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Democratic Congressional leader Nancy Pelosi meeting with Bush following midterm elections. Right: Devastation in Baghdad following November 19 car bombing, emblematic of Iraq's descent into civil war under U.S. occupation.



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June 2006: As Democrats called for more effective "war on terror," Harry Reid, with fellow Senator Charles Schumer, called for redeploying troops bogged down in Iraq quagmire.

U.S. Elections: Bourgeoisie's Midterm Correction

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

From the cesspool of bourgeois electoral politics, the Democrats emerged this month with a majority in the House of Representatives and a slim win in the Senate. The campaigns were marked by overt racism, anti-gay and anti-abortion bigotry, paeans to the "war on terror" from all quarters, general sleaze and hypocrisy—all of this exemplifying American bourgeois democracy. The midterm elections represented the victory of a section of the U.S. capitalist ruling class that engineered a kind of "market correction" on the political front. Republican candidates suffered from massive public revulsion at the corruption and sheer incompetence of Bush and his cohorts. But the overriding question was U.S. imperialism's occupation of Iraq, under which Iraqis are now being killed at the rate of almost 100 per day. The Iraq quagmire is vastly unpopular in the U.S. and has increasingly become an albatross for the ruling class.

The "Anybody but Bush" left was quick to claim victory in the elections, with the rad-lib *Nation* (4 December) cheering in a front-page headline: "It's Party Time." But the real coup de grace was delivered to the Bushites by major sections of the U.S. military, along with Bush Senior's coterie and elements of the Democratic Party. When the likes of General William Odom, former head of the National Security Agency, declares the Iraq war and occupation "the greatest strategic disaster in American history," it is a safe bet that heads will roll. An editorial published in the *Army Times*, *Air Force Times*, *Navy Times* and *Marine Corps Times*—publications owned by Gannett Co., Inc. that serve and reflect military interests—demanded Defense Secretary Rumsfeld's ouster on the eve of the election. And they got it: immediately after the Republicans' midterm thumping came Rumsfeld's dumping.

Rumsfeld's nominated replacement is one Robert Gates, a former CIA director and veteran of sinister Reaganite ventures such as the Iran-Contra affair, a secret White House operation in the 1980s that sold weapons to Iran to get cash for homicidal reactionaries fighting the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. The U.S. rulers want to retool their war machine, the better to subjugate the peoples of the world in the service of the capitalist profit system. Predicting the problems besetting the military today, former Army chief of staff General Eric Shinseki warned before he was ousted in 2003, "Beware the 12-division foreign policy with a 10-division Army." The bipartisan Iraq Study Group headed by James Baker, a key player in the Reagan and Bush Sr. administrations, is expected to soon deliver a "reality-based" plan for extricating U.S. forces from Iraq.

The "pragmatists" riding to the rescue include many from the upper crust who not only think that the CIA's torture methods are necessary but have themselves overseen plenty of this dirty work. To openly advocate it as the Bush gang does, however, is considered to be very poor PR, further tarnishing the darkened image of "democratic" U.S. imperialism. There is also opposition in the bourgeoisie to Bush's notions of "faith-based" government. While it is just good bourgeois politics to do what's necessary to extract votes from Christian evangelicals (whose votes were split in the midterm elections), it is quite another thing to act

as if you actually believe the stuff. As the late muckraking journalist I. F. Stone put it: "All governments lie, but disaster lies in wait for countries whose officials smoke the same hashish they give out."

The bourgeoisie now sees a chance to restore the much-frayed "national unity" that was proclaimed in the aftermath of the September 11 terror attacks and used to package the rulers' assaults on immigrants, black people and the working class as a whole. For this task, the Democrats—the other capitalist party of war and racism—are well-suited. They are widely viewed as a "lesser evil" than the justly loathed Bush administration, thus giving them, at least in the short run, more "credibility" in mobilizing support for further U.S. military adventures and depredations. And while occasionally opposing some of Bush's more egregious power grabs—e.g., voting in the main against the 2006 Military Commissions Act that included a frontal assault on *habeas corpus* legal protections—they are no less committed to maintaining the imperial presidency than the Republicans.

Racism U.S.A.

The labor traitors who head both the AFL-CIO and Change to Win federations celebrated their own role in the Democrats' victory. A record amount of union money was spent for these midterm elections, and thousands upon thousands of union members were mobilized to "get out the vote." Black liberal spokesmen continued to sell the party as the "friend"

of the oppressed black masses, while Latino pols helped channel mass anger over draconian anti-immigration legislation proposed by Republicans in Congress earlier this year into votes for the Democrats.

The Democrats benefited from the social tinder at the base of U.S. society, with its widening class divide and murderous racism. But as death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal remarked in a 14 November column:

"This election was not a vote in favor of Democrats, so much as it was a profoundly anti-Bush vote.

"For days, weeks, perhaps years after this election, schools across Black and poor America will be as wretched, as defunded, and as dysfunctional as they were before. Will a Democratic majority repeal the disastrous No Child Left Behind law? The peoples' rights to be secure in their homes and places (said to be guaranteed in the Constitution) will still be under constant and dangerous threats, not from the 'terrorists'—but from the government."

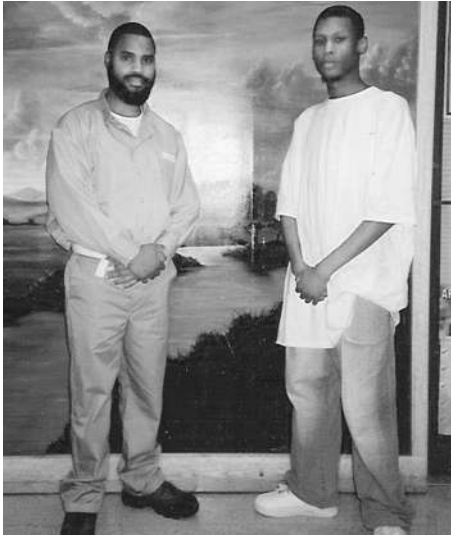
Neither bourgeois party spoke much about the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina—the man-made racist atrocity against black New Orleans. Small wonder, as each was complicit in that atrocity. Katrina, however, is very alive in the consciousness of the black population and the working class as a whole. Along with general disaffection over a losing war in Iraq, which was prepared by lies from the outset, the racist contempt shown the people of New Orleans by Washington was another nail in the coffin of the incumbent Republicans. But the reality of ongoing devastation along the Gulf Coast is raw, tangible evidence of the racist oppression

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Terrorism: A Marxist Analysis

The "War on Terror" and the Imperialist World Order10





Monique Code
Jamal Hart (left) and son Jamal Hart, Jr.

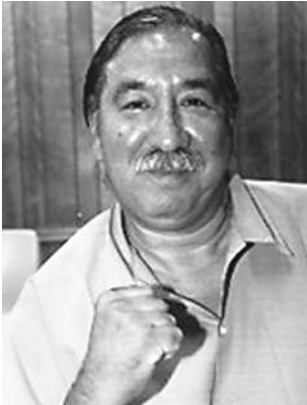
21st Annual Holiday Appeal



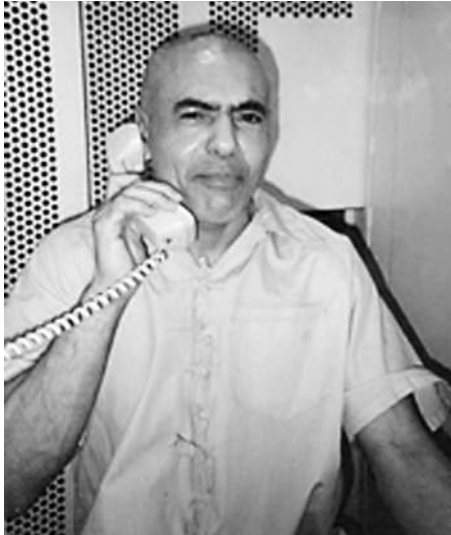
December 16th Committee
Tom Manning



strugglemag
Jaan Laaman



cainmo.com
Leonard Peltier



hugopinell.org
Hugo Pinell

Free the Class-War Prisoners!

This year's Holiday Appeal marks the 21st year of the Partisan Defense Committee's program of sending monthly stipends as an expression of solidarity to those imprisoned for standing up to racist capitalist repression. This program revived a tradition initiated by the International Labor Defense (ILD) under James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the Communist Party and the ILD's first secretary (1925-28). The PDC sends stipends to 16 class-war prisoners.

At this critical time, the Holiday Appeal will focus on the urgent fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, seeking to build on the successful PDC rallies recently

**Partisan Defense Committee**

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

held in Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland and New York. The state has repeatedly demonstrated its unswerving commitment to make Jamal the first political prisoner executed in this country since the Rosenbergs were put to death over 50 years ago.

Writing in August 1927, as the capitalist rulers geared up for the legal lynching of anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, Cannon warned:

"The case is again before the black-gowned judges on another appeal by the defense against flagrant errors in the trial. It is, of course, absolutely right to exhaust every legal possibility and technicality in the fight, provided—that the workers have no illusions. We must remember that the case has been before these same judges many times before, and they have again and again put their seal of approval on the criminally false verdict."

He emphasized, "We must appeal at the same time to the laboring masses of America and the whole world who are the highest court of all." This is the pressing task before us today in the fight to free Mumia. Build the Holiday Appeal! Free all class-war prisoners!

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a former Black Panther Party spokesman, a well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and an award-winning journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless." The fight to free America's foremost class-war prisoner has reached a crucial juncture. Mumia's

case is on a "fast track" before the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals. A decision could come soon.

December 9, 2006 marks the 25th anniversary of the day Mumia was arrested for a killing that the cops know he did not commit. Mumia was framed up for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner and sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. More than five years ago, Mumia's attorneys submitted to the courts the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner, but to the racists in black robes a court of law is no place for evidence of the innocence of this fighter for the oppressed.

This past July, Mumia filed his legal brief in the federal appeals court—the last stage before the U.S. Supreme Court. The execution of Tookie Williams last December in the face of a massive public outcry was a real signal that the state intends to see Mumia dead. It was because he has always spoken for the oppressed, such as those left to die in New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, that Mumia faces the ultimate in capitalist repression: the racist death penalty. Workers, immigrants, minorities and all opponents of racist oppression must redouble their efforts to free Mumia now!

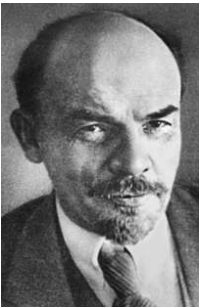
Leonard Peltier is an internationally revered class-war prisoner. His incarceration for more than three decades because of his activism in the American Indian Movement has come to symbolize this



TROTSKY

On Revolutionary Morality

Many radical intellectuals in the late 1930s justified their departure from the Marxist movement by denouncing Bolshevism as "amoral" and equating Trotskyism, the continuator of the program of the 1917 October Revolution, with the Stalinist perversion of Marxism. In a polemic against such apologists for the bourgeois order, Leon Trotsky upheld Bolshevism's revolutionary morality, which flows from the necessities of the class struggle.



LENIN

A means can be justified only by its end. But the end in its turn needs to be justified. From the Marxist point of view, which expresses the historical interests of the proletariat, the end is justified if it leads to increasing the power of humanity over nature and to the abolition of the power of one person over another....

Permissible and obligatory are those and only those means, we answer, which unite the revolutionary proletariat, fill their hearts with irreconcilable hostility to oppression, teach them contempt for official morality and its democratic echoers, imbue them with consciousness of their own historic mission, raise their courage and spirit of self-sacrifice in the struggle. Precisely from this it flows that *not* all means are permissible. When we say that the end justifies the means, then for us the conclusion follows that the great revolutionary end spurns those base means and ways which set one part of the working class against other parts, or attempt to make the masses happy without their participation; or lower the faith of the masses in themselves and their organization, replacing it by worship for the "leaders." Primarily and irreconcilably, revolutionary morality rejects servility in relation to the bourgeoisie and haughtiness in relation to the toilers, that is, those characteristics in which petty-bourgeois pedants and moralists are thoroughly steeped.

—Leon Trotsky, *Their Morals and Ours* (1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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21st Annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!



Los Angeles Saturday, December 2 2 to 6 p.m. Mount Hollywood Congregational Church 4607 Prospect Ave., Hollywood For more information: (213) 380-8897	Bay Area Sunday, December 10 1 to 4 p.m. YWCA, Tea Room 1515 Webster Street, Oakland For more information: (510) 839-0852	Chicago Sunday, December 10 3 to 7 p.m. UE Hall 37 S. Ashland (at Monroe) For more information: (312) 563-0442
Toronto Friday, December 15 7 to 10 p.m. Steelworkers Hall 25 Cecil Street For more information: (416) 593-4138	New York Sunday, December 17 5 to 10 p.m. Southpaw, 125 Fifth Ave. (at Sterling Pl.), Brooklyn, NY For more information: (212) 406-4252	Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee More information: (212) 406-4252 partisandefense@earthlink.net www.partisandefense.org Photo credit: Jennifer Beach

Houston Janitors Win Contract

NOVEMBER 20—After striking for one month against five national cleaning companies, Houston janitors organized by Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 5 settled today, winning a three-year contract. The strike by the 1,700 overwhelmingly immigrant and women workers, part of the SEIU’s national Justice for Janitors campaign, posed key questions for the entire labor movement: the unionization of the racist, open shop South and the defense and organization of immigrant workers, whom the capitalists seek to maintain as a desperate, low-wage source of profits.

By winning a contract, the strike cemented the SEIU’s victory last year when it won union recognition for 5,300 janitors in the city. Under the new contract, pay will increase by January 2009 from \$5.30 to \$7.75 an hour. The janitors, who are now mostly limited to four hours of work each day and allowed no time off, will be guaranteed six hours work as well as paid vacations and six holidays. Health benefits, a central demand of the strike, won’t begin until January 2009.

The bosses fought hard to break the new union. Prior to the strike, the companies threatened workers who signed union materials or talked to union officials and ordered workers to sign petitions that they would not honor picket lines. At least 14 workers were fired during the strike. Democratic mayor Bill White’s cops arrested 79 unionists and supporters engaged in civil disobedience actions. On November 8, more than 500 janitors protesting the arrest of three strikers gathered outside police headquarters and a police substation, chanting “Up with the protest!” and “Arriba, revolution!” (*Houston Chronicle*, 8 November).

On November 16, cops on horseback violently dispersed a pro-union protest, arresting 46 and severely injuring five. Among the injured was 83-year-old New York janitor Hazel Ingram, one of many from around the country who have traveled to Houston to support the strike. Bond was initially set for almost \$1 million per person, and protesters were released only after two days of abuse in jail.

While the SEIU has won victories in Houston and other cities, SEIU president Andy Stern is an ardent proponent of class collaboration, promoting a “cooperative strategy” between the workers and the bosses. Along these lines, the SEIU tops have long pushed civil disobedience actions intended to “shame” the landlords and their corporate tenants. But make no mistake: hard class battles are not won through public sympathy but the exercise of labor’s power. Key to the effectiveness of the strike was that the picket lines dis-



Pedro

Striking janitors rally in Houston.

rupted business operations in Houston’s office buildings. When the SEIU dispatched traveling picket squads to commercial buildings in Chicago, Los Angeles, Jersey City, Sacramento and New York City, janitors honored and joined their lines.

