

## Democrats, Republicans: Enemies of Workers, Oppressed

# Labor: Defend Immigrant Rights!

As part of an escalating anti-immigrant onslaught, the Bush administration announced in August that it would massively expand its program of “no match letters,” requiring employers to fire immigrants whose Social Security numbers do not match up with government files. This directly threatens many of the roughly 12 million undocumented immigrants—as well as countless others whose Social Security numbers the Feds got wrong—with unemployment, arrest and deportation. While the courts have put the current plan on hold, many immigrants have already lost their jobs due to “mismatched” numbers.

This is also a way to attack the labor movement as a whole by purging militant workers. A case in point is the Smithfield pork processing plant in Tar Heel, North Carolina—the largest such plant in the world. Last month, 25 workers were arrested for “no match” Social Security numbers, from a list supplied by the company. The arrests came amid a years-long organizing effort by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) at this notoriously anti-union facility in “open shop” North Carolina. When 75 immigrants were similarly victimized last November, the company was forced to reinstate them after a two-day walkout of more than 1,000 workers, mainly Latino immigrants but also including black and white workers. Two months later, 21 workers were arrested by Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (I.C.E.) cops and then deported.

What’s needed is a concerted effort by the whole UFCW, backed by all labor, to beat back company/government victimizations and organize Smithfield. A victory here would resound throughout the open shop South, where the racist color bar has historically been used to keep black people down and trade unions out, and would help revitalize labor throughout the U.S., where the rate of union membership in private industry is at its lowest point in over a century.

As Marxists who champion the interests of the international working class, we say: Anyone who has made it to this country has the right to stay here—**Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations!** In a joint declaration issued last year by the Spartacist League/U.S. and our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), we wrote:

“Defense of immigrant rights is neces-



Rubiera/Fayetteville Observer (top photo), Standard-Times

**Top: Smithfield workers demonstrate in November 2006 outside Tar Heel, North Carolina plant demanding end to victimization of immigrant workers. Above: Immigration cops raid leather plant in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in March.**

## Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

## U.S., Mexican Workers: For Joint Class Struggle!

sary not only to fight the exploitation of the most vulnerable layers of the population. It is also crucial to reversing the decades-long decline of the trade unions, by enlisting immigrant workers, many of whom have a history of militant struggle, in the front ranks of the labor movement. Mexican immigrant workers can serve as a human bridge linking the struggles of the North American and Latin American proletariat.

“Opposition to anti-immigrant racism in the U.S. is directly intertwined with the struggle against black oppression. It is particularly important to combat anti-immigrant chauvinism among U.S.-born black and white workers, while immigrant workers must grasp that anti-

black racism remains the touchstone of social reaction in the U.S.”

—WV No. 867, 31 March 2006

### Imperialism’s Labor Lieutenants

The need for some hard class struggle by the American working class could not be clearer. Unions continue to take a beating as workers’ health benefits are torn up and their pensions are looted. Now the bursting of the speculative mortgage bubble that has kept the housing market afloat threatens a broader economic collapse in which millions in

this country would face losing their homes and jobs. Mexico, meanwhile, has seen huge outpourings of social protest against extortionate food price increases and other attacks on the already impoverished masses. A number of strikes and other struggles have been punctuated by pitched battles with murderous cops and troops.

The situation cries out for *solidarity in struggle* by workers on both sides of the border against the U.S. imperialist rulers and their henchmen in Mexico. First and foremost, such a perspective demands that the multiracial working class in the U.S. stand forthrightly in defense of the rights of workers from Mexico, Central America and

elsewhere who live and work here and face a rising tide of anti-immigrant chauvinism and state repression. But that poses pointblank the need for a new, class-struggle leadership of labor, forged in the fight for a workers party in opposition to both the Democratic and Republican parties of capital.

This was brought home earlier this month when, under a provision of the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Mexican truckers were to be allowed to operate on major U.S. highways for the first time since they were banned in 1982. The U.S. labor movement should have seized on this as an opportunity to fight for equal pay for equal work at the highest existing wage levels, a demand that would undermine the trucking bosses’ effort to lower wages by pitting U.S. and Mexican workers against each other. Such a struggle could serve as a spur to reverse decades of union-busting “deregulation” in the American trucking industry, which has led to a sharp drop in union membership. It would also be widely popular among working people in Mexico, where NAFTA has further impoverished millions of workers and peasants, fueling a mass exodus of people looking for work in the U.S.

But instead of organizing against the trucking bosses, the Teamsters bureaucracy under James Hoffa Jr. escalated its years-long chauvinist vendetta against Mexican truckers. After the union joined the Sierra Club and others in demanding a court injunction to bar Mexican drivers, on September 6 Teamsters members were mobilized to protest at the border with signs railing against “Unsafe Mexican Trucks.” The treachery of this flag-waving campaign was made clear by Teamsters national vice president Jim Santangelo, who pushed the “homeland security” line used to justify the government’s reactionary “war on terror”: “This is not about unions organizing these guys. It’s all about homeland security

*continued on page 6*



## FRIEDRICH ENGELS “ON AUTHORITY”

We print below “On Authority” by Friedrich Engels, written between October 1872 and March 1873 and published first in Italy in December 1873. In refuting arguments raised by anarchists and echoed by some socialists, Engels pointed to the experience of the Paris Commune of March-May 1871, when the proletariat briefly governed the city before being crushed by the French army with the support of German forces, with over 20,000 slaughtered. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, described the Paris Commune as the first historical expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat—i.e., a workers state.

Engels’ polemic has resonance in today’s ideological climate, which is overwhelmingly conditioned by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in

1991-92. The bourgeois rulers’ lying proclamation of the “death of communism” has provided fertile ground for the re-emergence of anarchist and other retrograde political tendencies.

The following translation is taken from the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels (International Publishers, 1988).

\* \* \*

A number of socialists have latterly launched a regular crusade against what they call the *principle of authority*. It is sufficient for them to say that this or that act is *authoritarian* for it to be condemned. This summary mode of procedure is being abused to such an extent that it has become necessary to look into the matter somewhat more closely. Authority, in the sense in which the word is used here, means: the imposition of the will of another upon ours; on the other hand, authority presupposes subordination. Now, since these two words sound bad and the relationship which they represent is disagreeable to the subordinated party, the question is to ascertain whether there is any way of dispensing with it, whether—given the conditions of present-day society—we could not create another social system, in which this authority would be given no scope any longer and would consequently have to disappear. On examining the economic, industrial and agricultural conditions which form the basis of present-day bourgeois society, we find that they tend

cultivate vast stretches of land. Everywhere combined action, the complication of processes dependent upon each other, displaces independent action by individuals. But whoever mentions combined action speaks of organisation; now, is it possible to have organisation without authority?

Supposing a social revolution dethroned the capitalists, who now exercise their authority over the production and circulation of wealth. Supposing, to adopt entirely the point of view of the anti-authoritarians, that the land and the instruments of labour had become the collective property of the workers who use them. Will authority have disappeared or will it only have changed its form? Let us see.

Let us take by way of example a cotton spinning mill. The cotton must pass through at least six successive operations before it is reduced to the state of thread, and these operations take place for the most part in different rooms. Furthermore, keeping the machines going requires an engineer to look after the steam engine, mechanics to make the current repairs, and many other labourers whose business it is to transfer the products from one room to another, and so forth. All these workers, men, women and children, are obliged to begin and finish their work at the hours fixed by the authority of the steam, which cares nothing for individual autonomy. The workers must, therefore, first come to an understanding on the hours of work; and these hours, once they are fixed, must be observed by all, without any exception. Thereafter particular questions arise in each room and at every moment concerning the mode of production, distribution of materials, etc., which must be settled at once on pain of seeing all production immediately stopped; whether they are settled by decision of a delegate placed at the head of each branch of labour or, if possible, by a majority vote, the will of the single individual will always have to subordinate itself, which means that questions are settled in an authoritarian way. The automatic machinery of the big factory is much more despotic than the small capitalists who employ workers ever have been. At least with regard to the hours of work one may write upon the portals of these factories: *Lasciate ogni autonomia, voi che entrate!* [Leave, ye that enter in, all autonomy behind!] If man, by dint of his knowledge and inventive genius, has subdued the forces of nature, the latter avenge themselves upon him by subjecting him, in so far as he employs them, to a veritable despotism

independent of all social organisation. Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel.

Let us take another example—the railway. Here, too, the co-operation of an infinite number of individuals is absolutely necessary, and this co-operation must be practised during precisely fixed hours so that no accidents may happen. Here, too, the first condition of the job is a dominant will that settles all subordinate questions, whether this will is represented by a single delegate or a committee charged with the execution of the resolutions of the majority of persons interested. In either case there is very pro-



G. Lester  
**Friedrich Engels**

nounced authority. Moreover, what would happen to the first train dispatched if the authority of the railway employees over the Hon. passengers were abolished?

But the necessity of authority, and of imperious authority at that, will nowhere be found more evident than on board a ship on the high seas. There, in time of danger, the lives of all depend on the instantaneous and absolute obedience of all to the will of one.

When I submitted arguments like these to the most rabid anti-authoritarians the only answer they were able to give me was the following: Yes, that’s true, but here it is not a case of authority which we confer on our delegates, *but of a commission entrusted!* These gentlemen think that when they have changed the names of things they have changed the things themselves. This is how these profound thinkers mock at the whole world.

