

Imperialist Occupation: Hell for Iraq



AP



AFP

Barely a week before President Bush's meeting in Jordan with Iraq's prime minister, Nuri al-Maliki, the streets of Baghdad ran with the blood of 215 Shi'ites slaughtered in one day, presumably by Sunni militia forces. In the aftermath of the bloodbath, Moktada al-Sadr, who leads the dominant Shi'ite military forces of the Mahdi army, threatened to withdraw the significant political backing he provides for the regime if the meeting took place. Then, on the very eve of the get-together, supposedly called to find a way to end the escalating sectarian violence in Iraq, al-Maliki was characterized as either ignorant, lying or incompe-

U.S. Out Now!

Left: U.S. troops brutalize residents of Falluja, November 2004. Right: Shopkeepers dig through rubble after coordinated car bombings killed over 200 in Baghdad's mainly Shi'ite Sadr City district, November 23.

tent in a November 8 memo by Bush's national security adviser, Stephen Hadley, that was supposedly "leaked" to the *New York Times*.

Understandably, al-Maliki was less than

eager to rendezvous with Bush and was a no-show for the first meeting on November 29. After being herded into a breakfast tea with Bush the next day, the beleaguered prime minister was slathered with

compliments by the American president, who lauded him as a "strong leader" and the "right guy" for the job. This recalls similar accolades accorded to "Brownie" in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. Thirty members of the Iraqi parliament and six cabinet members loyal to Moktada al-Sadr have suspended support to the government.

Evidently driven to delirium by his efforts to assuage the competing pressures he faces, al-Maliki announced in a TV interview following his appearance with Bush that Iraqi security forces would be able to take control from U.S. troops by

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50 Rounds: NYPD Killers

For Labor Protest Against Racist Cop Terror!

DECEMBER 2—The Jamaica, Queens neighborhood where 23-year-old Sean Bell died in a fusillade of police bullets in the early morning of November 25 is seething. On December 1, 600 mourners attended his funeral in the church where he was to be married one week earlier. Hundreds more massed outside, some carrying signs reading "Justice for Sean Bell." The next day, comrades of the Spartacist League and Labor Black League joined some 200 angry protesters who gathered near the site where he was killed and where his two friends were gravely injured. Protesters chanting "50 shots from the New York cops!" marched to the 103rd precinct as the crowd, having swelled to close to 500 people, was confronted by a phalanx of

cops. There, after a speaker announced that Bell's friend Joseph Guzman had been hit by 19 bullets—not the eleven that had first been reported—the crowd marched to the hospital where Guzman and Trent Benefield still lie.

Meanwhile, the NYPD continues its frenzied attempt to intimidate witnesses and blame the killing on the victims. In the guise of hunting for an illusory fourth man with a gun, the cops have smashed into homes in Queens and the Bronx, arresting several young black people. One of the arrested men told the *New York Daily News* (2 December) that the cops busted his nose and were "screaming, 'Where's the f-----g gun!'"

We print below an edited leaflet issued by the New York Spartacist League on November 30, which has been distributed at protests this week.

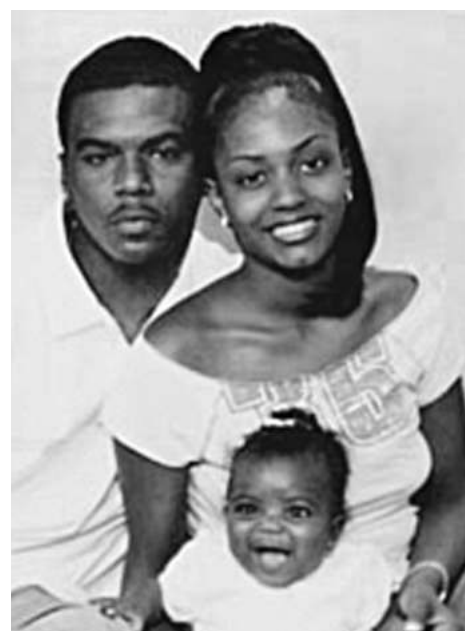
* * *

Sean Bell, a 23-year-old black man, was gunned down in a storm of 50 bul-

lets by plainclothes vice squad cops on his wedding day as he left his bachelor party in the early morning hours of November 25. Bell's fiancée Nicole Paultre, who is attending his funeral instead of their wedding, told the truth: "They barricaded him in and they executed him." Sean Bell's companions—Joseph Guzman, shot at least 11 times, and Trent Benefield, shot three times—were seriously wounded and then handcuffed to their hospital beds.

After the killing came the mudslide of lies, the first being that the men had a gun. While the killer cops were put on paid vacation, the police department unleashed every gun-sniffing dog and investigator with a metal detector to find something to justify this heinous crime. But there was nothing but the innocent victims' blood to be found. Now a theory of "contagious shooting" has been concocted by the *New York Times* and other

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Family photo

Sean Bell, killed by NYPD on wedding day, with fiancée Nicole Paultre and one of their daughters.





Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Journalist Josh Wolf!

Video journalist Josh Wolf has been held in prison since September 22, charged with contempt of court for refusing to turn over to the state the unedited version of videotape footage he took of an anti-G8 summit protest on 8 July 2005 called by Anarchist Action in San Francisco. He was first detained in August of this year and released on bail on September 1 before being imprisoned again. Now Wolf is on his way to becoming the longest incarcerated journalist on charges of civil contempt in American history. In order to circumvent California law, which says that a reporter cannot be “adjudged in contempt...for refusing to disclose any unpublished information,” Wolf’s case has been declared to be under federal jurisdiction. The pretext for this is that the San Francisco Police Department, whose vehicle was allegedly damaged during the protest, receives federal funding!

Wolf justly fears that if he hands over his footage he will become part of a McCarthyite witchhunt in which he will

have to identify leftist and anarchist protesters on the tape. Wolf stated: “I don’t want to be an investigator for the state, I’m a journalist, not an FBI agent.” Under the “war on terror,” in which the government brazenly declares to the populace that every phone may be tapped and all Internet traffic searched, the state wants you to know that its eyes are everywhere. An edited version of the video is available on his Web site, www.joshwolf.net.

On November 21 the Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League—sent a letter to Attorney General Alberto Gonzales protesting Wolf’s detention demanding that the charges be dropped and that Wolf be immediately released. As the letter states, Wolf’s jailing

“is an attack on the First Amendment right to free speech and freedom of the press. The state claims that the unpublished tape might be useful in prosecuting protesters who allegedly tried to burn a cop car. Yet the *police* report has no

mention of burns, and only describes damage to the car’s tail light. This is a pretext used to chill dissent and send a message to those who might seek to film police atrocities in action. Clearly, the police, FBI and Joint Terrorism Task Force are pushing to gather broad intelligence on those who protest government policies and on those who consider themselves anarchists....

“As Bay Area ABC7 News stated, this is ‘a battle of principle over a reporter’s ability to bring you the news.’ If a reporter’s unpublished footage can be subpoenaed any time so the cops can scan it for faces of those accused of a crime, then every video journalist will be considered a surveillance camera. As Wolf himself declared: ‘That’s not a world I want to live in’.”

Donations to the Josh Wolf Legal Defense Fund can be made from his Web site or to his mother: Liz Wolf Spada, P.O. Box 2235, Wrightwood, CA 92397. ■



Indymedia

Josh Wolf at press conference outside federal court in San Francisco, September 1.

Letter

Clarification on “Age of Consent”

21 November 2006

To the editor:

It’s important that *Workers Vanguard* has come out in defense of Mark Foley, the Republican bigot run out of Congress for sending naughty notes to teenage male pages. His persecution is bad news. This is the case particularly for youth, and especially for gay youth, who already face anti-sex persecution and harassment. The witchhunting of Foley only puts more weapons in the hands of the bigots.

In that light, *Workers Vanguard* uses an inappropriate term when it refers to “intergenerational” sex (WV No. 878, “U.S. Torture Elections” and WV No. 880, “Vote No on ‘Sex Dragnet’ Prop 83!”). “Age of consent” laws make it a crime for a 19-year-old to have sex with a 15-year-old in all states except Hawaii and South Carolina, where the age of consent is 14 and 15, respectively (it is 16, 17 or 18 everywhere else). This is hardly “intergenerational.” Preaching abstinence and chastity for teens, the sex witchhunters aim to trample on the lives of youth and smear all “age of consent” violations as acts of “sex predators.” If

it goes into effect, California’s Proposition 83, recently approved by 70 percent of the voters, will ramp up yet more the arsenal of harsh laws against those the state deems “deviant.” At this time, a federal court has blocked enforcement of the law as possibly unconstitutional because it may apply retroactively to “sex offenders” convicted years ago.

After spearheading the drive for the Child Protection and Safety Act of 2006, ex-Congressman Foley is now caught in his own web: the state of Florida and the FBI have opened criminal investigations into his “sexually explicit Internet messages.” As WV No. 878 correctly stated, “We defend Foley as we would any victim of sex witchhunts.”

The Spartacist League opposes all laws criminalizing by definition a “type” of sex, be it pedophilia, homosexuality, incest or adultery. The only guideline that should exist is that of effective consent—the mutual consent of the parties involved at the time. What goes on in people’s sex lives is manifestly not the business of the state.

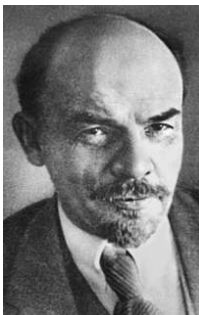
Comradely,
Amy Rath



TROTSKY

On the Historical Materialist View of Society

The works of Georgi Plekhanov, founder of Russian Marxism, were crucial in educating Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin and others of his generation. In polemicizing against both philosophical idealism and revisionist conceptions of Marxism, Plekhanov expounded the materialist view of class society, which is the core of the Marxist worldview.



LENIN

Man makes history in striving to satisfy his needs. These needs, of course, are originally imposed by nature; but they are later

considerably modified quantitatively and qualitatively by the character of the artificial environment. The productive forces at man’s disposal determine all his social relations. First of all, the state of the productive forces determines the relations in which men stand towards each other in the social process of production, that is, their *economic relations*. These relations naturally give rise to definite interests, which are expressed in *law*.... The development of productive forces divides society into classes, whose interests are not only different, but in many—and, moreover, essential—aspects are diametrically antagonistic. This antagonism of interests gives rise to conflicts, to a struggle among the social classes. The struggle results in the replacement of the *tribal* organization by the *state* organization, the purpose of which is to protect the dominant interests. Lastly, social relations, determined by the given state of productive forces, give rise to common *morality*, the morality, that is, that guides people in their common, everyday life.

Thus the law, the state system and the morality of any given people are determined *directly* and *immediately* by its characteristic economic relations. These economic relations also determine—but *indirectly* and *mediately*—all the creations of the mind and imagination: art, science, etc.

—Georgi Plekhanov, *The Materialist Conception of History* (1897)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Ray Bishop

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

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The closing date for news in this issue is December 5.

No. 882

8 December 2006



21st Annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!



Sponsored by the

Partisan Defense Committee

More information:
(212) 406-4252
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www.partisandefense.org

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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

Ruling Threatens Nurses, All Labor Fight NLRB Union Busting!

Nurses unions and the entire labor movement are faced with a fight against a union-busting ruling by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) on October 3. The landmark 3-2 decision opened the door for employers to reclassify millions of workers as supervisors, which would bar them from union membership under federal labor law. It enables management in any industry to claim that workers are supervisors if they have the authority to assign or direct another worker and use “independent judgment” on the job, such as charge nurses (who run hospital shifts) or lead workers in the skilled trades. Already in the past few years, the NLRB had barred union representation for graduate students at private universities, temporary workers and newspaper carriers, among others.

The NLRB ruling takes direct aim at nurses unions. The day after the decision was announced, the head of the Massachusetts Nurses Association (MNA) announced at a panel discussion with the NLRB chairman that its members were prepared to strike in defense of the union. On November 13, the most overwhelming strike authorization vote in the MNA’s history took place at Brigham and Women’s Hospital in Boston. A week later, hospital officials agreed to a new contract with provisions protecting the union status of MNA members. Meanwhile, more than 30,000 members of the California Nurses Association/National Nurses Organizing Committee have



Nurses walk picket line during strike in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in August.

signed pledges to strike if their employers attempt to use the ruling against them.

Even before the ruling, a nearly month-long strike by 1,300 nurses at Robert Wood Johnson University Hospital in New Brunswick, New Jersey, this past summer won an agreement from management not to contest any current nurse’s union membership, whatever the NLRB decided. The nurses also won improve-

ments in their health care as a result of the strike, one of a number of recent nurses strikes across the country.

The very existence of unions came about through bitter class struggle, often in defiance of anti-labor laws. Today there is an evident appetite for labor action to defend the nurses unions. But instead, the main response of the top labor officials to the NLRB ruling was to use it

to mobilize union members behind the Democrats’ midterm election campaigns, exemplifying the union bureaucracy’s reliance on phony “pro-labor” capitalist politicians. Fresh off the Democrats’ success, these labor lieutenants of capital are now intent on helping install a Democrat in the White House in 2008, hoping a more “labor friendly” NLRB will be appointed. The labor misleaders preach that the NLRB, given the right composition, would protect workers and discipline companies for interfering in organizing drives. The fact is that under the guise of “neutrality,” the labor boards are agencies of the capitalist government and are invariably stacked on the side of the bosses, despite their occasional slaps on the wrist administered to management.