The SEIU picked Houston as a beachhead for organizing service workers throughout the South. This strike victory can give a powerful impetus to organizing other service workers in Houston, which already has a sizable union presence among oil workers and longshore-

men, and beyond. Industry has expanded in recent decades in the South, where both foreign and domestic capitalists have taken up shop to evade unions and take advantage of low wages. Organizing the open shop South will require fighting against the entrenched racial oppression of black people as well as the victimization of immigrants, a rapidly growing section of the working class. As the Houston strike and other labor battles have shown, immigrant workers can play a crucial role in revitalizing the labor movement in the U.S. ■

Smithfield Walkout Saves Immigrants’ Jobs

In an important victory for workers in the open shop South, 75 immigrants at the Smithfield pork processing plant in Tar Heel, North Carolina, won their jobs back on November 18 after a two-day walkout. More than 1,000 workers, mainly Latino immigrants but also including black and white workers, walked out when the company fired the immigrants after their Social Security numbers were not verified and hundreds more workers were threatened. The walkout crippled production at the plant—the largest pork processing plant in the world—forcing the company

to rehire all the workers with no reprisals. And for the first time, the company agreed to meet with a group of elected workers about conditions in the plant. Despite the victory, workers could still lose their jobs. Ever since this spring’s mass immigrant rights protests, the Department of Homeland Security has vindictively pushed for employers across the country to re-check workers’ Social Security numbers.

Among those Smithfield sought to fire were supporters of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union, which for more than a decade has fought to

organize the plant. Conditions for the 6,000 workers are so hellish that, according to the UFCW, annual turnover at the plant is **100 percent!** Pro-union workers have faced violent attacks by armed company goons and county sheriffs, racist harassment and anti-union blacklists. Job titles are segregated by race and ethnicity. It will take the fighting unity of black, Latino and white workers to organize the Smithfield plant. Last week’s successful job action could turn the tide in favor of the union, and an organizing victory at Smithfield could spur further organizing efforts in the South. ■

country’s racist repression of its native peoples, the survivors of centuries of genocidal oppression. Peltier’s frame-up trial for the deaths of two marauding FBI agents in what had become a war zone at the South Dakota Pine Ridge Reservation over 30 years ago shows what capitalist “justice” is all about. Although the lead government attorney has admitted: “We can’t prove who shot those agents,” and the courts have repeatedly acknowledged blatant prosecutorial misconduct, the 62-year-old Peltier is still locked away.

Jamal Hart, Mumia’s son, was sentenced in 1998 to 15½ years on bogus firearms possession charges. Hart was targeted for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania laws, which would have meant a probationary sentence, Clinton’s Justice Department intervened to have him thrown into prison under federal laws. He is not eligible for parole. Hart was recently transferred to Minersville, PA. He had been confined in Ray Brook, New York, hundreds of miles from family and supporters, where he was subjected to numerous provocations by abusive prison guards and thrown into solitary.

Eight MOVE members, **Chuck Africa**, **Michael Africa**, **Debbie Africa**, **Janet Africa**, **Janine Africa**, **Delbert Africa**, **Eddie Africa** and **Phil Africa**, are in their 29th year of prison. They were sentenced to 30-100 years after the 8 August 1978 siege of their Philadelphia home by over 600 heavily armed cops. They were falsely convicted of killing a police officer who died in the cops’ own crossfire. In 1985 they watched in horror from their Pennsylvania prison cells as eleven of their MOVE family members, including five children, were massacred by Philly cops, many of them

“veterans” of the 1978 assault.

Jaam Laaman and **Thomas Manning** are the remaining anti-imperialist activists known as the Ohio 7 still in prison. They were convicted for their roles in a radical group that took credit for bank “expropriations” and bombings in the late 1970s and ’80s against symbols of U.S. imperialism such as military and corporate offices. Before their arrests in 1984 and 1985, the Ohio 7 were targets of massive manhunts. Their children were kidnapped at gunpoint by the Feds and interrogated.

The politics of the Ohio 7 were once shared by thousands of radicals during the heyday of the Vietnam antiwar movement and by New Leftists who wrote off the possibility of winning the working class to a revolutionary program and saw themselves as an auxiliary of “Third World” liberation movements. But, like the Weathermen before them, the Ohio 7 were spurned by the “respectable” left. From a proletarian standpoint, the actions of these leftist activists against imperialism and racist injustice are not a crime. These courageous fighters should not have served even a day in prison.

Ed Poindexter and **Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa** are former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska, National Committee to Combat Fascism. They were victims of the FBI COINTELPRO operation launched against the Communist Party and then deployed to “neutralize” radical organizations in the 1960s, particularly the Black Panther Party, whose members were framed up and imprisoned by the hundreds while 38 were killed. Poindexter and Mondo, railroaded to prison for a 1970 explosion which killed a cop, were sentenced to life and have now served more than 30 years in jail. They are cur-

rently attempting to exhume a crucial piece of evidence in their trial: a 911 audio tape which would prove testimony of the state’s key witness to be perjured.

Hugo Pinell is the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. He was a militant anti-racist leader of prison rights organizing along with his comrade and mentor, George Jackson, who was gunned down by prison guards in 1971. Despite hundreds of letters of support, many job offers and no disciplinary write-ups for over 25 years, Pinell has repeatedly been

denied parole, most recently in November. Now in his 60s, Pinell continues to serve a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay Security Housing Unit in California.

Contribute now! All proceeds from the Holiday Appeals will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund. This is not charity but an elementary act of solidarity with those imprisoned for their opposition to racist capitalism and imperialist depredations. Send your contributions to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013; (212) 406-4252. ■

A Thank You from Workers World

The Partisan Defense Committee received the following October 24 letter from Workers World Party (WWP). Despite our political differences with WWP, we called for their defense against a sinister “defamation” lawsuit by Ira Rennert’s union-busting outfit Renco. The lawsuit was in retaliation for a Workers World article describing attacks on pensions by Renco’s subsidiary, WCI Steel (see “Defend Workers World Party Against Robber Baron Lawsuit,” WV No. 873, 7 July).

Our thanks to you and the Partisan Defense Committee for your letter of support in the *Renco vs. Workers World* lawsuit, and for your generous contribution of \$100 to the Pension Defense Project.

My apologies for not having responded earlier. We were doing some renovation of our offices for several months and I unfortunately misplaced some of my papers during that period.

Yes, Ira Rennert is a supreme example

of a big capitalist with a right-wing agenda who would love to crush the left with lawsuits. However, we have won a victory in the first round of this struggle. A New York State Supreme Court judge has thrown out Renco’s charges against us. (See www.workers.org/2006/us/lawsuit-1019/index.html) We hope this legal decision will give encouragement to others who “speak truth to power” and be of benefit to all progressive and working class organizations.

It is very likely that Renco will appeal the judge’s ruling, so we consider the case to be active and are preparing for the next stage of this contest. In the meantime, the fightback to stop the robbing of workers’ pensions and other benefits is as urgent as ever. Being able to call things by their right name is only a first, but important, step in this battle.

Yours in the struggle,
Deirdre Griswold
Editor, *Workers World*

MOVE's Killers Sue Paris for Honoring Mumia

In the midst of a revival of an international campaign to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, Philadelphia city officials are suing the city of Paris and its Saint-Denis suburb for naming a street after Mumia and for designating him an honorary citizen. As reported in the French press, an October 17 letter to the Council of Paris states that Philadelphia officials plan to visit France at the end of November to protest these honors. The French group United National Collective to Support Mumia Abu-Jamal has called a protest against this delegation for November 29.

After news of the lawsuit was leaked, Philadelphia officials disingenuously claimed that the letter was a hoax. But according to the *Philadelphia Tribune* (17 November), Peter J. Wirs, president of the 59th Republican Ward Executive Committee, admitted, "I sent privileged communication between myself and my counsel that if and when a delegation were to be organized these were the members that would be composed thereof." In response to the Philly officials' lawsuit scheme, Mumia himself wrote a letter to the mayor and Council of Paris, as did his attorney, Robert Bryan.

Mumia, a leader of the Philadelphia Black Panthers in his youth, has long been a supporter of the MOVE organization, which has for decades been vilified by the government and terrorized by police. Just two months ago, the Philadelphia police department awarded its "Valor Award" to nine cops who participated in the assault on the MOVE commune in Powelton Village on 8 August 1978 following a 55-day siege by as many as 600 cops. One cop was killed in the police cross fire. But nine MOVE members were framed up and sentenced to 30-100 years in prison for the killing. In May 1985, city police assisted by the Feds firebombed MOVE's Osage Avenue home, incinerating eleven people, five of them children, and burning down an entire black neighborhood in the process.

The latest development in the campaign against Mumia illustrates yet again that given the capitalist rulers' determination to execute Mumia, the mobilization needed to fight for his freedom is one that recognizes the depth of the state's hatred for him and brings the power of the international labor movement to bear.

We print below a translation of a leaflet issued on November 16 by the Comité de Défense Sociale, a non-sectarian legal and social defense organization in political solidarity with the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League.

* * *

The City of Philadelphia has sued Paris and the suburb of Saint-Denis for "apology for crime." "Apology for crime" is a concept introduced into French law in 1893-1894 as part of the infamous "evil laws" that were used to persecute anarchists. In the eyes of the Democratic and Republican Philadelphia city councillors

who have launched this action, the "apology for crime" here is that courageous death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal was named an honorary citizen of Paris and Saint-Denis, and that in April, the first Mumia Abu-Jamal Street was inaugurated in Saint-Denis.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, supporter of the MOVE organization and award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," he was framed up in 1982 on false charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Sentenced to death based on his political activity and beliefs, Mumia has spent 24 years on death row for a crime he did not commit. *Free Mumia now!*

At the end of this month, Philadelphia is sending a bipartisan delegation, including the city's police commissioner, to protest this support for Mumia, underscoring the extent to which the American bourgeoisie remains mobilized to see him executed. This attack takes place when the international defense campaign for Mumia is once again gaining steam, a campaign that Philadelphia and its police are seeking

including centrally the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot Faulkner. Beverly's confession corroborates a whole set of other evidence and explains that Faulkner was killed by hit men paid by the mob because he was interfering in payoffs to the notoriously corrupt Philadelphia police. Foremost, it demonstrates the collusion of the cops, the prosecution and the courts in Mumia's frame-up. It is an object lesson in the class nature of the capitalist state, an instrument of organized violence for the capitalist class to defend its profit system against the working people and minorities.

This latest offensive by the city of Philadelphia against Mumia underlines that it is a suicidal illusion to believe that he can get a new, fair trial in the very courts that have been trampling on his rights for 25 years. But this is the line peddled by the likes of PCF [Communist Party] head Marie-George Buffet as well as Olivier Besancenot of the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] and Arlette Laguiller of LO [Lutte Ouvrière], who signed a call for "a new, fair trial" (*l'Humanité*, 4 February) and so place



Workers World

April 29: Ceremony in Saint-Denis marking dedication of street named for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Défense Sociale and Partisan Defense Committee statement demanding Mumia's freedom, as has Gilles Perrault, author of *Le Pull-over Rouge* on the Ranucci affair. [The statement, along with a list of signatories, appears on the PDC's Web site at www.partisandefense.org/campaigns/signers.html.] In 1976, Ranucci was the last man in France to face the guillotine for a crime he always swore he did not commit. And Collard at that time was already a lawyer...participating on the side of the prosecution against Ranucci. The PDC call to free Mumia has been signed by hundreds of trade-union activists, organizations and personalities around the world, including the poet Sonia Sanchez; Nobel Prize-winning authors Dario Fo and Nadine Gordimer; Antonio Negri; Zapatista leader Subcomandante Marcos; the late Markus Wolf; Bob Crow, leader of the British Rail, Maritime and Transport Union; as well as numerous trade-union sections and branches such as the COBAS PT CUB (postal workers union) in Milan, the SNTE-CNTE Section 10 (teachers union) in Mexico City, International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422-A in the U.S. city of Charleston, etc.

So much for the statements by the city of Philadelphia and Collard that they oppose the death penalty and "only" want to keep Mumia behind bars for the rest of his life. Pennsylvania is a death penalty state, with the fourth-largest death row population in the U.S., and the Philadelphia delegation to Paris is taking place in the context of the prosecutors' fight to restore the death sentence against Mumia. Mumia is an innocent man who should never have spent a single day in prison!

Why has Philadelphia City Hall targeted Paris and Saint-Denis in their offensive when Venice and a score of other cities internationally have also made Mumia an honorary citizen? The answer lies in its perceived opportunity to profit from the racist campaign underway here against youth in the *banlieues* [suburban ghettos], carried out by parties of the left and right in the run-up to presidential elections. The first anniversary of last year's *banlieue* revolt following the deaths of Ziad Benna and Bouna Traoré, who were killed while trying to escape a police dragnet, saw a major government offensive to present the police rather than *banlieue* youth as the real victims. The PCF's daily *l'Humanité* [16 October], for example, devoted a full page to "Police Officers Trapped in a Housing Project in Epinay-sur-Seine." Ten days later, *l'Humanité* ran another article headlined, "Police Officers in an Infernal Cycle," promoting their line for a return to the neighborhood cops touted by [former Socialist Party prime minister Lionel] Jospin and Buffet.

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Mumia to Paris Officials: Tell Them "No"

Mumia Abu-Jamal sent the following letter, dated October 30, to the mayor of Paris.

My dear Monsieur Le Maire and City Councillors of Paris:

I'm informed that you and your colleagues received an insulting and somewhat threatening letter assuring you that my trial was fair, and my conviction and death sentence was just.

As for the fairness of the trial I invite you to read the Amnesty International report on my case to determine for yourselves if the trial or subsequent appeals were even remotely fair.

Only in America could a trial judge say (in the presence of a sworn court reporter), "I'll help them fry the n----r," and be considered fair.

Only in America could a state supreme court justice, Ron Castille, serve as chief prosecutor on direct appeal, and also sit as an appellate judge on the same case, and not recuse

himself. What a fair appeal!

The trial featured lies, just as the threatening letter to you did.

If the trial was truly fair, why would the Philadelphia letter propose a deal?

That "deal," by the way is but another lie, a devil's bargain that they are powerless to grant under any stretch of American or international law.

The letter-writers are merchants of death who wish to trick you into their campaign to not only kill me, but to wipe my name from the face of the earth.

Why else would they care about a small street in St. Denis? Or an award of Citizen of Honor from the City of Light?

The Empire thinks it is Master of the World and can tell all what to do.

I respectfully request you to tell them, "No."

Merci,
Mumia Abu-Jamal

to crush in the egg. It also comes at a crucial juncture of the legal proceedings. Last month, Mumia submitted the final papers in his appeal of a federal court decision that affirmed his frame-up conviction. The court could decide within months whether to reinstate the death penalty, to condemn him to the living death of life in prison or to grant a new trial.

For years, every court has continued to refuse to take into account the mountain of evidence proving his innocence,

their faith in the bourgeois injustice system. The courts will not free Mumia without the weight of an international mobilization of the masses, centrally based on the labor movement. It was the power of an international mobilization based on the working class, from South Africa to Europe to the U.S., that helped stay the hand of the executioner when Mumia was days away from execution in 1995. Preaching faith in the capitalist courts has already demobilized workers and the oppressed, undercutting the need to fight now for Mumia's freedom.

Philadelphia is being represented in Paris by one Gilbert Collard, a lawyer who grotesquely compared Mumia with Nazi criminal Klaus Barbie! "Apology for crime" is something Collard knows very well. In 2001 he defended General Aouissas when he was prosecuted for "apology for war crime" after boasting of his role as a chief torturer during the Algerian War! During the trial, Collard sought to discredit Henri Alleg, a Communist leader, who gave evidence of his own torture at the hands of French paratroopers during that war.