We have thus seen that, on the one hand, a certain authority, no matter how delegated, and, on the other hand, a certain subordination, are things which, independently of all social organisation, are imposed upon us together with the material conditions under which we produce and make products circulate.

We have seen, besides, that the material conditions of production and circulation inevitably develop with large-scale industry and large-scale agriculture, and increasingly tend to enlarge the scope of this authority. Hence it is absurd to speak of the principle of authority as being absolutely evil, and of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely good.



Illustrated London News

**Proclamation of the Paris Commune, 26 March 1871.**

1991-92. The bourgeois rulers’ lying proclamation of the “death of communism” has provided fertile ground for the re-emergence of anarchist and other retrograde political tendencies.

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more and more to replace isolated action by combined action of individuals. Modern industry with its big factories and mills, where hundreds of workers supervise complicated machines driven by steam, has superseded the small workshops of the separate producers; the carriages and wagons of the highways have been substituted by railway trains, just as the small schooners and sailing feluccas have been by steam-boats. Even agriculture falls increasingly under the dominion of the machine and of steam, which slowly but relentlessly put in the place of the small proprietors big capitalists, who with the aid of hired workers

### WORKERS VANGUARD

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**SPARTACIST**

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**Russian Archives Refute Anarchist Lies, Again**

### Kronstadt 1921: Bolshevism vs. Counterrevolution



Red Army units crossing the ice on 17 March 1921 to put down Kronstadt mutiny.

of the Baltic island fortress Kronstadt, revolted. The mutineers held Kronstadt regime finally retok it as a cost of many lives on the fighting to restore a partial monopoly of the Communist revolution was a counter-revolution. The principal aim of the “free and city over Kronstadt” has always been to discredit the Marxists’ struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and in particular to smear Trotskyism, the contemporary embodiment of authentic Leninism. According to anarchist myth, Kronstadt was the “third workers’ revolution”—a continuation of the February and October revolutions of 1917—its suppression proof positive of the anti-working-class character of the Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotsky, and of Marxism in general. To social Kronstadt, the anarchists and the anarchists.

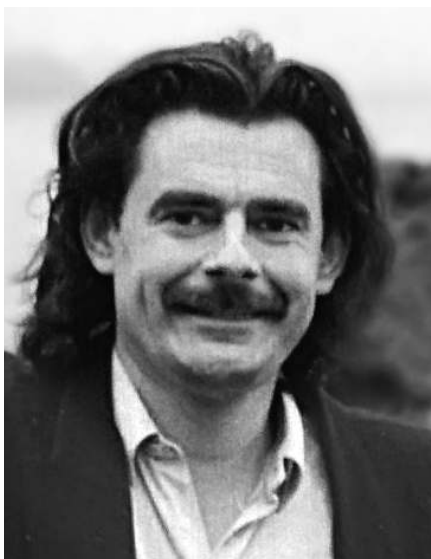
It is with profound grief that we inform our readers of the death of our beloved comrade Gérard Le Méteil, a member of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France, who died in Dieppe on September 3 in unknown circumstances after having been taken into police custody, allegedly for public intoxication. We extend our deep sympathy especially to Gérard's eight-year-old son Nicolas and also to Nicolas' mother Valérie, the whole Le Méteil family and his many friends. A close comrade of Gérard's wrote in tribute: "The loss of Gérard is immensely painful for us all, for our party, and for each of us individually. It is a political loss but it is also a personal loss. Everyone valued Gérard on both levels: as a comrade and as a friend. The party was his reason for living and he always put the party's needs before his own personal options. He dedicated the best 25 years of his life to the party."

Gérard joined the LTF in April 1982 and was elected to the Central Committee at the LTF's Eleventh National Conference in December 1989. He was won to the Ligue Trotskyiste, French section of the international Spartacist tendency (now International Communist League [Fourth Internationalist]), in part through his involvement in a December 1981 united-front labor mobilization against the fascists initiated by the LTF in Rouen, a port and industrial center in northwest France. Four to five hundred protesters were mobilized, including some 200 trade unionists and a bloc of students from the Ecole Normale (teachers college) that Gérard, working with an LTF comrade, had organized. The mobilization strengthened the roots of the LTF's local in Rouen, where Gérard worked for much of his life.

Key issues in the recruitment of Gérard, who had been involved in a Communist Party sports organization, were the importance of the Leninist vanguard party and the Trotskyist position in defense of the Soviet Union. Before he joined, Gérard took part in an LTF meeting at the Tolbiac campus of the University of Paris on 2 March 1982. A move by the Polish Stalinist regime against the reactionary Solidarność "union" had taken place only months before in that deformed workers state. France, under social democrat François Mitterrand's popular front, was the cockpit of the anti-Soviet mobilization in Europe, in which the pseudo-Trotskyists played an active role.

As elsewhere, the Tolbiac campus was polarized. LTF comrades in Rouen were literally spat on by leftists who had earlier marched with us against the fascists. Our comrades at Tolbiac had received phone threats, and Gérard came down from Rouen to join the successful defense of our meeting against a howling mob of over 30 fake Trotskyists and others. At the close of the meeting, a gauntlet of campus security guards (*vigiles*) and *autonome* youth combined to attack those leaving. A comrade recalled that in the raging street fight that ensued, "Gérard displayed considerable physical courage and connected with some well-placed punches." Shortly after that experience, Gérard applied for membership in the LTF.

# Gérard Le Méteil



Workers Vanguard



## 1959–2007

During the next seven years, he became known as an extremely energetic and talented activist on the Rouen campus. He would jump on a table in the campus cafeteria and, with a passionate speech, mobilize students to protest an atrocity perpetrated by the government or the campus administration. This work also meant daily political combat against our opponents on the left. Constantly seeking to win people over, trying to understand where they came from and finding the convincing arguments contributed to the political wisdom and depth for which he was known. Gérard later brought this experience to bear in his political education of our younger comrades, several of whom have become cadres in the LTF and other sections of the ICL.

Gérard was a teacher by profession and a longtime member of the SNUipp union. His death did not go unnoticed among leftists and unionists in the region and elsewhere. Postal workers organized a minute of silence in a general assembly during the night shift at the Créteil sorting center in Paris on September 5.

Since Gérard had been won hard to the understanding that we are above all the party of the Russian Revolution, it was completely in character that he took time off work to throw himself into the ICL's intervention into the nascent East German political revolution in 1989-90. Known as one who looked outside the French "hexagon," he followed the work of our entire international with the greatest attention. An excellent military leader, he was in charge of our security squad at the July 2001 mass demonstration against the Group

of Eight imperialists in Genoa, Italy, where the cop rampage left at least one young protester dead.

Gérard's detailed knowledge of French politics and of the history of the workers movement extended to the former and current French colonies. He researched and gave a forum on the French general strike of June 1936, when the Stalinists sabotaged the possibility of workers revolution. An article based on his talk was published in *Le Bolchévik* Nos. 179 and 180 this spring. He devoured new books, particularly about the crimes of French imperialism, and read extensively about the Algerian War, understanding well that these crimes still animate the French bourgeoisie in its racist oppression of North African immigrants, their children and grandchildren. It was often Gérard who proposed to the party to take up the cause of an immigrant family or Roma (Gypsy) encampment facing racist attack by the government or others.

One of his strengths was that he appreciated contradictions in society and on the left. His effectiveness flowed from his political understanding and his evident confidence in the power of our program. A comrade wrote in tribute: "He was a 100 percent person, in his love, his hatred, a 100 percent communist, a guy that could inspire you. He was an activist, a leader, a great speaker with a deep voice, somebody from a Zola novel, full of passion and always, some sad, tragic glimmer in his eye."

In the mid 1990s, after capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, Gérard suffered a personal breakdown and left the party for a couple of years. His return to active politics followed the big strike wave in France in late 1995. He had thought through a lot of the problems of the French section, and comrades recalled that he was a breath of fresh air, brimming with enthusiasm over the recent class struggles and, as always, full of insightful and stimulating observations about events in the country and the world. In September 1996, he was again elected to the Central Committee, on which he continued to serve until his death.

Comrades and friends are struggling to come to grips with the loss of comrade Gérard, only 48 years old and a talented athlete from his youth who had run numerous marathons. We are hoping to clarify the circumstances of his death. In Paris on September 9, comrades, family and friends gathered to honor him at the Wall of the Communards in the Père Lachaise cemetery. A letter from the ICL's International Secretariat in New York saluted our comrade and friend:

"Gérard fought for the emancipation of the workers and all the oppressed people of the world, and for the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism by means of workers socialist revolution. To be successful, this liberating revolution requires the leadership of a revolutionary political party of the workers vanguard—the Fourth International, which we of the International Communist League are fighting to reforge. This memory of Gérard, as a comrade, is our greatest assurance that the spirit of humankind, striving for human solidarity, is unconquerable."

Authority and autonomy are relative things whose spheres vary with the various phases of the development of society. If the autonomists confined themselves to saying that the social organisation of the future would restrict authority solely to the limits within which the conditions of production render it inevitable, we could understand each other; but they are blind to all facts that make the thing necessary and they passionately fight the world.