The NLRB decision was prepared by a 2001 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that rejected the board’s earlier, more restrictive definition of workers exercising “independent judgment.” The latest ruling—resolving one of three cases collectively known as the “Kentucky River” cases—was a direct blow against the United Auto Workers, which had been attempting to organize nurses at Oakwood Heritage Hospital in Taylor, Michigan. Health care bosses nationally had eagerly anticipated this ruling. At least 120 other cases in which the employer was contesting certification election results were deferred until after the “Kentucky River” decisions. Earlier this year, Virginia Mason Medical Center in Seattle announced it would dispute the union membership of all 600 of its registered nurses. A further effect of categorizing many registered nurses as supervisors is to aid hospital bosses in driving a wedge between the better-paid and highly skilled RNs and vocational nurses, nurses’ aides and other hospital workers.

The health care industry is easily the fastest growing sector of the U.S.

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Defend APPO! All Military Forces Out of Oaxaca! Protest Bloody Crackdown in Mexico!

On Saturday, November 25, Federal Preventive Police (PFP), which have occupied Oaxaca since October 27, and local cops brutally cracked down on protesters in the city. Four days later, police removed the final barricades that had been set up by the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (APPO). APPO had been occupying much of Oaxaca City in southern Mexico for some six months after the Oaxacan governor, Ulises Ruiz Ortiz of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), sent police to attack striking teachers in June. The government continues to round up activists and has already jailed some 220. Most have been moved by helicopter to the Pacific state of Nayarit, some 24 hours away from Oaxaca by car. Police have sexually abused activists. Dozens of people have been “disappeared” or killed. In Mexico City on December 4, federal police arrested four leaders of APPO—the brothers Flavio and Horacio Sosa Villavicencio, Ignacio García Maldonado and Marcelino Coache Verano. Free all the arrested!

On December 1 in Mexico City, some 200,000 people protested the inauguration of Felipe Calderón of the right-wing National Action Party (PAN), while inside the Congress, members of the bourgeois-populist Party of the Demo-



November 25: Federal police attack APPO protest in Oaxaca City’s Santo Domingo Square.

cratic Revolution (PRD) jeered Calderón as he sneaked in through the back door to take the oath of office. Mexico has been gripped by multi-sided social turmoil, from the peasant protests in the village of Atenco, outside Mexico City, and the Sicartsa steel workers strikes in Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán, to the mass protests against the outcome of the July presidential elections. Calderón has promised more repression, threatening those who “challenge the authority of the state.” His newly appointed secretary of the interior (who controls the secret police and other repressive forces), Francisco Ramírez Acuña, was infamous as governor of the state of Jalisco for the brutal treatment he meted out to “anti-globalization” protesters out-

side an international summit in Guadalajara in 2004.

We print below a translation of a November 26 leaflet issued by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, the day after the government’s attack in Oaxaca.

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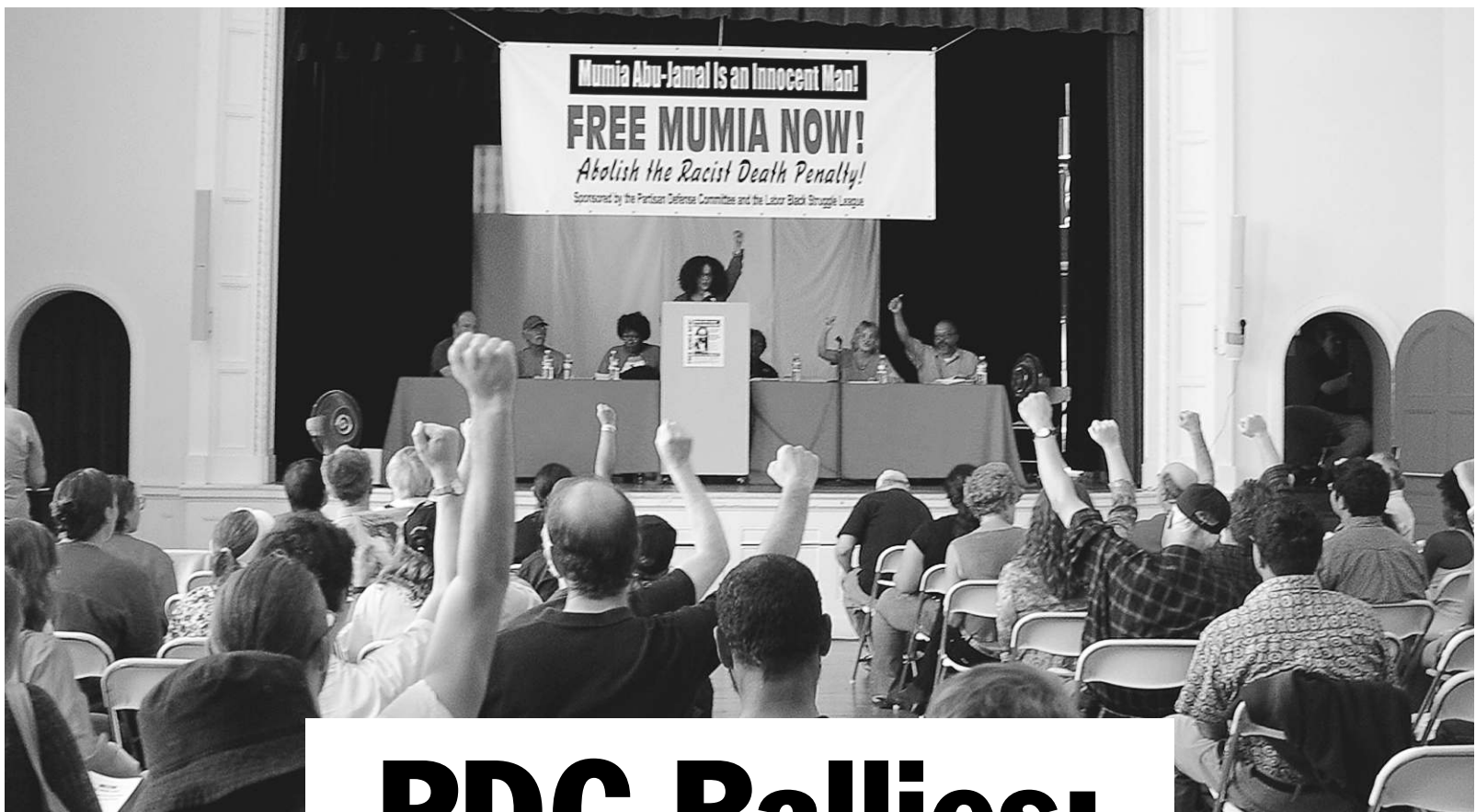
Yesterday, once again the brutal capitalist rulers unleashed massive repression against the APPO (Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca). At the end of the peaceful mass demonstration in Oaxaca City—which demanded the resignation of the Oaxacan governor-executioner Ulises Ruiz Ortiz, freedom for jailed activists and the withdrawal of the Federal Preventive Police—the marchers planned to

peacefully “surround” the PFP agents in [Oaxaca’s] downtown historical district for 48 hours. The PFP was already waiting for the marchers: plainclothes agents opened fire against the marchers, while the police launched tear gas bombs against them. *La Jornada* (26 November) reports that at least three people were killed by gunfire, although the figure is still not confirmed, and more than 140 were injured—at least 20 of them by gunshot—and 100 arrested. On Friday night, two members of the APPO had been kidnapped, César Mateos Benítez and Luis Sosa Campos. Ulises Ruiz now threatens massive arrests against those who defended themselves from the police attack yesterday, without “distinguishing between the acts of vandalism and those who participate in some way at the negotiating tables.” Since last May, when the teachers strike began, there have been 300 people arrested—57 of whom remain in prison—63 people disappeared and 17 dead.

This sinister attack must not pass with impunity! The Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, stands in solidarity with the struggle of the Oaxacan masses and calls for the entire workers movement to protest against this new and brutal attack. As we wrote in an October 29 leaflet, ***“The teachers and the APPO must not stand alone against the murderous repression of the capitalist state.”*** The attack against teachers is an attack aimed at the entire workers movement, and it is in the interests of the workers movement to defend the teachers in Oaxaca. ***The industrial working class must flex its***

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NOTICE
Workers Vanguard skips
an issue in December.
Our next issue will
be dated January 5.



WV Photo

PDC Rallies: Mobilize Labor! Free Mumia!

The Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Leagues sponsored rallies in Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland and New York City in October in an ongoing effort to revitalize the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Beginning in Chicago on October 13, the rallies drew student and political activists, fighters for black rights and militant trade unionists around the slogans: "Free Mumia Now! Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man! Mumia Abu-Jamal's Life Is in Danger—Mobilize Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

The racist capitalist rulers of this society have long wanted to see Mumia dead because they see in him the spectre of black revolution. A former Black Panther spokesman, later a MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," Mumia was framed up on false charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981. The U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia is expected within months to determine

October 21 rally for Mumia in Oakland, California.

what lies next for Mumia: reimposition of his death sentence, entombment in prison for life, or further legal appeals. This underscores the urgency of the mobilizing efforts of the PDC, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, and the LBLs, which are fraternally allied with the SL.

The events were capped by an October 28 rally in Harlem that drew more than 250 people and featured an important debate on what way forward in this struggle (see "For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!" WV No. 880, 10 November). The PDC's Erica Williamson, who chaired the rallies, stressed, "If Mumia is to be freed, it will take the mobilization of the masses, centrally labor, to champion his cause in outrage and on the basis that this was a case of a political frame-up through and through." This class-struggle perspective is coun-

terposed to the efforts of liberals and reformist "socialists" who based their protests on calls for a new trial for Mumia, appealing for "justice" from the same capitalist courts that railroaded Mumia to death row and have reconfirmed his frame-up conviction at every step. As Don Cane put it in his speech for the Labor Black League at the October 19 Los Angeles rally:

"The mobilization of the masses of workers here and internationally is what is needed to stay the hand of the executioner and unlock the prison cell. In 1995 the first death warrant was issued for Mumia's execution. It was the mobilization worldwide of millions, centrally workers along with death penalty abolitionists and civil libertarians, that stayed the executioner's hand. Today we need the same type, if not more massive mobilizations, not just to save Mumia's life, but to free Mumia. We are building these rallies today as a crucial step toward labor-centered, mass united-front mobilizations that can bring that pressure to bear."

Key to revitalizing the fight for Mumia's freedom is understanding that support for his cause has been demobilized over the years by those who preached reliance on the courts and capitalist politicians. At the October 21 Oakland rally, a Spartacist League comrade explained that behind the call for a new trial for Mumia and the call to free him stood "two different strategies, one based on sowing illusions in the very courts that railroaded an innocent man to death and the other based on mobilizing the only social power that can stand up in defiance of that system, the social power of the multiracial working class."

Addressing both West Coast rallies was the PDC's Valerie West, who for years had worked alongside Stuart Hanlon and others in defense of framed-up former Black Panther Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). In Oakland, Hanlon refuted those who appeal for a new trial for Mumia and not his immediate freedom. He began by conveying Geronimo's appreciation for the PDC's efforts on his behalf prior to his finally being released in 1997 after 27 years in prison. Hanlon said that Geronimo's message to the rally was: "Free Mumia," not "Get a new trial" and "Trust the courts." Hanlon emphasized that "we never said, 'a new trial for Geronimo.' ... He didn't get a fair trial the first time; he wasn't going to get one the

second time." He continued: "Do you ask for a new trial or do you ask for freedom? That's the stupid debate that lawyers engage in. The reality is, you ask to free Mumia now."

A number of Black Panther veterans attended the rallies. Students from area campuses, and some who came from long distances, made plans to hold events back at their campuses featuring the PDC video, "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal." The rallies collected over \$2,300 for Mumia's legal defense.

Mumia sent taped greetings to the rallies, and a statement was read from Mumia's son, Jamal Hart, who is himself imprisoned as a result of a police vendetta stemming from his efforts on his father's behalf. Addressing the audience in Oakland, Lydia Barashango, Mumia's sister, remarked, "I believe if it were not for you, Mumia would be dead. The courts, the lawyers, they do their work and they do a monumental job of trying to work with the tools that they have to work within the system. But we know the system doesn't always work, it's not always fair.... The fight is in the street."

The rallies stressed the importance of mobilizing on the basis of the overwhelming evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot Faulkner. As the PDC's Jon Piper put it in his speech in Chicago (see "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an

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JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

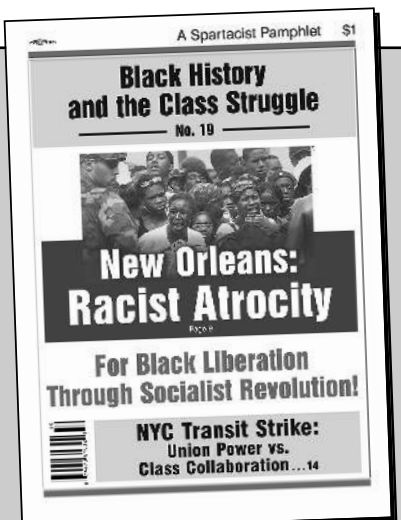
Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

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
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For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!

The following leaflet was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on November 27.