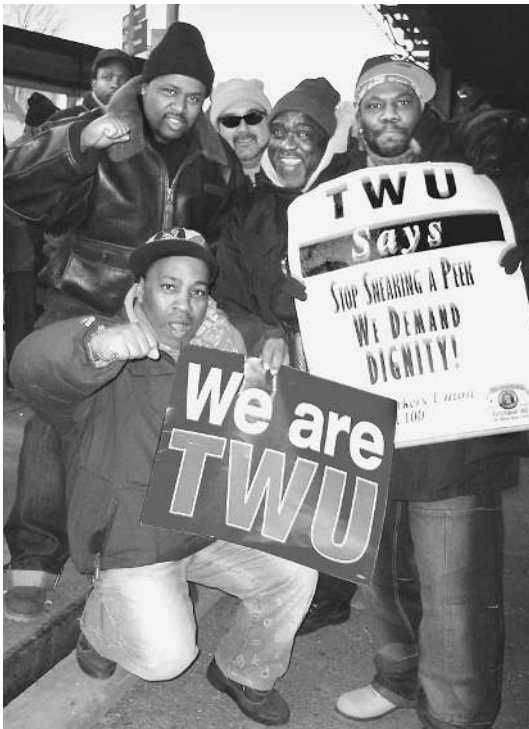
Henri Alleg has signed the Comité de



Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia, July 1995: Mob of 300 cops, denouncing union support for Mumia, besieges headquarters of 1199C workers local.

LBL Speaker at Harlem Mumia Rally:



WV Photo

“Strike!” and “Free Mumia!” Should Ring Out in the Same Breath



WV Photo

The following speech by New York Labor Black League spokesman Tom Cowperthwaite, who is a member of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, was delivered at the October 28 New York City Partisan Defense Committee rally demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Unbroken and unbowed, Mumia Abu-Jamal is a courageous fighter against racism and injustice who has spent nearly a quarter-century on death row. The unions and the entire working class have a stake in winning freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal! The capitalist system thrives on the profits derived from the exploitation of workers and undermines working-class struggle in this country by dividing the working class along race lines. Racial oppression is a cornerstone of American capitalism, and the bosses and their politicians keep black people on the bottom. Unions, organizations and individuals that struggle and speak out against exploitation and oppression are targeted and attacked. This is why Mumia—a former Black Panther, supporter of MOVE and an eloquent spokesman against racism and injustice—was framed up and faces the death penalty.

The fight for Mumia’s freedom is what our class-struggle program for black liberation—revolutionary integrationism—is all about. The integration of black people into American society on the basis of full economic, social and political equality can only be realized through a proletarian revolution that uproots the capitalist system and ushers in an egalitarian socialist society.

Black liberation cannot succeed apart from united class struggle against the capitalists; working-class emancipation cannot succeed without an implacable fight against anti-black racism. Taking up the fight for Mumia’s freedom is part of the fight against racial oppression and working-class exploitation.

We in the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense are dedicated to the fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty. The way to fight for Mumia’s freedom is as part of a deeper social struggle, the class struggle. Mumia fights with the weapons he has—his voice and his pen. We must fight with the weapons we have—and our mightiest weapon is mobilizing the multiracial working class, which by its numbers, organization, discipline and consciousness can deliver blows against the capitalist exploiters and eventually overthrow them. Fraternally allied with the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League, the LBL fights for a class-struggle alternative—a reinvigorated workers movement with a class-struggle leadership that fights to win, all the way to a workers government!

As a transit worker and a member of TWU Local 100, I’m proud that we showed our union power for three days

Left: TWU Local 100 strike last December crippled NYC, showed labor’s power. Right: Bay Area Labor Black League marches in Revolutionary Contingent at San Francisco Mumia demonstration, May 2000.

last December. We paralyzed the racist, union-busting MTA and the city itself. That’s the same power we need to *free Mumia* and all class-war prisoners. Mumia wrote: “When the New York Transport Workers Union (TWU) went out on strike, their action sent shock waves across the nation and rattled the rulers. Immediately, like a slave driver who claims he was ‘betrayed’ by ‘his’

In every workplace, the words “Strike!” and “Free Mumia!” should ring out in the same breath. Especially now, we who are outside the prison walls must not forget Mumia, nor our obligation to appeal to labor and the entire working class to act now—stop the executioners! In 1995 when the first death warrant was signed, a worldwide protest by unions, civil rights activists and death penalty aboli-



Labor Defender

April 1927: International Labor Defense demonstration in New York City’s Union Square calls to free framed-up anarchist immigrant workers Sacco and Vanzetti.

‘people,’ New York’s mega-billionaire mayor, Michael Bloomberg, unleashed an ugly verbal missile at those who demanded a fair contract under which to work.” Bloomberg railed that the leadership of our overwhelmingly black and Latino union was “thuggish,” but when we were on the picket lines in East New York, Coney Island, Harlem, Sunset Park and every other corner of this city, working and poor people gathered around us to say, “Right on! It’s about time the unions fought back!”

Blacks and Latinos supported our strike in significantly higher proportions than any other section of society. Before, during and after the strike, my friends and I in the LBL were sending out the message that Mumia is one of our own. Quite rightly, *Workers Vanguard* issued a special supplement on the strike that included an article on Mumia. [See “NYC Transit Strike: Union Power vs. Class Collaboration,” WV Supplement, 6 January.] He is a prisoner of the same capitalist class that slams us with dangerous working conditions, sinking pay and benefits, union-busting injunctions, Taylor Law fines, racist cop brutality and the blood-drenched “war on terror.”

tionists forced the rulers to grant a stay of execution just days before Mumia was scheduled to die. Today, we need even larger mobilizations of union power. We need to turn those names of unionists on petitions, those motions, those resolutions into labor protest and strike action.

The Death Penalty: “Legal Lynching”

When I ran for delegate to the TWU’s international convention, my campaign program and proposed resolutions emphasized that our union must fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal as part of the need for labor to champion every struggle for black rights and black freedom. Marx wrote, “Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded.” Black people are the “last hired and first fired” in this country, a race-color caste segregated at the bottom of society. Of course, the racist rulers continuously and grotesquely blame the oppressed for their own oppression. But black people are not powerless victims. They are integrated into the economy and a strategic component of the American proletariat.

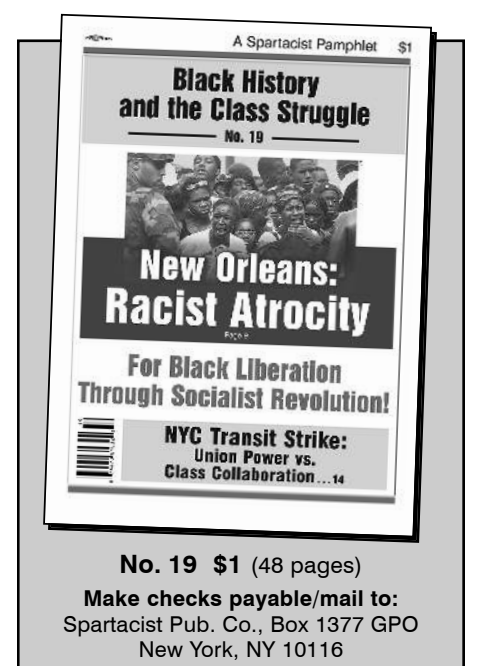
We say: “Finish the Civil War—For

black liberation through socialist revolution!” It took the Civil War to emancipate black people from chattel slavery, but the unfinished business of the Civil War is still all around us: the hellish conditions of ghetto life, bipartisan attacks on the remaining gains of the civil rights movement like voting rights and affirmative action, mass unemployment and mass imprisonment of black youth under the racist “war on drugs.” Last year we witnessed a man-made racist atrocity in New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina. Democratic and Republican politicians consciously prevented the evacuation and then the rescue of tens of thousands of mostly black residents. The ruling class left black people to die, and they’re still brazenly pursuing their goal of so-called “urban renewal” (meaning *black removal*), gutting unions and disappearing entire black neighborhoods like the Ninth Ward.

All this illustrates again and again that racial oppression is inherent in the capitalist system. The LBL fights the poisonous racism that divides the working class, not only because it cripples its immediate struggles, but also because it undermines workers’ ability to acquire class consciousness and thereby engage in united struggle and build a workers party that can lead a workers revolution.

We call the death penalty what it is: “legal lynching.” It is a legacy of chattel slavery, when for centuries blacks were not considered human beings, but property; when to kill a slave had the stamp of law. It’s in the nature of American capitalism that black life is held cheap and black lives are expendable. Democrats and Republicans compete with each other over who can be “tougher on crime,” so even the lethal spirit of slavery still exists with Jim Crow lynch law carried out by cops on the streets and carried over into

continued on page 6



LBL Speaker...

(continued from page 5)

the prisons. We know that the death penalty is race-biased, class-biased, arbitrary, barbaric, cruel and unusual punishment. It is the ultimate weapon in the capitalist state's arsenal of repressive power, and we in the LBL oppose it on principle.

The New York LBL was founded in 1986 following a successful campaign to defend a black token booth clerk, James Grimes, who was facing a gun rap after defending himself on the job during an assault by muggers. We said that Brother Grimes had the right to carry a gun and defend himself. We knew that the capitalist state and the capitalist courts would try to railroad a black transit worker. By organizing dozens of TWU brothers and sisters and other unionists in a show of union power and solidarity, our LBL predecessors turned the tide in Grimes' favor and all the charges were dismissed. That show of union strength on a much, much larger scale is what we need for Mumia now.

The LBL helped build the PDC-initiated mass rally that drove the Ku Klux Klan off the streets in New York City on October 23, 1999. Along with many other cases and causes taken up by the PDC, we fought for union action against racist cop terror in the cases of Abner Louima, Amadou Diallo, Alberta Spruill and many others, noting that police brutality can never be "reformed" out of the capitalist system which the cops are hired to enforce.

We fight for class struggle against bloody U.S. imperialism and its invasions and occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq, and fought for military defense of these countries against U.S. attack. Imperialist war is not caused by bad policy or bad politicians, but is built into the capitalist system itself. We fought against the mass detention of Muslims and immigrants after 9/11 and completely oppose the bipartisan "war on terror," which is a pretext for rampaging imperialist adventures abroad and to carry out domestic repression at home aimed at immigrants, blacks and unions. Every repressive law and court decision is aimed at bolstering capitalist rule and will eventually be directed at and used against the working class. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and for union action against *la migra* raids and deportations.

We fight for women's liberation, for free abortion on demand and for full democratic rights for gays. The recent killing of Michael Sandy, a young black gay man, on the Belt Parkway in south Brooklyn is a symptom of the vicious anti-gay bigotry pushed daily by the ruling class and their right-wing religious handmaidens.

The LBL condemns the Feds' "war on terror" against attorney Lynne Stewart—the "war on terror" witchhunt against Lynne Stewart and her legal assistants, Mohamed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar, who were sentenced just days ago [see "Overturn Terror Show-Trial Convictions of Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar!" WV No. 879, 27 October]. We brought LBL and union members to court sessions to join in widespread solidarity demonstrations with them. They shouldn't spend a minute in prison for defending the blind Sheik Abdel Rahman, providing the legal representation supposedly guaranteed under the Sixth Amendment. This witch-hunt clearly threatens everyone's rights. We say: Throw out the convictions! No jail time for Stewart, Yousry and Sattar!

Build a Workers Party!

The history of the struggles of workers and oppressed against capitalism shows that the bosses' courts are not in the business of providing "fair trials." They're in the business of maintaining capitalist "law and order" and the entire anti-labor, racist frame-up system. Illusions in the neutrality of the capitalist state, which is an instrument of organized violence by one class against another, are fatal to the independent mobilization of the workers



February 1986: NYC transit workers rally in support of token booth clerk James Grimes, dragged into court for defending himself with a gun during a mugging. Charges were dropped after union mobilized in his defense.

and oppressed against their class enemy. As Sister Erica from the PDC described, a host of phony socialist groups, liberals and black nationalists derailed the struggle for Mumia in the late '90s by pushing the demand for a "new trial" and sowing illusions in the same government that framed him up. During every political show trial in this country's history—Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro Boys, the Rosenbergs—the liberals and reformists have sown false hopes in the supposedly evenhanded scales of justice. In doing this, they demobilize the masses who rally in defense of those who symbolize their own oppression.

The government and courts only intervene into the unions to hogtie and destroy them as fighting organizations. Just look at the recent court injunctions, fines and prison time imposed on TWU Local 100. Yet there are many trade-union opportunists who drag their own unions into the bosses' courts and, in the guise of "fighting corruption" and for "union democracy," appeal to the union-busting Labor Department to intervene to "clean up" the unions. This is criminal! In Local 100's current union elections, just about every slate has candidates running for top positions who have been involved in suing the union and their opponents in the same Taylor Law capitalist courts. The LBL says: For complete and unconditional independence from the capitalist state! Cops and security guards out of the unions! No to union-suing! Labor must clean its own house!

The gains working people have made were wrested from the rulers through militant struggle. What's needed is working-class independence from the bosses' state and political parties. The trade-union bureaucracy's program of

appealing to, supporting and showering money on the Democrats—that other party of racism and war—is fatal to successful class struggle and even winning strikes. Since the state's top cop Eliot Spitzer issued the injunctions attacking the TWU, it is grotesque that the Local 100 Executive Board and Toussaint leadership are now zealously campaigning for Spitzer for governor in the upcoming election. During the last *three* contract fights, when Mumia was writing articles from death row defending New York transit workers, pro-death penalty Spitzer was writing *strikebreaking injunctions* against us! Spitzer was the jailer of our local union's president, Roger Toussaint, following the December strike. This program of class collaboration, shared by all wings of the trade-union bureaucracy, explains why the outcome of our strike is still in limbo and why we still have no contract.

Our strike was cut short and our power held back by our own union brass and the heads of all other major New York City unions. Instead of backing us up on the picket lines and boldly defying the slave-labor Taylor Law, they worked around the clock to get us back to work and smother the labor militancy it sparked. The AFL-CIO and Change to Win trade-union bureaucracy are the bosses' loyal "labor lieutenants." They waste *millions* of dues and COPE [Committee on Political Education] money trying to get capitalist politicians elected rather than leading class struggle and defending class-war prisoners like Mumia Abu-Jamal. It will take a political struggle within the unions to transform them into class-struggle organizations. Getting our unions to fight for Mumia Abu-Jamal is part of that struggle, which is international in scope.

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

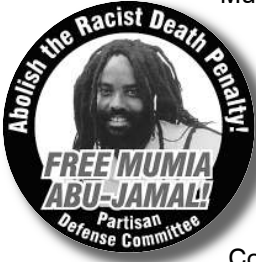
Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

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 10013-0099(212) 406-4252
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The workers' greatest victory and the imperialists' greatest defeat in history was the Russian Revolution of 1917, led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party. The failure of the revolution to spread internationally and relentless pressures from imperialism laid the basis for the rise of a privileged, nationalist bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the working class and repudiated the struggle for international workers revolution. Although a degenerated workers state, the Soviet Union remained a powerful counterweight to U.S. and world imperialism. It proved the superiority of collectivized property and socialist economic planning, guaranteeing jobs, housing, free health care and education to an entire population, most of which is now totally dispossessed and impoverished.

The collapse of the USSR greatly emboldened the U.S. rulers. We were for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. Likewise, today the LBL continues to defend the deformed workers states of Cuba, China, North Korea and Vietnam, while also calling for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies, for workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. Today, it's the duty of class-conscious workers everywhere to welcome North Korea's testing and possession of nuclear weapons. In the case of Iran, a Third World capitalist country also targeted as part of Washington's "axis of evil," we think that Iran needs nukes too.

What the multiracial American working class desperately needs is its own party—not a pro-capitalist labor party like the one in Britain, not another shill for the Democrats like the Working Families Party, not Green Party eco-capitalists who want "kinder, gentler" imperialism—but a revolutionary party that wages hard class struggle and fights for a planned economy under workers rule. A workers government will take American industry away from its incompetent, corrupt owners and use the productive wealth of this country to build a decent society for all. We built this country, we can run this country!

