Third World Nationalism

The founding nucleus of the IG came out of our International Communist League a little more than a decade ago. Incapable of dealing with the 1991-92 counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR and the *retrogression in the consciousness of the working class* that accompanied this world-historic defeat for the proletariat, they turned away from the hard struggle to build Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties to introduce revolutionary consciousness into the working class and lead it to power through new October Revolutions. Facing the gulf between the current forces of Trotskyism and the magnitude of our goals, they deserted from Trotskyism to tail after class forces alien to the proletariat, prettifying and adapting to existing consciousness.

To accommodate to Third World nationalism, as the IG does, means capitulating to bourgeois class forces. To give a “radical” veneer to their anti-Marxist positions, they accuse us of covering up for PRD participation in cases of repression against recent social struggle. A quick look through our press sends their fabrications to the garbage. The IG assumes that their readers would never manage to obtain a copy of *Espartaco*. The cover article of our latest issue is devoted to combatting illusions in the PRD, including prominently its participation in the police breaking of the [1999-2000 National Autonomous University of Mexico] UNAM strike, in the murderous repression in Lázaro Cárdenas, in Atenco, etc. Stalin also depended on the fact that paper accepts

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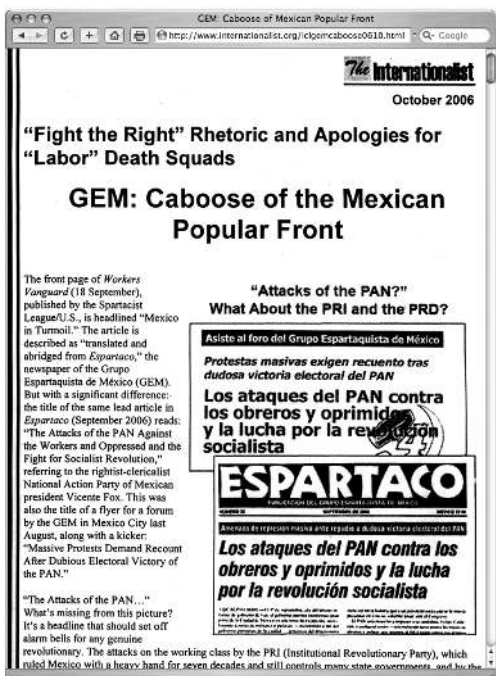
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“Learn to Work in the Stalin Manner”



Asiste al foro del Grupo Espartaquista de México

Protestas masivas exigen recuento tras dudosa victoria electoral del PAN

Los ataques del PAN contra los obreros y oprimidos y la lucha por la revolución socialista

iRomper con AMLO y el PRD burgués!

iForjar un partido obrero revolucionario internacionalista!

Casi un mes después de las elecciones, todavía no se sabe quién será el siguiente presidente de México. La victoria del PAN anunciado por el IFE con una infame ventaja sobre el PRD y un proceso lleno de fraudes requieres por ambos bandos, ha ocasionado manifestaciones masivas de hasta más de un millón de personas exigiendo un recuento voto por voto. Los trotskistas defendemos a ciegas y apalamos los derechos democráticos como el sufragio universal desde una perspectiva de clase, ya que entendemos que en países de desarrollo capitalista atacados las luchas democráticas de las masas son una fuerza motriz para la revolución socialista. Por esta razón nos oponemos a los intentos de Fox de desafectar a López Obrador, pero no le otorgamos apoyo electoral a este último ni al PRD. No sabemos quien ganó la contienda electoral. Ciertamente no nos oponemos a un recuento voto por voto. Pero no apoyamos esta campaña periodista, pues su objetivo es llevar a AMLO al poder.

Las masas explotadas y oprimidas ponen en vano sus esperanzas en el PRD y sienten que las elecciones les han sido robadas. Hombres de dos décadas de ataques antisocialistas, despiadados asesinos, montes brutales al gesto social, despojado del campo y superviviente a los imperialistas, parecen que el PRD en el poder tendrá una diferencia significativa. Pero este partido, igual que el PRI y el PAN, es un partido del capital, interesado únicamente en perpetuar la explotación capitalista. La clase obrera necesita su propio partido para organizar a la burguesía mediante la revolución socialista y reorganizar la economía en servicio de las grandes masas explotadas y oprimidas. Es por esto que el Grupo Espartaquista de México, sección de la Liga Comunista Internacional Cuatrimanista.

—30 de julio de 2008

Viernes 25 de agosto, 17:30 hrs.
Museo León Trotsky, Río Churubusco #410, Coyoacán

Dirigir toda correspondencia a: Roberto García, Apdo. Postal 1251, Admón. Palacio Postal 1, CP 06002, México, D.F.
E-mail: rg_cortez@yahoo.com.mx Impreso en un taller sindicalizado

1. IG Lie

IG crops graphic of GEM flyer and *Espartaco*, portraying GEM as supporters of bourgeois PRD.

whatever is written on it. The (standard) human mind, nonetheless, is a little more demanding.

For liberals and nationalists, to tell the truth often represents an insult. In *Espartaco* No. 26 we wrote: “Although sections of the PRD try to pose as ‘friends’ of the oppressed, undoubtedly the majority of those who support the PRD also identify, in one degree or another, with some of the reactionary Catholic values that the PAN prominently pushes” [also printed in WV No. 876, 15 September]. We didn’t have to wait long for the IG to become indignant at this simply factual assertion. “This is imperialist arrogance masquerading as Marxism,” their article screams. Oh really? It’s hardly a secret that the Mexican proletariat and poor petty-bourgeois masses are permeated by Roman Catholicism and its reactionary values, but it seems the IG never heard that the dominant ideology in every society is that of the ruling class. It is no surprise that, after a decade of existence, the IG’s Mexican group has managed to publish no more than two articles in their Spanish-language newspapers on the brutal oppression of women in Mexico. In contrast, we pay particular attention to combatting backward consciousness, regularly publishing articles on social issues such as the murders of women in Ciudad Juárez, the defense of [pop singer] Gloria Trevi, for free abortion on demand and gay rights. We are stubbornly committed to forging a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to act as the *tribune of the people*, “who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression...in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands” (Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*).

Likewise, the IG, embellishing the struggles of the pauperized Bolivian masses last year as a proletarian revolutionary situation, takes great offense at our straightforward assertion that the “proletarian instrumentality for overturning capitalism [in that country] has been qualitatively diminished” due to the closing of tin mines and a great part of industry. Their search for substitutes for the proletariat has shifted over to Oaxaca, where they have devoted themselves to prettifying the consciousness of the struggling petty-bourgeois masses, presenting the teachers as “knowing well that ‘PRI, PAN and PRD are the same’” (a position the IG had to abandon 13 days later) and conjuring up “a ‘revolutionary danger’” (*El Internacionalista/Edición México* No. 2). Now they add: “We are waiting with baited [sic] breath for the GEM to inform us that in [sic] there is no working class in Oaxaca as well.” Well... outside of the service sector, there isn’t much. The APPO is an organization based

on unionized teachers and the petty bourgeoisie (students and peasants). Its program and outlook are entirely based on illusions in the democratic reform of the capitalist state, looking to the PRD to carry it out.

We defend the teachers strike and the APPO against the state and right-wing attacks that they have heroically resisted, and recognize that such struggles can be a spark for broader social struggle; this however does not translate into painting the APPO as something it is not. The IG is incapable of acknowledging that the industrial working class, in any case tiny in Oaxaca, is not a relevant force in the current convulsive struggles of the Oaxacan masses.

Democratic Rights and Permanent Revolution

The Trotskyist perspective of the permanent revolution recognizes that in backward countries, democratic aspirations—such as national emancipation—occupy a privileged position in the consciousness of the working class and the oppressed masses and are a motor force for socialist revolution. The bourgeoisie (whatever its outlook) cannot satisfy the masses, whose only road forward is the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1940, Trotsky explained that due to imperialist penetration, which proletarianizes the native population of colonial and semi-colonial countries, the national bourgeoisie occupies a much inferior position in relation to the development of industry, while the proletariat plays the most important role in the life of the country. Inasmuch as the national bourgeoisie intends to offer any resistance to foreign capital, it is forced to base itself, to a greater or lesser degree, on the proletariat. On the other hand, “the governments of those backward countries which consider it inescapable or more profitable for themselves to march shoulder to shoulder with foreign capital, destroy the labor organizations and institute a more or less totalitarian regime” (“Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay”). This essentially expresses the difference between the outlook of the PRD and that of the PAN, and it is why the PRD poses as a friend of the oppressed.

The flip side of the IG’s accommodation to petty-bourgeois nationalist prejudices is their dismissal of democratic rights, i.e., a renunciation in deeds of permanent revolution. The situation we find ourselves in today, with clear threats of massive repression by the PAN, is in reality a continuation of the campaign against AMLO beginning in 2004. We opposed the *desafuero* [stripping of political immunity] of López Obrador—Fox’s

2. IG Cover-Up

Caught out, IG revises its Web site to show *Espartaco* slogans against PRD, while continuing to hide anti-PRD slogans in GEM flyer and maintaining their lie in graphic header.

attempt to prevent this popular PRDER from competing in the presidential elections—because it was a transparently anti-democratic attack whose ultimate target was the working class (see *Espartaco* No. 24, Summer 2005).