On December 9, 2006, Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man, will have spent 25 years in prison and on Pennsylvania's death row. Shot and arrested on December 9, 1981, Mumia Abu-Jamal—a talented journalist known as the “voice of the voiceless,” a former Black Panther, a supporter of the MOVE organization and an outspoken opponent of racist oppression—was framed and falsely convicted for the murder of Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. The next few months will be crucial in the fight to win his freedom. Mumia's battle has reached a critical juncture. Last December, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Pennsylvania put Mumia's case on a “fast track” for decision. This October Mumia submitted the final papers in his appeal against this racist frame-up and sentence of death. [More papers by the defense have since been filed.] A ruling by this court could come early next year after the courts have heard oral arguments from Mumia's attorneys and the prosecution. Any decision by the court will likely be appealed to the reactionary, racist U.S. Supreme Court, which is the end of the legal line.

Mumia is the victim of the forces of racist, capitalist “law and order,” who see in him a voice of defiant opposition to the oppression of black people that is a cornerstone of American capitalism. Their determination to carry out his execution is a warning to all who challenge cop repression, to workers who stand up for their rights on picket lines, to those who protest U.S. imperialist depredations in Iraq and elsewhere around the world.

Millions in the unions, on the streets and campuses must be mobilized now behind Mumia's fight! The kind of pressure that will have an impact on the courts is the social power of the multiracial labor movement demanding that this innocent man be freed now. It is with this understanding that we are mobilizing a Partisan Defense Committee contingent at the “Mumia Must Be Free!” rally called by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal on December 9 in Philadelphia. Join the PDC's contingent under the slogans: “For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!”

Mumia's case lays bare the workings of the capitalist state. His frame-up conviction was not the act of one “rogue” cop or prosecutor or judge, but that of an entire system that cannot be reformed. Mumia's innocence has been attested to by mountains of evidence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed Faulkner. Arnold Beverly stated that he was hired to kill Faulkner, whose interference with prostitution, gambling and payoffs made him a problem for the mob and corrupt cops. More than five years ago, Mumia's attorney submitted this confession to the courts, 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. Today, Philadelphia officials are suing the city of Paris and its Saint-Denis suburb for naming a street after Mumia and making him an honorary citizen, once again revealing the depth of hatred the bourgeois state has for Mumia.

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Join the PDC Contingent Philadelphia December 9th!



Spartacist/PDC contingent at Harlem demonstration for Mumia, April 2005.

“Mumia Must Be Free” Rally 11:30 a.m. Saturday Assemble outside Philadelphia City Hall (Located at Broad and Market Streets)

For more information and transportation from NYC call: (212) 406-4252

symbolizes what the racist death penalty in the U.S. is all about: a legacy of chattel slavery, the lynch rope made legal. We oppose the death penalty on principle—we do not accord the state the right to say who lives and who dies. With the execution in December 2005 of Stanley Tookie Williams, over substantial popular opposition, the ruling class sent a signal that they are deadly serious that Mumia will soon be another victim of the barbaric death penalty.

In the international fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti, James P. Cannon of the International Labor Defense pointed out, as the rulers geared up in 1927 for the legal lynching of the two anarchist workers: “It is, of course, absolutely right to exhaust every legal possibility and technicality in the fight, provided—that the workers have no illusions.” 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.” Like the International Labor Defense, the Partisan Defense Committee advocates pursuing all possible legal proceedings, while placing no faith whatsoever in the justice of the courts.

In August of 1995, Mumia won a stay of execution based on worldwide protests, crucially involving the labor movement. From 1995 through 1999, new evidence was revealed in his case that furthered in blowing the state's frame-up to bits. All of this evidence that pointed

to another man being responsible for the death of officer Faulkner, including the testimony of William Singletary and Veronica Jones, was rejected by the courts. Around this same time a number of reformist socialist organizations and their front groups, such as Workers World Party, Socialist Action, the International Socialist Organization and the Revolutionary Communist Party, raised the call for a “new trial” for Mumia. Instead of mobilizing to free Mumia as an innocent man and victim of a political and racist frame-up, these groups mobilized on the

basis that Mumia could get a new and fair hearing in federal court, leading to a new and fair trial in the same Philadelphia courts that sent him to death row. Many of these so-called socialist organizations now raise “freedom for Mumia” in conjunction with calls for a “new trial.” However, their politics remain in the framework of reliance on the bourgeois state. Behind the attempts to limit the struggle for Mumia to a call for a “new trial” is a *political program* premised on reliance on the capitalist state—a program directly counterposed to a mobilization of working-class power for his freedom. This political program of tying the masses to their class enemies and pushing faith in the capitalist state demobilized millions who once filled the streets in support of Mumia.

That worldwide movement must be revived, based on the premise that Mumia must be freed now, that this case is a racist, political frame-up of an innocent man and that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. The capitalist state and its courts are not neutral institutions but organs of repression against the working class and the oppressed. Mumia's freedom will not be won through reliance on the rigged “justice” system or on capitalist politicians, whether Democratic, Republican or Green. The PDC, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Marxist Spartacist League, fights to mobilize the social power of the multiracial labor movement—those who create the wealth of this society and who can shut it down. That is why our contingent in Philadelphia December 9 is based on the need for *class-struggle defense* to free Mumia and the understanding that the capitalist state serves the interests of the racist ruling class. Labor must be mobilized independently of the very forces of the capitalist state that framed up this innocent man! The road to victory in Mumia's case begins with the understanding that the class enemy is determined to carry out his execution. The multiracial working class has every interest in fighting against that outcome, which would further bolster the machinery of capitalist state violence whose ultimate target is the working class.

We are building this contingent in Philadelphia as a step toward the labor-centered, mass united-front mobilizations needed to free Mumia. Such mobilizations must send the court the message: We will not let Mumia die or rot another day in prison! Free Mumia Now! ■

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Le Bolchévik

Paris, November 29: PDC/Comité de Défense Sociale banner at Mumia rally reads, “Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!”

Terrorism: A Marxist Analysis

The “War on Terror” and the Imperialist World Order

This part concludes this article, Part One of which appeared in WV No. 881 (24 November).

PART TWO

The concept of revolutionary terrorism entered the political vocabulary during the French Revolution of 1789-93, the most radical of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions that ushered in the modern capitalist world. The Jacobin regime of Maximilien Robespierre employed effective state repression, called “the Terror,” against domestic counterrevolutionaries backed by an international coalition of bourgeois-monarchical Britain and the absolutist (late feudal) monarchies of continental Europe.

The Englishman Edmund Burke became a leading ideological spokesman for the counterrevolutionary alliance against the embattled French Republic. In his 1790 *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Burke denigrated this profound social and political upheaval as “frauds, impostures, violences, rapines, burnings, murders, confiscations, compulsory paper currencies, and every description of tyranny and cruelty employed to bring about and to uphold this revolution.” In the later epoch of capitalist imperialism, similar descriptions of the French Revolution, especially of its radical Jacobin phase, became a standard theme in bourgeois political culture.

During the Cold War, the vilification and falsification of the Jacobin Terror was incorporated into anti-Communist propaganda. Robespierre’s regime was portrayed as seeking to impose totalitarian thought control on the French people through massive police-state repression. In reality, the Jacobin Terror had nothing to do with the suppression of ideas and opinions. It was basically a *military* measure. Almost all of those killed during the Terror were concentrated in the two regions of France that experienced full-scale civil war: the lower Rhone valley around Lyon and the Vendée (an area in western France on the Atlantic coast). They were counterrevolutionary combatants who were captured arms in hand in a merciless civil war in which neither side gave quarter.

While repudiating its own revolutionary past, which included the beheading of kings in clearing away the old feudal order, the latter-day bourgeoisie has engaged in indiscriminate mass terror against the working class at home and the peoples of colonial and semicolonial countries. Following the defeat of the short-lived Paris Commune of 1871, which Marx called the first expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the French bourgeoisie massacred over 20,000 unarmed and defenseless men and women in the city’s working-class districts. In the foreign colonies of Western imperialism—such as British India, French Indochina and the U.S.-ruled Philippines—all popular national resistance was labeled “terrorism” and was met with mass murder and torture. If the U.S. ruling class were ideologically consistent, it would now condemn the American War of Independence against Britain, which relied heavily on guerrilla warfare, as a “terrorist enterprise.”

Today, it is we revolutionary Marxists who recognize the historically progressive character of the classic bourgeois-democratic revolutions as we struggle for a communist world in which the princi-

ples of liberty, equality and fraternity proclaimed by the French Revolution will become a reality. During the Russian Civil War following the October Revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks cited the historical examples of the French Revolution and also the American Civil War to explain and justify the Red Terror directed at the White counterrevolutionary armies and the Western and Japanese imperialist expeditionary forces. Leon Trotsky, commanding the Red Army, wrote at the time that “the iron dictator-

combat against Russian populism and its strategy of individual terrorism. The founding leader of Russian Marxism, Georgi Plekhanov, and his co-thinkers split from the main body of populist militants when the latter launched a campaign of assassinations of tsarist officials in the late 1870s in a futile effort to spark the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy.

As a political-ideological current, Russian populism had originated two decades earlier under the theoretical guidance of Alexander Herzen. Its core program was

so, populism gained a large following among Russia’s student youth, in competition with both Western-style liberalism and anti-Western Slavophile nationalism.

By the mid 1870s, the populist circles believed themselves strong enough to frontally challenge the tsarist regime and launched a campaign of mass agitation—the “To the People” movement—primarily directed at the peasantry. A few thousand young leftist intellectuals flocked to rural villages under the banner of “Land and Liberty.” However, their efforts were met with indifference and even hostility by the peasants, who continued to believe in the personal benevolence of the tsar. A few populist militants, prominent among them Plekhanov, remained in the cities, agitating and seeking to organize among urban workers. In this endeavor they achieved a certain measure of success, especially compared to their comrades who went to the countryside.

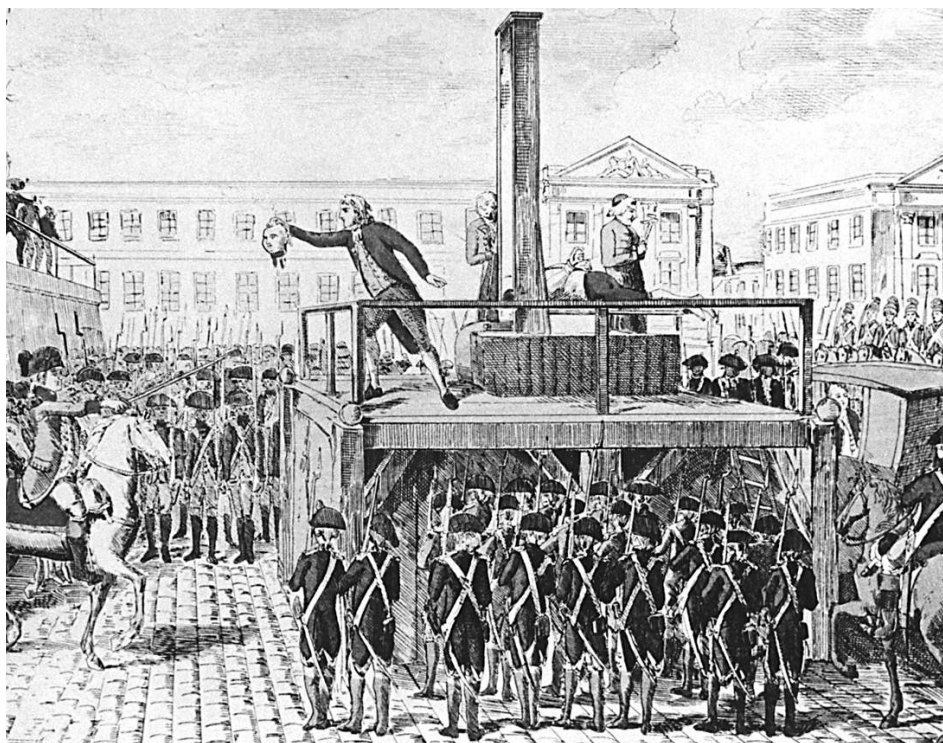
Frustrated by the failure of the “To the People” movement and enraged by the savage repression meted out against them by the tsarist regime, the main body of populist militants turned to terrorism, assassinating a number of government officials. Organized as the People’s Will, in 1881 they sent to his maker Alexander II, Tsar of All the Russias. This spectacular regicide did not, as they had expected, spark a popular uprising. Alexander III, an even more reactionary figure, ascended the throne and ushered in a wave of repression that destroyed the People’s Will and discouraged leftist political activism in general.

Plekhanov and a small number of co-thinkers refused to participate in the People’s Will, arguing for a continuation of mass agitational activity as opposed to individual terrorism. The other principal members of Plekhanov’s circle were Paul Axelrod and Vera Zasulich, who earlier had shot the tsarist General Trepov in 1878 in retaliation for his brutal treatment of political prisoners. Over the next few years, the circle, which functioned in exile, evolved toward Marxism, a development culminating in the formation of the Emancipation of Labor Group in 1883. These early Russian Marxists fought to win leftist opponents of the autocracy to a revolutionary program based on a *materialist* understanding that a social revolution requires a social class—i.e., the proletariat—with the interest and power to reorganize society on a new, more advanced economic foundation.

