

Break with the Democrats! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!



Obama Offers Facelift for U.S. Imperialism

As the glittery red-white-and-blue media circuses of the two bourgeois parties' presidential nominating conventions in Colorado and Minnesota faded away, the last whiffs of police tear gas dissipated, and the last police barricades were dismantled, official U.S. unemployment hit a five-year high of 6.1 percent, while the actual business of American imperialism continues unabated. The occupation of Afghanistan—supported by both capitalist candidates—heated up as the U.S. killed or wounded 500 people in one week alone. Meanwhile, U.S. commandos openly made incursions into Pakistan on September 3, the sort of action advocated by Democratic Party presidential nominee Barack Obama. With bipartisan unity, Democratic vice presidential candidate Joe Biden's proposal for a \$15 billion bribe to Pakistan's new president to ensure compliance with further U.S. incursions was supported by the Bush administration. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have recommended shifting some troops out of the Iraq quagmire in order to send them to Afghanistan, a move in line with Obama's recent call for 10,000 additional troops into Afghanistan. And both parties continue threats against Iran over its nuclear program.

As Marxist opponents of this racist capitalist-imperialist order, we stand for the political independence of the working class from the capitalist class enemy. Working people need a party that fights for their class interests, a workers party committed to sweeping away the murderous imperialist order through socialist revolution. We are opposed to any political support to any capitalist politician—Democrat, Republican, Green or "Independent." A vote for any bourgeois candidate is a vote of confidence in the reformability of capitalism and a vote against the need for socialist revolution. Nor would we run for executive office—president, governor or mayor—ourselves (see *Spartacist* [English-language edi-



Top: Imperialist candidates Barack Obama and Joseph Biden at Democratic Party convention in August. Obama calls for 10,000 more troops to Afghanistan. Above: Afghan villagers mourn two children killed by U.S.-led troops in Kabul on September 1.

tion] No. 60, Autumn 2007). In the U.S., the president is the top cop responsible for the most massive military power in history and for the domestic machinery of repression that maintains social oppression and exploitation.

To the U.S. rulers, Obama, the son of a Kenyan man and a white American woman, is an acceptable choice for president because he would refurbish the tattered image of U.S. imperialism. Obama serves as a very powerful propaganda weapon for the bourgeoisie, telling black people and the oppressed to shut up and stop complaining, because, you see, "the American dream" works! Former Bush supporter and former *New Republic* editor Andrew Sullivan pointed out in promoting Obama: "What does he offer? First and foremost: his face. Think of it as the most effective potential re-branding

of the United States since Reagan. Such a re-branding is not trivial—it's central to an effective war strategy" (*Atlantic Monthly*, December 2007).

Indeed, when Obama spoke in Berlin on July 24, more than 200,000 Berliners, waving U.S. flags, cheered him on. It was a public relations triumph that President Bush could not have pulled off; as one commentator quipped, the only way Bush would have gotten that kind of crowd was if he was being tried as a war criminal. Obama's speech itself was a rip-roaring rehash of just about every anti-Communist Cold War cliché known to bourgeois speechwriters.

Berlin was where John F. Kennedy made his famous "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech in 1963—after his failed 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and his dispatch of U.S. troops to Vietnam. It was

also in Berlin that Ronald Reagan demanded that Soviet leader Gorbachev "tear down that wall" in 1987 during Cold War II. Obama's performance, a virulent mix of classic "Cold War liberalism" with neoconservative Reaganite rhetoric, was designed to show how tough an imperialist Commander-in-Chief he would be.

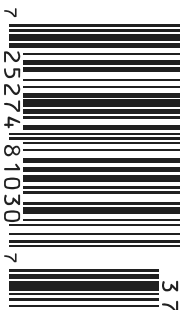
Obama declared that after World War II "the Soviet shadow had swept across Eastern Europe." Left unsaid, of course, was the fact that it was the Red Army that defeated the scourge of Nazi terror in Europe at the cost of over 20 million Soviet lives. Obama sang the praises of NATO, "the greatest alliance ever formed to defend our common security." He gave shout-outs to "the German people" who "tore down that wall" and to "American bases built in the last century" that "defend the security of this continent." It was a speech geared to reinvigorating "Western allies" behind U.S. imperialist aims abroad: "The Afghan people"—the same ones the U.S. and NATO forces slaughter with impunity—"need our troops and your troops."