The IG dismissed the whole thing as an inter-bourgeois quarrel, asserting that the working class had no side. Their oh-so-radical distortions are simply meant to cover their tracks, after they zigzagged violently regarding the PRD mobilizations of recent years, which brought out millions in defense of basic democratic rights, like universal suffrage. For at least a year and a half, they have said that we are capitulating to the PRD for distributing our communist press at these protests; i.e., for intervening with the perspective of breaking youth and workers from nationalism and winning them to Marxism. And then they suddenly show up at AMLO’s “National Democratic Convention” on September 16! This is obvious, retrospective derrière-covering for not having taken a side with oppressed masses mobilized in defense of their democratic rights.

To Change Reality, You Have to Recognize It Exists

At the center of the IG’s politics is their claim that there is a “popular front” around the PRD since some trade unions support that party. Their recent article includes a list of such unions in order to prove their point, which in fact does the exact opposite. Included in their list is the FNUAS (National Front for Trade Union Unity and Autonomy), a bloc between the UNT [“independent” National Union of Workers] and...the CROC and the miners union, the very unions that the IG has declared “the class enemy”!

As we have many times explained, the popular front—to which we Marxists are irreconcilably opposed—is not a synonym for any and every case of class collaboration, but rather is a coalition of one or more workers parties with bourgeois forces, generally with the aim of admin-

istering the capitalist state. However, to follow the IG’s definition is to conclude that there is a popular front in practically every country in the world. For example, in the U.S. the unions are politically tied to the Democratic Party, so why doesn’t that constitute a popular front too?

The IG talks as if revolution in Mexico were on the horizon. They write that “Mexico’s capitalist rulers (and their U.S. imperialist patrons) have required a popular front to act as a roadblock to revolution. Today they need it more than ever.” However, the current convulsive struggles of the Mexican proletariat have had a defensive character. As we wrote in *Espartaco* No. 26: “Mexican society looks like a powder keg about to explode, but here is the fundamental problem: the proletariat is strongly tied ideologically to the bourgeois PRD. It is necessary to intervene in class and social struggles with the program of revolutionary Marxism, struggling to break these ties. Only in this way can a Leninist-Trotskyist party be built in order to lead the working class to power.” The IG, for its part, has defected from Trotskyism in order to pursue alien class appetites. Trotsky once wrote:

“All citizens of the Soviet Union are today studying, as is their duty, the Stalinist *History of the CPSU* [Communist Party of the Soviet Union], the unique codification of lies and frame-ups. Among the students there are, of course, to be found thousands of thinking representatives of the youth who are trained in handling facts and checking history by documents. Many of them doubtless ask those official leaders whom they have least cause to fear: ‘But why do we find that the assertions in this “history” are refuted at every step by the newspapers and periodicals in the corresponding period?’ The instructor, a finger upon his lips, replies significantly: ‘One must learn to work in the Stalinist manner.’ This means, one must learn how to lie expediently, or at least wink one’s eyes at the totalitarian lie.”

—“Learn to Work in the Stalin Manner” (1939)

The IG is learning fast! ■

Espartaco

Publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México

No. 26, September 2006

\$.50 (24 pages)

Subscription: \$2 for 4 issues
(includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Order from/make checks payable to:
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Defend Anti-Minutemen Protesters at Columbia!

We reprint below an October 9 leaflet by the New York Spartacus Youth Club in defense of protesters against the Minuteman Project at Columbia University. As part of this defense, the SYC makes clear that the defense of immigrant rights requires a class-struggle fight against the capitalist system, which breeds all forms of oppression and bigotry. We fight against illusions pushed by reformist organizations like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) and the Revolutionary Communist Party that the Democratic Party and Green Party are “lesser evils.” They are capitalist parties that seek to administer a system of profit based on the exploitation of labor and the oppression of blacks, immigrants and women, among others. Historically the party of the Confederacy, a strong proponent of chauvinist protectionism and the preferred party for waging imperialist war, the Democratic Party now advocates tighter border control and more effective prosecution of the so-called “war on terror.”

Nowhere in their coverage of the protest against the Minutemen do the ISO and PSL breathe one word of criticism against the protest’s co-sponsors, the College Democrats—even after members of the College Democrats called in the *Columbia Spectator* for stronger enforcement of security guidelines and to “prevent outside troublemakers from entering” campus events (12 October)! As we note in our leaflet, the campus administration is the agent of the bourgeoisie on campus, thus by no means a defender of leftists and the oppressed. Columbia University president Lee Bollinger made his views on free speech quite clear when he intervened to prevent Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad from speaking on campus because Ahmadinejad’s speech would not “reflect the academic values that are a hallmark of a University event such as our World Leaders Forum.”

Supporters of the ISO and PSL collaborated with the same administration in excluding the SYC from an October 11 meeting of the Columbia Protestors’ Defense Committee, and refused entry to non-students. This effectively strengthens the ability of the administration to suppress protest on campus and undermines the defense of the anti-Minutemen protesters. So why did they exclude us? Because our communist politics stand in stark opposition to their program of class collaboration and reliance on the campus administration.

* * *

The Columbia University administration has initiated an investigation into what occurred last Wednesday, October 4, inside a Columbia College Republicans-sponsored event with Jim Gilchrist, the founder of the racist, fascistic Minuteman Project. A group of students went on stage as Gilchrist was speaking and unfurled two banners, “No One Is Illegal” and “No to Racism.” Gilchrist and his ilk are trying to claim that the protesters violently attacked him. This lie is picked up in the bourgeois media, with the rabid right-wing NY *Post* describing the protesters as “thugs.” The truth is the opposite. The protesters were physically attacked by Gilchrist’s right-wing goons, who shut down their own meeting. Gilchrist left after saying, “You’re doing a great job, kids. I’m going to have more fun with this than with my prepared speech.” Meanwhile, NYC Mayor Bloomberg stated that the president of Columbia has “got to get his hands around this.” This is the same vile capitalist politician who turned New York into a giant police



Honda/Getty

Columbia University, October 4: Anti-Minutemen protesters assaulted by right-wing goons while unfurling banner on stage.

No Administration Reprisals! Defend Immigrant Rights!

pen in 2004 against anti-RNC (Republican National Convention) protesters. We condemn the physical attack and call to: **Defend anti-Minutemen protesters! No administration reprisals! Defend immigrant rights!** The administration is making use of postings, images and personal information posted on the networking Web site “Facebook” in its investigation. We say: **Down with the investigation!**

The Spartacus Youth Club joined hundreds of students, activists, community members and workers in a protest initiated by the Columbia Chicano Caucus outside the event. The Minuteman Project is an anti-immigrant fascistic organization that rants against “illegal aliens” and calls on the Border Patrol to reinforce measures to prevent immigrants from crossing the border. They are interpenetrated with fascists and have a paramilitary/vigilante component that “patrols” the border. They should be confronted and stopped when they try to carry out physical provocations against immigrants and their allies. This is what happened when the Minutemen tried to create a provocation against L.A.’s diverse working class at a Labor Day march and picnic in the Los Angeles area on September 4. We say “Down with the Minutemen! Mobilize labor to defend immigrant rights!”

The invitation by the campus Republicans was intended to promote the Minutemen’s racist filth and ideology. We argued and acted on the basis that their racist ideas must be refuted through protest and exposure. But shutting them down in this context simply played into the hands of the reactionaries’ false and absurd claim that the left is trampling free speech, when in fact it is the right-wing bigots that have been waging a massive campaign to purge the campuses of leftists, immigrants, blacks and any voice that is in opposition to the ruling-class agenda. Bush’s minions on the campus work in tandem with the likes of racist ideologues David Horowitz and Ann Coulter who seek to harass and intimidate student groups and leftist professors, such as pro-Palestinian Professor Joseph Massad, who was prevented from teaching his course at Columbia. Now the right wing in this country is using and distorting this cur-

rent incident to whip up and bolster their vicious campaign. In opposition to this right-wing witchhunt, we call on all students who defend immigrant rights to take a side and defend these students under attack!

As millions of impoverished Mexican and Central American immigrants risk their lives to find some means of livelihood in the U.S., the racist U.S. imperial-

It is in this reactionary climate that the usual racist bigots, like Chris Kulawik of the Columbia Republicans, target the pro-immigrant rights students and the left on campus.