Beginning in the 1890s, Russia’s rapid industrialization, largely financed by West European capital, generated a powerful and combative proletariat in the midst of a backward, overwhelmingly peasant country with a weak and dependent bourgeoisie. The Marxist movement was able to transform itself from small propaganda circles of leftist intellectuals into a revolutionary workers party with a mass following, the Bolshevik Party led by V. I. Lenin. The forging of the Bolshevik Party was the product of many factors, including propaganda and agitation among the proletariat and other exploited and oppressed strata, the experience of both the revolutionary upsurge of 1905 and the subsequent period of deep reaction, and factional conflict inside the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, particularly the 1903 split between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. In this period, Plekhanov moved to the right. Following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, Plekhanov de-



Bulloz



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Top: Parisian women march on royal palace at Versailles in early months of French Revolution, October 1789. Bottom: Louis XVI executed by guillotine, 21 January 1793.

ship of the Jacobins was evoked by the monstrously difficult position of revolutionary France” and that the “severity of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia, let us point out here, was conditioned by no less difficult circumstances” (*Terrorism and Communism* [1920]). As a historical generalization, he concluded:

“The degree of ferocity of the struggle depends on a series of internal and international circumstances. The more ferocious and dangerous is the resistance of the class enemy who have been overthrown, the more inevitably does the system of repression take the form of a system of terror.”

Tsarist Russia: Revolutionary Marxism vs. Populist Terrorism

The October Revolution and the resulting Soviet workers state and Red Army were led by a political tendency that originated and developed in political

the advocacy of a peasant-based socialism supposedly expressing the traditional collectivist practices and values of Russia’s agrarian toilers. Following Russia’s defeat in the Crimean War of 1853-56 by Britain and France, the tsarist regime tolerated a certain degree of political openness amid expectations of far-reaching reforms. Taking advantage of this situation, Herzen and his circle aimed to pressure the autocracy into redistributing the land owned by the nobility and the state in a way beneficial to the peasant masses.

However, the legal abolition of serfdom in 1861 was devised such that it financially benefited the nobility while perpetuating and in some ways intensifying the exploitation and impoverishment of the rural toilers. Bitterly disillusioned with the tsarist “emancipation,” the populist intelligentsia moved leftward toward a revolutionary outlook. Over the next decade or

nounced the December Moscow insurrection as an adventure and, in 1917, opposed the seizure of power by the Bolshevik-led workers. Importantly, however, he never joined hands with those Mensheviks and others who tried to mobilize against the revolution.

SRs: Liberals with Bombs

Given Russia’s predominantly peasant character, populism continued to be an important current in the left opposition to the autocracy. Organized in 1901 as the Socialist Revolutionary Party (SRs), populist militants competed with the Marxists for the allegiance of young leftist intellectuals and for influence among the urban laboring classes. The question of individual terrorism remained an important line of demarcation and source of political conflict between the two tendencies.

In 1902, when an SR militant assassinated the hated head of the political police, Dmitry Sipyagin, who was then replaced by the equally repressive Vyacheslav von Plehve, Lenin contrasted the assassination with a strike that had aroused the political consciousness of the railway workers in the port city of Rostov-on-Don:

“We believe that even a hundred regicides can never produce so stimulating and educational an effect as this participation of tens of thousands of working people in meetings where their vital interests and the links between politics and these interests are discussed, and as this participation in a struggle, which really *rouses* ever new and ‘untapped’ sections of the proletariat to greater political consciousness, to a broader revolutionary struggle.”
—“New Events and Old Questions” (December 1902)

Lenin’s point was not simply that workers were engaging in struggle, but that the class struggle of the workers has *revolutionary potential*, which can be realized only through the forging of a revolutionary leadership. He went on to describe how the government is “truly disorganized when, and only when” mass workers struggles “plunge the government into a state of confusion...when military action against tens of thousands of the people is preceded by wavering among the authorities, who have no way of really knowing what this military action will lead to.” Lenin noted: “Here it is no longer some scoundrel, but the existing system as a whole that comes out as the enemy of the people, against whom are arrayed the local and the St. Petersburg authorities, the police, the Cossacks, and the troops, to say nothing of the gendarmes and the courts which, as ever, supplement and complete the picture in every popular uprising.”

A decade later, particularly in light of the experience of the failed 1905 Revolution and its aftermath, Lenin noted in “The Career of a Russian Terrorist” (January 1911) that the SRs included “an enormous proportion of *liberals with bombs*” (emphasis in original). He concluded:

“Those who want to learn from the great lessons of the Russian revolution must realize that only the development of the class-consciousness of the proletariat, only the organization of *this* class and the exclusion of petty-bourgeois ‘fellow-travellers’ from its party, and the elimi-



British troops in India slaughtered almost 400 protesters in Amritsar in 1919.

nation of the vacillation, weakness, and lack of principle, characteristic of them, *can* again lead, and surely will lead, to new victories of the people over the monarchy of the Romanovs.”

From the same revolutionary standpoint, Marxists solidarized with the desire of populist terrorists to avenge the crimes of the tsarist regime and defended them against state repression. In discussions with his U.S. supporters in the late 1930s, Trotsky recalled in this regard: “We rejected the method of the SRs; but every time a terrorist act was committed we declared that we sympathized with the SRs, we explained the reasons, and mobilized the feeling against the czar” (“Discussions with Trotsky: III—The Russian Question,” *Writings [1937-38]*).

Not long after Trotsky made these comments, a Polish Jew, Herschel Grynszpan, walked into the German embassy in Paris and shot to death a Nazi diplomat. In opposition to the Stalinists, who refused to defend Grynszpan and vilely depicted him as an agent of the Nazis, Trotsky wrote:

“We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as oppressed nationalities. A single isolated hero cannot replace the masses. But we understand only too clearly the inevitability of such convulsive acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing avengers even though they have been unable to discover the correct road.... To tear Grynszpan out of the hands of capitalist justice, which is capable of chopping off his head to further serve capitalist diplomacy, is the elementary, immediate task of the international working class!”
—“For Grynszpan” (*Writings [1938-39]*)

Decades later, a London *Guardian* (31 October 2001) article reported that the killing was likely the result of a homosexual lovers’ quarrel.

New Left Radicalism and Its Terrorist Fringe

Prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, left-wing terrorists such as the Russian populists and some anarchists professed as their ultimate goal an egalitarian, harmonious and stateless society. This outlook found an echo in the 1970s in certain terrorist groups derived from the broader current of New Left student-youth radicalism—the Weather Under-

ground in the United States, the Red Army Faction (RAF) in West Germany and Workers Autonomy and the Red Brigades in Italy. It’s a sign of the times that today terrorist acts are mainly carried out by religious and other retrograde forces and not by those seeking progressive social transformation.

New Left radicalism was in large measure a response to the parliamentary reformism and especially the pro-imperialist policies of the bureaucratized leadership of the mass working-class organizations—the AFL-CIO labor tops in the U.S., the social-democratic and Communist (Moscow-line Stalinist) parties and affiliated trade unions in West Europe. Many young leftist intellectuals believed that the working class in the advanced capitalist countries had been



Alexander Herzen (above) inspired Russian populist movement. Georgi Plekhanov, founder of Russian Marxism.

“bought off” by the spoils of imperialist plunder of the “Third World.” A small number of New Left activists, frustrated by the ineffectuality of student-based protest politics, turned to individual terrorism, reinventing the classic anarchist “propaganda of the deed.”

The Weather Underground was the least politically significant and most technically incompetent of the New Left-derived terrorist groups. Their actions were often self-defeating and more dangerous to themselves than to the bourgeoisie. An accidental bomb detonation killed three Weathermen in New York City in 1970. Nonetheless, the state repression and “anti-terrorist” witchhunt directed at the Weathermen posed an important challenge to the U.S. left as a whole. It should have been clear that when the heavy hammer of the bourgeois state came crashing down on the Weathermen, this was just a warm-up to go after the rest of the left and workers movement.

But most of the left, including self-styled “revolutionary Marxists,” refused to defend the Weathermen and indeed joined the witchhunting chorus against them. The pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Party, in its eternal pursuit of a “People’s Front” with the Democratic Party, ranted that “Terror and Armed Battle Play into Nixon’s Hands” (*Daily World*, 15 April 1970). The Maoist-Stalinist Progressive Labor Party vilely denounced the Weathermen as “police agents.” The left social-democratic Inter-

national Socialists (the predecessor of today’s International Socialist Organization) called on the left to “dissociate itself” from the Weathermen and compared them to fascists. And the reformist, once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), ripping quotes from Trotsky out of context, denounced “terrorism” as “petty-bourgeois liberalism temporarily gone berserk” (*International Socialist Review*, June 1970).

The SWP’s cowardly refusal to defend the Weathermen against state repression was prefigured by its cringing response to the 1963 assassination of Democratic president John F. Kennedy, which SWP leader Farrell Dobbs condemned as “an inhuman, anti-social and criminal act” (quoted in *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 1, February-March 1964). This line was characteristic of the SWP’s centrist degeneration at the time, against which the Spartacist League’s precursor, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), had fought.

The first issue of *Spartacist*, published after the RT’s expulsion from the SWP, described the Kennedy assassination as “an acid test of the class position of every left movement in the United States” and condemned “those formations which joined their cries to the liberal threnody for the late president.” The RT cited and solidarized with the principled line of the British Socialist Labour League, whose National Secretary, Gerry Healy, stated: “Marxists express no sympathy whatsoever over Kennedy’s death. We do not condone the act of individual terror responsible for his death, not because we are squeamish or humanitarian about how



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it was done, but because individual terror is no substitute for the construction of the revolutionary party.” Our article noted that “it is a perfectly principled tactic to carefully avoid the use of provocative phrases when the legal organizational existence, and possibly the lives, of revolutionaries are at stake,” but the SWP’s words were those of “Social Democrats and bourgeois liberals, and richly merited the attacks of Gerry Healy and the Socialist Labour League.”

When the Weathermen came under state attack a few years later, we insisted that they were “an integral part of the radical movement”:

“Legal defense of all radical activists victimized by the bourgeois state is necessary not only to protect the movement as a whole but also to establish the authority of the revolutionary left to set the Weatherman followers straight....
“The real crime vis-à-vis terror politics and heroic individualism is that it allows the revolutionary energies of some of the movement’s most talented, dedicated people to be channeled into futile and self-destructive actions. It is our job to seek to redirect these energies into genuinely revolutionary directions.”
—“Terrorism and Communism,” *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 17-18, August-September 1970

New Left Terrorism: West Europe

New Left-derived terrorist groups also arose in West Europe. In West Germany, the Red Army Faction, labeled by the



Graphic of 13 March 1881 assassination of Tsar Alexander II by member of People’s Will.

Terrorism...

(continued from page 7)

bourgeois media the “Baader-Meinhof Gang” after two of its leaders, Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof, engaged in bombings and arson, especially of corporate buildings and NATO military installations. The Bonn government, the legal heir of Adolf Hitler’s Third Reich, imprisoned more than 200 alleged RAF members and supporters, many of them held without trial for years in solitary confinement. At the time, our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Germany (predecessor of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany) energetically campaigned for *united-front defense* of the victimized Red Army Faction by the left and workers movement.

In 1977, more than a year after Meinhof’s suspicious death by hanging in her prison cell, the RAF kidnapped the head of the West German manufacturers association, Hanns Martin Schleyer, who was a former Nazi SS officer. The resulting massive buildup of state repression sought to intimidate the bourgeoisie’s real adversaries, the organized working class and those who would lead it in struggle against the capitalist system. However, under the impact of the intensifying “anti-terrorist” campaign, many German left-wing groups simply read the RAF out of the movement in order to escape the obligation of defending them.

At around the same time, self-proclaimed RAF supporters also got into the business of hijacking airliners, sometimes in alliance with Palestinian nationalists. In 1977, four terrorists claiming sympathy with the imprisoned RAF leaders hijacked a Lufthansa plane in Mogadishu, Somalia, where it was eventually stormed by West German commandos. The hijackers doused the passenger compartment with gasoline and repeatedly threatened to set it ablaze. Such acts target people who have nothing to do with the repression supposedly being protested.

While we continued to defend the RAF against its banning by the state, we did not defend the perpetrators of the airliner hijacking, which we denounced as a criminal act from the standpoint of the proletariat. We contrasted this with the Schleyer abduction, which “no matter how foolish, politically wrong and counterproductive—was not an act of indiscriminate terrorism against innocent individuals which must be condemned by the entire left” (WV No. 178, 21 October 1977). A similar situation arose in the U.S. in 1975, when the Puerto Rican FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation) bombed the Fraunces Tavern restaurant in New York City, killing four and injuring more than 60 diners, elderly Italian waiters and passers-by. While the Spartacist League has consistently defended armed Puerto Rican nationalist groups such as the Macheteros and the FALN against state repression, we condemned the Fraunces Tavern bombing as a criminal act of indiscriminate terror.

Left-wing terrorism played an especially important and polarizing political role in the 1970s in Italy. Workers Autonomy, an amalgam of declassed intellectuals and lumpenized elements, advocated and practiced “diffuse terrorism” aimed at promoting semi-clandestine urban guerrillaism. More important and tactically effective were the Red Brigades, many of whose leaders and cadre were dissident “hard” Stalinists who had split from the Italian Communist Party (PCI) in opposition to its abject reformism and servile class collaborationism. Nonetheless, the Brigades in substance acted as a left pressure group upon the PCI, whose leadership, meanwhile, did everything in its power to inflame the climate of “anti-terrorist” hysteria.