Why do the anti-authoritarians not confine themselves to crying out against political authority, the state? All socialists are agreed that the political state, and with it political authority, will disappear as a result of the coming social revolution, that is, that public functions will lose their political character and be transformed into the simple administrative functions of watching over the true interests of society. But the anti-authoritarians demand that the authoritarian political state be abolished at one stroke, even before the social conditions that gave birth to it have been destroyed. They

demand that the first act of the social revolution shall be the abolition of authority. Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon—authoritarian means, if such there be at all; and if the victorious party does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough?

Therefore, either one of two things: either the anti-authoritarians don't know what they are talking about, in which case they are creating nothing but confusion; or they do know, and in that case they are betraying the movement of the proletariat. In either case they serve the reaction.■



L.Y. Leonidov

**March 1921: V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky (center) with delegates to Tenth Communist Party Congress, which mobilized to suppress counterrevolutionary Kronstadt mutiny.**



# Young Spartacus

## Join the Spartacus Youth Club!

*The Spartacus Youth Clubs intervene into social struggles armed with the revolutionary internationalist program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We work to mobilize youth in struggle as partisans of the working class, championing the liberation of black people, women and all the oppressed. The SYCs fight to win youth to the perspective of building the Leninist vanguard party that will lead the working class in socialist revolution, laying the basis for a world free of capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter.*

### Ten Point Program

**1** Mobilize students behind the social power of the multiracial working class! Picket lines mean don't cross! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Down with union-busting "workfare" schemes! Jobs for all at union wages! Organize the unorganized! Unionize the South! Down with multi-tier wages, which pit younger and older workers against each other! Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions! Keep the bosses' government and courts out of the unions!

**2** Black oppression is the bedrock of racist American capitalism. Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution! For mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists and race-terrorists! No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defense! No reliance on the capitalist courts or politicians! Fascist terror is not a question of "free speech." Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

**3** For free, quality, integrated public education for all! Nationalize the private universities! Down with the racist purge of higher education—defend affirmative action, no to tuition hikes! No to budget



Young Spartacus

**Left: New York SYC at Columbia University antiwar walkout, February 15. Right: UCLA speakout initiated by Los Angeles SYC in defense of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, May 16.**



Daily Bruin

cuts! For an end to tracking! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who work and study there! Down with police occupation of public schools! Cops off campus!

**4** For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For mass, labor-backed mobilizations to defend abortion clinics! Down with parental consent laws and "squeal rules"! For free abortion on demand! For free, quality 24-hour child-care! For free, quality health care for all! Equal pay for equal work! Down with anti-gay laws! Down with reactionary age of consent laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt! Down with all laws against consensual activities, called "crimes without victims," like pornography, gambling, drug use, prostitution and "statutory rape"!

**5** Down with racist anti-immigrant laws! Full citizenship rights for all immi-

grants! Organize foreign-born workers into the unions! No deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Arab, anti-Asian, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry!

**6** Down with the "war on terror," which is a war aimed at immigrants, labor, the left and minorities! Free all the detainees! Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all class-war prisoners! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! Defend victims of racist cop terror and police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or "community control" of the police! For labor mobilizations against racist cop terror! Down with the "war on drugs," a racist war by the ruling class against black and Hispanic youth! The capitalist state—at its core consisting of the cops, courts, prisons—is the executive committee of the ruling class, an instrument of organized violence by the capitalists against the workers and the oppressed. It must be smashed through workers revolution!

**7** Defend separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Keep religion out of the schools! No prayer in the schools! Down with the teaching of creationism! For the teaching of evolution! No government funding for religious, private or "charter" schools!

**8** Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! U.S. and allied forces out of Iraq now! Down with the colonial occupation! For class struggle against

U.S. capitalist rulers at home! No illusions in the UN—a den of imperialist thieves, their victims and their lackeys! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans, Afghanistan, Haiti! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean! U.S. imperialist butchers: hands off the world! No to the draft! Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military! Drive ROTC, CIA and police recruiters off the campuses!

**9** For international working-class solidarity! Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! Workers of the world, unite! For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and establish regimes of workers democracy, based on the power of workers councils, and revolutionary internationalism!

**10** Break with the racist, warmongering Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism! For a revolutionary, multiracial workers party that fights for socialist revolution! Look to the example of the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 Russia! For new October Revolutions! For the international rule of the working class!

*The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth groups of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

### Spartacist/SYC Forums

#### "Market Reforms" Exacerbate Contradictions in China Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!

**For Proletarian Political Revolution!**

**Thursday, September 27, 7 p.m.**

322 W. 48th St., 1st Floor  
between 8th and 9th Ave.  
(take A, C or E to 42nd St., or E or C to 50th St.)

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

**NEW YORK CITY**

#### Women in China and the Fight to Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution

**Saturday, September 29, 5 p.m.**

Women's Building, Audre Lorde Room  
3543 18th St. near Valencia  
(close to 16th St./Mission BART)

For more information: (510) 839-0851  
or e-mail: slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

**SAN FRANCISCO**

**Saturday, October 6, 5 p.m.**

Mount Hollywood Congregational Church  
4607 Prospect Avenue  
(one block east of Vermont, a few blocks from  
Vermont/Sunset Red Line Station)

For more information: (213) 380-8239  
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

**LOS ANGELES**

### Trotskyist League/SYC Forum

#### Immigrants and Minorities: Key to Working-Class Struggle

**Includes an update on the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal**

**Saturday, September 22, 7 p.m.**

Trinity-St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street West, Toronto  
(1 block west of Spadina subway station)

#### Spartacus Youth Club Class

#### The French Revolution and the Origins of Marxism

**Wednesday, September 26, 6:30 p.m.**

Sidney Smith Building, Room 2101, 100 St. George Street, University of Toronto

Information and readings: (416) 593-4138  
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

**TORONTO**

# Cliffites Deal in Religious Opiate

The following article is reprinted from Spartacist Canada No. 154 (Fall 2007), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

**SPARTACIST** CANADA

Those unfamiliar with the misnamed International Socialists (I.S.) [followers of the late Tony Cliff and formerly associated with the International Socialist Organization in the U.S.] may have anticipated red flags and singing of the “Internationale” at Marxism 2007, the group’s main annual event in Toronto. Instead, the organizers were baked in a green haze of environmentalism and Islamic reaction.

A comrade of the Trotskyist League and Spartacus Youth Club intervened sharply from the floor in the discussion period of their May 10 opening meeting, “Building Unity: Muslims and the Left.” The spectacle was covered in a front-page article of the right-wing *National Post*, which used the I.S.’s abject political surrender to religion as an opportunity to sneer at the supposed death of communism.

The meeting featured Zafar Bangash, director of the Institute of Contemporary Islamic Thought (ICIT), a Toronto-based group that has long propagandized for Ayatollah Khomeini and the other theocratic rulers of the Islamic Republic of Iran, under whose rule tens of thousands of left-wing activists have been massa-

cred and millions of women imprisoned under the stultifying *chador* (veil). The ICIT’s *Crescent International* (16-29 February 2000) includes a report by Bangash on a “Conference on Imam Khomeini and the Islamic World Order” in Ottawa, where he says, “The best tribute the Muslims can pay to the Imam is to follow in his footsteps.” The I.S. introduced Bangash’s speech at Marxism 2007 by showing a video of his campaign to open a mosque in the Ontario town of Newmarket, which was met with vile racist reaction by some local residents. “We need mosques; we need churches; we need synagogues,” said one mosque spokesperson, flattered by the camera.

When our comrade asserted the hostility of Marxism to all religion and the necessity of the struggle for women’s liberation, this proved too much for the I.S. Merely introducing our Trotskyist position hailing the Soviet Union’s 1979 intervention into Afghanistan against CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries sent I.S. members into hysterics and failed attempts at censorship. Virulent anti-Sovietism has always been the hallmark of the I.S., who howled with the imperialists against the Red Army’s intervention.

Trotskyists understand that the former Soviet Union was a bureaucratically degenerated *workers state*. While political rule had become concentrated in the hands of a bureaucracy whose nationalist outlook and program conciliated imperialism, collectivized property forms inherited from the 1917 revolution em-

bodied enormous gains for workers, especially women. We were intransigent defenders of the Soviet Union.

The Red Army entered Afghanistan in 1979 at the repeated urging of the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan, whose secular leftist regime had fought to seriously advance the rights of women and was under siege by Washington’s Islamic insurgents. Soviet leader Gorbachev’s 1988-89 pullout of the Red Army was an historic betrayal, which the I.S. hailed. Two years later, they cheered again as capitalist counterrevolution engulfed the Soviet Union. Thus the I.S. bear their own small share of responsibility for the post-Soviet world, where barbaric imperialist capitalism rides roughshod over the world, stirring up all-sided religious reaction.

We print below an unedited transcript of our speaker’s intervention at the meeting.

\* \* \*

I’d like to address my remarks to those leftists in the audience who are questioning whether Islam and Marxism are in fact compatible.

Now, as revolutionary Marxists, as a member of the Trotskyist League, we stand second to no one in the forthrightness of our opposition to the racist “war on terror.” We oppose the racist scapegoating of Muslims at home and the draconian occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan abroad. But that does not detract whatsoever from us being, in the words of Lenin, “absolutely atheistic and positively hostile to all religion.” That’s a cardinal of Marxism.

Why? The goal of Marxists is to build a revolutionary party to make the working class conscious of its historic task of overthrowing capitalism and replacing it with socialism. And all religions and all religious organizations serve to mystify and obscure the class basis of oppression in capitalist society and the road forward for the proletariat to seize power through its assimilation of the principles of scientific socialism.