The statement released by “Those who occupied the stage,” which includes supporters of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Party for Socialism and Liberation-backed ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War and Racism) Coalition, wrongly conflates racist ideas with fascism. We understand that fascism is not a question of “free speech” but racist terror. Our class-struggle program of labor/black mobilizations has succeeded in preventing fascists from carrying out their murderous program. Fascists like the Nazis and the KKK are groups that have a long history of “speaking” with the lynch rope and recruiting to a program of genocide and racist terror. They are paramilitary terror organizations who mobilize for murderous action against blacks, Jews, immigrants, smashing the labor movement, exterminating communists, and totalitarian suppression of bourgeois democratic rights and institutions. Fascists’ “speech” is a call for destroying all rights for the labor movement, annihilating blacks and communists.

The perspective encapsulated in the slogan “No ‘Free Speech’ for Racists,” present on a sign at the outside protest, is a liberal, moralistic call to suppress racist ideology, rather than to fight it, and an appeal to the bourgeois state to regulate what people can and cannot say. This is a dangerous illusion. Furthermore, it is false to think that *the source* of racism and oppression is backward ideas. Liberal preaching cannot overcome these racist attitudes. Racism and all forms of oppres-

SYC speaker at October 4 protest outside Minutemen speech at Columbia.



ist rulers, both Democrat and Republican, seek to blame the immiseration of the U.S. working class on immigrants. They consciously whip up anti-immigrant hysteria through racist “English only” laws, deportations, and now the construction of a 700-mile-long wall on the border with Mexico. Some Democratic Party politicians posture as “friends of immigrants” as part of their efforts to round up votes. Whether it’s the Kennedy-McCain “guest worker” program—a form of indentured servitude—or the more nakedly repressive legislation pushed by the Republican-controlled Congress, the capitalist rulers are united in targeting immigrant workers for greater repression. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. As the SYC speaker stated at the outside protest, “The bipartisan ‘war on terror,’ which is a war on immigrants, blacks and labor here, and is the pretext for imperialist war abroad, gives groups like the Minutemen the green light to carry out fascistic, vigilante mobilizations against immigrants.”

sion are rooted materially in the class-divided society in which we live.

The ISO speaker at the outside protest stated that the Minutemen “don’t have a right to free speech because it’s not free speech, it’s hate speech....” We oppose demands on the campus administration and on the capitalist state to police “hate speech” because it bolsters the repressive power of those institutions, enabling them to use such codes and laws to victimize student protesters, minorities and leftists. While the statement released from “Those who occupied the stage” criticized the administration for “failing to condemn the perpetrators of violence,” we warn against reliance on the administration. The administration’s role is to administer Columbia on behalf of the racist capitalist ruling class. The reformist ISO acts as though the university is some kind of “ivory tower” that will be “tainted” by racist ideas, which fits in with their consistent class-collaborationist politics. In fact, Columbia

continued on page 9

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917

FROM THE KORNILOV COUP TO THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

We print below, edited for publication, the second and concluding part of a class given by comrade Diana Coleman as part of a series of educational on Leon Trotsky's *The History of the Russian Revolution* (1932), which was held in January of this year as a Spartacist League young cadre school. The first part appears in WV No. 877, 29 September.

PART TWO

Let me speak about the war again. In his *History*, Trotsky said sharply of the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*, which was rejecting revolutionary defeatism in March: “‘Defeatism’ was not invented by a hostile press under the protection of a censorship, it was proclaimed by Lenin in the formula: ‘The defeat of Russia is the lesser evil.’ The appearance of the first revolutionary regiment, and even the overthrow of the monarchy, did not alter the imperialist character of the war.” From February to October, the Bolsheviks began to wield the peace demand more directly because the proletarian seizure of power, the necessary precondition for realizing that demand, was now on the agenda. Lenin never repudiated his scathing pre-1917 polemics against the social pacifists, like Kautsky, or those who conciliated them, like Trotsky at that time. These polemics were crucial to winning Trotsky to Bolshevism and genuine revolutionary internationalism. For Lenin, any demands for peace were now inseparable from the impending socialist revolution and the seizure of power.

Lenin gave an instructive talk on 14 May of 1917 appropriately titled “War and Revolution.” He starts out talking about the need to understand the “class character of the war,” i.e., what the war is waged for and what classes staged and directed it. He said:

“We Marxists do not belong to that category of people who are unqualified opponents of all war. We say: our aim is to achieve a socialist system of society.... But in the war to win that socialist system of society we are bound to encounter conditions under which the class struggle within each given nation may come up against a war between the different nations, a war conditioned by this very class struggle. Therefore, we cannot rule out the possibility of revolutionary wars.”

Lenin ridicules the declarations of the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary (SR) compromisers for “peace without annexa-



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Armed guard outside Smolny Institute during October Days.

tions” when they have ministers in the Provisional Government that is telling the army to take the offensive. He goes on to say:

“The Russian revolution has not altered the war, but it has created organizations which exist in no other country.... We have all over Russia a network of Soviets of Workers’, Soldiers’, and Peasants’ Deputies. Here is a revolution which has not said its last word yet. Here is a revolution which Western Europe, under similar conditions, has not known. Here are organizations of those classes which really have no need for annexations....”

Lenin is talking about dual power here.

In ending this article he says:

“Nothing but a workers’ revolution in several countries can defeat this war. The war is not a game, it is an appalling thing taking toll of millions of lives, and it is not to be ended easily. “The soldiers at the front cannot tear the front away from the rest of the state and settle things their own way. The soldiers at the front are a part of the country. So long as the country is at war the front will suffer along with the rest.... Whether you will get a speedy peace or not depends on how the revolution will develop.”

In this article and in many others you see Lenin’s internationalism: “When power passes to the Soviets the capitalists will come out against us. Japan, France, Britain—the governments of all countries will be against us. The capital-

ists will be against, but the workers will be for us. That will be the end of the war which the capitalists started.” You also see him taking the situation of dual power into account and actually planning for what will happen after the Soviets seize power. There are a lot of articles where he ridicules the idea that peace conferences and peace resolutions can end interimperialist war and states that only the proletarian seizure of power can do that. Although the Bolsheviks certainly supported mass fraternization at the front, which Lenin called an “instinctive” response, the soldiers had to understand that this would not end the war.

I recommend the book *Kronstadt and Petrograd in 1917* by the Bolshevik sailors’ leader F.F. Raskolnikov. It is a very lively and readable account of revolutionary Kronstadt and Bolshevik work in the army and navy. Trotsky talks about how sailors from Kronstadt toured the country with special mandates from the Kronstadt Soviet granting them free transport and the right to vote in, speak at and even convene local committee meetings. Raskolnikov describes one of the tours he went on to different ships in the active navy “which at that time had still not emerged from under the influence of

‘compromiser’ sentiments.” In one place he unmasked a former editor of a “Black Hundreds” [pogromist] publication who had become the deputy chairman of a soviet as an SR. In another he spoke, somewhat nervously, to a ship’s crew that had only a few months back passed a resolution calling for “war to the end,” but was welcomed enthusiastically as he denounced the war, the government and the coalition with the bourgeoisie. On another ship a rightist officer threw his comrade off the deck. Elsewhere he spoke to a group of Bolshevik-minded Estonians through an interpreter. It is fun reading.

The Fall of Riga and “Defensism”

In Volume One of *The History of the Russian Revolution*, Trotsky says of the liberal bourgeoisie: “In external appearance the war policy of liberalism remained aggressive-patriotic, annexationist, irreconcilable. In reality it was self-contradictory, treacherous, and rapidly becoming defeatist.” Since the liberal bourgeoisie didn’t think it could use the February Revolution to advance the war, they planned “to use the war against the revolution.” Trotsky noted, “The concern of the moment was not to secure advantageous international conditions for bourgeois Russia, but to save the bourgeois regime itself, even at the price of Russia’s further enfeeblement.”

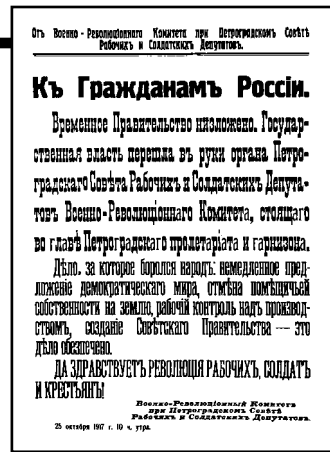
On August 20, German forces occupied the key Russian seaport of Riga. Baltic sailors had been fighting to protect the approaches to Petrograd, in their words, “not in the name of the treaties of our rulers with the allies...but in the name of the defense of the approaches to the hearth-fire of the revolution, Petrograd.” Trotsky calls this “the deep contradiction in their position as vanguards of a revolution and involuntary participants in an imperialist war.” These events tested the Bolsheviks’ internationalism. They did not for a minute intend to share with the ruling groups the responsibility, before the Russian people and the workers of the world, for the war.

Fearing that defensive moods would turn into a defensist policy, Lenin wrote: “We shall become defencists *only after* the transfer of power to the proletariat.... Neither the capture of Riga *nor the capture of Petrograd* will make us defencists.” Writing from prison, Trotsky said: “The fall of Riga is a cruel blow. The fall of Petersburg would be a misfortune. But the fall of the international policy of the Russian proletariat would be ruinous.” In the first week of October, fears about a German attack on Petrograd again mounted sharply.