We wrote in “Stop the Popular-Front Witchhunt in Italy!” (WV No. 232, 25 May 1979):

“To their shame, virtually the entire Italian ex-New Left milieu has fallen into step with the PCI’s ‘anti-terrorist’ hysteria. But as the centrists howl with the wolves, genuine revolutionaries con-

German Spartacists’ newspaper published PDC statement titled: “Down With Terrorism Convictions of RAF Comrades!” Trotskyists defended Red Army Faction against state repression while bulk of left capitulated to bourgeoisie’s “anti-terror” campaign.

tinue to defend the left against the capitalist state while warning against the Red Brigades’ suicidal program of individual terror....

“Italian revolutionaries must also conduct a relentless struggle against the ‘diffuse terrorism’ of Workers Autonomy and the ‘armed party’ of the Red Brigades and other terrorist groups.... Such a struggle is, in the present phase, essentially a *political struggle*, consisting of presenting to the masses of workers, students and unemployed a Leninist-Trotskyist party with a proletarian-revolutionary program to sweep away the bankrupt Italian bourgeoisie.”

Terrorism and Nationalism

In the present-day world, the politically significant practitioners of individual terrorism (aside from the Islamic jihadists) have been petty-bourgeois nationalists based on and claiming to struggle on behalf of oppressed peoples—Irish Republicans, Basque and Palestinian nationalists, for example—who aim to establish their own bourgeois nation-state. Such movements have always combined, in the words of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), “the armalite and the ballot box,” wielding armed struggle along with diplomatic maneuvers and appeals to the “democratic” pretensions of the imperialists as pressure tactics. In the radically altered political contours of the world following the collapse of the Soviet Union, which had acted as a counterweight to the imperialist powers, these petty-bourgeois nationalist formations no longer have the diplomatic, military and financial means they had before and have been compelled to accept neocolonial-style “negotiated solutions”: the Oslo Accords in the case of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Good Friday Agreement in the case of the IRA.

We support the just struggles of oppressed nations and peoples against the forces of the oppressor bourgeois states. More fundamentally, we fight to eliminate all forms of national oppression, from a proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist perspective. Thus we call for British troops out of Northern Ireland as an integral part of our program for an Irish workers republic within a federation of workers republics in the British Isles. We stand for the right of the Basque people to self-determination, i.e., to secede from the Spanish and French bourgeois states and establish their own nation-state. We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli military forces and settlers from all of the Occupied Territories.

We do not equate the nationalism of the oppressed with the nationalism of the oppressor. It is the duty of the working class of an oppressor nation to defend the oppressed nation or nationality. A nationalist outlook and program, however, whether of the oppressed or the oppressor, aims to consolidate a national framework of *bourgeois* rule. In the eyes of petty-bourgeois nationalists, the entire

Weg mit den Terrorurteilen gegen die RAF-Genossen!

Die Bourgeoisie kann zufrieden sein. Nach dem Stammheimer Prozeß ist jetzt auch, am zweiten Juni, der „kleine“ Baader-Meinhof-Prozeß über die Bühne gelaufen.

Kommunistische Korrespondenz July 1977

häft geessen hatte! Dem Klassenterror der Bourgeoisie muß durch die Mobilisierung der Arbeiterklasse ein Ende bereitet werden! Ensslin und Raspe, Jüschke und Grashof Roth und Otto, Günter Sonnenberg (dem die Polizei das Gehirn zerschossen hat), Verena Becker und all die anderen Opfer der bürgerlichen Klassenjustiz – wir fordern ihre sofortige und bedingungslose Freilassung!

Im folgenden drucken wir eine Protestnote des amerikanischen Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) gegen die Verurteilung der RAF-Genossen an die Bundesregierung ab. Das PDC ist eine klassenkämpferische und antisektiererische Verteidigungsorganisation, die mit den politischen Ansichten der Spartacist League/US (Sektion der internationalen Spartacist Tendenz) übereinstimmt. Das PDC beteiligt sich ohne sektiererische oder fraktionelle Einschränkung an der Verteidigung aller Bestandteile der Arbeiterbewegung und aller anderen Opfer des bürgerlichen Klassenerrors. Es steht in der Tradition der „International Labor Defense“ (Internationale Arbeiterverteidigung) unter der Führung ihres Gründers und ersten Sekretärs, James P. Cannon (1925–28).

Bundeskanzler Helmut Schmidt Bonn, Westdeutschland Der zweijährige Schauprozess gegen die Rote Armee Fraktion (von den bürgerlichen Medien als „Baader-Meinhof-nde“ bezeichnet) ist beendet, aber die reaktionäre Hetzjagd in Westdeutschland wird fortgesetzt. Das kapitalistische Gericht, das sowieso nichts anderes als eine bloße Freizeitanlage ist, hat Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin und Jan-Carl Raspe zu lebenslänglicher Haft verurteilt, nachdem es zuvor zwei ihrer Genossen (Ulrike Meinhof und Holger Meins) in den Märtyrertod geschickt hatte.

Die Angeklagten werden beschuldigt, Symbole des verbrecherischen Imperialismus angegriffen zu haben, was in den Augen der Arbeiterklasse kein Verbrechen ist. Im Gegenteil, es ist vielmehr ihre Regierung, die die Hexenjagd initiierte – mit den hinterhältigen Angriffen auf die elementarsten demokratischen Rechte der Angeklagten, mit schwarzen Listen auf nationaler Ebene, auf denen Radikale registriert werden, mit dem Schutz von Nazi-Kriegsverbrechern – die als der wahre Terrorist überführt dasteht.

Wir fordern, daß alle Anklagen gegen Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe und die anderen Opfer des westdeutschen bürgerlichen Klassenerrors zurückgezogen und daß diese sofort freigelassen werden.

13. Mai 1977

Partisan Defense Committee Box 633, Canal Street Station New York City, NY 10013



Andreas Baader Ulrike Meinhof Gudrun Ensslin Holger Meins Jan-Carl Raspe

oppressor nation is viewed as the enemy. This outlook frequently leads to acts of indiscriminate violence against the working people of the oppressor nation. Terrorism in the service of a nationalist program thus *cuts across* the class unity of the workers in the struggle against their common enemy: the capitalist classes of all nations. If and when it comes to power, the bourgeoisie of a formerly oppressed people gains a free hand not only to exploit its “own” working class but to oppress national minorities in its own territories and to launch its own wars of national conquest. The logic of *all* nationalism is genocidal.

An early example of such genocidal logic was provided by the Armenian Dashnaks in late tsarist Russia. At the time, the Armenian people were oppressed and divided between Ottoman-ruled Turkey and the Russian-ruled Caucasus. The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutyun) was founded in the early 1890s with the aim of liberating the Armenians in Turkey from the yoke of the Ottoman rulers. Subsequently, the Dashnaks adopted a formal socialist program and in 1907 joined the Second International. In Turkey, the Dashnaks carried out a policy of assassinating Ottoman officials and military men. In the Caucasus, however, the main target of the Dashnaks’ terrorism was



Edition Zeitgeschichte

Graphic depicts attempt by Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaks) to assassinate Ottoman ruler Sultan Abdul Hamid at Istanbul’s Yildiz mosque, 1905.

another oppressed people, the Turkic-speaking, Muslim Azerbaijanis who many (Christian) Armenians viewed as sympathetic to the Muslim Ottoman rulers.

The Caucasus was (and still is) a region of numerous geographically intertwined peoples. The working class in the region’s main industrial city, Baku—the oil-producing center of the Russian empire—was thoroughly multinational. Its main components were ethnic Russians, Armenians and Azerbaijanis, including mi-

grants from Persia (Iran), and smaller numbers of other Caucasian peoples. National divisions corresponded to the vertical structure of the working class. Armenian capitalists typically employed only Armenian workers. Russians and Armenians were concentrated among the more skilled workers in the factories and refineries of the city itself. Azerbaijanis provided the mass of unskilled workers in the outlying oil fields.

In 1905, following murderous riots between Armenians and Azerbaijanis in Baku, the Dashnaks formed militias, financed by Armenian capitalists, that carried out a campaign of mass terror against effectively defenseless Azerbaijani villages:

“The Dashnaktsutun as a party bears a major portion of responsibility, for it was often the leading force in perpetrating the massacres. The Dashnaks organized bands similar to those which operated in Turkey and recruited mostly from the Armenian refugees from that country. Such bands would attack the Muslims and often exterminate the populations of entire villages.”

—Firuz Kazemzadeh, *The Struggle for Transcaucasia, 1917-1921* (Philosophical Library, 1951)

During the First World War, the Turkish rulers carried out a genocidal campaign against the Armenian people, whom they viewed as supporting their tsarist Russian enemy. Those who survived the massacres fled to the Caucasus, where the Dashnaks established their own short-lived bourgeois state during the Russian Civil War. These Armenian nationalists in power allied themselves with the British and French imperialists against the Soviet regime while waging border wars against the Azerbaijani and Georgian peoples.

Terrorism and Interpenetrated Peoples

The genocidal logic of nationalism is particularly acute when two different peoples interpenetrate on the same territory. This was and is the case in the Caucasus, as it is in Northern Ireland and Israel-Palestine. In such situations, there is no democratic solution under capitalism to the contending democratic rights of national self-determination. While opposing all aspects of national oppression, we recognize that these conflicting claims can only be equitably resolved within the political framework of proletarian class rule, in which the capitalist drive for national consolidation in the service of profit has been eliminated.

The Northern Irish statelet was created by the British imperialists in the early 1920s as a reactionary move against the consolidation of an Irish bourgeois national state encompassing the entire island. An Anglo-Scottish-derived Protestant majority dominates and oppresses the Irish Catholic minority. For decades, the IRA carried out a semi-underground military struggle in the name of defending the Irish Catholics against the British imperialist forces and the Protestant authorities and paramilitary groups. However, the IRA’s program calls for reunifying, necessarily by force in the case of the Protestants, the six counties of Northern Ireland with the southern Catholic clerical Irish bourgeois state. If achieved, this would simply be a reversal of the terms of oppression, leading to communalist slaughter and forced population transfers.

The internationalist unity of the working class throughout the British Isles requires a struggle against British imperialism and all manifestations of national chauvinism and oppression. Thus Marxists stand for the military defense of the Irish nationalist organizations in their conflicts with the British army, the Northern Ireland state forces and Protestant paramilitary groups. At the same time, we oppose and condemn communalist attacks by the IRA on the Protestant population as well as indiscriminate attacks on civilian targets in Britain. Such attacks are crimes against the whole working class.

In 1972, the Official IRA set off a bomb outside the officers’ mess in the Aldershot barracks in England, headquar-



Reininger/Contact



Wide World



David Rubinger

Former Israeli prime ministers Menachem Begin (left) and Yitzhak Rabin (right) carried out murderous terror attacks on road to creation of Israeli state. Center: 1947 Zionist bombing in Jerusalem marketplace killed six Arabs, injured 41.

ters of a parachute regiment that had just carried out the heinous “Bloody Sunday” massacre of Catholics in the city of Derry. In fact, none of the officers were in the mess hall when the bomb went off. Those killed were women cleaners, an elderly gardener and a Catholic priest. In most such terrorist acts, innocent civilians are among those killed. But the bomb attack on a British imperialist military base was not a criminal act from the standpoint of the working class.

Altogether different was the Provisional IRA’s 1993 bombing of a fish shop on Shankill Road in a Protestant, mainly working-class neighborhood of Belfast, which killed nine Protestant civilians, including two children and the daughter of the shop’s owner. The Provos alibied this atrocity by claiming that they were trying to hit a Protestant paramilitary group scheduled to meet above the shop. Nonetheless, the targets of the bombing were not enforcers of national oppression but rather ordinary working people on this busy shopping street. Furthermore, this act of communalist terrorism took place at a time when a number of Protestant workers had just gone on strike to protest the sectarian murder of a Catholic worker. This offered a rare and fleeting opportunity for joint Catholic-Protestant, anti-sectarian working-class action. The Shankill Road bombing shut off that possibility by provoking vengeful rage within the Protestant community.

Nowhere has the reactionary logic of nationalist terrorism been drawn out more thoroughly than in the Israel-Palestine conflict, which likewise involves two nations interpenetrated on the same territory. The creation of the Israeli state in 1948 was achieved through the mass expulsion of Palestinian Arabs from their homeland amid massacres by Zionist military forces—the mainstream Haganah, dominated by “socialist” Zionists, and the right-wing Irgun. This was the culmination of a decades-long crusade to carve a “Jewish state” out of the living flesh of the Arab people, who were interspersed with the Jewish settler communities in the then British-ruled colony of Palestine. Though often dressed up in the rhetoric of socialism, the Zionist project called for compacting an exclusionist, Jewish-dominated political economy based on the chauvinist appeal for “Hebrew labor only.” Thus it was bitterly hostile to every instance of Hebrew-Arab class unity and joint class struggle in Palestine between the 1920s and ’40s, notably among railway, harbor and oil refinery workers.

For example, in early 1947 Jewish and Arab oil refinery workers went on strike together in the major port city of Haifa (see Zachary Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948* [University of California Press, 1996]). Later that year, Irgun terrorists carried out a bomb attack against a crowd of several hundred Arabs at the main gate of the Haifa refinery, where they were seeking jobs as day laborers. Infuriated Arabs then invaded the refinery and attacked Jewish workers. Using this communalist violence as a pretext, the Haganah retaliated against the entire Arab population of Haifa. Over the

next few months, 50,000 Palestinian Arabs were driven from their homes in the city. This was but a part of the massive “ethnic cleansing” that established the state of Israel. Yesterday’s terrorists became the heads of the Israeli bourgeois state, among them: Yitzhak Rabin, who as an officer during the 1948 “War of Independence” directed “Operation Dani,” one of the bloodiest massacres of Palestinians; Menachem Begin, former commander of the Irgun; Yitzhak Shamir, an operative in the murderous Stern Gang in the 1940s.