That's what the LBL stands for. There will be no social revolution in this country without the united struggle of black, white, Latino and Asian workers led by a multiracial vanguard party. So to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, to get rid of racist capitalism, to fight for socialism, check out the Labor Black League's ten-point program. Study with us. Join us! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! For black liberation through socialist revolution!■

Young Spartacus

San Francisco State

We print below a leaflet issued by the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club on September 24 protesting the banning of a mural in honor of the late scholar and Palestinian rights activist Edward Said at San Francisco State University. While he was for many years a member of the Palestine National Council, Said personally opposed the reactionary logic of nationalism. The mural, sponsored by the General Union of Palestine Students, depicts a cartoon character holding a key that symbolizes the Palestinian people's right of return to their homes, a right we defend. The College Republicans, emboldened by the administration's actions, held a rally in support of the "war on terror" on October 17, an act of intimidation of pro-Palestinian and Muslim students on campus, many of whom protested against the rally.

We have intervened on campus around this issue, bringing our revolutionary Marxist perspective of the need for working-class struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their Zionist partners, and all the capitalist rulers in the Near East. The SYC addressed a September 12 rally commemorating the Zionist massacre of Sabra and Shatila in Lebanon, stating: "The UN is only a fig leaf for imperialist slaughter.... Remember that it was the UN-brokered disarming of Palestinians in Lebanon that prepared their massacre in Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps twenty-four years ago! We say: No UN intervention!"

The International Socialist Organization (ISO), also active on the campus, has for decades tailed anti-communist Islamic fundamentalists, including the *mujahedin* in Afghanistan, and cheered the "Islamic Revolution" in Iran. They gush over the anti-woman Hezbollah as "potentially opening the way for a secular, left-wing alternative to take root and grow" in the Near East (*Socialist Worker*, 22 September)! During Israel's war on Lebanon, the SYC made clear that we stood for the military defense of Hezbollah against the Zionists, but gave no political support to these reactionary fundamentalists (see "Lebanon: Down With UN Intervention! Israel Out Now!" WV No. 875, 1 September).

* * *

As part of U.S. imperialism's bipartisan "war on terror," its justification for imperialist mass murder and colonial-style occupations in Afghanistan and Iraq, the U.S. firmly backed Israel's devastation of Lebanon and strangulation of Gaza. The domestic side of the war has been an attack first and foremost against Muslims and immigrants of Near Eastern descent, but is ultimately aimed at leftists, blacks, labor and all the oppressed. Universities across the country are in the grip of a McCarthyite witchhunt against Arab professors

and student groups, and all those critical of U.S. and Israeli wars of depredation. San Francisco State University (SFSU) president Corrigan has imposed a "moratorium" on murals, explicitly intended to ban a mural sponsored by the General Union of Palestine Students (GUPS) honoring the late Edward Said. The ban demonstrates the administration's role not as self-styled partisans of "equity and social justice," but as lieutenants in the bourgeoisie's witchhunt. The planned Native American mural has also been indefinitely postponed by the "moratorium."

Edward Said was a distinguished scholar, eloquent humanist and defender of the Palestinian people who faced harassment and intimidation at the hands of American jingoists and Zionists in life, and continues to be persecuted in death. As we wrote in "Edward Said: Passionate Advocate of Palestinian Freedom, Human Dignity" (WV No. 817, 9 January 2004): "Said always insisted that the Hebrew-speaking nation has a right to exist and to self-determination in Palestine. However, it has *no right* to a 'Jewish state' through the expulsion and suppression of the indigenous Palestinian nation." While not

a Marxist, he dedicated his life to the cause of the Palestinian people. Said opposed the dead-end and reactionary programs of nationalism and religion and advocated a binational and secular solution to the Israel/Palestine conflict. However, without

union. The cops chased off the students who were defending the mural and it was eventually removed. The administration's role as junior officers in the "war on terror" goes back to 2001, when the administration handed information on Near Eastern students to the FBI. In response, the SYC led campus protest. Four years ago, following a counter-protest GUPS held against a pro-Zionist demo, Corrigan retaliated by placing sanctions on GUPS. When GUPS requested that sanctions be lifted, Corrigan responded, "Why, so you guys can start throwing bombs in January?" Today the charges are that the mural is "conflict-centered" and hostile. This is a pathetic facade for censorship and intimidation. The same administration that has been forcing through budget cuts, tuition hikes and gunning for the campus faculty union is attacking the rights of Palestinian students. Campus workers and left-minded students have an interest in fighting this ban, for it will fuel further attacks on those in the administration's cross hairs.

At a GUPS-sponsored rally on September 12, an SYC speaker said: "Our perspective in the Near East means a struggle here in the belly of the imperialist beast against all the ruling-class parties, the Republicans, the Democrats and the Greens! The Green Party is a shill for the racist, pro-Zionist Democratic Party, seeking to pull the Democrats in the right direction.

The fake socialists of the ISO are campaigning for U.S. Senate on the ticket of the capitalist Green Party.... We stand for the independent mobilization of the working class, the only force in society with both the social power and objective interest to rid this world of capitalism and imperialism." The SYC is giving critical support to the Socialist Action (SA) candidate, Jeff Mackler, because he draws a crude class line in favor of working-class

Down With Ban on Edward Said Mural!

Defend the Palestinian People!

SFSU, 1994:
Cops destroy
mural honoring
Malcolm X.



the overturn of capitalist rule in the region, there can be no solution which guarantees the national rights of all the peoples of the Near East, including the right of refugees to return to their homeland.

The university is no "ivory tower." At SFSU particularly, the administration has always inflamed racial and ethnic hostilities on campus. In 1994 President Corrigan ordered that a mural of Malcolm X be painted over and sent a tactical squad of nearly 60 cops to storm the student

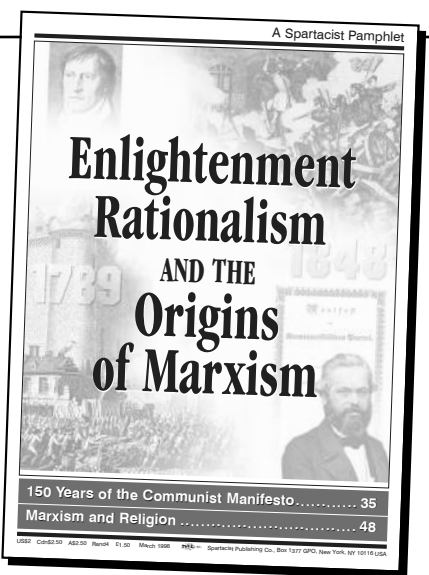
independence against the capitalist Democrats, Republicans and Greens (see "Critical Support to Socialist Action in Senate Election," WV No. 876, 15 September). Unlike the reformist SA, we fight for a workers socialist revolution to end imperialist war for good! **Down with the ban on murals! Defend the Palestinian people! Israel out of the Occupied Territories! UN out of Lebanon! U.S. out of Iraq and Afghanistan! For a socialist federation of the Near East!** ■

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

\$2 (48 pages)

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Spartacus Youth Club Events

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, December 9, 2 p.m.
Imperialism and War

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

NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, November 30, 7 p.m.
Video Showing: *From Death Row,
This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*

Columbia University, Kent Hall, Room 522A
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

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

UCLA...

(continued from page 16)

not just for a few more black students at the universities, as do bourgeois liberals, but for **free, quality, integrated education for all!**

At the university level, this means a fight for **open admissions** and **no tuition**, along with government-paid living stipends for all students! Nationalize the elite private universities! Massively expand remedial programs so that students deprived of the right to an education in inner-city holding pens, misnamed public schools, can catch up with those who had the advantage of well-funded suburban and private schooling. This program, along with the fight for black equality, cannot be realized by working within the framework of capitalism, but only through struggle by workers leading the oppressed against this racist, class-divided system.

In joining the protests against the racist purge of the universities, we warn against the losing strategy of promoting the capitalist government, its politicians, the Regents and campus administrations as the agency for providing access to higher education for black and minority youth. They represent the class enemy that must be struggled against tooth and nail. Our allies in the fight against this racist purge are the working class and oppressed masses, not the Regents or the Democrats, who, whatever their rhetoric, stand on the other side.

Liberals in the African Student Union (ASU) and Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN) look to the wing of capitalist rulers that wants to retain at least a few “black faces in high places.” The ASU has set up voter registration tables at the protests and its leaders worry that the lack of black students will mean that there won’t be future black leaders like Maxine Waters (who is now ramming through the plan to downsize King/Drew [Medical Center] while scapegoating hospital workers as “incompetent”). Such liberal Democratic Party politicians’ role is to confine class and social struggle within boundaries safe for capitalism. We want to win young black radicals to the cause of workers socialist revolution.

The UC Regents, who banned affirmative action in admissions even prior to Prop. 209, are the capitalist class watchdogs over the university. Most are themselves capitalists or executives of corporations, banks, investment houses and the like: Wachovia Bank, Blum Capital Partners, Paramount Pictures, etc. They represent the capitalist ruling class that daily exploits the working class, that decided not to fix the levees in New Orleans because it wasn’t profitable and viciously left black people to die, that wages imperialist war abroad to gain control of foreign markets and resources, such as the brutal occupation of Iraq. We say: Abolish the Board of Regents! As for the campus administrators, who

posture as the “concerned” soft cops to the Regents’ hard cops, they are no less enforcers of racist, capitalist policy. Abolish the administration! Those who work, study and teach at the universities should run the universities—for worker/student/teacher control!



Michael Zick Doherty/Daily Bruin

**November 1:
Rally on tenth
anniversary of
Proposition
209 at UCLA.**

With the Democrats winning control of Congress, many student protesters think they now have friends in high places. Don’t believe it. The Democrats ran as more effective military strategists for U.S. imperialism and better prosecutors of the “war on terror,” which is nothing but a war on blacks, immigrants and labor that has shredded the rights of all of us. The Democratic Party is the other major capitalist party of racism and imperialist war. It alternates with the Republicans in administering the same capitalist state machinery that enforces this system of exploitation and oppression.

Racist reaction didn’t just begin with Bush: the attacks on affirmative action started during the Carter administration with the Bakke Decision in 1978 and continued through Prop. 209, enacted during the Clinton years. It was under Clinton that the gap between rich and poor increased massively, as did the wealth gap between blacks and whites. It was Clinton who ended “welfare as we know it” and presided over the gutting of affirmative action and the huge incarceration of black and Latino youth in the 1990s.

Students need to realize that there is only one class in society that has the social power and interest to fight this capitalist system: the multiracial working class. Workers have their hands on the means of production, which also means that they have the power to shut it down and stop the flow of profit! Workers should be the natural allies of this struggle, but only if it challenges the bourgeoisie’s maintenance of universities as elite bastions for the privileged few. We seek to mobilize the working class in a fight for **jobs for all and free, quality integrated education for all!**

Anti-racist students should ally with black, Latino and immigrant workers on

the campus whose children are excluded from attending and who actually have the power along with other campus workers to shut down the universities. And not only black and minority workers, but all workers would have a stake in this fight. To reach out to the

masses of unemployed minority youth and women, we call for special union recruitment and training programs. The unions must also **organize the unorganized**, in particular the masses of immigrant workers. The anti-immigrant Proposition 187 was immediately followed by the anti-black Proposition 209 banning affirmative action: black rights, immigrant rights and union rights will either go forward together or fall back separately. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! This kind of broad fight against capitalism requires class and social struggle outside the framework of liberal pressure politics.

The main obstacle to mobilizing the power of labor is the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, which politically ties the workers to their class enemy through its support to the Democratic Party. Instead of seeking to lead class struggle based on the understanding that the interests of workers and the oppressed are irreconcilably counterposed to those of the capitalists, the trade-union leaders pursue a policy of class collaboration, preaching reliance on their Democrat “friends” in government. This has led over the decades to the precipitous decline of organized labor.

For some former labor bureaucrats, like Antonio Villaraigosa, the labor movement was itself simply a stepping stone to bourgeois politics. Whatever their road to office, the so-called Democratic Party “friends of labor” rule on behalf of capital. Their job is to suppress class struggle, divert social protest into safe electoral channels, and enforce austerity on the union movement and oppressed black and Latino masses. Villaraigosa in office demands concessions from the city workers unions and openly crossed the striking EAA [Engineers and Architects Association] picket lines, while his cops viciously drive the homeless out of downtown L.A. on behalf of the real estate moguls. To unchain the power of labor, it is necessary to break with the Democratic Party and forge a revolutionary workers party, which would have as a crucial task the fight for all the oppressed, not least the liberation of black people.

Black oppression forms the bedrock of American capitalism. The capitalist class today continues to profit from and enforce the subjugation and segregation of the black population as an oppressed race-color caste, overwhelmingly concentrated at the bottom of this society. The social conditions that imprison the impoverished black masses in the ghettos—the lack of decent jobs, education and housing as well as rampant police terror—cannot be solved through capitalist reforms.

Full political, social and economic equality for the black masses requires that the working class rip the economy out of the hands of the racist capitalist rulers and reorganize it on a socialist basis, where production is for human need, not profit. Only in this way will it be possible to eliminate the material roots of black oppression through the full integration of black people into an egalitarian socialist society. It is only through this struggle for integration by revolutionary socialist means that black equality can be achieved.

This government and its courts will never fundamentally “redress” racial injustice. The capitalists consciously pit white against black, native-born against immigrant, men against women in order to divide and weaken the working class and thus ratchet up their rate of exploitation and profit. When school busing to integrate Boston’s schools was defeated in 1974, at the hands of howling racist mobs in the streets, it opened the floodgates to a nationwide assault on school integration. While we actively fight for school desegregation, it was liberals and reformists who helped set up busing for the kill, channeling the fight to defend busing into dead-end appeals for federal intervention. With social struggle at an ebb, the Bakke Decision outlawing racial quotas came four years later. It became the leading edge of racist reaction aimed at rolling back every gain made by blacks.

To turn this around will require a class-struggle fight. No decisive victory for black and working people was ever won in Congress or the courts. It took a mass movement of millions on the street, courageously defying southern Democratic “Dixiecrat” governments and their baton-wielding cops and KKK mobs, to put an end to Jim Crow. It took the Civil War to smash the slave system. It will take a third American revolution, a socialist revolution, to finish the unfinished tasks of the Civil War. Complete freedom and equality for black people in this country requires a workers revolution to sweep away the entire capitalist system and wipe away the centuries-old legacy of racial oppression. Our program for black liberation through socialist revolution stands in sharp contrast to the reformist socialists such as Spark, which is utterly indifferent to the fight for black rights, or the Socialist Workers Party and International Socialist Organization, which endorse the liberals’ program that views government affirmative action as a solution to racial inequality. The Spartacus Youth Club fights for workers rule, where everyone’s labor and talents will be needed to build a socialist world of abundance and equality, and where education for all will be a natural part of this collective labor. Join us in this fight!■

Just Out!

Spartacist

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CORRECTIONS

The article “Revolutionaries in World War II” (WV No. 865, 3 March), reprinted from *Workers Hammer* No. 193 (Winter 2005-2006), incorrectly referred to Red Army commander Mikhail Tukhachevsky as a general. The Red Army was built on the principle of abolishing the rank of general, along with all other ranks of the tsarist officer caste. Officers’ ranks were only restored to the Red Army in 1935 as part of the Stalin-

ist bureaucracy’s consolidation of political power (see “On the Abolition of Ranks in the Red Army,” *Workers Hammer* No. 196, Autumn 2006).

In part two of “The Russian Revolution of 1917: From the February Revolution to the July Days” (WV No. 875, 1 September), the graphic of troops firing on protesters during the July Days was taken from a painting by A.M. Liubimov.

Protest Racist Cop Attack at UCLA!

We print below a leaflet issued by the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club on November 17. UCLA student Mostafa Tabatabaiejad was attacked by campus police after he did not show his student I.D. to student "community service officers."

The Spartacus Youth Club protests the vicious, racist cop attack on Mostafa Tabatabaiejad Tuesday night in the Powell library. Paralleling U.S. imperialist torture chambers from Abu Ghraib to Guantánamo, the UCPD [University of California Police Department] officers, not content with Tabatabaiejad's attempt to leave the library, grabbed him by the arm and began their sadistic Taser attack. Even with handcuffs on, the cops continued to Tase the youth repeatedly in front of 50-60 eyewitnesses, as he dropped to the floor in pain. These racist cops even threatened to Tase witnesses at the scene who asked for the officers' names and badge numbers! **This is an outrage!** Drop the charges! Cops off campus!