The Provisional Government began actively to plan to abandon Petrograd and set up the government in Moscow. Rabinowitch [*The Bolsheviks Come to Power* (1976)] says cautiously that “there is no direct evidence that the Provisional Government ever seriously entertained the idea of surrendering Petrograd to the Germans without a fight,” but he is at least honest enough to say why everybody thought exactly that. Rodzianko, the former head of the State Duma, said: “Petrograd appears threatened.... I say, to hell with Petrograd.... People fear our central institutions in Petrograd will be destroyed. To this, let me say that I should be glad if these institutions are destroyed because they have brought Russia nothing but grief.” The workers and peasants, especially after Rodzianko’s blunt confession, had no doubt that the government was

continued on page 8

VAAP



Left: Demonstration honoring Second Congress of Soviets. Above: 25 October proclamation by Military Revolutionary Committee announces “immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed proprietorship, workers’ control over production, and the establishment of Soviet power.”

1917...

(continued from page 7)

getting ready to send them to school under German general Ludendorff. This echoes the “patriotism” of the French bourgeoisie in 1871, who begged Bismarck to come in and crush the Paris Commune.

Lenin was calling for insurrection now, not least because revolutionary Petrograd with its majority Bolshevik Soviet was being directly threatened with a blood-bath by German imperialism; a conspiracy was entered into by the Kerensky government and the Anglo-French imperialists to surrender Petrograd to the Germans, and in this way to suppress the revolution. Lenin called for the overthrow of the Kerensky government and the substitution of a workers’ and peasants’ government “to open the road to peace, to save Petrograd and the revolution, and to give the land to the peasants and power to the Soviets.” The shift in Bolshevik propagandistic emphasis led Lenin to remark in 1918 that “we were defeatists at the time of the tsar, but at the time of Tsereteli and Chernov we were not defeatists.” The Bolsheviks never abandoned a defeatist posture toward the Russian bourgeois government—they simply varied the tactical application because of the class war then raging in Russia.

The Revolutionary Crisis Matures

The Bolsheviks as an organization had to decide to proceed with the revolution. All but one of the copies of the letter that I referred to before, titled “The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power,” were burned by the majority of the Central Committee, who had been trying to keep Lenin’s appeals from getting into the hands of the worker-Bolsheviks. Lenin, still in hiding, was raging and writing to everybody: Smilga who was a party leftist and president of the Regional Committee of the Soviets, Krupskaya in Petrograd who read his letters out to the Vyborg District Committee. By the time Lenin wrote “The Crisis Has Matured” on September 29, he was tendering his resignation from the Central Committee to free his hands to go to the party membership. One worker from the Vyborg District Committee said: “We got a letter from Ilych for delivery to the Central Committee.... We read the letter and gasped. It seems that Lenin had long ago put before the Central Committee the question of insurrection. We raised a row. We began to bring pressure on them.”



RSFSR Artist



Left: Cruiser Aurora, manned by Kronstadt sailors, at the Nikolaevsky Bridge, 25 October 1917. Above: Poster shows members of Bolshevik Kronstadt Committee.

Early in October—and now over the head of the Bolshevik Central Committee—Lenin wrote directly to the Petrograd and Moscow Committees: “Delay is criminal. To wait for the Congress of Soviets would be...a disgraceful game of formalities, and a betrayal of the revolution.” He noted that the masses could just as easily become disillusioned with the Bolsheviks as they had with other parties, if the Bolsheviks failed to act. As laid out in Trotsky’s *Lessons of October*, the basic position of the rightists in the party, led by Zinoviev and Kamenev, was that the party would be risking everything in an armed insurrection, the outcome of which was extremely dubious, when they could be winning “a third and even more of the seats in the Constituent Assembly.” This purely parliamentary, social-democratic course was thinly camouflaged by their assertion that, of course, the soviets were important and that dual power would continue for an unlimited length of time. No, that was not possible; there would have been another Kornilov or perhaps he would have returned.

Of course, if Kamenev and Zinoviev’s policy had won, we would be hearing today about the massive forces arrayed against the revolution and how it was impossible anyhow. Like so many defeats, from Germany and China in the 1920s to Spain in the 1930s, which occurred because of the lack of a vanguard party with a hardened revolutionary leadership,

had the Bolsheviks failed to lead the October Revolution the defeat would all be blamed on the objective situation and the backwardness of the masses. This is what I call the Stalinist theory of the crisis of followers, where they say, “We tried to lead you, but you wouldn’t follow.”

The first showdown in the Bolshevik leadership over the insurrection was the famous meeting on October 10 where the insurrection was voted up ten votes to two—Zinoviev and Kamenev voted against. The resolution, as is typical of Lenin, starts with the international situation, that is, the ripening of world revolution; the insurrection in Russia is regarded only as a link in the general chain. The idea of having socialism in one country was not in anyone’s mind then, even Stalin’s.

Rabinowitch tells a funny story about the October 10 meeting:

“This was to be Lenin’s first direct confrontation with the Central Committee since his return from Finland; it had been carefully organized by Sverdlov at Lenin’s behest. By an ironic twist of fate the gathering was to be held in the apartment of the left Menshevik Sukhanov, that unsurpassed chronicler of the revolution who had somehow managed to turn up at almost every important political meeting in Petrograd since the February revolution. But on this occasion Sukhanov was not in attendance. His wife, Galina Flakserman, a Bolshevik activist since 1905...once had offered Sverdlov the use of the Sukhanov flat, should the need arise.... For her part, Flakserman insured that her meddlesome husband would remain away on this historic night. ‘The weather is wretched, and you must promise not to try to make it all the way back home tonight,’ she had counseled solicitously as he departed for work early that morning.”

Talk about a strained personal relationship!

The resolution of October 10 was immensely important. It promptly put the genuine advocates of insurrection on the firm ground of the party majority. The workers were arming, drilling, setting up the Red Guards. Workers at the weapons factories were funneling weapons directly to the workers. But the October 10 meeting certainly did not eliminate the differences in the leadership. There was another meeting on October 16, where Lenin again argued for insurrection and Kamenev and Zinoviev again voted against it. The next day, Kamenev and Zinoviev submitted a public statement to Maxim Gorky’s newspaper opposing the insurrection, which was published on October 18. Lenin called them strikebreakers and demanded their expulsion from the party. This didn’t happen because the insurrection intervened. Stalin tried to paper over the differences in the Bolshevik newspaper, alibiing Kamenev and Zinoviev, keeping his options open in case the insurrection failed.

The Party, the Soviets and the Conquest of Power

Kamenev and Zinoviev’s differences with Lenin were principled questions:

seize state power or not. You can’t get more fundamental than that. Trotsky had tactical differences with Lenin: should the insurrection be run through the soviet or directly through the party? Trotsky speaks about the importance of soviet legality to the masses, and the usefulness of appearing to be defending the soviets. But Trotsky had no naive hopes that the Congress of Soviets itself could settle the question of power. You can see in Trotsky’s chapter “The Art of Insurrection” that by 1917 he had finally understood Lenin on the party question. He wrote: “In order to conquer the power, the proletariat needs more than a spontaneous insurrection. It needs a suitable organization, it needs a plan; it needs a conspiracy. Such is the Leninist view of this question.” He goes on:

“The organization by means of which the proletariat can both overthrow the old power and replace it, is the soviets....

“However, the soviets by themselves do not settle the question. They may serve different goals according to the program and leadership. The soviets receive their program from the party.... The problem of conquering the power can be solved only by a definite combination of party with soviets—or with other mass organizations more or less equivalent to soviets.”

The government was planning to send the Petrograd garrison to the front. There was total uproar and refusal from the Petrograd regiments. It was at this point in early October that the Menshevik and SR compromisers put up a resolution in the Petrograd Soviet, which had a Bolshevik majority. Rabinowitch describes this:

“The Menshevik Mark Broido put before the deputies a joint Menshevik-SR resolution which, while calling on garrison soldiers to begin preparations for movement to the front, at the same time sought to calm them by providing for the creation



VAAP

Military Revolutionary Committee troops operating captured telephone exchange.

of a special committee to evaluate defense needs and to prepare military defense plans that would inspire popular confidence. At bottom, the intent of the resolution was to facilitate cooperation between the Petrograd Soviet and the government in the interest of the war effort.”

Boy, were they surprised when the Bolsheviks eagerly seized on this proposal, resulting in the formation of the Military Revolutionary Committee that organized the insurrection! In an interesting passage in the *History*, Trotsky writes:

“The formulae were all-inclusive and at the same time ambiguous: they almost all balanced on a fine line between defense of the capital and armed insurrection. However, these two tasks, heretofore mutually exclusive, were now in actual fact growing into one. Having seized the power, the Soviet would be compelled to undertake the military defense of Petrograd. The element of defense-camouflage was not therefore violently dragged in, but flowed to some extent from the conditions preceding the insurrection.”