Ever since the creation of their state, the Zionist rulers have labeled as “terrorism” all resistance by the dispossessed Palestinian people, from the professed secular nationalists of the late Yasir

bloody dead end of the conflicting nationalisms in the region is class struggle uniting the proletariat across national lines in a fight to overthrow the Zionist butchers, the sheiks, colonels, emirs and mullahs in order to establish a socialist federation of the Near East.

What is needed to lead such struggles are revolutionary, internationalist workers parties based on the principle of the political independence of the proletariat from all bourgeois-nationalist and religious forces. Such parties can only be forged through a sharp break with the class collaborationism that defined the Stalinist Communist parties. Most Communist parties in the Near East emerged beginning in the mid 1930s when Stalin’s Comintern adopted the policy of the



WV Photo

Oakland, 9 February 2002: United-front protest against “anti-terror” laws and in defense of immigrant rights initiated by Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League.

Arafat’s PLO to the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas. Just as the American imperialists in effect created and supported bin Laden’s Islamic terror network during the Cold War, so the Israeli rulers initially promoted the formation of Hamas in the 1980s as a counterweight to the PLO, which then had Moscow’s diplomatic backing. Following the demise of the Soviet Union, Arafat & Co. made a U.S.-brokered deal with the Israeli rulers—the 1993 Oslo Accords—to police the Occupied Territories on their behalf. The subsequent political bankruptcy and increasing corruption of the PLO led to the ascendancy of the reactionary Islamists of Hamas among the besieged and desperate Palestinian people.

We take a side militarily in defense of the Palestinians against racist Zionist terror, defending Hamas, as we have the PLO, when the Israeli state goes after it as part of its attacks on the Palestinian people. But we oppose the suicide bombings directed at random Israeli citizens in restaurants or shopping malls by Hamas (or by “secular” Palestinian nationalists), which *strengthen* the Zionist state by reinforcing the intense anti-Arab chauvinism and bunker mentality that pervade Israeli society. Marxists must struggle to break the Hebrew-speaking workers from the Zionist rulers. The only way out of the

“people’s front against fascism,” a formula for supporting “democratic” imperialism and other “progressive” bourgeois forces. In the colonial and semicolonial world, this meant subordinating the proletariat to bourgeois nationalism.

U.S. Imperialism on the Rampage

The current “global war on terror” is but one of the many facets of capitalist reaction that has stamped the world fol-

lowing the counterrevolutionary destruction of the homeland of the Bolshevik Revolution. That event was an enormous setback in the struggle for the liberation of humanity from exploitation and oppression. It has meant a sharp, although uneven, retrogression in consciousness among the working class and youth fighting for social justice and against imperialist war; it has led to a vast increase in immiseration among the toiling masses globally; and it has created a far more dangerous world.

Proclaiming themselves masters of the “world’s only superpower,” the U.S. rulers believe that they can achieve total global dominance through the threat and use of overwhelming military force. The UN-endorsed economic sanctions against Iraq in the 1990s resulted in the deaths of a million and a half people, mainly young children and the elderly. The U.S./NATO air war against Serbia in 1999 devastated that small Balkan country. The “war on terror” has given an additional impetus to the ravages of American imperialist militarism around the world, from the invasion and colonial-type occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq to Washington’s economic warfare combined with threats of military action against both neocolonial Iran and the North Korean bureaucratically deformed workers state.

But the intensification of exploitation and oppression sows the seeds of class and social struggle, and with that the raw material for new Octobers. The task of Marxists is to provide a program to burst U.S. imperialism from within, through proletarian revolution. We fight to render the proletariat conscious of its historic mission to act as the gravedigger of the capitalist system. Thus as part of our military defense of Afghanistan and Iraq against the U.S.-led occupations, we have called on the American proletariat to wage class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home.

Individual terror, no matter how well-intentioned or heroic, is no substitute for the revolutionary mass mobilization of the working class and its allies. However, in opposition to pacifistic liberals and reformist leftists, we understand that the rapacious and murderous capitalist class can be removed from power only through force. As we wrote many years ago in “Marxism and Bloodthirstiness” (WV No. 345, 6 January 1984):

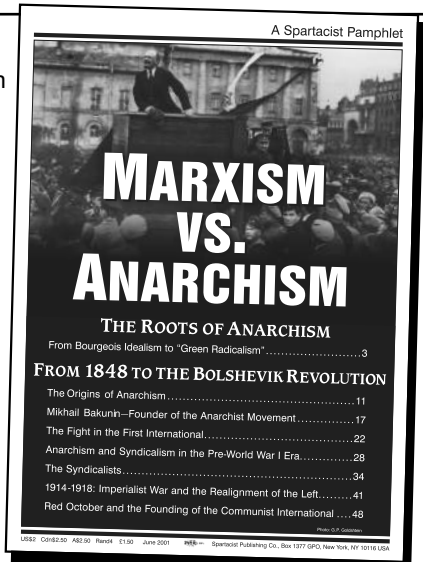
“We are for the victory of just causes. Necessarily and above all, the centrality of just causes is the shattering of the exploiting and oppressing classes and the victory of socialism. We are socialists not least because we are passionately opposed to war, the gathering together of large numbers of young workingmen to be slaughtered in the interests of the rulers. In this savagely class-divided world, dominated by the mass murderers of My Lai, the struggle for the victory of just causes will have a big physical component. We must stand therefore for the maximum assembling of effective force on the just side, hopefully to demoralize and deter the forces of reaction so that the actual casualties are minimized.”

Such force is a necessary means to achieve communism’s ultimate goal: the creation of an egalitarian and harmonious society of material abundance, in which there is no longer any form of the organized violence that is inherent in the capitalist-imperialist world order based on exploitation and oppression. ■

This pamphlet presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International and discusses the impact of the 1917 October Revolution. The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called “death of communism,” are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism.

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Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

June 2007. Bush's delusions, of rather longer standing, persist in the form of his continuing quest for a U.S. victory while denying the existence of an embryonic civil war in Iraq—a denial not even parroted by many important and normally subservient bourgeois media types who, along with UN secretary-general Kofi Annan, now acknowledge this reality.

The bloody occupation is vastly unpopular in the U.S. And this was reflected in the November elections, when the Democrats routed the Republicans and retook Congress. While the Democrats were generally mum on specifics during the campaign—with a lone voice or two running on the call for an immediate withdrawal—not a few seemed to suggest the need for a timetable for withdrawal *my pronto*. That bluster has all but disappeared. Now Democratic leaders from ex-president Bill Clinton to Senator Joseph Biden, the incoming chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, are suggesting that hard (read: any) timetables would be ill-advised. Many Democrats now seem pleased by the very tentative 2008 deadline reportedly being proposed by the bipartisan Iraq Study Group, a proposal that would maintain a presence of **70,000 troops** for as long as required to assure U.S. imperialism's continuing dominance.

The Democrats are now seeking an Iraqi fall guy for the imperialist debacle, for which they have repeatedly approved appropriations. Newly elected House majority leader Steny Hoyer recently characterized the Iraqis as too disorganized and self-obsessed to avail themselves of the opportunities provided by the American occupation, proclaiming that “in the days ahead, the Iraqis must make the tough decisions and accept responsibility for their future.”

In a London *Guardian* (27 November) column, Gary Younge powerfully exposed this quest for a scapegoat: “It is absurd to suggest that the Iraqis—who have been invaded, whose country is currently occupied, who have had their police and army disbanded and their entire civil service fired—could possibly be in a position to take responsibility for their future and are simply not doing so.” Younge remarked that the Democrats' insidious attempt at a frame-up “leaves intact the bogus premise that the invasion was an attempt at liberation that has failed because some squabbling ingrates, incapable of working in their own interests, could not grasp the basic tenets of Western democracy. In short, it makes the victims responsible for the crime.”

And that bloody crime is vast in scope: in October alone, almost 4,000 Iraqi civilian corpses were added to the

650,000 or so slaughtered in the three and a half years since the onset of U.S. imperialism's war against Iraq, as estimated by the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health, which, unlike the U.S. occupiers, bothered to amass the statistics. In the past year, the lion's share of the deaths has been a result of the sectarian violence spurred by the occupation. But the mayhem caused by U.S. military actions continues unabated. Recent American raids have resulted in the deaths of almost a dozen women and children, while the dozen-plus men who lay dead by their side were automatically consigned by U.S. military spokesmen to the category of terrorists who “place innocent Iraqi women and children in danger by their actions and presence” (aljazeera.net, 3 December).

An oil-rich and once relatively tech-

ditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. In the context of U.S. threats against Iran over its developing nuclear capacity, we say that Iran needs nukes as a deterrence to imperialist military attack, despite our political opposition to the Islamic regime. As we did after the declaration of the imperialists' “war on terror” in 2001, we link our opposition to imperialist depredations in the Near East and Central Asia to the call for the U.S. proletariat to wage class struggle at home against their capitalist rulers, represented by both the Republican and Democratic parties.

Imperialist Crimes

The destruction and human suffering in the wake of Katrina are the outcome of the rulers' racist neglect and contempt



National Geographic

British troops enter Baghdad, March 1917. Iraq's borders were arbitrarily drawn by colonial occupiers.

nologically sophisticated society lies in rubble, having neither power nor fuel nor potable water. Each day 1,000 of its citizens are internally displaced and another 3,000 or so flee to Syria and Jordan. There are no jobs for those who remain nor any assurance of the ability to survive. Not to be forgotten are the million and a half Iraqis sent to early graves by the daily bombing and UN-sponsored blockade in the aftermath of Desert Storm I, effected largely under the Democratic presidency of Bill “I feel your pain” Clinton.

The Spartacist League/U.S. stood for the military defense of Iraq against the imperialist invasion in 2003 without giving any political support to Saddam Hussein's murderous bourgeois regime. Today we demand the immediate, uncon-

ditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. In the context of U.S. threats against Iran over its developing nuclear capacity, we say that Iran needs nukes as a deterrence to imperialist military attack, despite our political opposition to the Islamic regime. As we did after the declaration of the imperialists' “war on terror” in 2001, we link our opposition to imperialist depredations in the Near East and Central Asia to the call for the U.S. proletariat to wage class struggle at home against their capitalist rulers, represented by both the Republican and Democratic parties.

The imperialists' willingness to destroy in their quest for power and profits without the least concern for those they would subjugate inevitably engenders chaos and resistance. It is quite pleasing to see the disintegration of Washington's efforts to exert total dominance in the oil fields in the Near East (versus rival imperialists) by planting the American flag in Iraq. The U.S. invasion was packaged as establishing a bulwark against the “evil” Islamic clerical regime in Iran and as a crucial battle in the “war against terror.” In fact, the result of the invasion and subsequent occupation has been to establish Shi'ite Iran—previously diplomatically isolated—as a power to be reckoned with in the region, one with considerable influence in the Shi'ite South of Iraq, and in ensconcing Al Qaeda forces in Sunni-populated Anbar province, their first foothold in Iraq.

The responsibility for the hell that has come to define life in Iraq today lies squarely with the imperialist powers. As we pointed out soon after the onset of the occupation in “U.S./British Troops Out of Iraq Now!” (WV No. 807, 1 August 2003): “In a fundamental way there is no ‘Iraq,’ a country the boundaries of which were created in the divvying up of the spoils by the British and French imperialist victors in the aftermath of World War I. What exists is the Kurdish North, the Sunni Muslim center and the majority Shi'ite South (and various others), with each region further riven by clan and tribal rivalries.”

It was the U.S. and other imperialists who for years supported the murderous dictatorship of the Sunni-based Ba'athist regime of Saddam Hussein, before withdrawing their support after his invasion of Kuwait in 1990. It was the U.S. that mobilized Shi'ite militias and the Kurdish *pesh merga* to crush Sunni insurgents

in Falluja in 2004 as that city was leveled. The result of the occupation has been an unfolding civil war between Sunni militias and Shi'ite forces, many of them death squads working directly from within the U.S.-backed puppet government.

We noted in our 2003 article that “in such a society the exertion of secular rule under capitalism is only possible under something like Hussein's Ba'athist dictatorship, which Bush & Co. aspire to replicate—democratic rhetoric aside—cleansed of its Ba'athist elements and pliable to U.S. dictates.” But strongmen are not available like pomegranates in Baghdad's markets; one such now awaits execution. Nor is such likely to be found among the Sunni or Shi'ite leaders, who in the main currently oppose American occupation.

Saddam Hussein was indeed a long-time instrument of the imperialists. The stage for his accession to power was set by a series of events beginning with a 1958 military coup that overthrew the despised British-backed monarchy. In the subsequent revolutionary wave that swept the country, the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP), supported by the then-powerful Iraqi working class as well as by Kurds and other minorities, could have seized power. Instead, the Stalinist ICP betrayed the uprising by subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeois-nationalist regime of General Qassim, thus setting up militant workers for repression while pushing the Kurds into the camp of their traditional chieftains. This betrayal (on orders from Moscow) was in the service of facilitating Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev's upcoming parley with U.S. president Eisenhower in a quest for “peaceful coexistence” with imperialism—a crystalline expression of the Stalinist bureaucracy's anti-revolutionary program of “socialism in one country.”