While the Soviet Union has been destroyed, Obama's anti-Communism still serves a real purpose in targeting the deformed workers states of Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam and especially China, the most powerful of the remaining deformed workers states. Just as we did with the USSR and the deformed workers states of East Europe, today we stand for the unconditional military defense of the remaining workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution.

The 1991-92 counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, a world-historic defeat for the international proletariat, has created a one "superpower" world dominated by U.S. imperialism. It is in this context that the U.S.-led occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan must be seen. As revolutionary working-class

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Behind the Hunger Crisis: Capitalist Profits Imperialism Starves World's Poor....4



BT on Mumia Abu-Jamal Campaign Running Dogs for the Reformist Left

Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky wrote in 1929: “The greatest honor for a genuine revolutionist today is to remain a ‘sectarian’ of revolutionary Marxism in the eyes of Philistines, whimperers and superficial thinkers” (“Once Again on Brandler-Thalheimer,” June 1929). In this spirit, we take up a June 9 letter to *Workers Vanguard*, “On Spartacist Sectarianism and Mumia’s Defense,” by the dubious, misnamed International Bolshevik Tendency (BT). The letter, posted on the BT’s Web site, unwittingly underlines Trotsky’s point.

This BT screed, addressed to *Workers*

Vanguard in response to our article “Protests Demand: Free Mumia Now!” (WV No. 914, 9 May), is in fact written for the hard core of hostile liberals and reformists who despise the Marxist politics and class-struggle defense program put forward by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee in the fight for Mumia’s freedom. Thus, the BT’s letter drops even its ritual paper objections to the reformists’ call for a “new trial” for Mumia, i.e., the falsehood that this fighter against black oppression, an innocent man subjected to a massive state frame-up, can get justice from the capitalist courts that

have consigned him to death row. Such appeals to the “good offices” of the bourgeois state are in counterposition to the independent mobilization of the working class and oppressed to free Mumia.

After denouncing the WV article as being “as cynical as it is dishonest,” the BT makes much of our supposed “aversion to united-front activity” and “aversion to working seriously with other leftists in Mumia’s defense.” Nothing new from the BT there. We have previously published an exchange with the BT (see “Dubious BT’s ‘United Front’ Fraud—The Fight for Class-Struggle Defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal,” WV No. 903, 23 November 2007), which exhaustively dealt (yet again) with similar charges of “sectarianism” and the purpose they serve. Given the BT’s self-indictment in this latest communiqué, it is worth replying again.

To begin, we will quote in full the paragraph from the WV No. 914 article, to which the BT objected and from which it only selectively quoted by omitting the first and last sentences:

“While the reformist left has sought to avoid our united-front protests like the plague, the dubious International Bolshevik Tendency (BT) has sought to be the microbe that poisons the labor-centered mass protest necessary to free Mumia. Having become involved in the united-front protests in Toronto and London, the BT then promoted protests in cities where we do not have active branches: Dublin, Ireland; Cologne, Germany; and Vienna, Austria. These three Potemkin-village ‘protests’ drew a combined total of no more than 35 people. The Dublin ‘rally’ featured a speaker from the anarchist Workers Solidarity Movement [WSM] who questioned Mumia’s innocence without a peep in response from the BT. Meanwhile, BT supporters showed up at the April 19 Oakland united-front protest and, while claiming to support the slogans of the protest, refused to endorse it. What gives?”

The BT admits in its June 9 missive: “Although we missed it at the time, the representative of the Workers Solidarity Movement who spoke in Dublin apparently did call into question Mumia’s innocence. We would note that he takes the view that leftists should defend Mumia nonetheless.” At a rally that peaked at 16 people, it would seem to be virtually impossible to “miss” such a statement. Moreover, in questioning Mumia’s innocence, the WSM speaker echoed what is the stock in trade of liberal false “friends” of Mumia who see his frame-up as simply an aberration and a stain on American “justice” and “democracy.” These include the likes of David Lindorff, author of the

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
16 June 1995

*Not Much Left:
‘The Movement’ Is
Pretty Still Nowadays*

* * *
Despite the GOP Revolution,
Radical Groups Can’t Win
Converts to Their Brand

...ed by Angela Davis ...
... Communist Party USA member ...
The Spartacists are led by a man
named James Robertson, prompting the
International Bolshevik Tendency, a group
of former Spartacists, to deride their old
party as “Jimstown,” a takeoff on Jones-
town in Guyana, the jungle site of mass
suicide.