The Military Revolutionary Committee had a Left SR as its formal head, but proceeded in a Bolshevik fashion with Trotsky as its principal political leader. Basically, in what one might call a “cold insurrection,” the Bolshevik-led Soviet took control of the armed bodies of men out of the hands of the Provisional Government. By October 13, the Soldiers’

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA

Thursday, November 2, 6 p.m.
The Russian Revolution

San Francisco State University
Cesar Chavez Student Center, Room T-153

Monday, November 6, 5 p.m.
Mini-Forum

Elections 2006:

A Revolutionary Marxist Perspective

San Francisco State University
Rosa Parks F, Cesar Chavez Student Center
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO

Tuesday, November 7, 7 p.m.

**The Capitalist State—
An Instrument of Organized Terror**

University of Chicago
Harper, Room 102, 1116 E. 59th St.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, November 4, 2 p.m.

The State and Revolution

3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(across from Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

Thursday, November 2, 7:30 p.m.
**The Russian Revolution and the Fight
for New Octobers**

Columbia University
Kent Hall, Room 522A

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

TORONTO

Wednesday, November 1, 6:30 p.m.

**The 1917 Russian Revolution:
How the Working Class Took Power**

University of Toronto
OISE, Room 4420, 252 Bloor St. West
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, November 8, 6 p.m.

**Hail the 1917 October Revolution!
For the International Rule
of the Working Class!**

University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 211
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

**Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org**

Section of the Petrograd Soviet voted to transfer military authority from Headquarters to the Military Revolutionary Committee. In other words, the Soviet now had the state power in all but name. By October 21 or 22 the Military Revolutionary Committee told the military high command bluntly that they were not in charge any more. Rabinowitch says that's insurrection right there. The troops were ready, the Red Guards were ready.

On October 24, Kerensky fairly stupidly provided the spark by trying to shut down the Bolshevik newspaper. The Military Revolutionary Committee sent in a detachment to reopen the newspaper and began seizing government institutions and communication centers. Lenin was still worried. He wrote:

"I am writing these lines on the evening of the 24th....

"With all my might I urge comrades to realise that everything now hangs by a thread; that we are confronted by problems which are not to be solved by conferences or congresses (even congresses of Soviets), but exclusively by peoples, by the masses, by the struggle of the armed people....

"Who must take power?

"That is not important at present. Let the Revolutionary Military Committee do it, or 'some other institution'...."

Lenin became so agitated that he went in disguise to the Bolshevik headquarters at Smolny, where the Petrograd Soviet was located, to see what was happening. Even a day later, they still hadn't taken the Winter Palace (where the Provisional Government was based) due to a very over-elaborate plan. One Bolshevik remembered that Lenin "paced around a small room at Smolny like a lion in a cage. He needed the Winter Palace at any cost: it remained the last gate on the road to workers' power. V. I. scolded...he screamed...he was ready to shoot us." Kerensky escaped in the safety of a diplomatic vehicle flying the American flag. You will be interested to know that Kerensky eventually wound up here in the U.S., home to *gusanos* of all varieties, at the Hoover Institution at Stanford. There he wrote and lectured about how to fight communism—something which he hadn't done too well at in life.

The Birth of the Soviet Workers State

When the Second Congress of the Soviets opened, the cruiser *Aurora* was still firing on the Winter Palace. In response to the uprising and seizure of power, now openly proclaimed by the Military Revolutionary Committee, the Mensheviks and SRs walked out of the congress, some proclaiming that they were going with the majority of the City Duma deputies to the Winter Palace to die with the Provisional Government. They left deluged by shouts of "lackeys of the bourgeoisie" and "good riddance." Only the Left SRs and a few remnants of left menshevism stayed. The compromisers wanted nothing to do with the workers state. Always up for a coalition with the bourgeoisie, they wanted no coalition with the Bolsheviks.

Lenin got up and opened his speech with the famous sentence: "We shall now proceed to construct the socialist order." The three-point agenda was end the war, give land to the peasants and establish a socialist dictatorship. The peace decree promised an end to secret diplomacy and proposed to the governments and peoples of the warring countries immediate negotiations to secure a democratic peace without annexations and without indemnities. The land decree, borrowed in its essentials from the agrarian program of the Left SRs, abolished private property in land and provided for the transfer of all private and church estates to land committees and soviets of peasants' deputies for distribution to the peasantry according to need. A new revolutionary government of People's Commissars, at first made up exclusively of Bolsheviks, was appointed, which over the next period proceeded with nationalizing the banks, restarting

industry and laying the foundations of the new soviet state.

Very importantly, they worked on convening the Third (Communist) International as the necessary instrumentality to achieve world socialist revolution. They fought with all possible means and determination to spread the revolution to the advanced industrial countries of Europe.

**1 October 1917:
Workers from
Putilov factory
exchange banner
with Pavlovsky
regiment. Banner
reads in part: "Long
Live All-Russian
Revolution as
Prologue to Social
Revolution in
Europe."**



Read Victor G.'s revealing letter to WV (see "On Lenin's Address to the Petrograd Soviet," WV No. 861, 6 January) about how the account of Lenin's speech to the Petrograd Soviet that appears in the *Collected Works* is at variance with other newspaper accounts of the time that highlighted Lenin's points on the international extension of the revolution.

The Spectre of "Democratic" Counterrevolution

Let me touch briefly on two final debates: the question of a broad socialist coalition and the Constituent Assembly. On the first question, historian Rabinowitch echoes people like Sukhanov, who at the time thought it was terrible that the Bolsheviks didn't invite into the government the compromiser parties: the Mensheviks and the Right SRs. Not surprisingly, arguments in favor of forming a government in coalition with the Menshevik and SR compromisers were advanced within the Bolshevik Party by Kamenev and Zinoviev, who had opposed the insurrection in the first place, as well as by some others. Sukhanov bemoans the fact that by walking out of the congress the Mensheviks and the Menshevik-Internationalists "gave the Bolsheviks with our own hands a monopoly of the Soviet, of the masses, and of the revolution."

In principle the Bolsheviks were not opposed to a coalition. They agreed to a coalition with any party if it would accept soviet constitutionalism, which meant accepting the reality of the October insurrection and the fact that the soviets had a Bolshevik majority and they would therefore form the majority of the government. But that was a big "if." At least Rabinowitch is honest enough to tell you what the problem with this was: not only had the Mensheviks and SRs walked out of the soviet but:

"Initially fierce resistance to the Bolshevik regime coalesced around the so-called All-Russian Committee for the Salvation of the Country and the Revolution organized on October 26, primarily by the Mensheviks and SRs in the Petrograd City Duma....

"Leaders of the Committee for Salvation also drew up plans to coordinate an uprising in Petrograd with the entry into the capital of Krasnov's cossacks, expected momentarily."

They were unsuccessful, of course, but they certainly didn't waste a minute before organizing counterrevolution, not one minute. Let me state as a general rule, it is a bad idea to seek a coalition with those who are actively trying to overthrow the workers state and kill you all.

Trotsky states that what was in question here was "the liquidation of Octo-

ber—no more, no less" by diverting the revolution back into the channel of a bourgeois regime. Since the Bolshevik opposition had gone public with this, Lenin finally denounced them publicly as waverers and doubters: "Shame on all the faint-hearted...on all those who allowed themselves to be intimidated by the bourgeoisie or who have succumbed

to the outcries of their direct and indirect supporters!" These conciliators backed down, especially as it became clear that there was no one to form a coalition with. The most acute party crisis had been overcome. A couple of Left SRs finally did join the government—at least until the Soviet government signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918.

Finally, I want to address the Constituent Assembly. I was reassured to find out that a new youth comrade in the Bay Area who wanted to talk about the Constituent Assembly wasn't worried about why the Bolsheviks dispersed it. He wanted to know why they ever called for it! A better impulse, I think. We wrote a good article on constituent assemblies titled "Why a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly?" (WV No. 221, 15 December 1978). It makes the point that in back-

ward countries under autocratic or military bonapartist rule, the struggle for a sovereign constituent assembly based on universal suffrage can in certain circumstances be key in uniting the toiling masses behind the proletarian vanguard. It was based on such an understanding that the Bolsheviks fought throughout the spring and summer of 1917 for elections to a constituent assembly at a time when the government refused to hold them out of fear that this would lead to a peasant uprising. This stage had passed with the workers seizing state power, but the Bolsheviks didn't simply call off the elections to the Constituent Assembly because a pro-soviet majority might well have emerged in the wake of the peasant land seizures. That would have been useful in reinforcing the authority of the soviets among the peasants in the upcoming civil war.