The defeat of the revolutionary wave prepared the way for a counterrevolutionary bloodbath in 1963, when the Ba'athist party briefly came to power for the first time and rounded up and murdered some 5,000 leftists and trade unionists, on the basis of lists supplied by the CIA. The second coming to power of the Ba'athists in 1968 was followed by Saddam Hussein assuming full dictatorial control over the next decade through a ruthless purge of the Ba'ath party.

Reformist Pipe Dreams

Currently, the only support for a continuing U.S. presence in Iraq lies in the North, where the Kurdish leadership has staked its claim with the U.S. imperialists and thus subordinated itself to the occupation forces. The struggle for the self-determination of the Kurdish nation—divided among the capitalist states of Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Iran—is just. The International Communist League has long raised the call for a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan. However, in Iraq, any fight for Kurdish independence must take as its starting point opposition to the occupation and to the nationalist parties that serve it.

The prime area for the first stage of a U.S. withdrawal is Anbar province, where 30,000 troops, mostly Marines—the cream of regular American military forces—are unable to contain Sunni guerrilla forces. The projection is to relocate these forces to Baghdad, where increasing the number of U.S. troops has demonstrably helped fuel the developing civil war. The withdrawal of most British forces from Iraq announced by Foreign Secretary Margaret Beckett—not accidentally timed to coincide with the departure of Prime Minister Tony Blair in the spring of 2007—will effectively turn control of the South of Iraq over to Shi'ite forces. Such withdrawals could quickly result in one of the outcomes threatened by the occupation: the trisection of Iraq into Sunni, Shi'ite and Kurdish sectors, with battles to come over the possession of its oil wealth.

The disintegration of Iraq could soon result in an all-sided conflict among the various states in the Near East. Sunni-dominated states feel threatened by Iran's

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

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

Boston

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Cambridge, MA 02139

Chicago

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Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
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Public Office:

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(Buzzer 23)

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Public Office:

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299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland

Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
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slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

Public Office:

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

San Francisco

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

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

Vancouver

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

Cop Terror...

(continued from page 1)

capitalist mouthpieces to try to explain away what happened—as if methodically loading two magazines in a 9-millimeter pistol and firing away at unarmed young black and Latino men is like catching the sniffles from your sneezing partner.

As shock in the community swelled to rage, the sellout black capitalist politicians moved fast to try to quash the anger of the people they claim to represent. Mayor Bloomberg rounded up the usual suspects to cool things down. Democrats like Congressman Charles Rangel, one-time FBI fink Al Sharpton and City Councilman Charles Barron, who uses his Black Panther past as a militant veneer for his service to the city rulers, flanked the mayor as he appealed for “dialogue” and conceded that Sean Bell’s killing appeared to be a case of “excessive force.”

City Councilman Thomas White Jr. got his comeuppance from several hundred protesters massed outside the Queens hospital where Guzman and Benefield lay wounded following the shooting. When the councilman preached, “We are not going to be angry,” the crowd roared back, “Oh, yes we are!” Now the NAACP is calling for a federal investigation—so the same Justice Department that justifies the torture of “terror suspects” is supposed to defend the victims of cop terror!

What’s called for is mass protest, headed by New York City’s integrated labor movement. The kind of independent working-class action that’s necessary was seen in New York City last year when the Transport Workers Union defied the no-strike Taylor Law and crippled the

finance capital of the world for three days. The same Mayor Bloomberg who now expresses concern over Bell’s killing denounced the heavily black and immigrant transit workers as “thugs” for using their strike weapon. In defending themselves against the bosses and the government, the transit workers demonstrated the social power that must be mobilized in defense of the oppressed ghetto and barrio masses. A one-day strike or mass labor-led protest against racist cop terror would pack more wallop than a thousand photo-ops for Al Sharpton and Charles Barron. But this class-struggle strategy requires a political fight against the labor bureaucracy, which embraces the Democratic Party and the capitalist courts and cops.

Defining “acceptable force” will no doubt be a focus of the City Council and the police civilian review board. What’s acceptable? The 41 bullets fired at the unarmed 22-year-old African immigrant Amadou Diallo in the vestibule of his home in 1999? Or the 20-odd bullets pumped into the backs of 18-year-old Antonio Rosario and 22-year-old Hilton Vega in 1995 in the Bronx as they lay on the ground as ordered by the police before their killing? Or will they draw the line at a more economical blast of bullets, such as police used to kill Timothy Stansbury, an unarmed 19-year-old, on the roof of his Brooklyn housing project in 2004, or Mingo Kenneth Mason, who was shot and killed outside a Harlem project with one bullet this September? The police arsenal of terror is not limited to semi-automatics: who can forget Haitian immigrant Abner Louima, brutally sodomized with a broom handle and beaten within an inch of his life in 1997 after being hauled into a police station for “questioning”?

It’s been 15 years since the videotaped vicious beating of Rodney King showed the world what happens all the time to black people in racist America. Young black men have always been targets of racist violence in this capitalist system. But not even an aged black woman sitting in her own home is safe from the cops. In Atlanta, 88-year-old Kathryn Johnston managed to fire several shots in self-defense before cops with a “no knock” warrant broke down her door supposedly looking for drugs and killed her in a hail of bullets on November 21. One week later, protesters stormed police barricades in front of Kathryn Johnston’s house. A church meeting was flanked with signs mocking the city’s paid leave for the killer cops. One read: “Kill a Black Citizen and Get Paid.” We say: Down with the racist “war on drugs”! No to gun control!

What happened to Sean Bell and Kathryn Johnston ought to dispel any illusions



WV Photo

Jamaica, Queens: Hundreds protest racist cop killing of Sean Bell, December 2.

that having more black cops will change a damn thing. The latest victims were gunned down by a rainbow coalition of police: black, white and Latino, led by a white police chief in New York and a black police chief in Atlanta. As the New York Spartacist League wrote in a leaflet issued immediately after the killing of Amadou Diallo (reprinted in *Workers Vanguard* No. 707, 19 February 1999):

“Such brutal, sadistic cop terror is not an ‘aberration.’ The cops, courts and prison system are at the core of the *capitalist state*, the repressive apparatus which protects the rule, the property and the profits of the tiny minority which owns the wealth of this country. While the capitalist class drives to increase profits, squeezing the working class and starving the ghettos, the gap between rich and poor grows ever wider. To enforce its rule, the capitalists must strengthen their apparatus of murderous repression.”

It is crucial to understand that *system-atic* racial oppression and segregation is a pillar of capitalist rule, and so it continues under Democratic as well as Republican administrations. Today the U.S. ruling class doesn’t need black youth even as a “last hired, first fired” reserve army of labor. That means the government has no need to educate them either. So astounding numbers are locked up in the vastly expanding prison system, and others are poached by military recruiters to get blown away in U.S. imperialism’s murderous occupation of Iraq. The “war on terror” is camouflage for the imperialist rulers to ride roughshod from Afghanistan to Iraq and for their war at home against immigrants, black people and the rights of the population as a whole. Bishop Lester Williams, who had been scheduled to perform Bell’s wedding,

bluntly said in referring to the cops’ treatment of black Queens: “It’s little Iraq.”

Nationwide anger over the wave of cop killings should be tied to the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was railroaded to death row on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman in 1981. A former Black Panther and later a MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist, Mumia exposed the brutal workings of the racist cops and their “justice” system. For this he was victimized in a racist, political frame-up. The fight for freedom for Mumia is a fight against the capitalist state’s ultimate instrument of racist terror: “legal lynching” by the death penalty. In this struggle, no confidence must be placed in the “fairness” of the racist capitalist courts, and all confidence placed in the power of mass, labor-centered protest.

The hard truth is that the only way to eliminate police brutality is to do away with the system of racist American capitalism, for which the “gang in blue uniforms” is the front line of defense. To fight for this kind of fundamental social change requires the understanding that the working class, which creates the wealth of this society, must lead the way forward to equality and justice for all, through socialist revolution. When the profit system is smashed and replaced with a planned economy, utilizing the wealth of this country for human need instead of capitalist greed, then we’ll be on the road to completing the unfulfilled promise of the Civil War for black freedom. The Spartacist League, together with the Labor Black Leagues, is dedicated to the fight to build the revolutionary workers party that can lead this struggle. *Sean Bell, Kathryn Johnston: We will not forget!* ■



Family photo

Kathryn Johnston, 88, was gunned down by cops in her Atlanta home on November 21.

quickly growing influence in Iraq and beyond. In Lebanon, the Shi’ite fundamentalist Hezbollah—backed by Iran and Syria—has staged a continuing mass protest in Beirut against the Siniora government, building from the setback it gave to Israeli forces in the summer. On December 4, the Lebanese government deployed more soldiers in Beirut amid fears that the killing of one protester could set off sectarian violence. The possibility of renewed civil war in Lebanon between competing reactionary nationalist and clerical forces is palpable. Meanwhile, Turkey has repeatedly threatened to intervene into northern Iraq if the Kurds there move toward independence.

Our call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. and allied forces from the Near East is made in the recognition that the weakening of the bloodsoaked American imperialists that would necessarily accompany such a retreat would redound to the benefit of the world’s oppressed masses, not because we believe that all will be right in that area in the aftermath. Nor do we think that imperialist dominance would fail to be exerted through the more normal post-colonial channels: through the sway of the major capitalist powers over the national bourgeois and religious leaders in these backward countries, who

gain their social power and wealth by maintaining the wretchedness of “their” people. Thus, while we recognize that strikes against the U.S. occupiers carried out by Iraqi insurgents coincide with the interests of the international proletariat, we give no political support to the various clerical and nationalist forces. Today those forces are tearing each other’s throats out far more than they are taking on the American occupation.

The very history of Iraq indicates that support to even left-talking bourgeois nationalists weaves a deathtrap for the working class and the oppressed masses. The Iraqi working class has been dismantled by the U.S. imperialist occupation, but the proletariat remains a force in the region, most notably in Iran. Freedom from grinding imperialist exploitation and the achievement of democratic rights for all people in the region cannot be achieved under capitalism. They require the overthrow of bourgeois rule, consummating in the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East and linked to the fight for proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries. The cohering of proletarian revolutionary parties in the region can come about only in opposition to religious reactionaries and to all variants of bourgeois nationalism.

The leftish types in this country who head the currently all-but-inert “antiwar movement”—e.g., the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Workers World Party (WWP)—seem compelled by the fantasy that the various religious and tribal militias in Iraq, Lebanon and elsewhere constitute a force for progress. They have been propounding this tale ever since the occupation set in. The reformist left’s vicarious enchantment with those who would quickly execute them, had they members in Iraq, mutates into groveling before the Democrats on the home front.

While these groups are capable of occasionally referring to the Democrats as a component of the American system of capitalist rule, their actions reveal their true intentions. The ISO and WWP were some of the best builders of a class-collaborationist Iraq “antiwar” movement that served as a vehicle for “Anybody but Bush” Democratic Party politics. In the November elections, the ISO ran its own candidate on the ticket of the Green Party, which seeks to become a significant player among the bourgeois parties that are an integral component of the American imperialist order. The WWP, which has not shied away from calling for votes to Democrats over the years, also ran a candidate in the Greens.

In the aftermath of the elections, it’s “make the Democrats fight.” The ISO distilled the following moonshine for consumption: “The Democrats will not deliver an end to the Iraq war without substantial pressure from below. And that requires large-scale, grass-roots struggle. This should be a wakeup call to everyone who wants an end to the Iraq war, a raise in the minimum wage, a step forward for immigrants rights—and an end to politics-as-usual in Washington” (*Socialist Worker*, 17 November).

For the reformists, the world imperialist order that consigned hundreds of millions to slaughter in the 20th century in pursuit of its quest for profits and power need not be smashed by international proletarian socialist revolution but merely refined by the pressures exerted by right-thinking people. Only when imperialist rule is consigned to the graveyard of history by working-class socialist revolution in the advanced industrial societies will the world’s masses be spared from the repetitive slaughters that are the hallmarks of class rule and freed from the chains of exploitation and oppression. This perspective necessitates building a revolutionary workers party, a U.S. section of a reformed Fourth International. ■

PDC Rallies...

(continued from page 4)

Innocent Man!” WV No. 879, 27 October): “None of the courts have allowed Beverly’s evidence to be heard because it is too hot to handle. It exposes that Mumia’s frame-up is not just some aberration of a rogue cop or a bad judge, but the result of the workings of a whole ‘justice’ system whose real purpose is the repression of workers, minorities and the poor on behalf of the capitalist rulers.”

Hundreds of prominent individuals, labor activists, civil libertarians and organizations internationally have signed on to a PDC statement titled, “We Demand the Immediate Freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man,” which cites the Beverly evidence. To date, that statement has appeared in the *Nation*, the Harlem-based *Amsterdam News*, the *Chicago Defender* and the *San Francisco Bay View*.

Henry Walton, host of the KPFK Labor Review radio program in Los Angeles, described how Mumia’s case “changed me from being one of those liberals, back in the ’80s, when this first started, who said, ‘Let’s give him a fair trial,’ to now understanding that we’ve got to free an innocent

man because he’s not going to get a fair trial from this system. There is no such thing.” Standish E. Willis, chair of the Chicago chapter of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, explained that “these courts are not for working people. They are for people who have property and they are there to protect private property and protect the people that run this country.” Also speaking in Chicago were Bernard



Left: Stuart Hanlon, former attorney for Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), addresses Oakland rally. Right: Henry Walton of KPFK radio speaks at October 19 rally in Los Angeles.