So that’s what Lenin and Trotsky did in the Russian Revolution, and that’s what we stand for today. And it’s manifestly not what the misnamed International

Socialist Tendency stands to do. Rather than build a genuine revolutionary party, they are a member of something in Britain called the “Respect Coalition” whose basis for unity says nothing about socialism, nothing about class struggle, nothing about women’s liberation or even something as basic as the right to abortion. Marxists [heckling from the chair] are for free abortion on demand [chair begins speaking uninterruptedly].

This is not an abstract question. There was a shooting war over this in Afghanistan [other heckling, chair’s mic loudens] where the Red Army went in to free women from the walking prison that is the veil and to defend women who were wearing secular clothing [a New Democratic Party candidate stands up and begins his remarks; I.S.-dominated audience applauds him]. We said “Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the gains of the October Revolution!” ■



Paris Match

**Soviet Central Asian soldier in Afghanistan following entry of Red Army in 1979. Spartacists hailed Red Army intervention against CIA-backed mujahedin cutthroats.**



ISNA

**Mashhad, Iran: Teenagers executed for “crime” of homosexuality, 19 July 2005.**

## Editorial Note

### Right-Wing Senator Pilloried, for Nothing Sex Police on the Prowl

Things are really bad when a U.S. Senator gets embroiled in a sex scandal in which no sex actually occurred. On June 11, Larry Craig, an Idaho Republican, was entrapped by a sex cop hiding with spider-like patience in a stall in the Minneapolis-St. Paul airport men’s bathroom. The cop claimed that Craig did some toe-tapping and hand-waving between stalls—signals, said the cop, of sexual intent. Craig decided to plead guilty to “misdemeanor disorderly conduct.” When the story hit the news a few weeks later, quick as greased lightning, the high-ranking Senator was pressured to resign by Congressional Republicans and the Bush White House, whose sinking ship is leaving plenty of rats floundering in its wake.

Now in a surprise twist, a Craig spokesman said on September 4 that he would fight to overturn his guilty plea and maybe would not resign his Senate position, as he had first announced. What is happening to Craig is no joke, not-

withstanding the fact that we as Marxists have just about nothing in common politically with him (except our mutual opposition to gun control). The kind of sexual entrapment that nabbed Craig, as with the whole panoply of laws against consensual sexual conduct, is a deadly danger to everybody.

We neither know nor care whether Craig is gay or not—and it should be no business of the government. Certainly there is some rather bitter irony here, given the vicious sexual hypocrisy of bourgeois politicians in general. According to the *Idaho Statesman* (2 September), which has been hounding Craig relentlessly, “Longstanding rumors that the married senator might be gay stem from a 1982 congressional page scandal, in which Craig, then a bachelor, was the only member of Congress to issue a pre-emptive denial of involvement.” Nevertheless, throughout his lengthy Congressional career, Craig has consistently voted

against gay rights: against same-sex marriage, against easing restrictions on gays in the military, against extending employment discrimination laws to cover sexual orientation.

Craig was able to dodge the earlier bullet, unlike Republican Congressman Mark Foley last year. Foley’s homosexuality was the worst-kept secret in Washington, despite his record of hypocritical attacks on the rights of gays. But the Florida Congressman had the bad luck to get caught before the midterm elections sending suggestive e-mails to male pages in their late teens, and he got the chop. At the time, we made clear that we opposed the persecution of Foley on the basis of his sex life, as well as the entire “pedophilia” hysteria. We oppose all laws against consensual sex, including reactionary “age of consent” laws. As we wrote in “U.S. Torture Elections” (WV No. 878, 13 October 2006), “The only guideline that should exist is that of effective consent, regard-

less of age, gender or sexual preference. We defend Foley as we would any victim of sex witchhunts.”

It is a sign of the right-wing political climate that ostensible socialists have capitulated to these sex witchhunts, whose source lies in reactionary “family values” ideology. Last year, the International Socialist Organization, which touts its defense of gay rights, joined the moral crusaders by denouncing Foley’s act as “a criminal outrage.” The Spartacist League has also defended Michael Jackson and even then president Bill Clinton, whom the Republicans sought to impeach over the Lewinsky sex scandal—about the only thing he did in office that was *not* a crime from the standpoint of the working class. Uniquely on the left, we have defended the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) against persecution. We have consistently opposed the intrusion of the government into private life, recognizing that such persecutions aim to prop up the oppressive institution of the family and to strengthen the bourgeois state in its regulation of the population. *Government out of the bedrooms—and snitches out of the stalls!* ■

Immigrant Rights...

(continued from page 1) and the safety of America's highways" (SignOnSanDiego.com, September 6). Shortly before NAFTA was implemented, the SL/U.S. declared in a joint statement with our Mexican and Canadian comrades:

"There is a burning need for an *internationalist* proletarian opposition which stands with the working class and impoverished peasantry of Mexico against the imperialist assault. The Canadian, U.S. and Mexican sections of the International Communist League are dedicated to building a revolutionary vanguard that can unite the working masses of the continent in common class struggle."

—WV No. 530, 5 July 1991 We have always denounced NAFTA as the "free trade rape" of Mexico. This has nothing in common with the U.S. labor bureaucracy's poisonous, chauvinist tirades against such pacts, through which they paint foreign workers as the enemy of American workers.

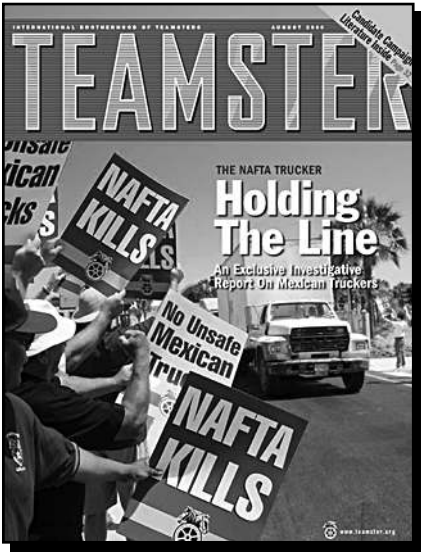
It's about time that workers had a leadership that fought for their class interests instead of the current mislead-ers, who uphold the "national interests" of the U.S. capitalist rulers. Flag-waving jingoism, economic protectionism and anti-immigrant chauvinism obscure the fundamental truth that the interests of the workers and those of the capitalists who exploit them are irreconcilably counter-posed. The "war on terror" pushed by both Republicans and Democrats and peddled by the labor tops has served as a pretext for imperialist slaughter from Afghanistan to Iraq and for a wholesale assault on the rights of immigrants and the population as a whole "at home." The repressive "security" measures enacted under this rubric bear down not only against immigrants but against black people and unionized workers, as seen recently in the police attack on black longshoremen in Sacramento (see article, page 7).

While the AFL-CIO shifted from its overt anti-immigrant stance in 2000, all wings of the trade-union officialdom embrace the class-collaborationist poli-tics that undermine labor struggle. Thus AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney protested the latest "no match" program not by mobilizing union power but by joining in a lawsuit with the ACLU and others, while the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and other groups representing capitalists dependent on immigrant labor simultane-ously demanded that the govern-ment postpone sending the letters. Andy Stern, head of the Change to Win federa-tion that split from the AFL-CIO two years ago, is the most vociferous of the labor tops in proclaiming the lie of the common interests of corporations and unions. The SEIU service employ-ees union, a union formerly headed by Stern with a largely immigrant member-ship, supports "guest worker" legisla-tion. We oppose such programs, which effec-tively impose indentured servitude on immigrants.

The labor misleaders' embrace of U.S. capitalism's "national interests" derives from their status as minor beneficiaries of the superprofits gleaned from American imperialism's exploitation of the peoples of the world. If working people are to stop taking it in the neck, it is necessary to forge a new labor leadership based on a program of *internationalist class struggle*. Such a leadership would fight for the political independence of labor from the bosses' parties—Democrats and Republi-cans. There is a crying need for a revolu-tionary workers party—a party that fights to *organize the unorganized*; that mobilizes labor's power to *bust the union-busters*; that fights tooth and nail in defense of the rights of black people, immigrants and all the oppressed; that fights for a *workers government* that will expropriate the bloodsucking capitalist rulers and uproot their system of exploita-tion, oppression and imperialist war.

Rulers Escalate War on Immigrants

The Feds' move to implement the "no match" rule, which was originally man-dated by the 1986 Simpson-Mazzoli immi-gration "reform," is part of a crescendo of attacks on immigrant rights. The mili-tarization of the U.S.-Mexico border con-tinues apace, with radar-equipped watch-towers, elite Black Hawk helicopter teams, thousands more border patrol cops and miles of walls and fences and high-tech snooping devices. I.C.E. raids on workplaces, homes and shopping malls



Teamsters head James Hoffa (far right), currently leading chauvinist hysteria against Mexican truckers, with Democratic presidential candidate John Edwards at Florida rally last year.

have soared. Proposed anti-immigration legislation is sweeping local and state governments across the country, threaten-ing further crackdowns on the hiring of undocumented immigrants and measures to deny them state and local benefits.