UCLA students witnessed firsthand what is standard police conduct in the ghettos and barrios across capitalist America. This outrageous assault is a warning to all black and minority students that they are not welcome on campus. It is significant that this racist cop attack on a student of Near Eastern descent took place the night before a scheduled protest against the racist purge of blacks and minorities from UCLA.

As Tabatabaiejad dropped to the floor he captured the political meaning of the attack when he shouted: "Here's your Patriot Act, here's your...abuse of power." The *Daily Bruin* consciously omitted this statement. This attack is nothing but the domestic face of the bru-

Spartacus Youth Club joins hundreds of UCLA students at November 17 protest against racist cop attack on Mostafa Tabatabaiejad.

Molina/L.A. Times



tal colonial occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan carried out with the Democratic Party's blessing. The xenophobic atmosphere permeating campuses is exactly what the Bush cabal and their right-wing minions on campus try to foment. In the aftermath of 9/11, we Marxists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Clubs warned that the bipartisan "war on terror" is a war on blacks, immigrants and labor.

Like the "war on communism" and "war on drugs," the "war on terror" is a political construct designed to regiment the population and justify government repression. The Democrats no less than the Republicans have been at the forefront of carrying out the "war on terror." You don't have to look far to see what the Democrats are all about. Democratic

mayor Antonio Villaraigosa has presided over arrests of youth who walked out in defense of immigrant rights in the past year and is currently overseeing brutal cop sweeps of overwhelmingly black skid row. The leadership of the various student groups on campus appeal to Democrats as allies. This is a dead end! We say break with the racist, capitalist Democrats!

Side by side with the racist purge at UCLA, the Regents facilitate the capitalists' campaign to maintain universities as a bastion of race and class privilege. The fact that a student has to produce identification just to be in the library speaks volumes. We of the Spartacus Youth Club call for free, quality, integrated public education for all! Down with the racist purge of higher education! We call

for open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who work and study there!

This outrage must be protested! Begging the administration to be "fair" is no solution. It is necessary to mobilize the power of the organized working class. If students and campus unions walked out together in defense of Tabatabaiejad, blacks and minorities would be a lot safer on campus. But racist outrages will happen as long as this rotten capitalist system exists. We in the Spartacus Youth Club have joined the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party that would mobilize in defense of all the oppressed as part of the fight for socialist revolution. ■

Mumia...

(continued from page 4)

This, together with the fact that the Socialist and Communist parties both called to restore the order of the Republic at the height of the youth revolt of a year ago, has only served to embolden all proponents of racist terror and those who want to see Mumia dead. Indeed, the letter sent on behalf of Philadelphia asserts that the decision to honor Mumia is disturbing "at an hour when French policemen themselves are exposed daily to an increasing number of attacks and acts of urban violence." (We note with irony that this letter was sent on October 17, marking the 45th anniversary of the killing of 200 Algerian workers by the Parisian police.) And on October 22, the far-right police "union" Action Police issued a statement demanding that [Interior Minister Nicolas] Sarkozy increase his repres-

sion of youth by attacking

"the true cause of these evils: radical Islamism, unemployment and apology for cop-killing which is being made by some councillors, as is the case with the sort of 'canonization' of Mr. Mumia Abu-Jamal, who assassinated a police officer in Philadelphia the night of 9 December 1981."

This same "trade union," counseled by none other than Gilbert Collard, has gone to court to protest the freeing of 70 youth caught in a cop dragnet on October 27 in Seine-et-Marne. The cops are not workers; they are the guard dogs of the racist capitalist system. **Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions!**

The cops, emboldened by the campaign against *banlieue* youth, have been increasing their protests and mobilizations to grant themselves even greater liberty to terrorize whomever they choose. One cannot fight seriously today for Mumia if one does not defend *banlieue* youth against police terror and fight for their rights

against the capitalist system, which has nothing to offer them except unemployment, racist discrimination and prison.

Sarkozy is now threatening criminal charges against anybody who opposes the forces of capitalist order "as an organized band." Such a measure directly threatens the whole working class: any picket line or trade-union demonstration attacked by the police could lead to such charges. Meanwhile, at Charles de Gaulle airport, the racist witchhunt underway to strip dozens of workers and trade-union militants of security clearance, and with it their jobs, targets first off the thousands of youth from the Paris *banlieues* employed there. More broadly, it targets this entire integrated workforce, and the bosses know full well that these workers can wield enormous social power when they defend their rights by strike actions. **Down with Vigipirate!** [Vigipirate is a program that includes racist police/army patrols of public transportation.]

The working class has a vital interest in mobilizing for Mumia's freedom and in defense of the *banlieue* youth. And the current ominous campaign by Collard, Philadelphia and Action Police shows how much the two issues are linked. The CDDs continues to demand amnesty for all youth jailed and charged

in the wake of last year's *banlieue* revolt and the mobilization against the CPE [First Employment Contract]. Racism is inherent in capitalism. To eradicate it once and for all, it will be necessary to overthrow this whole system through a workers revolution.

Just as we need to defeat the racist, pro-cop campaign against the *banlieue* youth, it is necessary to defeat Philadelphia City Hall's campaign against Mumia. A victorious mobilization for Mumia must open a breach in the racist consensus against the youth of North African and African origin. We call on the workers and the oppressed to mobilize massively to protest the Philadelphia delegation. Join the contingent of the Comité de Défense Sociale at the November 29 demonstration called by the Collectif National Unitaire de Soutien à Mumia Abu-Jamal in front of Paris City Hall. **There is no justice in the capitalist courts—Freedom now for Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty! The workers movement must defend the banlieue youth!** ■

Note: Since the publication of the above leaflet, WV has been informed that Ranucci, who was guillotined in 1976, was not the last person executed in France. Hamida Djandoubi was guillotined in September 1977.

Join the PDC Contingent in Philadelphia!

For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

The PDC is mobilizing a contingent for the "Mumia Must Be Free!" rally called by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Saturday, December 9, 11 a.m. Assemble outside Philadelphia City Hall

For more information and transportation from New York City call: (212) 406-4252

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Teachers' Struggle Shakes Mexico—The Fight for Permanent Revolution

Speaker: Jacob Zorn, Spartacist League

Thursday, December 7, 7 p.m.
Hamilton Hall, Room 516
Columbia University
(116th St. and Broadway, take 1 train to 116th St. stop)

NEW YORK CITY

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

Terrorism: A Marxist Analysis

The “War on Terror” and the Imperialist World Order

The Bush administration, supported by the Democrats in Congress, seized on the grief, anger and fear over the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon to mobilize popular support for new military adventures abroad and intensified repression domestically. The torture chambers of Guantánamo, Abu Ghraib and Bagram; the rape and massacre of Iraqi villagers by U.S. troops in Haditha—such are the real meaning of the so-called “global war on terror.” On the home front, this “war,” initially directed mainly against

PART ONE

immigrants from Muslim countries, has brought wholesale attacks against the rights of black people and the population as a whole.

The Democrats gave Bush & Co. a blank check for the invasion of Afghanistan and largely supported the war against Iraq. Now they have recaptured Congress largely by promoting themselves as better able than the beleaguered Republicans to carry out the “war on terror,” calling for an “exit strategy” in order to cut U.S. imperialism’s losses in Iraq. Extricating military forces from the Iraq quagmire could allow the U.S. and NATO to augment their forces in Afghanistan. It would also give Washington more flexibility in pursuing its threats against both neocolonial Iran and the North Korean deformed workers state, and to pursue as well the imperialists’ strategic goal of capitalist counter-revolution in China.

The September 11 attacks gave the U.S. rulers further fuel for their drive to label as “terrorists” all those who oppose their marauding around the globe and their trampling upon immigrants, black people and all working people at home. Former Homeland Security chief Tom Ridge warned West Coast ILWU longshoremen in 2002 that a port strike would be treated as a threat to “national security.” And a former U.S. secretary of education in the Bush administration called a major teachers union a “terrorist organization.” In Britain and elsewhere around the world, capitalist governments have followed Washington’s lead by implementing their own draconian new laws and further clamping down on immigrant populations.

Those who administer the capitalist system, which has long ceased to play any progressive role, perpetrate mass terror and wanton, barbaric and premeditated



Jane Therese



Washington Post

U.S. Terror, Inc.: In aftermath of September 11 attacks, New Jersey cops surround passengers dragged off bus as “terrorist suspects” because they spoke “little English” (left). Sadistic prison guard Charles Graner beating Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib (above).

slaughter on a ghastly scale. The unspeakable crimes against humanity that are synonymous with U.S. imperialism—from the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the Second World War to the carpet bombing of Vietnam in the 1960s and ’70s—are intrinsic to the epoch of capitalism in its grotesque death agony. No less so are the brutal workings of capitalist “democracy” at home, from the killing of strikers and the pounding attacks on workers’ wages and living standards to the cop terror and mass poverty of the ghettos and barrios.

We abhor the organized violence employed by the capitalist rulers in defense of their obscene profits. But Marxists are not pacifists. We understand that force is and has always been the midwife of revolutionary social transformation. All history demonstrates that those who rule class societies do not give up their power without bitter struggle. It will take nothing less than a series of thoroughgoing socialist revolutions to sweep away the capitalist-imperialist world order, the most murderous system of exploitation in human history.

Nearly a century ago, Leon Trotsky, who would go on to become, along with V.I. Lenin, a central leader of the October Revolution of 1917, wrote in a 1911 article for the Austrian Social Democracy’s *Der Kampf*, reprinted in English in *Intercontinental Press* (6 August 1973) under the headline, “The Marxist Posi-

tion on Individual Terrorism”:

“Our class enemies are in the habit of complaining about our terrorism. What they mean by this is rather unclear. They would like to label all the activities of the proletariat directed against the class enemy’s interests as terrorism. The strike, in their eyes, is the principal method of terrorism. The threat of a strike, the organization of strike pickets, an economic boycott of a slave-driving boss, a moral boycott of a traitor from our own ranks—all this and much more they call terrorism. If terrorism is understood in this way as any action inspiring fear in, or doing harm to, the enemy, then of course the entire class struggle is nothing but terrorism. And the only question remaining is whether the bourgeois politicians have the right to pour out their floods of moral indignation about proletarian terrorism when their entire state apparatus with its laws, police, and army is nothing but an apparatus for capitalist terror!”

Today, it is urgently necessary for the proletariat internationally to fight against every imperialist military adventure, every attempt to bolster capitalist repression in the name of the “war on terror.” This fight must include combatting the bourgeoisie’s lying equation of class and social struggle with criminal terrorist acts, for which an examination of terrorism both in its current context and in its historical development is necessary.

September 11 and the Myth of “National Unity”

The attack on the World Trade Center using two hijacked passenger jets was a criminal act in which several thousand people—white, black, Latino and foreign-born working people of many nationalities—were indiscriminately murdered. A third airliner went down in Pennsylvania, killing all aboard, and a fourth hit the Pentagon, killing 125 in addition to the passengers and crew. Unlike the World Trade Center, the Pentagon is the command and administrative center of the U.S. imperialist military, and being a military installation, the possibility of getting hit comes with the territory. That fact does not make the attack an “anti-imperialist” act, nor does it change the fact that terrorism almost always gets innocent people—in this case passengers on the plane as well as maintenance workers, janitors and secretaries at the Pentagon.

The Pentagon, however, directs a military machine that deals out death and terror on a scale worlds beyond what the

Islamic fundamentalists of Al Qaeda are capable of. The Pentagon is at the pinnacle of a set of institutions based on armed force—the military, the police, the courts and the prisons—that constitute the core of the U.S. capitalist state. The purpose of the bourgeois state is to defend by means of organized violence the political rule, property and global interests of a small layer of capitalists whose wealth derives from the exploitation of the working class at home and abroad.

We noted in “Bush, the Democrats and the London ‘Terror’ Scare” (WV No. 875, 1 September) that “the terrorist followers of Osama bin Laden—Washington’s Frankenstein’s monster—and the like are responding in their own distorted way to the ravages of U.S. imperialism.” Terrorist acts such as the September 11 attacks represent the weak striking out at the strong. Nonetheless, America’s imperialist rulers waved the World Trade Center atrocity as a bloody shirt to further the lie of “national unity”—the notion that the exploited and oppressed have a common cause with their exploiters and oppressors. As a Spartacist League/U.S. Political Bureau statement issued the day after the attack stressed: “Those who perpetrated this horrific attack (and there is no evidence at all as to who that was) *embrace the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors!*” (“The World Trade Center Attack,” WV No. 764, 14 September 2001).

From the outset, we have sought to mobilize the working class to combat the intensified state repression carried out in the name of the “war on terror.” In February 2002, the Partisan Defense Committee and Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense initiated a united-front rally in Oakland, California, supported by a number of unions, notably ILWU longshoremen, in opposition to the USA-Patriot Act, the Maritime Security Act and the anti-immigrant witchhunt. Through this exemplary action, we sought to demonstrate how a workers party would fight to mobilize labor in the defense of all the oppressed.

“Terror” Witchhunts and State Repression

In an *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief on behalf of Jose Padilla—a U.S. citizen who was arrested at Chicago’s



WV Photo

9 February 2002: Oakland united-front demonstration initiated by Partisan Defense Committee and Bay Area Labor Black League was first labor-centered protest in U.S. against “war on terror” repression and anti-immigrant crackdown.

O'Hare airport in May 2002, stripped of all rights and thrown into a military dungeon as an "enemy combatant"—the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee noted: "The 'war against terrorism' is a fiction, a political construct, not a military reality.... Like the 'war against communism' and the 'war against drugs,' this 'war' is a pretext to increase the state's police powers and repressive apparatus, constricting the democratic rights of the population" (*Class-Struggle Defense Notes* No. 31, Summer 2003).

Starkly illustrating the broad sweep of "anti-terror" measures were the prison sentences handed down in October to radical attorney Lynne Stewart, her translator, Mohamed Yousry, and legal assistant, Ahmed Abdel Sattar. For the "crime" of Stewart's aggressive defense of her client, Islamic fundamentalist Sheik Abdel Rahman, the three were convicted on charges of conspiring to provide material support to terrorism and to defraud the government, with Abdel Sattar convicted on additional conspiracy charges and sentenced to **24 years** in prison. Thus their prosecutions represented a frontal attack on the right to free speech and the right to legal representation. And just this month, the Justice Department declared that an "anti-terrorism" law recently passed by Congress makes any immigrant accused of ties to a terrorist organization subject to indefinite detention as an "enemy combatant," even if arrested inside the U.S.

The U.S. rulers' use of the "terrorist" label to kill or silence their perceived political enemies may have gained new momentum following September 11, but the practice goes way back. In Pennsylvania in the 1870s, the Pinkertons and vigilantes of the murderous coal bosses terrorized miners, while the bosses had leaders of the so-called "Molly Maguires," Irish immigrant labor militants, framed up and hanged on charges of terror and murder. Fabricated charges of a terrorist plot served the political witchhunt against left-wing leaders of the eight-hour day movement, culminating in the execution of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs in 1887.

During the radical turbulence of the 1960s, the FBI's COINTELPRO program of harassment and disruption was used against leftists, Vietnam antiwar activists and black militants. The Black Panther Party was a particular target for bloody destruction under both Democratic and Republican administrations: Some 38 militants were killed outright by the Feds and their local auxiliaries and many more framed up and imprisoned. Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) spent 27 years behind bars and others remain entombed to this day, including former Black Panther Party spokesman and death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The Spartacist League has long understood that the capitalist state's attempts to tar its perceived opponents as terrorists pose a deadly danger for the left and labor movement as a whole. When we learned in 1977 that we had been included on the FBI's ADEX (Administrative Index) hit list, which portrayed the SL as a violent conspiratorial group, we wrote:

"The attempt to slander Marxism as some kind of violence cult is far more than an abstract anti-communist propaganda campaign. It is the cynical rationale for the ADEX file and the concentration camps which wait in the wings, for the FBI assassination squads that are the ultimate 'disruption.' It is an irony that this secret arm of the ruling class that has perpetrated the most massive organized worldwide violence should mount this attack on the 'dangerous' thought of the Marxist tradition. Not mere irony; it is historical perversity."