**U.S. finance capital’s mouthpiece re-
tailed BT slanders of Spartacist League
in 1995 in attempt to undermine mass
protest movement for Mumia.**

book *Killing Time: An Investigation Into the Death Row Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, which declares, “I’m not convinced that Mumia Abu-Jamal was simply an innocent bystander” and grotesquely suggests that Mumia may have shot Officer Faulkner. Lindorff was embraced by much of the reformist left, as he too called for a “new trial” for Mumia. (See “David Lindorff, Michael Schiffmann: Undermining Mumia’s Fight for Freedom,” WV No. 892, 11 May 2007.) As to their refusal to endorse the Oakland protest, the BT’s letter is mum.

The BT decries the WV article, claiming it “maliciously asserts” that the BT “cares nothing about black oppression.” Again, we print in full the paragraph in WV to which the BT refers:

“We can only guess why an organization that cares nothing about black oppression would get involved in Mumia’s case. What we do know is that the BT—an organization led by the twisted sociopath Bill Logan, who was expelled from our tendency in 1979 for crimes ‘against communist morality and its substrate elementary human decency’—has always pursued an unnatural and hostile obsession with our organization. Insofar as they have gotten involved in Mumia’s case, it has been to conciliate the reformists’ calls for a ‘new trial’ while attacking the PDC and SL as ‘sectarian’ as we have fought to reverse the demobilization of Mumia’s supporters.”

While the BT claims this is malicious, its silence on our indictment of their indifference to black oppression and their revolting leader Logan is enough to make our case.

Since its inception in the early 1980s as a clot of embittered ex-members of our organization, the BT has been defined by its sneering contempt for the fight for black freedom. The BT, for instance, generally absented itself from the mass united-front labor/black mobilizations to stop fascist terror, which were built by the SL and PDC. But the BT did spill a lot of ink denouncing us for abandoning trade-union work in favor of “community

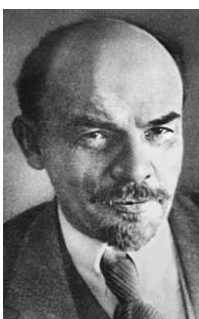
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The Bolshevik Press and the Fight for Workers Revolution

As *Workers Vanguard* enters its annual subscription drive, we print below excerpts from an article by V.I. Lenin celebrating the tenth anniversary of *Pravda*, the Bolshevik daily newspaper founded in April 1912 amidst an upsurge of militant class struggle in tsarist Russia. The article was written in 1922, as the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution inspired, in the words of Lenin, new Chartists (referring to the revolutionary tradition of the mid 19th-century proletarian movement in Britain), new



TROTSKY



LENIN

Varlins (Eugène Varlin, a socialist leader of the 1871 Paris Commune) and new Liebknechts (Wilhelm Liebknecht, 19th-century Marxist leader of the German socialist movement).

The tenth anniversary of a Bolshevik daily published in Russia.... Only ten years have elapsed! But measured in terms of our struggle and movement they are equal to a hundred years. For the pace of social development in the past five years has been positively staggering if we apply the old yardstick of European philistines like the heroes of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals. These civilised philistines are accustomed to regard as “natural” a situation in which hundreds of millions of people (over a thousand million, to be exact) in the colonies and in semi-dependent and poor countries tolerate the treatment meted out to Indians or Chinese, tolerate incredible exploitation, and outright depredation, and hunger, and violence, and humiliation, all in order that “civilised” men might “freely,” “democratically,” according to “parliamentary procedure,” decide whether the booty should be divided up peacefully, or whether ten million or so must be done to death in this division of the imperialist booty, yesterday between Germany and Britain, tomorrow between Japan and the U.S.A. (with France and Britain participating in one form or another)....