The number of immigrants in deten-tion has tripled over five years, rising in some estimates to 283,000. The patch-work of federal centers, private prisons and local jails that make up the secretive system of immigrant detention is the fastest growing form of incarceration in a country with the world's highest rate of imprisonment. Stories of hideous condi-tions abound. Children wearing inmate



Carlos Torres Oseguera/La Jornada Michoacán April 2006: Brutal cop siege killed at least two striking steel workers in Mexican city of Lázaro Cárdenas.

scrubs walk the halls. Cancer and gan-grene among inmates are left untreated. At least 62 immigrants have died in administrative custody since 2004.

Victoria Arellano, an undocumented transgender Mexican, died on July 20 after being denied AIDS treatment in San Pedro, California. More than 70 of her fellow detainees, desperately worried about her health, signed a petition urging immediate medical care; more than 20 of these detainees were transferred from the facility less than 24 hours before a Human Rights Watch official went to interview them. Victoria Arellano, aged



Miami Sun Post

23, died shackled to a bed with two immi-gration agents standing guard at the door. We demand immediate freedom for all immigrant detainees!

The administration boasts that its war on immigrants has led to a decline in the numbers of those attempting to cross into the U.S. The crackdown is in part an effort by the Bush administration, whose popularity is at rock bottom, to firm up right-wing, nativist Republican voters for next year's elections.

Bush had worked closely the past two years with key Congressional Democrats to push through an immigration "reform." The most recent was a bill pushed by lib-

eral Democrat Ted Kennedy that called for doubling the border patrol and forcing all foreign workers to carry "tamper-proof identification." The bill's "guest worker" provision was strongly favored by U.S. agribusiness, which depends on undocu-mented immigrants for at least 70 percent of its workforce, and also the meatpacking, restaurant and construction industries.

With the number of immigrant produce pickers plummeting and with growers wor-ried about losing more workers to I.C.E. raids, some California outfits have moved operations to Mexico. But the Kennedy bill failed to pass the Senate in June due to opposition from nativist yahoos—whose solution is to "ship 'em all out"—as well as from high-tech companies complaining that it did not provide enough visas for software engineers and computer program-mers, who are in short supply in the U.S.

The bitter clashes over immigration pol-icy reflect the competing needs of differ-ent sections of the capitalist class. Marx-ists can seek to exploit divisions within the ruling class in order to advance the proletarian class struggle and the interests of the oppressed. For example, we would support a genuine amnesty for undocu-mented immigrants, though existing propo-sals that are occasionally mischaracter-ized as amnesty are in fact punitive measures. But we understand that there cannot be a just immigration policy under capitalism, an inherently unjust system rooted in the exploitation of the many by the few.

The capitalists seek to modulate the flow of immigration, particularly to the imperialist countries, in order to suit their labor needs. Our program is for a series of workers revolutions that would lay the basis for an international planned, socialist economy. This is the only road to eliminating poverty, the main driving force for mass migrations throughout the world, and providing a life of abundance for all.

"Lesser Evil" Reformism

From the defense of immigrant rights to the struggle against imperialist war, the ref-ormist left rejects a perspective of mobiliz-ing the proletariat, leading the oppressed, against the capitalist class enemy, its state

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# Port of Sacramento: Cops Assault Black Longshoremen

OAKLAND—U.S. imperialism’s “war on terror” came home to the American working class again on August 23 when two black longshoremen from San Francisco International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10, Aaron Harrison and Jason Ruffin, were viciously assaulted and arrested by West Sacramento cops. According to an Internet posting signed by seven members of Local 10, the two had worked that morning at the Stevedoring Services of America (SSA) terminal in Sacramento and were on their way back from lunch when security guards insisted on searching their car. Harrison and Ruffin questioned the guards’ authority for the search and called their Local 10 Business Agent for advice. This enraged the security guards, who were immediately joined by city cops. Dragging the workers from the car, cops assaulted, maced and handcuffed them, and the two were jailed on charges of trespassing and obstructing a police officer.

These charges are completely false! The two workers had been dispatched by the

## Defend Bay Area ILWU Members!

Sacramento ILWU local and had already shown their Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) work IDs. They had every right to call their union business agent. The ILWU should mobilize a show of force to protest this victimization of its members and send a signal to the cops, judges, PMA and its hired thugs that further assaults on the union will not be tolerated. But to date the Local 10 leadership has taken no action in the workers’ defense.

The pretext for the assault was a new maritime security regulation, which shows the threat to labor posed by beefing up “port security.” For its part, the ILWU International has supported such measures, seeking only to ameliorate certain provisions while pointing the finger at the

largely immigrant port truckers as the “real” security threat.

The “war on terror” is pushed by both the Democrats and Republicans to justify the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq as well as a vast increase of the state’s repressive powers. The 2002 Maritime Security Act (MSA) mandated transportation security ID cards requiring background checks on workers and the banning of those with felony convictions. This poses a racist purge of the workforce, since blacks and Latinos have been particular targets in the “war on drugs.”

Meanwhile, security guards like those who attacked Ruffin and Harrison are in many ports organized into the ILWU!

Security guards work as auxiliaries of the cops, who “serve and protect” the property owners who make their profits off the exploitation of labor. Cops and security guards out of the unions!

Local 10 was a key component of a 9 February 2002 labor-centered demonstration in Oakland against the MSA and the draconian USA Patriot Act. That demonstration, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, struck a blow against the facade of national unity sought by the U.S. government after September 11 and pointed to the need for the working class to mobilize in class-struggle actions against the “war on terror,” independent of and in opposition to the capitalists and their state.

The PDC has sent a letter in defense of the two longshoremen to the Yolo County Office of the District Attorney. A court hearing for Ruffin and Harrison is currently set for October 4 at 8:30 a.m. in the Yolo County Superior Court, 213 Third St. in Woodland, CA. All out in solidarity! Drop the charges! ■

and its political parties. Rather, the reformists promote the liberal falsehood that the government of this capitalist “democracy” can and will defend the interests of the exploited and oppressed if only the right politicians are elected or sufficient “grass-roots” pressure is applied. What this all comes down to is electing more Democrats—the “lesser evil” face of capitalist imperialism.

In an 8 June article on its Web site concerning the Kennedy bill, the Party for Socialism and Liberation wrote: “The detestable parts of the Senate bill are clear. But the people can intervene decisively in the debate to get rid of them. Rather than summarily accept or reject the bill, the provisions should be points of struggle. The ‘guest worker’ program, the point system, militarization of the border, the division of families—these aspects can be defeated if the level of struggle is high enough.” Similarly, after the defeat of the bill, *Socialist Action* (July 2007) headlined, “Senate Kills Immigration Bill; Mass Action Must be Revived” stating, “The death of the Senate reform gives new life to calls for a united front to mobilize working-class power against ICE and for amnesty.”

This is just the out-in-the-streets face of the “lesser evil” game. The mass actions that *Socialist Action* and other reformist outfits seek to “revive” were the huge immigrant rights protests of a year ago. These demonstrations and job actions against anti-immigrant legislation showed that immigrants were not willing to passively accept the rulers’ attempts to criminalize them. But this was far from a mobilization of “working-class power.” The bourgeois politicians, church offi-



9 February 2002: ILWU longshore union formed core of Oakland united-front mobilization in defense of immigrants and against “war on terror” legislation.

cials and labor bureaucrats who led the protests consciously directed them into Democratic Party electoralism. A common chant went, “Today we march, tomorrow we vote.” And along with the liberal-reformist “antiwar movement,” these mobilizations played a part in the Democrats’ retaking of Congress last November.

The Democrats are past masters at talking out of both sides of their mouths, passing themselves off as “friends” of labor, black people and immigrants when it suits their purposes while carrying out vicious attacks on workers and the oppressed. Hillary Clinton stands on the record of her husband’s administration. It was the Clinton White House that enacted the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, under which even longtime permanent residents can be deported for trivial offenses committed years earlier, and presided over “Operation Gatekeeper,” under which a border wall was built to seal off San Diego. John Edwards, meanwhile, distinguishes himself by waving the protectionist banner, earning the support of the Steel Workers and Mine Workers tops who push this chauvinist poison.

As for liberal darling Barack Obama, he along with Hillary Clinton supported the “Secure Fence Act” mandating the construction of a 700-mile wall along the border. In the most recent Democratic presidential candidates’ debate in Florida, he and the others took pains to express sympathy with immigrants—for good reason, as the debate was on a Spanish-language television network. But Obama is also no slouch at courting anti-immigrant bigots, writing in *The Audacity of Hope*: “I’m not entirely immune to such nativist sentiments. When I see Mexican flags waved at proimmigration demonstrations, I sometimes feel a flush of patriotic resentment. When I’m forced to use a translator

to communicate with the guy fixing my car, I feel a certain frustration.”

### Mexico on the Boil

Under Democratic and Republican administrations, U.S. imperialism has devastated Mexican society. NAFTA has pushed millions of peasants into the cities, hugely increasing urban poverty as well as mass emigration to the U.S. Some 10 percent of the Mexican population now lives in the U.S., and the \$20 billion they send home each year is Mexico’s second-largest source of foreign revenue. For the Mexican bourgeoisie, immigration to the North is a critical safety valve for keeping the contradictions in this semicolonial society from exploding.

Mexican president Felipe Calderón of the right-wing National Action Party (PAN) has blasted Washington’s immigration policies, recently complaining about the expulsion of Elvira Arellano after she left her place of sanctuary in a Chicago church. This is the same man who, in the service of his U.S. imperialist masters, is testing the waters on privatization of strategic national industries such as oil and electricity. Last winter, in a show of force aimed at intimidating the entire population, Calderón unleashed 27,000 troops throughout Mexico in “anti-drug” missions, earning high praise from the Bush administration.