—"FBI Targets the Spartacist League," WV No. 151, 1 April 1977

Using the same false definition of the SL contained in the (supposedly abolished) ADEX file, the 1983 FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines redefined what had been deemed "subversive" activity as "terrorist," authorizing investigation of left-wing organizations even though no crimes had been committed or even alleged. The SL successfully sued, compelling the FBI to withdraw its threatening "definition" and thereby concede



Marines in Vietnam fire into smoking rubble of village hut. U.S. defeat in Vietnam War was victory for working people of the world.

that Marxist ideas and activity cannot be equated with violence, terrorism and criminal enterprise. In announcing our lawsuit, we declared:

"We are compelled to undertake this legal battle, not only to defend ourselves against the new FBI red-hunt but also to fight to preserve the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement. We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night. As the organization which embodies the continuity of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S. today, our task is too important: the liberation of the workers and oppressed from the chains of this decaying, racist system through victorious socialist revolution. A Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!"

—"Spartacist League Sues FBI," WV No. 340, 21 October 1983

We had already successfully sued the state government of California in 1981,



Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

Left: Chicago Haymarket martyrs were framed up and hanged in 1887 for fighting for workers' rights. Right: Chicago Black Panther Party residence shot up in 1969 FBI/cop raid that killed Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.



winning a retraction of the false and dangerous charges that we were "terrorists" and "criminals." We warned, however, against any illusions that these legal victories meant the end of government terror, snooping, surveillance and dirty tricks against the left and workers movement.

Reformists Promote Lie of "Liberal" Imperialism

Marxists oppose individual terrorism as a political strategy, even that terrorism which is derived from real, if misguided, anti-racist or anti-imperialist impulses and takes as its target genuine institutions or agents of state repression (manifestly *not* the case in the attack on the World Trade Center). Such individual acts, however heroic in particular circumstances, are counterposed to the proletarian class struggle and the consciousness the working class needs if it is to stand at the head of the oppressed in the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist imperialist system. As Trotsky wrote in his 1911 article, in regard to the left-wing populist terrorists in late tsarist Russia: "In our eyes, individual terror is inadmissible precisely because it *belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness*, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes toward a great avenger and liberator who some day will come and accomplish his mission" (emphasis in original).

Despite our political opposition to the strategy of terrorism, the International Communist League has consistently defended individuals and organizations targeted for bourgeois state repression for

U.S. imperialism against the peoples of the Third World. As a consequence, he has been the target of a right-wing campaign to drive him and other critics of government policy off campus. As we have stated, Churchill must be vigorously defended against the McCarthyite witch-hunt (see "Hands Off Ward Churchill!" WV No. 873, 7 July).

Churchill denies any meaningful distinction between the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in what he sees as a counterstrike by oppressed and therefore good Third World peoples against the bad peoples of the First World. According to Churchill, all Americans collectively partake of guilt for U.S. imperialism's crimes insofar as they have not fought to stop them. But far from being a "terrorist sympathizer," as rightists outrageously contend, Churchill aims to shame American imperialism into cleaning up its act. And, as is typical of New Left-style radicals and nationalists the world over,

Churchill's outlook divides the world into good peoples and bad peoples rather than into opposing classes.

Churchill does not pretend to be a Marxist and thus is at least consistent in disregarding the explosive class contradictions at the base of American society. Not so the reformist leftists who cover with empty socialist phrases what are in reality nothing but *liberal bourgeois* politics. "Gov't Policy Puts People in Harm's Way," declared *Workers World* (27 September 2001) following September 11. "The military response to terrorism just perpetuates the cycle of terrorism and counterterrorism," wrote radical-liberal professor Howard Zinn, uncritically quoted in the International Socialist Organization's *Socialist Worker* (14 September 2001). These groups promote the illusion that imperialist militarism is a bad policy that can be eliminated from the capitalist system if sufficient pressure is applied. To this end, they seek to form a "coalition" with the liberal wing of the capitalist class, represented by a section of the Democratic Party.

Contrary to the preachings of the reformist fake socialists, the capitalist state cannot be wielded by the exploited and the oppressed to serve their interests. In order to defend itself, the working class must mobilize independently of all the agencies and parties of its class enemy. In order to sweep away this ruling class and open the road to a world free of class exploitation, war and all forms of oppression, the working class must take control of society in its own hands through a socialist revolution that breaks up and destroys the capitalist state and establishes in its place a workers state based on a planned, collectivized economy.

The political instrument needed to achieve this goal is a revolutionary workers party—a party that fights to win the U.S. working class to the understanding that, as part of the *international* proletariat, it must fight to defend all the victims of U.S. imperialism through struggle against their common enemy, the bloodstained U.S. capitalist rulers. The model for such a party can be found in the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, which led the first and to date only successful workers revolution in history, the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

The October Revolution and Red Terror

The October Revolution overthrew the rule of Russia's landlords and capitalists and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the impoverished peasant masses. Tsarist Russia had been the most backward of the major powers:

continued on page 12

November 1984: Spartacist League, Partisan Defense Committee announce victory in lawsuit against FBI's attempt to slander SL as violent conspiratorial group.



Terrorism...

(continued from page 11)
imperialism had broken at its weakest link amid the carnage and economic devastation of the First World War, an interimperialist conflict for markets and spheres of exploitation. Acutely conscious that the Russian Revolution was a beacon of liberation for their own deeply exploited, war-weary and enraged workers and soldiers, the imperialists rushed to support the White counterrevolutionary armies of Russia's old ruling classes with money and direct military intervention, including expeditionary forces from the U.S. and 13 other capitalist countries.

The insurrection that had placed power in the hands of the soviets (councils) of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies had been relatively bloodless, but the Civil War that ensued was bloody, indeed. The Revolution fought back, organizing the workers and their peasant allies into a disciplined fighting force: the Red Army built and commanded by Trotsky. A necessary auxiliary weapon in defense of the workers revolution against bourgeois and imperialist reaction was the Red Terror, including such means as the taking of hostages and the suppression of parties allied with the counterrevolution.

The White counterrevolutionaries engaged in torture, mass rape and indiscriminate slaughter, putting entire (especially Jewish) villages to the torch. In contrast, even as it ruthlessly defended the proletarian state power, the Red Terror forbade the use of torture. The Cheka (Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage) proclaimed: "The proletariat is merciless in its struggle. At the same time it is unshakable and strong. Not a single curse at our most wicked enemies. No tortures and torments!" (see "U.S. Torture Machine," WV Nos. 862 and 863, 20 January and 3 February).

The Second International had collapsed at the outbreak of the world war as the leaders of the major West European social-democratic parties served as drummer boys and recruiting agents for their respective bourgeoisies. On the foundation of the Bolshevik Revolution, the Communist (Third) International was established in 1919, its aim being to lead the proletariat to power on a world scale. The main obstacles to winning revolutionary-minded workers to the Third International were not the openly chauvinist, right-wing leaders of the Second International but centrists such as the German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, who prior to the war had been generally regarded as the main theoretical spokesman for "orthodox" Marxism.

In a 1919 book titled *Terrorism and Communism*, Kautsky denounced the beleaguered Soviet workers state for the measures it was compelled to take to defend itself. Instead, he insisted, the workers should obey the rules of bourgeois "democracy." Counterattacking Kautsky in a 1920 book also titled *Terrorism and Communism*, Trotsky drew on the history of the classic bourgeois revolutions in England and France in the 17th and 18th centuries, the abortive European revolutions of 1848, the American Civil War and the short-lived Paris Commune of 1871 to demonstrate the necessity of revolutionary force in every significant advance in a class-dominated society. Referring not just to Russia but also to the revolution-



Elias Tcherikower

Left: Victims of pogrom by anti-Bolshevik forces during Russian Civil War, February 1919. Right: Jewish workers' self-defense unit in Odessa, April 1918.

ary ferment that then convulsed Europe, especially the strategically key German working class, Trotsky wrote:

"It is only possible to safeguard the supremacy of the working class by forcing the bourgeoisie accustomed to rule, to realize that it is too dangerous an undertaking for it to revolt against the dictatorship of the proletariat, to undermine it by conspiracies, sabotage, insurrections, or the calling in of foreign troops....
"The man who repudiates terrorism in principle—i.e., repudiates measures of suppression and intimidation towards determined and armed counter-revolution, must reject all idea of the political supremacy of the working class and its revolutionary dictatorship. The man who repudiates the dictatorship of the proletariat repudiates the socialist revolution, and digs the grave of socialism."

Faced with the spectre of proletarian revolution, the "democratic" bourgeoisies unleashed an arsenal of brutal repression against the workers. In Germany, Italy and elsewhere in Europe, the rulers discarded the facade of "parliamentary democracy" and turned to the forces of military and fascist reaction. As Trotsky wrote against Kautsky, the fate of the revolution was determined by "an open measuring of forces between the capitalist clique, openly or secretly supreme and disposing of hundreds of thousands of mobilized and hardened officers, devoid of all scruple, and the revolting, revolutionary proletariat; while the intermediate classes were living in a state of terror, confusion, and prostration. Under such conditions, what pitiful nonsense are speeches about the peaceful conquest of power by the proletariat, by means of democratic parliamentarism!"

Both the Bolshevik leaders and the Russian workers considered the October Revolution to be the first major victory in an unfolding world revolution. However, in no other country did the working class seize and consolidate state power. The main reason for this failure was the sabotage and treachery of the social-democratic misleaders and the absence of pre-existing, authoritative revolutionary vanguard parties such as Lenin had built in tsarist Russia.

Erected amid a mass of peasant backwardness to begin with, by the early 1920s the young workers state had been bled white by seven years of imperialist war and civil war. The postwar revolutionary wave in Europe had receded, and Soviet Russia remained isolated, surrounded by hostile and more powerful capitalist-imperialist states. Under these

conditions, beginning in 1923-24 the Soviet workers state underwent a bureaucratic degeneration, represented by the regime of J.V. Stalin. Decades of Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, aggravated by the pressures of world imperialism, led in 1991-92 to the destruction of the USSR through capitalist counterrevolution. Counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union—a historic defeat for the world proletariat—has brought devastation to the working people of those societies and emboldened the imperialists in their drive for global domination while fueling the resurgence of religious reaction throughout the world.

U.S. Imperialism and Islamic Fundamentalism

As it crowed over what it called the "death of communism," the U.S. ruling class sought to find a surrogate for the "red menace" as a pretext for domestic repression and imperialist militarism. Today, Islamic fundamentalism, exemplified by Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda, is proclaimed to be the main global enemy of America and the American "way of life." It has become common in both right-wing and certain liberal circles to speak of "Islamofascism." Yet during the almost half-century-long Cold War against the former Soviet Union, U.S. imperialism allied itself with and actively supported the forces of Islamic traditionalism and those of other major religions of the East (as well as Catholicism, especially in Latin America, Poland and Latin Europe). In 1950, John Foster Dulles, who was later Secretary of State under the Eisenhower presidency, wrote: "The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us, and our task is to find it and develop it" (quoted in Paul Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* [1968]).

Despite its Stalinist degeneration, the Soviet Union—particularly Soviet Central Asia—was a beacon to all those in the backward East fighting for liberation from the twin yokes of imperialism and obscurantism. Hostile to social progress in any form, especially in regard to the position of women in society, the forces of Islamic traditionalism were bitter enemies of Communism (as well as secular democratic and nationalist movements). Moreover, in many countries the rising

forces of Islamic fundamentalism, including the early Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, vied directly with the Communists and secular nationalists for a base among the dispossessed and downtrodden plebeian masses.

In Iran, Iraq, Sudan and Indonesia, the Communist parties had a mass, working-class base. Iran in the early 1950s and Iraq in the late '50s witnessed social explosions that could have placed the proletariat in power. But these revolutionary opportunities were betrayed by the Kremlin bureaucracy and its local Stalinist henchmen, who politically chained the masses to the forces of bourgeois nationalism (see "Near East, 1950s: Permanent Revolution vs. Bourgeois Nationalism," WV Nos. 740 and 741, 25 August and 8 September 2000). These betrayals, as well as the palpable bankruptcy of "secular" bourgeois nationalism, cleared the ground for the later explosive growth of Islamic fundamentalism, which looks to install a theocratic state based on Islamic religious law (*sharia*) throughout the Muslim East.

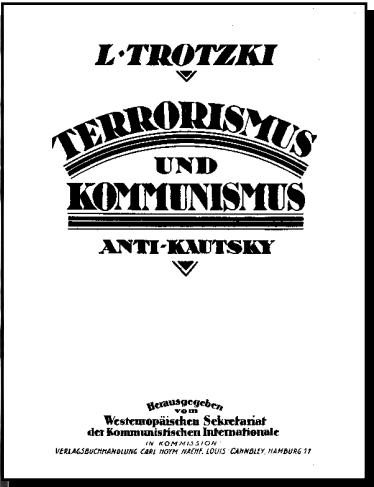
During the Cold War, U.S. imperialism was able to utilize the forces of Islamic traditionalism in its drive for complete domination of Near Eastern and other Muslim countries. In Iran in 1953, the Shi'ite clergy played a major role in the CIA-engineered coup that overthrew the bourgeois-nationalist regime of Mohammad Mossadeq, which was supported by the pro-Moscow Tudeh (Masses) party, and installed the Shah in power. In Indonesia in 1965, Muslim generals, encouraged by Washington, overthrew the bourgeois-nationalist regime of Sukarno, which was backed by both Moscow and Beijing. The military, abetted by right-wing mobs led by Islamic clerics, massacred over *a million* workers, peasants, leftists and ethnic Chinese. The Maoist Indonesian Communist Party, then the largest such party in the capitalist world, was effectively wiped out.

The most massive and sustained mobilization by U.S. imperialism of the forces of Islamic traditionalism and fundamentalism was in Afghanistan in the 1980s, directed against the Soviet Army and its modernizing nationalist Afghan allies, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). The CIA organized and armed the Afghan *mujahedin* (holy warriors) who, among other atrocities, threw acid in the faces of unveiled women and shot schoolteachers for teaching young girls

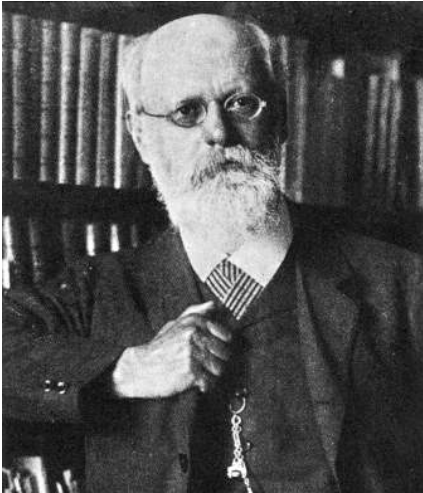


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Leon Trotsky (left), organizer of Red Army, wrote *Terrorism and Communism* against Social Democrat Karl Kautsky (right), who denounced Bolshevik Revolution for violating capitalist "democracy."



Verlag Kurt Desch

to read. In financial terms, this was the biggest CIA operation in the entire history of the Cold War.