However, this was not to be. Between the old election lists and the way parliamentary elections gave the petty-bourgeoisie the overwhelming weight of the vote, the SRs, Kadets and Mensheviks won the majority of seats in the Constituent Assembly. It was a retrograde force and could become a focus for bourgeois restorationist forces. So the Bolsheviks wisely demanded that the Constituent Assembly recognize the victorious soviet power as its first act. Only when they refused to do so did the Soviet Executive Committee decree the dissolution of the assembly. The dissolution of the Constituent Assembly closes this chapter of the history of the Russian Revolution and the history of the Bolshevik Party. The differences revolved around the fundamental questions: should we struggle for power, can we assume power? Through struggle, internal and external, they resolved both these questions in the affirmative.

In conclusion, the October Revolution remains our compass. It demonstrates how a revolutionary party can win the working masses away from the reformist class traitors and lead them to power. To quote Trotsky: "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer."■

Columbia...

(continued from page 6)

is a notorious union-busting racist slumlord, the third-largest landowner in New York City, now pushing yet another expansion plan that would drive even greater numbers of blacks and Latinos out of the areas surrounding the campus. We demand the nationalization of the university system under student-teacher-worker control. Abolish the administration! Tear down the Columbia gates and let Harlem in!

In the U.S., black oppression, the bedrock of capitalism, is based on the legacy of chattel slavery. Opposition to anti-immigrant racism must be intertwined with the struggle against black oppression. The fight for black freedom and immigrant rights will go forward together or fall back separately. A model, both of joint struggle of blacks and immigrants, and how to fight against fascists, was the November 1982 labor/black mobilization in Washington, D.C., initiated by the Spartacist League, which stopped the race-terrorist KKK from marching against a minor amnesty proposal for immigrants. We provided revolutionary leadership, and 5,000 people, mostly black, came out and stopped them. We understand that those who organize for race terror, such as the fascist KKK and Nazis, must be swept off the streets through mass, militant labor/black mobilizations, such as the 23 October 1999 anti-Klan demonstration in New York City that the Spartacus Youth Club helped build. These mobilizations are a microcosm of what a mass revolutionary workers party would do.

As our SYC speaker said at the anti-Minutemen protest outside: "The capitalist rulers, both Republicans and Democrats, see immigrant workers as a source of cheap labor, and deny them citizenship rights in order to better exploit them and keep the working class divided." As Marxists we understand that only socialist revolution internationally can put an end to the growing immiseration of the working class and oppressed—both in dependent countries like Mexico and in the imperialist centers. The fundamental divide in all capitalist countries is between the working class, whose labor makes society run, and the capitalist class that reaps enormous wealth from exploiting that labor. Under capitalist imperialism, a handful of wealthy imperialist powers strive to divide and redive the rest of the world for their own enhancement, leading to neocolonial exploitation and imperialist wars.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club, the youth auxiliary of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League, fight to link the outrage of students who oppose racism and defend immigrant rights to the social power of the integrated working class, of which immigrant workers form a key component. Through mobilizing against racist anti-immigrant terror, wherever it rears its head, the working class can be made more conscious of its power and historic interests in fighting the racist exploiters on behalf of all the oppressed. We seek to win youth to the side of the working class and to the fight to build a revolutionary internationalist workers party that can lead the workers and oppressed in overturning capitalist rule here and throughout the world.■

“There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!”

We print below a speech by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein at an October 15 rally in support of Lynne Stewart at Manhattan’s Riverside Church. The speech drew repeated applause from the hundreds-strong audience.

The Partisan Defense Committee, along with the Spartacist League, stands in solidarity with Lynne Stewart, as well as her co-defendants, translator Mohamed Yousry and paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar. The government prosecuted Lynne for being an ardent, effective courtroom champion of black activists, leftists and others deemed enemies by America’s racist rulers. Lynne represents that rare attorney who challenged the government’s attempts to dehumanize and demonize her clients. Lynne was falsely convicted of material support to terrorism and “conspiracy to defraud the U.S. government.” This from a government that gives new meaning to the quip that you know they are lying because their lips are moving!

But the terrorism to fear and fight is bloody, murderous U.S. imperialism, which is the main enemy of the world’s peoples. Indeed, Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda, the Taliban and others of that ilk are the creation of U.S. imperialism in its war against the Soviet Union. From annihilation of the Native population, the enslavement of black Africans, colonial slaughters from the Philippines to Iraq, to the firebombings of Hamburg and Dresden, the atomic bombs directed on Hiroshima and

PDC at Lynne Stewart Rally

Nagasaki, the history of America’s rulers is that of blood-soaked barbarity.

The attacks on September 11 provided the pretext for the government’s anti-immigrant, anti-terror campaign, creating a false “national unity” in which the U.S. capitalist rulers let loose slaughter in Iraq and stepped up the tools of state repression, first against immigrants, and then to be directed against black people and the whole working class, particularly those who are declared political opponents.

At stake in this fictional “war against terrorism” is the qualitative restriction and reversal of those democratic rights which were won on the battlefield of the U.S. Civil War and in class and social struggle over the past hundred or more years, including during the civil rights movement and with the defeat of the U.S. on the battlefields of Vietnam. Lynne’s conviction is intended to further imperial plans to designate any political opponent as an “enemy combatant” with no rights, no voice, no legal redress.

Lynne Stewart’s case is an object lesson in the class nature of the capitalist state—the police and military with their adjuncts in the courts and the prisons. The state is an instrumentality for organized violence by one class, the capitalist class, defending the frame-up profit system, against

the working people, against minorities. Remember also, Lynne’s frame-up trial took place not in Judge Sabo’s Southern-style Philadelphia courthouse, but in the august halls of the Federal District Court.

Lynne made a statement a year ago at a rally we held on her behalf that her prosecution was also payback for her successful defense of Larry Davis. To have defeated and humiliated the frame-up racist cops so thoroughly put Lynne Stewart in the state’s cross hairs, no less than Mumia’s advocacy as a Black Panther Party member and supporter of the MOVE organization put him on death row.

Five years after September 11, despite the large numbers in this room, there is no working-class-centered, mass united-front effort in opposition to the “anti-terrorism” campaign, nor in defense of those victimized, such as Lynne Stewart. This is tied to the fact that the left has in the main been cheerleaders and organizers for the “Anybody but Bush” campaign, pushing the capitalist parties—the Dems and/or the Greens—as an answer to the justly hated Bush-Cheney-Rumsfeld group. It cannot be ignored that Clinton and the Democratic Party are responsible for the 1996 anti-terrorist law and the SAMs [Special Administrative Measures] under which Lynne Stewart was prosecuted. The Dems

promise to be *more effective* in the war on terror. Their complaint about detainees, rendition, secret camps and government torture from Abu Ghraib to Guantánamo is on the grounds that it has undermined America’s influence and power in the world. That is why comrades in the Spartacist League have called for a vote to Jeff Mackler for Senator from California, because his campaign draws a crude class line against the capitalist parties of the Dems and the Greens. What is necessary is a real workers party to sweep away this whole racist system of injustice. We say, in the spirit of John Brown, finish the Civil War—for a third American Revolution!

To fight and win in defense of Lynne Stewart, her co-defendants and others, such as Mumia Abu-Jamal, we must begin with the recognition that the bourgeois state will stop at nothing—from lies to terror—on the streets and in the courts. There is no justice in the capitalist courts!

What is needed is united action on a program of class-struggle defense, mobilizing the social power of the international labor movement. The only pressure that will impact on the state and its courts is fear of the consequences of locking up Lynne Stewart. This rally, and tomorrow’s at the courthouse, must send the message that the imprisonment of Lynne Stewart is a loss *we cannot afford*—and one *we cannot allow*. Freedom for Lynne Stewart!

Lynne Stewart will be speaking at a rally for Mumia on October 28, two weeks from now. She must be there! ■

Convictions...

(continued from page 12)

because we understood from the start that with this trial the government was pursuing a frontal assault on *all our rights* (see speech at Lynne Stewart defense rally, above). The fact that the convictions have not been overturned is ominous and establishes a dangerous precedent.

In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, then-attorney general John Ashcroft picked Lynne Stewart as his poster girl for the reactionary “war on terror.” On 9 April 2002, John Ashcroft himself flew to New York for the theatrical backdrop of Ground Zero to announce indictments against Stewart, Yousry and Abdel Sattar, accusing them of a conspiracy that provided “material support to terrorist activity.” “Conspiracy” is a high-voltage charge applied when no evidence exists to support a prosecution for any criminal activity. For years, the government had secretly recorded the supposedly privileged attorney-client discussions between Lynne Stewart, Yousry, Abdel Sattar and Stewart’s court-appointed client, Abdel Rahman.

After a seven-month-long trial fraught with prosecutorial misconduct, including outrageous pandering to palpable fear in the post-September 11 climate (even videotapes of Osama bin Laden were introduced as evidence!), the government got its high-profile trophy when, on 10 February 2005, all three defendants were convicted. Ashcroft devoted a chapter of his memoir, *Never Again*, to the Stewart prosecution, crowing:

“In convicting Lynne Stewart, the jury acknowledged that America is taking the president’s definition of ‘terrorist’ to heart. If someone aids a terrorist, that is the same as being a terrorist.”