Mexican society has become increasingly volatile and polarized. Two strikers were killed in the course of a bitter four-month strike by miners and steel workers against the PAN government’s ouster of their union president. For several months, striking teachers, peasants and students occupied the town of Oaxaca in the South. Massive demonstrations took place earlier this year against the government’s slashing of subsidies for the price of tortillas.

NAFTA underlines that the economies of the U.S. and its neighbors are increasingly integrated. The struggle for workers revolutions in Mexico and the U.S. is also intimately linked. Our watchwords are those that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels inscribed on their banner nearly 160 years ago in the *Communist Manifesto*: “The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!” *For socialist revolution throughout the Americas!* ■

**Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.**

**For a Workers Party That Fights for a Workers Government!**

**For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!**

SEE PAGE 2

**Organizational Rules and Guidelines of the Spartacist League/U.S.**

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**Opponents of the Revolutionary Internationalist Workers Movement**

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# Sacco and Vanzetti...

(continued from page 12)

themselves.” “Sacco and Vanzetti will have died in vain,” he wrote, “if the real meaning and the causes of their martyrdom are not understood in all their implications.” These lessons are indeed of crucial importance in the struggle against capitalist repression today and are posed with particular urgency in the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal who, despite massive evidence of his innocence, was railroaded to death row for his political beliefs and lifetime of struggle against black oppression.

## The Defense Movement

With little known about their arrests outside the Boston area, the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti was initially limited to a local group of Italian anarchists who founded the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee. The defense committee won the support of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a well-known radical, and her companion Carlo Tresca, an anarcho-syndicalist who edited the newspaper *Il Martello* in New York. The two members of the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) helped line up Fred Moore, who had a long record of defending union militants and radicals, to be lead attorney in the case.

Moore appealed to IWW members, union leaders and socialists to mobilize in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. The American Civil Liberties Union, of which Flynn was a founding member, and its New England affiliate voiced their support as did a number of prominent liberals, notably the journalists Elizabeth Glendower Evans and Gardner Jackson. Various unions and even the conservative American Federation of Labor (AFL) tops came out in defense of the two workers. As Sacco and Vanzetti faced trial in May 1921, some 64 union locals from across the country contributed to the defense, and a flood of labor support swept in following their conviction in July. As we noted in Part One of this article, in the fall of 1921 the CP and Communist International (CI) called for a worldwide campaign of protest centered on the working class. The AFL passed a resolution in 1922 calling for a new trial and two years later declared Sacco and Vanzetti “victims of race and national prejudice and class hatred.”

In a 1927 ILD pamphlet, Max Shachtman described the wide range of support for Sacco and Vanzetti in the workers movement and observed:

“With many of these it was because they realized the class nature of the issues involved in the case; that it was not merely an incident of an accidental ‘miscarriage of justice’ but that the judge, jury and prosecutor were striking as severe a blow at the labor movement as was struck thirty-five years before in the trial of the Haymarket martyrs. With the others, it was the result of the feelings and pressure from the mass, who felt, however vaguely, a working class kinship with the two agitators.”

—Sacco and Vanzetti:  
Labor’s Martyrs

According to Massachusetts court procedure at the time, sentencing was postponed until all post-trial motions and appeals were decided. Although it was clear to everyone that the murder conviction could only mean a death sentence, that sentence was not pronounced until 1927. Sacco and Vanzetti’s lawyers, meanwhile, attempted to overturn the conviction with a series of motions before the same biased Judge Webster Thayer who presided over the kangaroo trial and appeals before the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court that rubber-stamped Thayer’s every move.

Thayer denied the first post-conviction motion for a new trial on Christmas Eve 1921. Beginning the month before and throughout the next two years, a series of six supplemental motions were filed by the defense. In July 1924, with those

James P. Cannon  
with IWW leader  
William “Big Bill” Haywood  
in Moscow, 1922.  
CP newspaper called to  
mobilize labor action to  
stop impending execution  
of Sacco and Vanzetti.



Viking



motions pending, Moore resigned as attorney in the case. With his replacement by William Thompson, the tactics of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee changed as well. As recounted in Bruce Watson’s *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Men, the Murders, and the Judgment of Mankind* (2007), Thompson flatly declared that he did not believe “the government was actuated by any ulterior purpose in bringing the charge against them.” Despising the mass protest movement, Thompson appealed instead to the legal and business establishment to use its influence on the courts and state house.

In turn, the Boston defense committee called for a stop to the workers’ protest actions. As Shachtman described in his pamphlet, for the next two years this strategy “helped to discredit the honest and powerful class support of the toilers.... They demanded the substitution of the movement of the masses by the movement of the lawyers.” Shachtman pointed out, “The defense turned more and more towards reliance upon those false friends concerned more with the vindication of ‘confidence in our institutions and their capacity to rectify errors,’ and ‘those high standards which are the pride of Massachusetts justice’ than with the vindication of two unknown immigrants.”

Based on the Marxist understanding that the courts, cops, prisons and armed forces are core components of the capitalist state—a machinery of organized violence to protect the rule and profits of the exploiting class—the CP and ILD

tirelessly fought against illusions in the capitalists’ rigged legal system. They fought instead for workers to rely only on *their* class power, derived from the fact that it is their labor that creates the wealth of society. In his important new biography, *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890-1928* (2007), Bryan Palmer includes a thorough account of Cannon’s leadership of the ILD, not least in regard to its efforts in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The CP and ILD were determined that Sacco and Vanzetti would not be added to the long list of labor’s martyrs. They understood that mobilizing labor’s power in protest and strike action could compel the bourgeois rulers to relent in fear of the social costs that executing or imprisoning the two men for life would bring. They fought as well to imbue militants with the consciousness that to tear down the walls imprisoning fighters against exploitation and oppression once and for all requires a socialist revolution that destroys the capitalist state and replaces it with a workers state, where those who labor rule. In this, they were following the path laid out by Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, who wrote in his 1902 work *What Is To Be Done?* that the communist’s ideal

“should not be the trade-union secretary, but *the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take

advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat.”

## Battle of Class Forces

In October 1924, Judge Thayer denied all motions presented by Sacco and Vanzetti’s lawyers. In December, the Communist International issued an appeal “To the workers of all countries! To all trade union organizations!” calling to “Organize mass demonstrations! Demand the liberation of Sacco and Vanzetti!” The *Daily Worker*, newspaper of the Workers (Communist) Party, continued to publicize this struggle, and the party organized a Chicago labor rally for Sacco and Vanzetti on 1 March 1925 and mobilized heavily for rallies in Boston and other cities that day. Shortly after its inception that year, the ILD issued a call for workers internationally to demonstrate solidarity with Sacco and Vanzetti. In a 23 May 1926 letter to the ILD, Vanzetti wrote, “The echo of your campaign in our behalf has reached my heart.”

Thayer’s 1924 decision was appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, which sat on the case before affirming the convictions on 12 May 1926. Two weeks later, lawyers filed another motion for a new trial based on the affidavit of Celestino Medeiros confessing his involvement in the robbery that led to the murder charges against Sacco and Vanzetti, exonerating the two men. In October, Thayer rejected the Medeiros confession along with affidavits of two federal agents documenting the government’s involvement in the frame-up and confirming that the two were targeted for their political activities. This was appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court.

The court proceedings touched off renewed protest activity. *Labor Defender* published a special “Save Sacco and Vanzetti” issue in July 1926 featuring “An Appeal to American Labor” by Eugene V. Debs, historic spokesman of the Socialist Party. Resolutions on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti were adopted by the Washington Federation of Labor and the New York Socialist Party.

The ILD initiated Sacco-Vanzetti committees and conferences throughout the U.S. that drew IWW militants, anarchists and delegates from the AFL and other union bodies around the call “Life and Freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti!” These meetings were an application of the tactic of the united front, through which a wide range of workers organizations unite in action around a common call while engaging in political debate based on their own programs. Through this means, the ILD sought to lay the basis for mass labor protest and strikes. The ILD also participated in rallies called by the Boston defense committee and other organizations. Cannon wrote to a wide array of public figures seeking statements in support of Sacco and Vanzetti. But the ILD’s primary focus was unleashing labor strikes and protests.

In New York City, the ILD-initiated Sacco-Vanzetti Emergency Committee encompassed individuals and organizations representing nearly half a million workers. Rallies organized by the committee drew over 15,000 in New York’s Madison Square Garden on 17 November 1926 and another 25,000 in Union Square the following April. Equally large gatherings were organized by ILD-led committees in Milwaukee, San Jose, Boston, Denver, Seattle and Chicago. Across the country, a network of two to three million workers was enlisted in the committees. The International Red Aid mobilized its organizations around the world, forming united-front committees in hundreds of cities and organizing mass protests. Millions throughout the entirety of the Soviet Union demonstrated in solidarity with the two class-war prisoners.