At this *most difficult* moment it would be most harmful for revolutionaries to indulge in self-deception. Though Bolshevism *has become* an international force, though in *all* the civilised and advanced countries new Chartists, new Varlins, new Liebknechts have been born, and are growing up as legal (just as legal as our *Pravda* was under the tsars ten years ago) Communist Parties, nonetheless, for the time being, the international bourgeoisie still remains incomparably stronger than its class enemy. This bourgeoisie, which has done everything in its power to hamper the birth of proletarian power in Russia and to multiply tenfold the dangers and suffering attending its birth, is still in a position to condemn millions and tens of millions to torment and death through its whiteguard and imperialist wars, etc. That is something we must not forget. And we must skilfully adapt our tactics to this specific situation. The bourgeoisie is still able freely to torment, torture and kill. But it cannot halt the inevitable and—from the standpoint of world history—not far distant triumph of the revolutionary proletariat.

—V.I. Lenin, “On the Tenth Anniversary of *Pravda*” (May 1922)

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Toronto united-front demonstration to free Mumia called by Partisan Defense Committee, April 19.

WORKERS VANGUARD

The Vietnam Antiwar Movement and the National Peace Action Coalition

Icon of Sellouts and Renegades

We print below, slightly edited for publication, a class on the Vietnam War-era National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) given by comrade T. Marlow at a gathering of youth doing work in our center this past summer. One of several educationals given there, this class helped to arm our young comrades to combat the pro-Democratic Party politics pushed by our various fake-socialist opponents, including in preparation for the National Assembly to End the Iraq War and Occupation held in Cleveland June 28-29. The National Assembly models itself on the class-collaborationist NPAC, and aims to revitalize the moribund antiwar movement (with protests in December, safely after the elections) by uniting the “antiwar majority” on the politics of the wing of the capitalist class that wishes to cut its losses in Iraq and withdraw its troops.

On the National Assembly’s coordinating committee, phony socialist groups including the International Socialist Organization and Socialist Alternative rubbed shoulders with politicians from the Democratic Party and the small-time capitalist Green Party. We noted in a July 1971 polemic against NPAC that capitalist politicians “come to these conferences as they go to livestock shows and state fairs—to garner votes” (“For Class Action Against the War,” *Spartacist* supplement). At this summer’s Cleveland conference, one-time NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon and Socialist Action’s Jeff Mackler, once on NPAC’s National Committee, policed the conference, attempting to bureaucratically suppress anything that might offend their Democratic and Green Party bloc partners. The League for the Revolutionary Party struggled unsuccessfully to find some way to make the conference seem more radical, including arguing passionately to remove the dove from the National Assembly logo!

Going into their Cleveland “antiwar” conference, the forces behind the National Assembly attempted to disappear any mention of the bloody U.S. occupation of Afghanistan. Although ultimately unsuccessful, the attempt was made be-

cause the Democratic Party, while making various oppositional noises about the occupation of Iraq, overwhelmingly supports the occupation of Afghanistan. Our comrade denounced this to scattered applause and stated, “We take a side and defend Iraq...and the peoples of Afghanistan against U.S. imperialism and stand for the unconditional, immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.” Our purpose in



Young Socialist
SWP’s Fred Halstead calls to “support our boys” during Vietnam War. Halstead led assault on protesters at 1971 NPAC conference.

intervening was to win youth to the understanding that war cannot be ended short of ending the capitalist system that causes it.

The National Assembly’s model, NPAC, represented the right wing of the movement against U.S. imperialism’s dirty, losing war in Vietnam. NPAC was the culmination of a series of popular-frontist blocs the once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) attempted with a wing of the same capitalist class that was prosecuting the war. The first major test of how far the SWP was willing to go in seeking an alliance with bourgeois liber-

als came during the preparations of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee for the October 1965 protest against the Vietnam War in New York City.

The Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), one of nearly 40 organizations forming the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, threatened to withdraw unless it was agreed that everyone at the parade carry only the slogan “stop the war in Vietnam now” and that the speakers list exclude all but the most moderate viewpoints. The SWP acted as a broker for SANE’s demands. We refused to tolerate this political censorship and walked out. At the demonstration, we carried slogans linking the 1960s’ ghetto upheavals against racist repression with the Vietnam War, among others: “Vietnam, Watts, it’s the same struggle!”; “Victory for the Vietnamese Revolution...No negotiations!” and “Unconditional withdrawal of all American troops.”