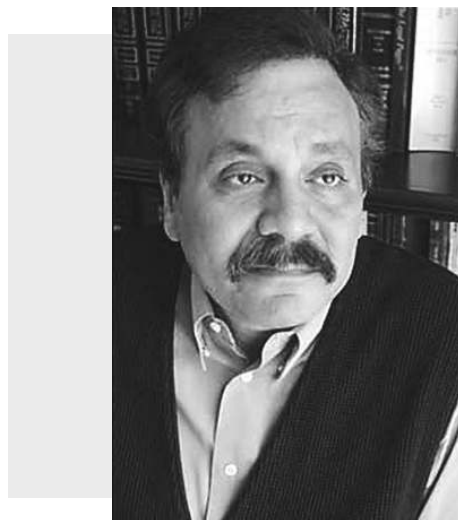
Though carried out by Bush & Co., this mugging of constitutional rights has the fingerprints of the Democratic Clinton administration all over it. Stewart, Yousry and Abdel Sattar were indicted under a law that predates the September 11 attacks, the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act signed into law by Clinton. Unable to get Stewart for breaking any law, the government nailed her with viola-

tion of a prison regulation: defying the Special Administrative Measures implemented by the Clinton administration, which drastically restrict a prisoner’s right to communicate with the outside world. When Lynne Stewart told a Reuters journalist that Sheik Abdel Rahman thought the cease-fire between the Islamic Group and the Egyptian government should be re-

threaten to press charges against an attorney for the detainees!

For Class-Struggle Defense of All Our Rights!

Ahmed Abdel Sattar, an Islamic fundamentalist whose only crime was to rack up large phone bills talking to other fundamentalists, has already been impris-



Standard



AhmedAbdelSattar.org

Left: Mohamed Yousry, sentenced to 20 months. Above: Ahmed Abdel Sattar, sentenced to 24 years.

considered, the government howled that she had masterminded a “jailbreak” of a “terrorist” whom they thought they had “locked up,” and “thrown away the key.”

It is not hyperbole to suggest that the government has arrogated to itself the right to charge *anyone* with “material support to terrorism,” or to declare *anyone* an “unlawful enemy combatant” subject to detention and torture. Send a donation to victims of the tsunami in Sri Lanka and you may find yourself accused of collusion with the Tamil Tigers. Support an IRA prisoner and you may find yourself in the next cell. Now the Military Commissions Act has been signed into law by Bush, defining “unlawful enemy combatants” as those who “purposefully and materially supported hostilities against the United States or its co-belligerents.” Demonstrate in defense of U.S. imperialism’s victims in Iraq and you could find yourself disappeared—locked in a military prison without an attorney or right to a trial. This capitalist ruling class is so demented that they’ve even classified the recent suicides of three Guantánamo detainees as “asymmetric warfare” and

oned for four and a half years. His attorney told the court that since his conviction 20 months ago, Abdel Sattar has been held in solitary in an essentially windowless cell (the window has been painted over) and is denied all visitors. Were it not for our reporter in the courtroom, word of his beastly conditions of imprisonment would likely not get out.

His attorney requested that the court enable Abdel Sattar to meet privately for five or ten minutes with his wife and four children who were in the courtroom before being remanded to prison. Although the judge initially agreed, the U.S. attorney, Andrew Dember, vindictively protested that such a visit would be a violation of the SAMs, and Koeltl backed down. Abdel Sattar was sent down, not to be seen again for a very long time. Speaking on his own behalf before the judge, Abdel Sattar made a courageous statement avowing that he does have strong political beliefs against the governments of Egypt and Israel as well as the policies of the U.S. government. “But I am not a terrorist,” he declared, citing that in more than **88,000**

wiretapped conversations on his phone over a period of eight years the government came up with no proof linking him to any act of violence.

Mohamed Yousry is a secular humanist and scholar, who, on the advice of his New York University professor, Zachary Lockman, used his access as a court-approved translator for Sheik Abdel Rahman to pursue a PhD thesis on the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Egypt. A well-respected teacher at York College in the City University of New York, Yousry was immediately fired upon his indictment. We applaud Yousry’s statement to the *New York Times* (16 October): “I wish to God I can say I’m sorry. But I’m not guilty and I’m not going to say I’m sorry for something that I didn’t do.” Yousry told a WV reporter, “We need to move on to the appeal and try to win some kind of legal victory to stop this from happening to other people.” Indeed, the prosecution, conviction and sentencing of Yousry and Abdel Sattar is no less an attack on the Sixth Amendment right to counsel than the persecution of Lynne Stewart.

Yet it is notable that the liberals and self-styled leftists who eventually came around to defend Lynne Stewart (mainly post-conviction) have virtually disappeared the names of Mohamed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar. Outside the courthouse on the day of sentencing, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee carried placards in defense of all three defendants and on the march to the courthouse we initiated a chant: “Lynne Stewart Must Go Free! Free Sattar and Yousry!” The refusal of self-styled leftists to defend anyone but Lynne Stewart was ostentatious and obscene.

Ultimately, what the government can get away with will be determined not in the courtroom but on the battle lines of class struggle in this country. What’s crucial is to link up the struggles of all the oppressed with those of the multiracial labor movement, which, when mobilized in its own class interest and independent of the Democratic Party, has enormous social power. When the capitalist system run by America’s truly terrorist rulers is swept away in a thoroughgoing socialist revolution, then, and only then, will justice be served. ■

Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

political and racial bias that is spread all over Mumia's case. But what the courts have refused to hear is the overwhelming evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he shot Officer Faulkner and that Mumia had nothing to do with the shooting. None of the courts have allowed Beverly's evidence to be heard because it is too hot to handle. It exposes that Mumia's frame-up is not just some aberration of a rogue cop or a bad judge, but the result of the workings of a whole "justice" system whose real purpose is the repression of workers, minorities and the poor on behalf of the capitalist rulers.

The courts will not hear the Beverly evidence, the evidence of rampant cop coercion of witnesses, the blatant fabrication of a confession, the fact that Mumia was denied the right to represent himself, was saddled with an incompetent and unprepared lawyer and was banished from large portions of his trial. All of these obvious violations have been rubber-stamped by court after court.

If the bourgeois courts will not hear the evidence of Mumia's innocence, it is all the more urgent that we make that evidence known in the streets, in the factories, on the campuses, in all your organizations. We must make it known: Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man!

I want to focus a little on the Beverly evidence because what is becoming clearer and clearer to more and more people is that Beverly's confession fits with all the other evidence of what happened that night, December 9, 1981. It is not just that Beverly passed lie detector tests on his fundamental points, but his account ties all the surrounding evidence into a package, ties up many of the loose ends in the case.

For example, the whole premise of the prosecution case was that there were only three men on the corner where Faulkner was shot: Faulkner, Mumia and Mumia's brother, Billy Cook. But we know there was someone else there, because there were no less than five witnesses, including two cops, who said there was someone on that corner wearing a green army jacket. Several said this person was the shooter. And yet Faulkner obviously was wearing his police uniform, Mumia was wearing a red and blue striped jacket, and Billy Cook was wearing a dark blue Nehru-style jacket. None of those could be mistaken for a green army jacket. This is in the police evidence in plastic bags in boxes. We know what they were wearing. Beverly says that he was wearing a green jacket, and so was the other shooter that



was there to hit this cop. From the ballistics evidence to the fact that no prosecution witness could explain how Mumia was shot, Beverly's account corresponds to the medical examiner's report, which says that arriving backup police shot Mumia.

There is so much more, but I want to turn to the surrounding context, which is that Beverly says he was hired to kill Faulkner because Faulkner was interfering with the police graft in downtown Philadelphia. There are many who assert that the idea of a mob or police hit on Faulkner is "incredible," that it sounds too much like it was made for Hollywood. These same people probably would say it was incredible that for two decades there was a torture chamber where hundreds of black men were being tortured in a Chicago police station. They would probably say it's incredible that the U.S. Army is grabbing Iraqis off the street, flying them to Poland to be tortured. This kind of thing is not some aberration. It happens every day. This is business as usual for the frame-up machinery of the bourgeois state.

Look at here in Chicago. Just last month the prosecutors had to drop over a hundred cases because a set of Special Operations cops were kidnapping people, robbing them and then framing them up. Not long ago in New York, they indicted an FBI agent who was feeding the mob information to help them with their hits.

Back in 1981, there were three ongoing investigations of police corruption in Philadelphia, including an investigation of graft in the Central City red-light district right where Faulkner worked. The cops in the district were up to their ears with the mob, taking graft from prostitutes and from the late-night club owners. Would they go so far as to kill a witness? We know they did. There was another witness in the corruption case that was murdered a few months after he testified. We have



WV Photos

Chicago, October 13: Partisan Defense Committee rally to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. Left: PDC speaker Erica Williamson.

an affidavit from an FBI informant who said that he heard in December 1981, when Faulkner was shot, that the cops were paranoid that there was a cop informant and that they were going to kill any they could find [see PDC pamphlet *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal*, July 2006]. A federal prosecutor told me that they had an informant in law enforcement, a cop informant whose brother was also a cop, and we know that Faulkner and his brother were both cops. FBI agents who have looked at Faulkner's FBI records say that they look very unusual, that it could well be that he was an informant.