Branche of the Labor Black Struggle League, WVON radio host Cliff Kelley and Mike Elliot, chair of the Education Committee of United Auto Workers Local 551. Elliot remarked, “They want to silence the voice of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the voices of those that support him because our voices speak volumes about the state that we live in, the state of America.”

It was an important advance that the



WV Photos

rallies were addressed by a wide range of union activists and officials. In Los Angeles, Jesse Smith, president of the African American Caucus of SEIU United Healthcare Workers-West spoke to why labor should take up Mumia’s cause when it “doesn’t involve adequate wages or fair benefits.” He answered: “Labor must be concerned about this issue because it is an issue of injustice.” In Oakland, Brenda Blannon of SEIU Local 616 read a June 13 statement declaring that the local’s executive board had voted unanimously to call for freedom for Mumia, and Chris Fisher of AFSCME Local 444 noted his union’s 15-year-long support for Mumia.

Also addressing the Oakland rally were Josué Cobos of the Day Labor Program and Raymond Horne, trustee of Glaziers Local 718 in San Francisco. All expressions of labor solidarity with Mumia are welcome. But as the LBL’s Tom Cowperthwaite, a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100, told the Harlem rally, “We need to turn those names of unionists on petitions, those motions, those resolutions into labor protest and strike action” (See “‘Strike!’ and ‘Free Mumia!’ Should Ring Out in the Same Breath,” WV No. 881, 24 November).■

Mexico...

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powerful muscle through strike actions in defense of the Oaxaca teachers and the APPO.” [See “Down With Bloody State of Siege in Oaxaca!” WV No. 880, 10 November.] Free all those arrested now! Drop all the charges! PFP, army out of Oaxaca! Defend APPO against state repression!

In the face of the increasing social unrest fed by the brutal, rightist starvation policies of the PAN government, the bourgeoisie itself is divided and fearful of a broader social explosion. On September 1, a massive police mobilization put a large part of Mexico City under a

virtual state of siege. Nonetheless, with protests in the streets and in Congress, [President Vicente] Fox decided to avoid a confrontation and did not give his last state of the union speech before Congress. The PRD, the APPO and others have again called for massive demonstrations for December 1 with the purpose of preventing Felipe Calderón’s taking office as the new president, and certainly the PAN does not want to start its new term with such an affront. For over a week, the PAN government has already surrounded the Congress with police and installed checkpoints around it, and now the police mobilization will surely be bigger. With this new attempt to smash the APPO once and for all, the govern-

ment is launching a threat against the unions and all social activists, including its own bourgeois opponents in the PRD.

The fanatically obscurantist PAN members are truly a very dangerous beast. The bourgeois PRD has tried to ride the wave of social discontent and co-opt the struggle in Oaxaca, calling for the withdrawal of the PFP and the dismissal of Ulises Ruiz. An important part of the Oaxacan masses, as well as a large part of the working class and the poor on a national level, see the PRD as representing their interests. But this is a *bourgeois* party, whose differences with the PAN are at bottom over how to administer the capitalist system of exploitation. When the struggle goes beyond its control, the

PRD will not hesitate one moment in unleashing the repressive forces against those who today support it, just as it did against the students during the UNAM [National Autonomous University of Mexico] strike of 1999, against the workers of Sicartsa this past April, against the peasants of Atenco, among many other examples.

Combatting all illusions in the bourgeoisie and its parties, the Trotskyists of the Grupo Espartaquista de México fight for the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party to lead the working class toward socialist revolution—the only way to stop once and for all the brutal capitalist repression against the workers and the poor.■

NLRB...

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economy, having added 1.7 million jobs since 2001, and there remains a critical shortage of nurses. This gives nurses unions considerable leverage. But all too often, their ability to wield that power in strike action is limited by the class-collaborationist union tops, who bow to court injunctions and keep picket lines thin while hospital officials shuttle in scabs from strikebreaking outfits. When any section of the hospital workforce goes on strike, what’s needed is to build mass picket lines joined by all unionized workers on site and mobilizing public support for hospital workers.

There is wide sympathy for the overworked nurses and other health care workers in this racist capitalist society, where the bottom line in “medical care” isn’t healing patients but boosting profits. Health care workers have natural allies among working people who see their health benefits torn up by profit-gouging companies, and among the ghetto and barrio poor who for decades have faced the closures of public hospitals, losing

access to the modicum of care they provide, as well as Medicaid cuts. At a time when fewer and fewer people can afford health care, attacks on the nurses unions will further erode the quality of treatment. For example, the unions regularly demand higher nurse-to-patient ratios in contract negotiations and during strikes.

The AFL-CIO tops charge that the October ruling violates the intention of the 1935 Wagner Act, which set up the NLRB. But the very purpose of the Wagner Act was to divert the tumultuous class struggle of the 1930s, particularly the mass union organizing drives, into the machinery of government control (see “Union Busting and Capitalist ‘Democracy,’” WV No. 867, 31 March). The “New Deal” Democratic administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt pushed for the Wagner Act as a measure to rein in a strike wave that included citywide strikes in Toledo, San Francisco and Minneapolis in 1934—led respectively by left-wing socialists, Communists and Trotskyists—and to head off wider working-class rebellion. The Wagner Act outlawed key organizing tactics like the sit-down strike and gave the NLRB wide powers to determine which unions would be recognized as bargaining agents by the employers.

Immediately after World War II and with the onset of the anti-Soviet Cold War, the NLRB used this authority to break leftist-led unions on the heels of the greatest strike wave in U.S. history. The assault on the unions was codified in the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which banned additional militant union tactics like sympathy strikes and secondary boycotts and required “loyalty oaths” from the unions in order to purge them of Reds and other militants. A majority of the Democrats in Congress voted *for* this union-busting law.

A lesser-known provision of Taft-Hartley excluded supervisors from joining unions and was the basis for the NLRB’s October ruling. True supervisors, who hire, fire and/or discipline

workers, are agents of the class enemy and do not belong in the unions—but it is for the workers to keep them out of their labor organizations. Any attempt by the capitalist state to determine who should belong to a union is a blow against labor.

In courting the labor vote for the mid-term elections, Nancy Pelosi and other leading Democrats issued token condemnations of the NLRB decision and urged passage of the Employee Free Choice Act, which would provide for union recognition by card checks rather than certification elections. The bosses can be counted on to intimidate and even terrorize pro-union workers and otherwise manipulate the drawn-out procedure for union recognition elections. But the notion pushed by the labor tops that new legislation would safeguard union organizing efforts against interference from the bosses is a pipe dream. The proposed law would not only keep union certification under the thumb of the NLRB but would allow companies to kick the negotiation

of a union’s first contract to federal mediation followed by binding arbitration—a trap designed to stop strikes and leave workers with no say in the outcome.

Democratic Party administrations that won office with the support of the pro-capitalist labor tops have routinely battered unions with anti-labor laws. The Clinton White House invoked the Railway Labor Act 14 times to spike strikes by rail and air transport workers. And while the PATCO air traffic controllers union was smashed by the Republican Reagan administration in 1981, the plans to bust the union were drawn up under Democrat Jimmy Carter.

It takes class-struggle methods to defend labor against the class enemy. And that perspective requires fighting to break the ties forged by the labor tops to the bosses’ state and political parties. Labor needs a new, class-struggle leadership, one that would support the building of a workers party committed to the fight for a workers government.■

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GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 2006, from issue No. 861 (6 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 882 (8 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August, and skipping the last issue in December.

- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.

- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

Debate at Harlem PDC Rally, #880, 10 Nov. (12, 9, 10, 11) means the headline of the article, issue No. 880, dated 10 November 2006, beginning on page 12 and continuing on pages 9, 10 and 11.

- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross-references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross-references are of two types: those following the word “see” deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words “see also” are related articles. Subject heads in cross-references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

Oaxaca—See **Mexico.** See also **Internationalist Group.**

means that articles about Oaxaca can be found by going to the subject head **MEXICO.** Related articles can be found

by going to the subject head **INTERNATIONALIST GROUP.**

- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are generally listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.

- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not normally under any other subject heading. Articles which deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy will be found under **U.S.: International Relations** or under the relevant geographical heading. For example, articles about the U.S. occupation of Iraq will be found under **IRAQ.**

- Articles on protests or repression that take place on a campus will generally be found under the subject of the protest or repression. Repression on miscellaneous subjects will be found under **CAMPUS REPRESSION.**

- The periodic columns by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal are listed under the subject heading **ABU-JAMAL** in the subcategory **Message from Death Row**; articles on his case and the campaign to free him are in the subcategory **Defense Campaign.**

- Articles under the *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* (CSDN) masthead are by the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian, legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League.

- Abbreviations used in entries are:

C: Correction
CSDN: *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* article
E: Editorial Note
L: Letter
S: Series
W&R: *Women and Revolution* article
YSp: *Young Spartacus* article

Africa—See **South Africa; Sudan.**

Africa, Pam—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign.**

Air Traffic Controllers—See **Airline Workers.**

AIRLINE WORKERS

Kentucky Air Disaster: Bitter Fruit of Union Busting, #876, 15 Sept. (5)

Akom, Antwi—See **Black Question.** See also **Spartacus Youth Clubs.**

Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU)—See **Canada; Transit Workers.**

American Indian Movement—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

Amnesty International—See **Russian Question.**

ANSWER—See **Columbia University; U.S.: General.**

Anti-Communism—See **Russian Question.**

Archives of the Marxist Movement—See **History of the Marxist Movement; Soviet Union.**

ARMED FORCES—And see **World War II.** See also **Iraq; Obituaries.**

Military Recruiters Off Campus! Drop Charges Against U of C Protesters! (YSp), #865, 3 Mar. (6)

U of C United-Front Rally Demands: Drop Charges Against Anti-Military Recruitment Protesters! (YSp), #867, 31 Mar. (7)

SFSU Suspends Protesters Against Military Recruiters (YSp), #869, 28 Apr. (7)

D.A. Drops Charges, U of C Threatens Ban Against SYCer (YSp), #870, 12 May (5)

AT&T—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

AUSTRALIA

Lynch Mob Terror in Sydney (*Australasian Spartacist*), #862, 20 Jan. (3, 8)

Condemn DSP Thug Attack on Spartacist Woman at Union Rally, #876, 15 Sept. (2, 11)

Bin Laden, Osama—See **Terrorism.**

Black Panther Party—See **Black Question.**

BLACK QUESTION—And see **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Columbia University; Death Penalty; Education; Fascism; Immigration; New Orleans; Obituaries; Police; Quote of the Week.** See also **Labor Black Leagues; U.S.: General.**

Fight Racist Reaction on Campus! (YSp), #863, 3 Feb. (4, 5)

Racial Oppression and the Supreme Court Hearings (E), #864, 17 Feb. (2)

The Legacy of Richard S. Fraser—Revolutionary Integrationism: The Road to Black Freedom (S) Part One, #864, 17 Feb. (12, 6, 7, 8)
Part Two, #865, 3 Mar. (4, 5, 10)

Black Oppression and the Great Mississippi Flood of 1927, #868, 14 Apr. (4, 6)

Defend San Francisco State Professor Akom! (YSp), #869, 28 Apr. (6)

Class Struggle and the Fight for Black Liberation, #870, 12 May (1, 6, 7, 8, 9)

Remember May 1985 MOVE Massacre, #870, 12 May (10)

Howard Beach Verdict: The “N” Word and Racist Terror, #873, 7 July (5)

Blasphemy—See **Islamic Fundamentalism.**

BOLIVIA

Trotskyism vs. Bourgeois Nationalism, #868, 14 Apr. (12, 10, 11)

Bolshevik Party—See **History of the Marxist Movement.**

BOLSHEVIK TENDENCY (BT)—And see **Longshoremen.** See also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign.**

On BT's Poison Pen (E), #874, 4 Aug. (2)

The BT and the Fight to Free Mumia (L), #876, 15 Sept. (2)

Boyd, Herb—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign.**

BRITAIN—And see also **World War II.**

British SWP: Reformists Who Hailed Counterrevolution (*Workers Hammer*), #866, 17 Mar. (6, 8)

Anti-Sex Witchhunt in Schools (*Workers Hammer*), #870, 12 May (4, 5)

Bush, the Democrats and the London “Terror” Scare (E), #875, 1 Sept. (3)

Burkett, Paul—See **China.**

Burnham, James—See **Quote of the Week.**

California—See **Civil Liberties: General; Death Penalty; International Socialist Organization; Socialist Action.** See also **Education; Immigration.**

Campus Antiwar Network—See **Left Organizations.**

Campus Protests—See **Armed Forces; Campus Repression; Columbia University; San Francisco State University.** And see **Black Question; Education.**

CAMPUS REPRESSION—And see **Armed Forces; Black Question; Columbia University; San Francisco State University.**

Defend the De Anza 8! (YSp), #863, 3 Feb. (4)

Defend UCLA Professors Against Right-Wing Thought Police! (YSp), #865, 3 Mar. (7)

Hands Off Ward Churchill! (YSp), #873, 7 July (12)

Protest Racist Cop Attack at UCLA! (YSp), #881, 24 Nov. (9)

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