The SWP’s betrayal in the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade set the stage for what was to come. In NPAC, they consolidated their class-collaborationist alliance against those more left-wing elements who solidarized with the social revolution in Vietnam.

* * *

NPAC is what this class is about—first of all, what was it? It was something called the National Peace Action Coalition, and it came out of a Cleveland-area group of similar name in June 1970 at a conference at Cuyahoga Community College, during U.S. imperialism’s bloody war in Indochina (Indochina because it wasn’t just Vietnam—Laos and Cambodia were also involved). From its inception, NPAC was devoted to building mass mobilizations centered around a single issue of peace.

The SWP led and dominated NPAC. The July 1971 *Spartacist* supplement [“For Class Action Against the War”], which is in the first bound volume of *Spartacist*, described how this SWP-dominated conference

“...attempted to reassemble from the wreckage of various Mobilizations, Coalitions, Committees, Conferences, Caucuses, Congresses, Conventions and other concoctions an even newer, broader, more indivisible peace-group-to-end-all-peace-groups.... NPAC is a Popular Front combining the SWP with the liberal bourgeoisie and Cold Warrior ‘socialists,’ through which the SWP can ‘lead’ masses of people and rub shoulders with Vance Hartke and Victor Reuther. The SWP is able to ‘lead’ these masses through the oldest opportunist sleight-of-hand in the world—by adopting the liberal bourgeoisie’s program!”

Vance Hartke was a U.S. Senator who was a scheduled speaker at the NPAC conference in New York in July 1971. Also speaking there was Victor Reuther, brother of longtime UAW president Walter Reuther, and himself an anti-Communist fixture in the labor officialdom. This was essentially NPAC’s labor cover. Walter Reuther was a founding member of the Cold War anti-Communist Americans for Democratic Action—that gives you an idea of how far he was to the right. Victor Reuther was of similar ilk.

At this 1971 conference in New York City, our comrades attempted to put forward a motion to exclude ruling-class

politicians from the conference. This is an antiwar conference—how can you have representatives of the ruling

class that’s prosecuting the war? When the SWP would not entertain the motion, together with supporters of Progressive Labor and SDS [Students for a Democratic Society], our comrades heckled Hartke during his speech. We chanted “labor strikes against the war” when Victor Reuther began his speech. We didn’t attempt to drive them off the stage or anything like that. In response, the SWP went ballistic and sent their goon squad with Fred Halstead in charge, literally, on a vicious assault against the protesters, some of whom were beaten, one PLer reportedly thrown through a glass door. Assisting the SWP thugs were the minions of—guess who—Tim Wohlforth’s Workers League [now the Socialist Equality Party].

The SWP’s resort to physical violence in 1971 was somewhat of a new step in their political degeneration, but their espousal of outright reformism over the war was nothing new. Class collaboration masquerading under the classless demand for “peace,” which the SWP had fought in the 1930s and 1940s, became the program of the SWP’s Dobbs leadership in the 1960s.

It certainly wasn’t from ignorance of the Marxist attitude toward pacifism. A year and a half after Hitler was appointed Chancellor in Germany, Trotsky wrote in the article “War and the Fourth International”:

“As an independent current, petty-bourgeois ‘left’ *pacifism* starts from the premise that it is possible to insure peace by some particular, special means, outside of the class struggle of the proletariat, outside of the socialist revolution. By articles and speeches, the pacifists inculcate ‘aversion to war,’ support the conscientious objectors, preach boycott.... The more ‘revolutionary’ pacifists are not averse even to talking at times of insurrection against war.”

But this is all for show—they don’t intend it seriously. The Stalinists in the 1930s were leading a significant layer of militant workers in the United States back to the Democratic Party under the rubric first of “peace” and then of a middle-class, democratic “struggle against fascism.” When it was a revolutionary organization, the SWP pounded on the criminal betrayals of the Peoples’ Fronts. There is

continued on page 7



Militant
New York City antiwar march, 1965: Spartacists call for victory for the Vietnamese Revolution in defiance of SWP and others’ attempted censorship.