There is more, but let me focus on Alfonzo Giordano, who was the senior cop on the scene after the shooting. Who was Giordano? He was one of the cops under investigation in December 1981, as was the head of homicide, who was ultimately convicted. He was also the senior cop, back under Mayor Frank Rizzo. He was Rizzo's right-hand man in going after the Black Panther Party, and he helped run the police siege of MOVE's Powelton Village commune in 1978. There can be no doubt that Giordano, the ranking officer on the scene, knew exactly who Mumia Abu-Jamal was. He had known him over a decade, had been targeting him for over a decade.

Giordano was also the guy that got the cabdriver, who originally said that the shooter ran away, to go and identify Mumia in the van and change his story. And Giordano claimed that Mumia confessed in the back of the police van, even though the other cop who was there denied this. Yet Giordano was not called as a witness at Mumia's trial, and the day after Mumia was convicted and sentenced to death, Giordano retired from the police force. Four years later, he pled guilty in the corruption cases. Obviously, the prosecutor and cops were tipped off that Giordano was going down, and they

didn't want Mumia's case to go down with him. So again, Beverly's account squares with the reality of what happened in this case.

Since taking up the case in 1988, the PDC has consistently argued that every legal remedy must be pursued on Mumia's behalf. For that reason we are asking you to dig deep and we are passing the bucket to raise funds for Mumia's current legal team. We had a fundraiser here in Chicago in June that raised over \$1,500 for Mumia's defense.

But we have also consistently warned against any illusions in the justice of the capitalist state and the capitalist courts. The forces of the state, from the cops to the prosecutors to the judges to the prison wardens, have lined up in unison behind this frame-up. We must put all our faith in the fight for Mumia's freedom in the only force that has the interest and power to win it—and that's the power of mass protest centered on the labor movement. The fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is also a fight to establish his innocence, not just in court, but on the political battlefield.

You know there are many people fighting to push the lie of Mumia's guilt. We've got the F.O.P. [Fraternal Order of Police] out there pushing the lies. But let's not forget that there are many bourgeois liberal forces whose only concern with Mumia's case is that it is a stain on their great "justice" system. They want to wipe the stain away. They don't care if Mumia gets a new trial and is sent to prison for the rest of his life. These people are the ones that have tried to suppress the Beverly evidence, and they have many leftist tails who have helped them in that effort.

We need to build more broadly in our unions, on our campuses, in our community groups, ringing the alarm: Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man! Free him now! Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia now! Free Mumia now! ■

FREE MUMIA NOW!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

Mumia Abu-Jamal's Life Is in Danger—Mobilize Now!



COC Productions

RALLY!

NEW YORK

Saturday, Oct. 28, 3 p.m.

Salem United Methodist Church
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Powell Jr. Blvd.

(at 129th St., 2, 3 train to 125th St.
or A, C, D to 125th St.)
More info: (212) 406-4252

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Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

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 *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and 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 \$1. 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 • Web site: www.partisandefense.org
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680 • (312) 563-0442
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Overturn Terror Show-Trial Convictions of Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar!

Consummating a witchhunting “anti-terror” show trial, on October 16, attorney Lynne Stewart, together with her assistants, Mohamed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar, were sentenced to prison, having been convicted in February 2005 of conspiring to provide material support to terrorism and to defraud the U.S. government. Stewart was hit with a 28-month prison stretch. Her Arabic translator, Yousry, got 20 months, and former postal worker Abdel Sattar, who served as Stewart’s paralegal, was ordered locked away for **24 years**. This is an outrage! We demand: Overturn the convictions!

The sentences handed down by Judge John Koeltl, who received some 1,100 letters in support of Stewart, were substantially less than the prosecutors had demanded: 30 years for Stewart; 20 years for Yousry and a life sentence for Abdel Sattar. Lynne Stewart, a well-known leftist attorney, 67-year-old grandmother and cancer patient, and Mohamed Yousry are out on bail pending appeal. But Abdel Sattar is locked down deep in the prison system under restrictive Special Administrative Measures (SAMs) that deny him communication, visitors and most rights.

During the sentencing hearing, Koeltl praised Lynne Stewart for representing “the poor, the disadvantaged and the unpopular,” adding, “it is no exaggeration to say that Ms. Stewart performed a public service not only to her clients but to the nation.” But he added that there had been “an irreducible core of extraordinarily severe criminal conduct” in her defense of her client, the Islamic fundamentalist Egyptian cleric



October 16: Lynne Stewart at rally in front of Manhattan federal court building, before receiving sentence of 28 months.

Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, who is serving a life sentence for an alleged plot to blow up New York City landmarks. Even the government admits that not a single act of violence resulted from the alleged “terror conspiracy” of which the three were convicted. In fact, Stewart’s only “crime” was to be a zealous advocate on behalf of her client, providing the legal representation supposedly guaranteed under the Sixth Amendment of the Constitution.

As we warned after the convictions in “Outrage! Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar Convicted” (WV No. 842, 18 February 2005): “The verdict gives the government a green light to prosecute lawyers for the alleged crimes of their clients, thereby shooting the basic right to counsel to hell.” If attorneys are charged with the alleged crimes of their clients, they’ll be far less likely to defend those accused of serious crimes asso-

ciated with unpopular causes. And if the populace is stripped of the right to adequate defense, then that will certainly chill the exercise of First Amendment rights to speech and association.

It is a measure of the absence of significant class or social struggle—of the lack of any mass movement on behalf of Stewart and her co-defendants, much less one based on the social power of labor—that many of Stewart’s defenders are celebrating the lesser prison sentences as victories. Meanwhile, the prosecutors are fuming. U.S. attorney Michael Garcia stormed out of the courtroom without comment, declaring in a statement issued afterward: “We will be exploring our appellate options.” And the right-wing talking heads and tabloid rags are screaming over the sentences.

For its part, the *New York Times* (21 October) ran a hatchet job, “Lawyer Convicted in Terror Case Lied on the Stand, a Juror Says,” that depicts Stewart as guilty as sin. Devoted to the account of one juror who was “vastly disappointed” with the sentences, the *Times* buries the statement issued by another juror that “the right thing for the judge to have done was to have overturned the jury verdict and thrown the whole case out.” Last year, this same juror wrote a letter to the judge stating she had voted to convict “as a result of the fear and intimidation I was made to feel for my life” in the jury room.

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee mobilized in defense of Lynne Stewart and her co-defendants
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Chicago PDC Rally

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

We print below a speech by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Jonathan Piper at an October 13 Chicago rally called by the PDC in support of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man and his life is in grave danger. The state is intent on killing this former Black Panther Party member, MOVE supporter, outspoken journalist, because of his professed revolutionary politics. They see in him the combination of black and red, which they view as a deadly threat to their system. They seek to legally lynch Mumia Abu-Jamal to send a message to all black people, trade unionists, radical youth—anybody who would speak out against their system of racist capitalist oppression.

Mumia’s case is on the fast track for

what could be the final decision on whether he lives, dies, spends the rest of his life buried in prison, or gets more legal proceedings. A brief is due Monday [October 23], which will be his last brief, and a decision in the case is on a fast track to come in a matter of months. Many people wonder about the maze of legal procedures, so let me just try to break it down quickly. For a state criminal defendant there are three sets of appeals. The first is an appeal directly in the state court. That’s what Mumia had in the 1980s. After that you get post-conviction appeals in the state courts. That is what Mumia had in the 1990s. Finally, there is the right of federal *habeas corpus*. That’s what Mumia is doing now. But the right to federal *habeas corpus* was gutted in

1996, when Democrat Bill Clinton signed the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, which pretty much took away the right to get a new hearing in federal court. This is a striking example of how the “war on terror” is used to gut all our rights, and how the Democrats, just as much as the Republicans, have been leading the speedup on death row targeting Mumia Abu-Jamal.

In 2001, federal judge William Yohn overturned the death sentence in the case, but upheld every aspect of Mumia’s conviction. The state is now appealing to reinstate the death penalty. Mumia is appealing to overturn his conviction. But, outrageously the Court of Appeals is allowing him to raise only three issues: the racist jury-rigging that kept blacks off his



Jennifer Beach

jury; the prosecutor’s closing argument that the jury didn’t have to worry about reasonable doubt because Mumia would get “appeal after appeal”; and the notorious, obscene prejudice of the judge, Albert Sabo, during the 1995 post-conviction hearings. Sabo was the racist hanging judge who sent more people to death row than anyone else in recent history, who said at the time of Mumia’s 1982 trial, “I’m going to help them fry the n----r.”

These three issues give a taste of the
continued on page 11