Thayer’s rulings opened up a period of sharpening political struggle over the way forward in this fight that would last



Wayne State University

8 April 1926:  
Police in Passaic,  
New Jersey, attack  
workers, children  
during CP-led  
textile strike.



up through the executions. The Socialist Party, AFL tops and anarchists organized some working-class protest, at times mobilizing significant forces. But such efforts were in the service of appeals for Sacco and Vanzetti to get their “fair day in court,” to be accomplished by tapping into liberal public opinion that hoped to spare the men’s lives for the sake of America’s “democratic” image. As for the national AFL leadership, rather than issuing a call for labor mobilizations, it pushed a resolution through the October 1926 AFL convention appealing to Congress to investigate the case. The SP and AFL tops *undermined* the growing mobilization of the workers by looking to the political agencies of the class enemy, a policy accompanied by a vicious anti-Communist campaign of slander and exclusion.

Throughout the 1920s, the SP leadership under Morris Hillquit, which in 1919 had purged the left-wing Socialists who supported the Bolshevik Revolution, waged a campaign against Communist influence in the labor movement that was particularly fierce in the needle trades in New York City. For his part, Matthew Woll, a member of the AFL Executive Council, ranted that the AFL was “the first object of attack by the Communist movement.” The same Woll was acting president of the National Civic Federation, an anti-union business group that viciously opposed the campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti’s freedom.

In November 1926, the Ohio State

struggle in which the decisive word will be spoken by the masses who have made this fight their own. It is therefore, necessary to discuss openly the conflicting policies which are bound up with different objectives.

“One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale. It calls for unity and solidarity of all workers on this burning issue, regardless of conflicting views on other questions. This is what has prevented the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti so far. Its goal is nothing less than their triumphant vindication and liberation.

“The other policy is the policy of ‘respectability,’ of the ‘soft pedal’ and of ridiculous illusions about ‘justice’ from the courts of the enemy. It relies mainly on legal proceedings. It seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle. It shrinks from the ‘vulgar and noisy’ demonstrations of the militant workers and throws the mud of slander on them. It tries to represent the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti as an ‘unfortunate’ error which can be rectified by the ‘right’ people proceeding in the ‘right’ way. The objective of this policy is a whitewash of the courts of Massachusetts and ‘clemency’ for Sacco and Vanzetti in the form of a commutation to life imprisonment for a crime of which the world knows they are innocent.”

The battle between these counterposed strategies took center stage following a



Cornell University photos



AFL

**From left to right: Socialist Party head Morris Hillquit, American Federation of Labor bureaucrats Matthew Woll and William Green. SP, AFL tops undermined working-class struggle to free Sacco and Vanzetti.**

Socialist Party refused to join in a rally called by the ILD-initiated Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, and the SP’s *New Leader* (18 December 1926) retailed lying charges by the Boston defense committee that the CP and ILD had solicited funds for legal defense that were not forwarded and for which no accounting was made. In response to these slanders, *Labor Defender* (January 1927) published the ILD’s accounts and copies of checks forwarded to the Boston committee. The article pointed out that an earlier *Labor Defender* (September 1926) had printed, as part of its regular practice, an accounting of its receipts and ILD campaign expenses and had called for contributions for legal defense to be sent directly to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee in Boston rather than to the ILD.

The smears against the ILD were gleefully seized upon by the bourgeois press at the time and are repeated to this day. In answering the blatantly false charge that the ILD had pocketed \$500,000 raised for Sacco and Vanzetti’s defense, *Labor Defender* (October 1927) remarked that this slander only aided “the Department of Justice and other agencies which consummated the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti” and now hope to prevent the protest movement from “being drawn into the fight in behalf of the other victims of the frame-up system now in prison or facing trial.”

### Class-Struggle Defense

With the case again before the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Cannon alluded to the sectarian exclusions and counterposed a class-struggle defense perspective in “Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?” (*Labor Defender*, January 1927):

“The Sacco-Vanzetti case is no private monopoly, but an issue of the class



Bettmann

**200,000 turned out to honor Sacco and Vanzetti at funeral procession in Boston, 29 August 1927.**



Labor Defender photos

**7 July 1927: Mounted police broke up mass rally for Sacco and Vanzetti in New York’s Union Square and arrested protesters. SP leaders had called in the cops in attempt to exclude Communists.**

rich class, and there will always be collision between one and the other.” When Vanzetti got his turn, he stated: “I am suffering because I am a radical and indeed I am a radical; I have suffered because I was an Italian, and indeed I am an Italian;...but I am so convinced to be right that if you could execute me two times, and if I could be reborn two other times, I would live again to do what I have done already” (quoted in Herbert P. Ehrmann, *The Case That Will Not Die: Commonwealth vs. Sacco and Vanzetti* [1969]). They were sentenced to die in three months.

Following the sentencing, the ILD issued a call for a national conference “of all elements willing to unite to demand and force freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti.” On April 16, 20,000 workers filled New York’s Union Square in a protest called by the ILD-led Sacco-Vanzetti Emergency Committee. As part of an intensive effort over the next several weeks, more than 500 May Day meetings were organized by the ILD across the U.S and Canada.

The SP’s response to the sentencing was to further promote false hopes in bourgeois politicians. The *New Leader* (16 April 1927) wrote, “The next move is up to Governor Fuller, and there seems to be no doubt that he will have to accede to the world-wide demand that he act to save the lives of the two men.” The SP declared the scheduled execution date of July 10 as “a day of national mourning for the death of American justice,” while Hillquit called upon “the government and the governor of the State of Massachusetts to order a full and impartial investigation of the whole case” (*New Leader*, 23 April 1927).

After SP organizers of Sacco-Vanzetti meetings in Philadelphia and Cleveland refused to seat delegates from the ILD and other organizations, Cannon issued a statement printed in the *Daily Worker* (4 May 1927) condemning the disruption of



### SOCIALISTS CALL IN MOUNTED COPS TO WRECK UNION SQUARE PROTEST

Act When Huge Crowd Calls for Ben Gold to Take the Platform and Speak

Leader of Furriers Kicked by Claessans While Horses Strike Down Audience

**THE DAILY WORKER**

8 July 1927

the “labor reactionaries,” noting that “their aim is to isolate the militants and then sabotage the movement.” With the social democrats, anarchists and labor tops working to undermine the ILD’s efforts, the plan to hold a national Sacco-Vanzetti conference fell through. The Boston defense committee sought to head off growing sentiment in the unions for such a conference by appealing instead for Governor Fuller to appoint a commission to review the case. On June 1, they got their wish, as Fuller announced the appointment of a three-man panel to advise him on Vanzetti’s petition for clemency filed the previous month.

The panel was led by Harvard president A. Lawrence Lowell, a patrician reactionary who had campaigned for the draconian 1921 Immigration Quota Act, banned black students from living in Harvard dorms, restricted Jewish enrollment at Harvard and opposed legislation reducing child labor in the textile industry. This record did not stop the Boston committee from lauding the commission as “men reputed to be scholarly, of high intelligence and intellectual probity, with minds unswayed by prejudice.” The committee advised the governor to implement the power of commutation because that would be “far less likely to undermine public faith in the courts of the Commonwealth.” The SP affirmed its faith that “while the members of this commission are conservatives, it is generally believed that their high professional standing gives fair assurance that they will make a report justified by all the facts in the case” (*New Leader*, 9 July 1927).

Rumors swirled that Fuller would respond to the growing international protests by commuting the death sentences. Recalling how an earlier movement on behalf of class-war prisoners Tom Mooney, who faced execution, and Warren Billings had been sapped by the commutation of Mooney’s death sentence to life imprisonment, Cannon cautioned in “Death, Commutation or Freedom?” (*Labor Defender*, July 1927): “The great movement for Sacco and Vanzetti, which now embraces millions of workers, must not allow itself to be dissolved by a similar subterfuge.” Calling a life sentence “a living death,” he warned, “The hearts of the Massachusetts executioners have not softened with kindness, and their desire to murder our comrades has not changed.... The working class must reply: Not the chair of death, but life for Sacco and Vanzetti! Not the imprisonment of death, but freedom to Sacco and Vanzetti!”

### Political Battle Comes to a Boil

As the scheduled execution date of July 10 neared, the social democrats brought their anti-Communist campaign to a fever pitch, regurgitating the slander about the ILD’s fundraising and stepping up their divisive attempts to exclude CP and ILD militants. This came to a head at a mass rally of 25,000 workers in Union Square on July 7. Called by the labor-based

*continued on page 10*



anarchists but to smear labor militancy and revolutionary proletarian opposition to the bloodsoaked capitalist system—i.e., communism. Liberal “defenders” of Sacco and Vanzetti have joined in rehashing the attacks on the ILD and early CP. In her 1977 book *The Never-Ending Wrong*, Katherine Anne Porter claimed that shortly before the execution she was told by one Communist, “Who wants them saved? What earthly good would they do us alive?” Along with the lies about money and other anti-Communist slanders, this is passed as good coin in Watson’s *Sacco and Vanzetti*. Watson writes of the critical last weeks, “As party members grew increasingly shrill, their callousness appalled sincere supporters. Communists flocking to Boston, Gardner Jackson remembered, unquestionably ‘preferred Sacco and Vanzetti dead [rather] than alive.’” Watson proclaims, “Sacco and Vanzetti were far more useful to Communists than Communists would be to them.”

At the height of the fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti, the CP argued against any in the movement who argued that their execution would ultimately redound in the favor of the working class: “The workers holding to such an opinion must be made to realize that martyrs are a confession of weakness on the part of the laboring masses. The fact that the bosses can railroad to prison or put to death our

leaders with impunity becomes a weapon of intimidation in their hand and does help to cow and keep in submission the less militant mass.... The more powerful labor becomes, the more effective it is in making its demands heeded, the less will it have martyrs” (*Daily Worker Magazine*, 28 May 1927).