Washington recruited Islamist militants throughout the Near East and beyond to fight “godless Communism” in Afghanistan. In 1986, the CIA commissioned Osama bin Laden, son of a construction magnate tied to the Saudi monarchy, to help build a huge tunnel complex in Khost, which became his training camp and headquarters. In 1987, *mujahedin* in Khost used an American Stinger missile to shoot down a civilian airliner filled with Afghan schoolchildren. There was no outcry from Washington against Islamic terror *then*. It was only after they had served their purpose in the imperialist crusade against the Soviet Union that bin Laden & Co. went from being “freedom fighters” to “terrorists” in the eyes of the U.S. bourgeoisie. (For more detail, see “The 1998 Embassy Bombings, Osama bin Laden and the CIA: The Afghan Connection,” WV No. 761, 6 July 2001.)

Most professed leftists around the world echoed the Western imperialist line of condemning the Soviet military intervention as a violation of Afghanistan’s “national sovereignty” and demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Some left groups, notably the Maoists, enthusiastically supported the CIA-armed *mujahedin*. Uniquely, the international Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) raised the slogans: “Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!”



Paris Match

What was at stake in Afghanistan, which shared a 1,000-mile border with the USSR, was not only the military defense of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state against imperialism. This was the first war in modern history in which women’s emancipation was a central issue. The Soviet Army, whatever the motives and calculations of the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucrats, was fighting for social progress, especially the minimal democratic rights and freedoms of the hideously oppressed Afghan women, in this most wretchedly backward Islamic country. The withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan in 1989 by the liberal Stalinist regime of Mikhail Gorbachev was a *historic betrayal* that paved the way to the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union itself.

Bin Laden Turns on U.S. Sponsors

The U.S.-sponsored “holy war” in Afghanistan served to create a global Islamist network out of formerly disparate groups, while the Stalinists’ ignominious withdrawal emboldened the fundamentalists to think that they had defeated one “superpower” and could take on the second. A current of Islamic fundamentalism came to view the United States as intent on reshaping the Near East in its own image and according to its professed ideological precepts. Bin Laden was particularly outraged when the Saudi monarchy allowed U.S. troops to use the country, home to the holiest of Muslim holy sites, as a staging ground for the 1991 war against Iraq. In a 1997 interview



Afghanistan Today

with CNN’s Peter Arnett, he declaimed: “After the collapse of the Soviet Union in which the US has no mentionable role, but rather the credit goes to God, Praise and Glory be to Him, and the Mujahidin in Afghanistan, this collapse made the US more haughty and arrogant and it has started to look at itself as a Master of this world and established what it calls the new world order.” —quoted in Ashraf Tariq, “Osama bin Laden, No. 1 Terrorist in the World?” (2002)

The jihadist groups of the post-Soviet period are in part a response to a perceived, but actually *nonexistent*, threat of the imperialists effecting the “Westernization” (the democratic rights and freedoms of women, the secularization of social and political life) of the Arab/Islamic world. Certainly, Islamist militants are also driven by intense hostility to the genuine crimes of American imperialism against the peoples of the Near East (support to Israel’s oppression of



Der Spiegel

Mujahedin terrorists used U.S. Stinger missiles (center) to shoot down airliner carrying Afghan schoolchildren (left), March 1987. Right: Osama bin Laden, armed and supported by U.S. imperialists for anti-Soviet crusade.



LexicOrient

Asia, which remain dependent on the North American, European and Japanese imperialists who dominate the world capitalist market. Imperialism thereby perpetuates the backward social, economic and cultural conditions that sustain Islamic traditionalism, while at the same time the penetration of backward countries by imperialist capital creates elements of a modern infrastructure and a proletariat. For the people of such societies, religion—especially the belief in an afterlife—is a needed solace for the seemingly unchangeable miseries and horrors of their earthly life. This situation is certainly not unique to the Islamic world: the U.S. has the highest degree of religiosity of any advanced capitalist country. In Marx’s famous phrase, religion is the “*opium* of the people”: “To abolish religion as the *illusory* happiness of the people is to demand their *real* happiness. The demand to give up illusions about the existing state

attacks were from Saudi Arabia. Objectively, the Pentagon is the command center of the main military force in the world that ultimately maintains the socio-economic and political conditions nurturing Al Qaeda and other jihadist groups.

In understanding the current generation of militant Islamists, it is useful to look back at the Khomeiniite movement in Iran, which in 1979 overthrew the Shah, a major U.S. client regime in the region. At the time, most leftists around the world hailed Khomeini and the Shi’ite mullahs for leading a mass movement against American imperialist domination. We explained that the Islamic fundamentalist opposition to the Shah had nothing to do with anti-imperialism. Like all such fundamentalist forces, the Khomeiniite movement was committed to maintaining the system of private property. The Islamic opposition was *not* primarily a response to the Tehran regime’s close political and military ties to Washington but rather to its *superficial* “*Westernizing*” *internal policies*. As we wrote a few years after the so-called “Islamic Revolution”:

“As long as the shah jailed, tortured and murdered Tudeh militants and even [bourgeois nationalist] National Front leaders, the Shi’ite clergy raised not a peep of protest. The Islamic (Khomeiniite) opposition dates from the 1963 ‘White Revolution’ when the shah began to make inroads into the mullahs’ endowments and property and its control over law and social mores. Then the mullahs organized huge protests against including mosque land under the agrarian reform laws and extending Majlis [parliamentary] suffrage to women.”

—“Iran and Permanent Revolution,” *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 33, Spring 1982

We emphasized: “In Iran as throughout the Islamic East the symbol of the enslavement of women is the veil. And it was in defense of the veil, perhaps above all else, that Khomeini rose up against the shah’s cosmetic ‘Westernization’.”

Today’s anti-Western Islamists sometimes claim to speak on behalf of the oppressed and downtrodden masses. But they do so in the interests of a reactionary program to entrench every form of exploitation and oppression, centrally the subjugation of women, on the basis of the same social and economic backwardness that secular nationalist regimes like Nasser’s Egypt and Saddam Hussein’s Iraq could not overcome. When Islamic fundamentalist regimes or movements come into direct military conflict with imperialist forces, we defend them against the latter. Thus we recognize the need of semicolonial Iran to develop its own nuclear weapons in order to counter imperialist military threats. Likewise, every blow struck against the U.S. and allied occupying forces in Iraq and Afghanistan is a blow in the objective interests of the international working class.

However, as is painfully evident from the intercommunal slaughter in Iraq, Sunni forces are far more likely to carry out criminal attacks against innocent civilians in the Shi’ite community, and vice versa. The Islamic fundamentalists, whether in power or in opposition, are implacable *enemies* of the workers and other toilers of all countries, especially their own. The road to a socialist revolution in the countries of the Islamic East, and with it the liberation of women, will require the political and in all likelihood military destruction of the forces of Islamic fundamentalism by the revolutionary proletariat and its allies.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



Planeta

Soviet military presence in Afghanistan opened road to social progress for women. Above: students at Kabul University in the 1980s.

the Palestinians, the deadly effects of the economic sanctions against Iraq in the 1990s). However, it is the centrality of the reactionary religious component, especially the traditional degradation of women, that *differentiates* the Islamists from the various currents of Arab bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism.

There is a certain ideological symmetry between the anti-Western jihadists and the Western liberal advocates of “human rights” imperialism like *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman. The Zionist Friedman supported the U.S. occupation of Iraq in order to supposedly establish a “model” of a “democratic and secular” society and polity in the heart of the Arab/Islamic world. The fact that the Indian-born writer Salman Rushdie, the most prominent liberal intellectual opponent of Islamic fundamentalism from a Muslim background, became an ardent partisan of the Bush/Blair “war on terror” is also indicative of the changed political-ideological contours and divisions of the post-Soviet world. Friedman/Rushdie and bin Laden share the same *illusory* belief that the long-term goal of U.S. policy in the Near East is exporting “democracy.” The former support pursuing that supposed goal, including through military means; the latter opposes it, including through terrorist actions.

But the imperialists’ aim is *not* to create secular democracies in the Near East or elsewhere in the Third World. At the most fundamental level, the evolution and structure of world capitalism have *arrested the development* of the countries of North Africa, the Near East and South

of affairs is the *demand to give up a state of affairs which needs illusions*” (emphasis in original, “Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Law” [1843-44]). And to eliminate that state of affairs requires a *proletarian socialist revolution* against capitalist imperialism.

The popular appeal of Islamic fundamentalism is not merely ideological. Whether Sunni (like the Palestinian Hamas) or Shi’ite (like Hezbollah in Lebanon), the Islamist groups offer a large range of social services—job placement, health care, education, homes for the homeless, a living stipend for the unemployed, even day care—that the state is either unable or unwilling to provide. Thus these groups gain respect and consolidate support among the populace as the only institutions willing to even attempt to take care of the needs of the dispossessed and to stand up to corrupt and brutal pro-Western regimes. In the plebeian hovels around Cairo, for example, the Muslim Brotherhood is a state within a state.

At the directly political level, a central and longstanding aspect of U.S. policy in the Near East has been to preserve and protect the Saudi monarchy in order to ensure continuing American control of the world’s largest oil fields. Over the decades, the Saudi monarchy has handed out vast sums internationally to promote movements based on the extreme Wahabi variant of Sunni orthodoxy as a counterweight to Communists and left-talking nationalists, and to check the spread of Shi’ite influence by the Iranian regime. It is, as they say, no accident that most of those who carried out the September 11

U.S. Elections...

(continued from page 1)

embedded in this capitalist profit system.

It took the Civil War, the Second American Revolution, to end black chattel slavery in this country, and it will take a third, socialist revolution to complete the unfinished business of the Civil War. Should there be any doubt, look at Tennessee. A virulently racist campaign was launched against black Democrat Harold Ford Jr., himself a social conservative, who seemed poised to become the first black Senator from the old Confederacy since Reconstruction. Then a TV ad created by a Karl Rove operative showed a scantily clad young white woman saying she'd met "Harold at the Playboy party" and asking him to call. This play to racist hysteria over "miscegenation" worked. Ford, who had been slightly ahead in the polls prior to the ad, ended up losing by a slim margin.

Now, in the aftermath of the elections, Trent Lott, like some zombie sucked out of the Mississippi mud, is again stalking the Senate halls as Republican whip. This is the same man who fell from grace a few years ago after openly yearning for the Dixiecrat days of arch-segregationist Strom Thurmond, saying that if Thurmond had been elected president in 1948, "we wouldn't have had all these problems over all these years."

Malcolm X had it right when he said, "If you stick a knife nine inches into my back and pull it out three inches, that is not progress." Nostalgia for the Clinton years is a sure sign of how bad Bush's America has been for black people. It was Clinton who promised to "end welfare as we know it." And, as corporate profits skyrocketed, Clinton carried out his vow, condemning millions of black, white and immigrant women and children to hunger and homelessness. The Clinton White House presided over a quantum leap in the prison population—now over two million—mainly as a result of the racist "war on drugs." Today, while black people constitute 12 percent of the U.S. population, **44 percent** of all prisoners in the U.S. are black.

As Marxists, we understand that bourgeois elections are routinely putrid affairs that amount to determining which party will oversee the affairs of the capitalist class as a whole. Our task in analyzing social discontents, including as revealed through the distorted prism of the elections, is to lay bare the irreconcilable class antagonisms at the base of this society. It is the working class, with its strategic black component, that produces the wealth of society. This is the only social force with the objective interest and potential social power to smash the



Rourke/American-Statesman

Above: New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina starkly illuminated the racial oppression built into U.S. capitalism. Right: Thousands line up for 200 jobs at NYC Times Square candy store, November 2006.



Mohin/NY Times

capitalist system and lay the basis for the construction of an egalitarian socialist society. We stand for the *complete political independence of the proletariat from all capitalist parties—Democrat, Republican and Green*. This is an ABC precept of Marxism, but one that has been consciously denigrated by the fake-socialist left and one for which we must all the more consciously fight anew, as part of the struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party.

Reformists' Touching Faith in "Democratic" Imperialism

Amid the euphoria that swept over West European social-democratic circles following the U.S. elections, Simon Jenkins wrote in the London *Guardian* (9 November): "Overnight six years of glib European identification of 'American' with rightwing fantasism is over. The gun-toting, pre-Darwinian Bushite, the tomahawk-wielding, Halliburton-loving, Beltway neocon calling abortion murder and torturing Arabs as 'Islamofascists' has been laid to rest, and by a decision of the American people." He went on: "An era of ill-conceived, belligerent interventionism has come to an end—by democratic decision, thank goodness." Sharing in the giddiness is the U.S. reformist left, which is now gearing up to "make the Democrats fight."

V.I. Lenin, co-leader with Leon Trotsky of the Bolshevik Revolution that ripped one-sixth of the globe from the capitalists' grip and established the first workers state in history, polemicized against those who would lull the working class with illusions in the parliamentary road of reforming imperialist capitalism. In *The State and Revolution* (1917), he denounced German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, whose "thoughts go no further than a 'government...willing to meet the proletariat half-way'—a step backward to philistinism compared with 1847, when the *Communist Manifesto* proclaimed 'the organisation of the proletariat as

the ruling class'" (ellipses in original).

Lenin excoriated Kautsky for striving for the "shifting of the balance of forces within the state power," and for "winning a majority in parliament":

"We, however, shall break with the opportunists; and the entire class-conscious proletariat will be with us in the fight—not to 'shift the balance of forces,' but to *overthrow the bourgeoisie, to destroy bourgeois parliamentarism, for a democratic republic after the type of the Commune, or a republic of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.*"

Such a revolutionary outlook could not be further from that of the present-day reformist "socialists," who are imbued with "death of Communism" ideology and shamelessly seek a government "more yielding" to the oppressed and exploited via the Democratic Party. For full-throated hailing of the Democrats' electoral victory, the reformists of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Communist Party USA (CP) cannot be beat. The latter, consistent with their decades of prostration to the Democrats, headlined: "Mission Accomplished: Labor Kicks Ass" (*People's Weekly World*, 9 November). This has the same amount of "truthiness" as that other famous "Mission Accomplished" charade, when Bush announced the end of combat in Iraq.

The ISO and Workers World Party (WWP) openly crossed the class line in the elections, not only calling for votes to but running candidates for the small-time *capitalist* Green Party, which functions as a way station for disgruntled liberals on their way back to the Democratic Party fold. Immediately following the elections, the ISO echoed the Democrats' own propaganda. The ISO's *Socialist Worker* (10 November) wrote, "For anyone who cares about peace or justice, the Republicans' meltdown is sweet vindication," even while they conceded that the Democrats' proposals on Iraq "are aimed at repackaging the occupation, not ending" it. The article's bottom line: "Turning back the right-wing agenda will depend on rebuilding political and social movements that can put pressure on all the politicians in Washington."

Besides its bourgeois Green Party campaign, the WWP, through its International Action Center, called for votes for black Democratic Congressional candidate Charles Barron in Brooklyn, declaring that this capitalist politician would "help put one of our own in Congress" (*Workers World*, 27 July). While claiming to oppose the Democratic Party, the WWP's erstwhile comrades in the Party for Socialism and Liberation and its ANSWER coalition offered their own plan to promote the Democrats' electoral fortunes, organizing nationwide rallies on October 28 to "force the issue of the Iraq war onto the U.S. political stage...less than two weeks before the election." ANSWER's demand to "Cut the Pentagon budget! Double the education budget!"—stale fare offered by the entire reformist left—purveys the lie that the rulers of the capitalist-imperialist system can be convinced to adopt a more "humane" foreign policy and meet the needs of the workers they brutally exploit.

The "World Can't Wait" project of the eccentric Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) held its own measly rallies in October, calling for Bush to "step

down." The RCP desperately seeks to cozy up to such bourgeois political figures as Al Gore, whom its newspaper *Revolution* (29 January) said "will inevitably be part of the whole swirl and ferment that will go into driving out the Bush regime." In hoary Stalinist fashion, the RCP justifies its groveling before the Democrats by claiming that the Republicans are running a "fascist" regime. No, they're just the right-side profile of the ugly face of bourgeois democracy.

In these elections, we were able to advance one electoral tactic: extending critical support to Socialist Action's Jeff Mackler in his campaign for U.S. Senator from California. Mackler's campaign drew a crude class line, running against not only the Democrats but also the ISO's Green candidate, Todd Chretien. Despite our principled opposition to SA's reformist politics, and despite SA's ludicrous "rejection" of our call for votes to their candidate, the critical support tactic was a means to further the fight for the political independence of the proletariat (see "Critical Support to Socialist Action in Senate Election," WV No. 876, 15 September).

Democratic Party of War and Racism

The Democrats wasted no time following the elections to assert their commitment to serving imperialist military interests. Congressional Democrats voted against making John Murtha—a longtime hawk who turned defeatist over Iraq—Nancy Pelosi's second in the House. While some pointed to Murtha's "ethics" problems, the vote was a warning to those within the party who seek early withdrawal. Meanwhile, black Democratic Congressman Charles Rangel is again openly calling to reimpose the draft.

A *New York Times* (19 November) editorial insisted that "the Army's overall authorized strength needs to be increased some 75,000 to 100,000 troops more than Mr. Rumsfeld had in mind for the next few years." It went on: "Rebuilding the Army and Marine Corps is an overdue necessity. But it is only the first step toward repairing the damage done to America's military capacities and credibility over the past six years." It is not lost on the U.S. rulers that the Iraq fiasco doesn't exactly help the military's recruitment efforts. After Republican Senator John McCain called for *more* troops to be sent to Iraq, General Abizaid, head of the U.S. Central Command, responded that this might not be possible, given there just aren't many more troops.

News flash to the reformist left: *no one* is about to "cut the Pentagon budget"! Iraqi men, women and children will continue to be slaughtered by the U.S.-led occupying force and the intercommunal war unleashed by the occupation. The brutal U.S./NATO war in Afghanistan will continue to further devastate that country. The Democrats are at least as fervent as the Republicans in supporting Zionist Israel's murderous repression of the Palestinian people.

If anything, the Democrats are sounding more belligerent than the White House toward the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state, the largest and most powerful of the remaining societies where capitalist rule has been overthrown. Joined by the chauvinist labor tops, Democrats are calling to get

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TWU...

(continued from page 16)

Democracy”), Local 100 vice presidents who are running for president against Toussaint, voted against the strike! The TWU International outrageously opposed the strike and encouraged scabbing. Roberts, an International vice president, co-signed a letter on the second day of the strike urging Toussaint to end it and take the bosses’ pre-strike “offer” that included massive attacks on pensions and other givebacks. Stewart has always preferred binding arbitration—the current fate of the union contract. Binding arbitration is a trap that puts the fate of the membership in the hands of a supposedly “neutral” board that is in reality stacked on management’s side. *No to binding arbitration!*

Following the strike, a rotten alliance of Toussaint’s opponents coalesced around opposition to the giveback contract the Local 100 tops had negotiated. Many in this bloc—ranging from Stewart and his running mates, John Mooney and Bill Pelletier, to a bevy of left-talking union “militants”—had worked together for years as supporters of the New Directions (ND) opposition that propelled the “progressive” Toussaint into office in 2000. Among the fake militants seeking office today is former ND leader Steve Downs, a candidate for chairperson in his section of the train operators division who is supported by the Solidarity group. Marty Goodman, a long-time ND activist who is supported by the reformist group Socialist Action, is running for re-election to the

Local 100 Executive Board.

The ND caucus was braintrusted by the professional union-suers of the Association for Union Democracy. As we warned during the 2000 union elections: “ND’s stock in trade is using the courts and other government agencies as a club against its rivals, which serves only to further shackle the power of the union and place it under the thumb of the capitalist state” (“Sellouts, Traitors, Finks: No Choice in TWU Local 100 Elections,” WV No. 746, 17 November 2000). It was in this tradition that Stewart, Pelletier and Mooney (a supporter of Mayor Mike Bloomberg), along with Roberts, launched a \$3.3 million lawsuit against Toussaint in early 2005. The lawsuit was only recently dropped as a ploy to boost their electoral ambitions. The head of the “Fresh Start” slate, Mike Carrube, also was trained in the ND school of dragging the union into the bosses’ courts.

The more “militant”-talking candidates are no better when it comes to the courts and capitalist politicians. Downs has openly supported suing the union. Goodman may claim to oppose anti-union lawsuits, but he bemoans the demise of the ND caucus that was a vehicle for this treachery. In Solidarity’s *Against the Current* (September/October 2006), Downs mentions the attacks by “Mayor Bloomberg, Governor Pataki, and corporate-owned media” during the strike but disappears the role of Spitzer and his fellow Democrats in trying to break it. Goodman, in a leaflet posted on Indymedia, criticized Spitzer as a “union buster” and “fake progressive” but proceeded to praise another capitalist politician, the



TWU Local 100

September 4: Local 100 president Roger Toussaint (right) with his jailer, Eliot Spitzer, who was backed by TWU in campaign for governor.

Green Party candidate for state Attorney General who claimed she would “never sign an injunction” against the union.

Claiming to offer a militant alternative to this bunch is Eric Josephson, a candidate for Chairman and Executive Board in the Track Division who is backed by the League for the Revolutionary Party and distributes *Revolutionary Transit Worker (RTW)*. Josephson writes in *RTW* (5 November) that the old ND crowd’s “strategy of building a reform group in the union on an a-political program of vague militancy and unprincipled lawsuits against the union is what allowed Toussaint to use them as a vehicle to power.” This is rather rich coming from Josephson, who gave Toussaint “critical” support in 2000 and earlier this year tried to bring every union-suing bureaucrat together in the “vote no” movement against Tous-



Young Spartacus

Left: SYC at April 2005 Berkeley anti-ROTC protest fights for working-class independence. WWP’s David Sole in Michigan (right) and ISO’s Todd Chretien in California (far right, center) ran “antiwar” campaigns for U.S. Senate on ticket of capitalist Green Party.



Workers World



Josh On

tough with China over its trade policies. Against this anti-Communist China-bashing, we fight to win workers to the understanding that new gains can never be won if those already made are not defended. For the unconditional military defense of the Chinese, Cuban, North Korean and Vietnamese deformed workers states against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution!

One key to the Democrats’ victory was that they ran anti-abortion bigots and other “social conservatives” to win some of the Republicans’ Christian evangelical base. This led conservative pundit William Safire to write in the *New York Times* (9 November): “The rightward cast of many Democrats in the freshman class is hardly bad news for conservatism. And the heartening victory of Joe Lieberman over the angry far left in liberal Connecticut augurs a renewal of a brief period of bipartisanship at the water’s edge.” Safire denigrated such “Old Bulls” as Charles Rangel, John Dingell, Barney Frank and others he fears will “crowd the airwaves with hearings grilling contractors and torturing accused torturers.” Not to worry, according to *Business Week* (13 November): “Business may find some unlikely allies in Democrats such as Charles B. Rangel of New York, Barney Frank of Massachusetts and John D. Dingell of Michigan.”

The same elections that gave Congress back to the Democrats saw a number of socially reactionary measures go forward. In Michigan, a measure abolishing the remnants of affirmative action passed. Among many anti-immigrant ballot initiatives, a measure in Arizona making

English the official language won by a three-to-one margin. We say: No to English-only racism! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! While a South Dakota proposal to ban all abortions failed, bans on same-sex marriage passed there as well as in Wisconsin and five other states. In California, a proposition mandating lifelong monitoring for “sex offenders” passed, although it is now being challenged in the courts. The Spartacist League opposed this reactionary legislation, which is more than can be said for Socialist Action’s Jeff Mackler (see “Vote No on ‘Sex Dragnet’ Prop 83!” WV No. 880, 10 November).

Meanwhile, largely black Washington, D.C., *still* doesn’t have voting representation in Congress, so those people were disenfranchised, as were those subjected to the usual voter fraud and states’ attempts to disenfranchise blacks and the poor with new registration rules. (Not a biggie for the Democrats this year, since they won.) We say: Full citizenship rights for the D.C. population!

Class Against Class!

A break in what has largely been a one-sided class war by the capitalists against the workers and others was seen last December, when for three days the New York City transit workers strike crippled the finance capital of the U.S. The strike by the largely black, multiethnic union, in defiance of the state’s Taylor Law ban on strikes by public workers, was overwhelmingly popular among the working people of the city and in the ghettos and barrios. But the pro-Democratic Party

bureaucratic misleaders of the city unions refused to support the transit workers. Democrat Eliot Spitzer, then New York State attorney general, slammed the transit union with injunctions and massive fines and jailed Transport Workers Union Local 100 president Roger Toussaint for four days. Democratic Senator Hillary Clinton supported the Taylor Law as well. Nonetheless, the Toussaint bureaucracy pulled out all the stops to mobilize the membership behind Spitzer’s election as governor (see article, page 16).

It is the task of revolutionary Marxists to bring to the working class the political program that will transform it from a class in itself to a class *for* itself. A special WV supplement titled “NYC Transit Strike: Union Power vs. Class Collaboration” (see WV No. 861, 6 January) raised

saint. Josephson makes a mockery of the principle of class independence by lashing up with those who bring the capitalist state into the union. *No to anti-union lawsuits! Labor must clean its own house!*

Since the various oppositions are at bottom no different from Toussaint’s “One Union” lash-up, they’re reduced to griping about his bureaucratic methods. The Local 100 tops are certainly heavy-handed. But the lack of democracy within the union flows primarily from the political program of its misleaders. The purpose of union democracy is to hammer out a program and course of action to fight for the workers’ interests and select a leadership based on such a program. Real union democracy necessitates complete independence from the bosses, their political parties and their state.

For the racist ruling class, the strike by this predominantly black and immigrant workforce had all the trappings of a slave revolt. The power the union showed then is what is needed to fight racist and anti-immigrant attacks on and off the job. A militant TWU leadership would tackle head-on the draconian discipline known as “plantation justice” meted out by the transit bosses. As a concrete measure in fighting racist injustice, some TWU militants are working to mobilize the union behind the cause of freedom for black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal (see article, page 5). It is through such struggles that a new labor leadership will be forged, one committed to building a workers party that leads all the exploited and oppressed in the fight for a workers government. ■

the call to break with the Democrats and stated:

“Workers must rely only on their own class power. That means forging a multi-racial workers party—not a party of electoral reformism but one like the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky that led the workers of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917. Such a party, based on declassed revolutionary intellectuals and class-conscious workers in the unions and among unorganized workers, would lead the workers in struggle. It would promote international proletarian solidarity and seek to mobilize workers against U.S. imperialism’s predatory wars—U.S. out of Iraq and Afghanistan! It would lead the fight for black liberation through socialist revolution. It would fight to mobilize labor in defense of the rights of women and gays. It would demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants and fight to unionize immigrant workers. *Forward to a workers government!*” ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For Free, Quality Education for All!

Down With Racist Purge at UCLA!

We print below a leaflet issued by the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club on November 14. It was distributed at a pro-affirmative action “Day of Reckoning” protest of about 300 minority and anti-racist students at UCLA, many wearing T-shirts reading “Got black students?” The protest, organized by black and minority student groups in the UCLA Admissions

Young Spartacus

Coalition, called on the University of California (UC) Board of Regents not to comply with anti-affirmative action Proposition 209, and for the Regents to support a campaign to repeal it.

The SYC intervened into this and other protests in solidarity with students’ outrage over the racist purge of black and minority youth from the universities. In doing so, the SYC has sought to challenge the liberal illusions fostered by the Admissions Coalition organizers that the Regents are their allies in this struggle. Instead, we pointed to the need for anti-racist students to ally with the power of the multiracial proletariat in a class-struggle fight against the racist, capitalist system for free, quality, integrated education for all. Importantly, campus workers unions endorsed the protest and sent a contingent to attend in solidarity. These included American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 3299, the Coalition of University Employees and the University Professional and Technical Employees Local 2.

Despite attempts by some rally organizers to censor us, we distributed our propaganda, participated in the march and spoke from the platform at the rally. Some students took up SYC-initiated chants during the march such as “Open admissions, free tuition!” and “Racist purge, we say no! Board of Regents gotta go!” The SYC speaker received applause after emphasizing that the Regents are the racist overseers of the UC and that they



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SYC contingent at UCLA “Day of Reckoning” march for affirmative action on November 15.

represent the same capitalist class that is waging the bloody occupation of Iraq and that left blacks to die in New Orleans. He concluded by raising the need to break with the capitalist Democratic Party and build a revolutionary workers party to fight for socialism.

* * *

The racist overturn of affirmative action has led to the admission of only 96 black freshmen out of a class of 5,000 at UCLA this year, the lowest number in over 30 years, while admission of Latinos and Native Americans has also declined. This represents nothing less than a conscious racist purge to exclude blacks and other minorities from getting a higher education. This racist backlash

has occurred nationwide, including the Supreme Court ruling in 2003 striking down the University of Michigan point system for minority applicants and now the successful proposition in Michigan banning affirmative action.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club have defended affirmative action programs for university admissions against ruling-class assault because they have meant gains, however limited, against the inherent race and class bias in higher education under capitalism. But even at its peak in the '70s, affirmative action only barely addressed racial inequality. While supportable as minimal reforms, affirmative action programs were set up in response to the civil rights movement and ghetto explosions of the '60s in

order to *defuse* social struggle and co-opt a small layer of black middle-class professionals. They never made a dent in the oppression of the black ghetto masses, whose conditions have continued to deteriorate over the past few decades.

Today, ten years after Prop. 209, the situation is so desperate that student activists and anti-racist liberals aren't even fighting for affirmative action, but for some watered-down version where a student's “life challenges” are given consideration in the admissions process, known as the “holistic” method. UC Berkeley, which uses a “holistic” method, has only admitted 44 more black students than UCLA! The SYC holds that education is a *right* not a privilege. We fight

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For a Class-Struggle Union Leadership!

TWU Local 100 Elections: No Choice for Members

NEW YORK CITY—The 34,000 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 have begun to receive ballots for elections for union president and executive board. The issues in the election center on the three-day strike last December that shut down bus and subway service in defiance of the state's slave-labor Taylor Law. Thousands of transit workers are furious at Local 100 president Roger Toussaint for demobilizing an effective strike and leaving them without a contract. A host of candidates, most of them one-time Toussaint supporters, want

to tap into this anger to advance their own careers in the union hierarchy while hiding their own treacherous record. But this rogues' gallery of phony oppositionists has nothing to offer workers that is fundamentally different from the incumbent leadership. None of them fights to break the union's ties to the capitalist political parties and state agencies. Local 100 members have *no choice* in these elections.

The December strike crippled the center of U.S. finance capital and gave workers a shot at winning real gains from the transit bosses. It resonated with New York's work-

ing people, and with ghetto and barrio poor across the country who saw a chance to deal a blow to the same capitalist ruling class that fleeces the workers and rides roughshod around the world. But Toussaint, threatened with reprisals by Republican governor George Pataki, called the strike off as his phony Democratic Party “friends” joined in to smash it. NYC's labor officialdom pressured the union to go back out of fear of damaging their cozy relationship with the bourgeois politicians.

In the build-up to the Congressional elections, the TWU tops stumped for

Democratic Party strikebreakers, from Hillary Clinton to Eliot Spitzer, who as state Attorney General slammed Local 100 with anti-strike injunctions resulting in massive fines for the union and its members and jail time for Toussaint (see “Toussaint Backs His Jailer,” WV No. 878, 13 October). *None* of the slates fielding candidates for Local 100's top union posts opposes this support for Spitzer and other capitalist politicians.

What the labor movement needs is a leadership that sets the unions on the path of class struggle against the capitalist exploiters. And that means fighting for the complete independence of the unions from the political parties and courts of the class enemy. This perspective is utterly counterposed to what's on offer from the Local 100 candidates, all of whom have a history of undermining the very purpose of the union, which is to defend workers against the bosses.

Both Barry Roberts (“Rail and Bus United”) and Ainsley Stewart (“Union

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