### Mumia and Class-Struggle Defense

The case of Sacco and Vanzetti contains powerful lessons for the fight to free class-war prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was sentenced to death after being falsely convicted of the 1981 murder of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. As we noted in Part One, the overwhelming evidence of Mumia’s innocence includes the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot Faulkner. As with the Medeiros confession exonerating Sacco and Vanzetti, the courts have refused to hear the Beverly confession and its supporting evidence.

The Partisan Defense Committee has secured statements from hundreds of prominent individuals and labor leaders and organizations internationally demanding that Mumia be freed on the basis that he is an innocent man and the victim of a racist, political frame-up. As Mumia’s case enters its final stages, it is crucially important that such statements be turned

into *labor action*. But to make that happen requires conducting the kind of hard political struggle that the CP and ILD waged against the reactionary labor tops as well as those “socialists” who obstruct class-struggle defense by sowing illusions in the capitalist *injustice* system. Among Mumia’s ostensible defenders are several left groups that replicate the reformist outlook and strategy of the SP of the 1920s but lack the kind of base it had in the working class. A typical example is Jeff Mackler’s Socialist Action (SA), which represents nothing so much as the *New Leader* of today.

Where Cannon warned against illusions in the black-robed justices, Mackler hailed the December 2005 announcement by the Third Circuit Court of Appeals that it would hear only three of Mumia’s two dozen issues on appeal as a “decision that will likely stun the Pennsylvania legal establishment” and opined that there was little likelihood that the court would reinstate the death sentence (*Socialist Action*, December 2005). Echoing the *New Leader*’s praise for the “high professional standing” of the Lowell Commission, Mackler wrote in *Socialist Action* (June 2007) about the oral argument before the Third Circuit the previous month that several decisions on other matters relevant to Mumia’s case “marked this court as among the few remaining ‘liberal’ juridical institutions

in the country.” Mackler is co-coordinator of the Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, which offers a sample letter to send to Democratic Pennsylvania governor Edward Rendell that concludes, “We urge your intervention to guarantee that justice is done.” *This is the same Ed Rendell who as Philly D.A. in 1981-82 prosecuted Mumia!*

We honor Sacco and Vanzetti by fighting for the life and freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal in the class-struggle tradition of the ILD. When Mumia faced an August 1995 execution date, an international wave of protest that crucially included trade unionists played a major role in the court’s decision to grant a stay of execution. At the same time, liberals and reformists sought to steer that struggle into relying on the racist bourgeois legal system to secure “justice” for Mumia. And it was that liberal strategy of reliance on the capitalist courts that demobilized Mumia’s army of supporters around the world. Today the need to revitalize the movement for Mumia’s freedom is posed pointblank. As we wrote in “Class-Struggle Defense vs. Faith in Capitalist ‘Justice’” (WV No. 892, 11 May): “Indeed, labor’s power must be brought to bear on behalf of Mumia. But it is self-evident that this can only be done by mobilizing independently of the forces of the capitalist state that framed up this innocent man.”■

## 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](mailto:partisandefense@earthlink.net) • Web site: [www.partisandefense.org](http://www.partisandefense.org)  
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P.O. Box 29574, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029 • (213) 380-8897  
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107 • (510) 839-0852

### Spartacus Youth Club Events

## Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man—Free Mumia Now!

With a showing of the video: *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*

### NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, September 20, 7 p.m.

299 Broadway, Suite 318  
(take any train to Chambers Street)

For information and readings: (212) 267-1025  
or e-mail: [nysl@tiac.net](mailto:nysl@tiac.net)

### VANCOUVER

Tuesday, September 25, 12 noon

Room 212a, Student Union Building  
University of British Columbia

For information and readings: (604) 687-0353  
or e-mail: [trotskyist\\_vancouver@shawcable.com](mailto:trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com)

## Prepare Now for Emergency Protests!

On May 17, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in Mumia’s case, and there could be a decision at any time.

**If the Third Circuit Court of Appeals rules to uphold the death sentence or denies Mumia’s appeals for a new trial or a new hearing, the PDC and LBLs call for protests the day after the decision.**

**Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!  
FREE MUMIA NOW!  
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!**

### BAY AREA

14th and Broadway  
Oakland

Near the Federal Building

4:30-6:30 p.m.

(On Monday if the decision falls on Fri.-Sun.)

More info: (510) 839-0852 or  
[pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net](mailto:pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net)

### LOS ANGELES

Weekday: 5 p.m.  
U.S. Federal Courthouse  
312 N. Spring St.

Saturday: 1 p.m.  
Westwood Federal Building  
11000 Wilshire Blvd.

More info: (213) 380-8897 or  
[partisandefense-la@sbcglobal.net](mailto:partisandefense-la@sbcglobal.net)

### CHICAGO

Kluczynski Federal Building  
Northwest corner of  
Jackson and Dearborn  
Weekday: 4:30 p.m.  
Saturday: Noon

More info: (312) 563-0442 or  
[chicagopdc@sbcglobal.net](mailto:chicagopdc@sbcglobal.net)

### NEW YORK CITY

Federal Building  
Broadway between  
Worth and Duane Sts.

Weekday: 5-7 p.m.  
Saturday: 1-4 p.m.

More info: (212) 406-4252 or  
(212) 267-1025 or  
[partisandefense@earthlink.net](mailto:partisandefense@earthlink.net)

### TORONTO

360 University Ave., across the street from the U.S. Consulate  
between Dundas (St. Patrick station) and Queen (Osgoode station)

Weekday: 6 p.m., Weekend: 1 p.m.

More info: (416) 593-4138 or [pdctoronto@bellnet.ca](mailto:pdctoronto@bellnet.ca)

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Leagues

Subsequent to the PDC’s call for protests, the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition (NYC) has publicized the following actions, in the event of a negative decision, to take place the next day:

**Philadelphia:** 13th and Locust. Call (267) 760-7344 for information.

**New York City:** Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. State Office Building  
(125th Street and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Blvd.)

Weekday: 5 p.m., Saturday: 1 p.m.

Three Saturdays after the decision:

**National Demonstration in Philadelphia**



## British, Greek Unions:

# Mumia Is Innocent! Free Him Now!

With a federal appeals court likely to rule at any moment on the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a MOVE supporter, award-winning journalist and former Black Panther Party spokesman who has been on Pennsylvania's death row since 1982, it is all the more critical for the organizations of the working class and the oppressed to speak out and act now. We print below two of the more recent statements issued by trade unions around the world affirming Mumia's innocence and demanding his freedom. The first is an August 7 statement of the All Workers Militant Front (PAME) trade-union federation in Greece, signed by Giorgos Pontikos of the International Relations Department.

PAME is associated with the Communist Party there and represents a half million workers in more than 200 unions. The second is an August 28 appeal by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) in Britain and Ireland to its members. We print the NUJ appeal as it appears on the union's Web site.

As the NUJ letter points out, hundreds of other trade unions and individual unionists, as well as anti-racist organizations and prominent individuals, have joined in signing a statement initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, calling for "the immediate freedom of Mumia

Abu-Jamal, an innocent man." Among those demanding Mumia's freedom are two major labor federations in South Africa, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions.

The PDC has called for emergency protests in the event that the Third Circuit Court of Appeals upholds Mumia's death sentence, which was reversed in 2001, or denies his appeals for a new trial or a new hearing. The fate of this passionate fighter for social justice must not be allowed to rest in the hands of the racist, capitalist courts. Now more than ever, it is necessary to translate into action the sentiment

*continued on page 10*



WV Photo

## 80th Anniversary of Legal Lynching Lessons of the Fight to Free Sacco and Vanzetti



no credit



Boston Public Library photos

*Part One of this article, which we conclude below, appeared in WV No. 897 (31 August).*

Caught up in the anti-immigrant hysteria and Red Scare that swept the U.S. in the aftermath of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, anarchist workers

### PART TWO

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were arrested in May 1920 and framed up on murder and robbery charges of which they were manifestly innocent. In an article written after their execution in the Massachusetts electric chair on 23 August 1927, James P. Cannon, at the

**Protest movement for Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti spanned the globe. Top left: mass demonstration in Trafalgar Square, London. Top right: workers protest in Belgium. Above: Vanzetti (center) and Sacco (right) with prison guard, 1923.**

time a leader of the Workers (Communist) Party (CP) and secretary of the International Labor Defense (ILD) and later the founder of American Trotskyism, declared:

"The electric flames that consumed the bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti illuminated for tens of thousands of workers, in all its stark brutality, the essential nature of capitalist justice in America. The imprisonment, torture and murder of workers

is seen more clearly now as part of an organized system of class persecution."

—"A Living Monument to Sacco and Vanzetti," *Labor Defender* (October 1927)

Pointing to the ILD's role as the leading and organizing center of a protest movement that had rallied millions of workers around the world behind Sacco and Vanzetti's cause, Cannon called for building "a stronger, more united and determined movement for labor defense on a class basis." He noted that "the industrial masters of America" who had carried out the execution to deal a blow to the entire labor movement "were not without allies, both conscious and unconscious, in the camp of the workers

*continued on page 8*

## Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free All Class-War Prisoners!