A Spartacist Pamphlet 75c

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Left: May 5 protest against rising food prices and inflation in Mogadishu, Somalia. Right: Up to 100,000 people protested in Mexico City against huge increase in tortilla prices, 31 January 2007.

Behind the Hunger Crisis: Capitalist Profits

Imperialism Starves World's Poor

Part One of this article, which we conclude below, appeared in WV No. 919, 29 August.

The U.S. achieved its dominance as the world's premier exporter of grains and other foodstuffs in the post-World War II period through a policy of massive government assistance to U.S. agriculture and forcing world grain prices down in order

PART TWO

to drive out the competition. Grain prices on the world market were kept low by dumping U.S. grain at artificially low prices and by massive food aid (through the so-called "Food for Peace" program). In the late 1950s and early 1960s, U.S. aid accounted for more than a third of the world wheat trade.

The result was a fundamental shift in the world food trade. Before World War II, Europe was the only continent that was a net importer of food. Most territories in Europe's colonial empires produced almost all the foodstuffs they consumed, little as it was. By the 1960s, this situation had been fundamentally altered as the newly independent semicolonies of Asia and Africa as well as much of Latin America became dependent on imports for their food. By 1978, Third World countries bought more than three-quarters of U.S. wheat exports.

At bottom, U.S. policy was a continuation and intensification of that followed previously by the colonial powers, which sought to eliminate subsistence farming in favor of cash crops for the market. Only in this way could the labor of the colonial subjects be transformed into profit to fill the colonialists' coffers. The colonial powers seized vast tracts of land and turned them into plantations. Peasants who retained their land were constrained to stop producing food for their own consumption by such measures as taxation (which required cash crop production in order to have money to pay the tax), stark coercion and even subsidizing food imports. By imposing cash crops, often to the exclusion of staple foods, colonialism sowed the seeds of famine.



April 27: Women in Islamabad, Pakistan, scramble for rice as prices rise worldwide.

To be sure, *precolonial* societies in Asia and Africa based on rudimentary subsistence agriculture also suffered periodic famines and mass starvation resulting from drought and other natural disasters. But in the capitalist-imperialist era, starvation in this part of the world is *man-made* to bolster the profits of the masters of Wall Street, the City of London and the banks of Frankfurt and Tokyo.

Many semicolonial countries are caught in the blind alley, inherited from colonialism, of concentrating their agriculture on tropical cash crops for sale on the world market. The market for tropical commodities is characterized by chronic oversupply. Many suppliers compete with each other while a few giant trading companies centered in the U.S., West Europe

and Japan, often having a near-monopoly, drive down world prices by playing suppliers off against each other. Until the record price boom of the past few years, prices for tropical exports fell steadily because of the imperialist stranglehold on the world market. Chronically obliged to borrow to finance food and other imports, semicolonial countries are forced by the imperialists and their agents in the International Monetary Fund and World Bank to increasingly concentrate on cash crops to "export" themselves out of the debt crisis—simply pushing them further into the red.

When the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants knocked the U.S. from its position of hegemonic imperialist power—a decline that included

the devaluation of the dollar in August 1971—agriculture was slated to play a key role in shoring up the declining U.S. economy. In 1972, U.S. leaders engineered a world "food crisis" which drove food prices to then-unprecedented levels by taking over 50 million acres out of production and cutting U.S. grain reserves. Despite famines in Africa and Bangladesh in 1974, the U.S. cut food aid to one-third its 1972 level. As a result of Washington's drive to slash food aid and boost agricultural export earnings, by 1980 U.S. exports of grains and feeds had jumped to eight times the 1970 level. Today, after years of deindustrialization, the importance of agriculture to the U.S. economy can be seen in the fact that, while exports in the first half of this year increased over 7 percent (helped by the declining dollar), commodities accounted for 41 percent of the increase while manufactured products accounted for just 12 percent.

In addition to seeking profits, the U.S. imperialists used their power to drive poor countries into starvation as a way of furthering Washington's anti-Soviet Cold War. President Lyndon Johnson repeatedly interrupted food aid to India, as it was suffering from the terrible famine of 1965-66, in retaliation for criticisms of the U.S. war in Vietnam. In 1974, as a million people in Bangladesh perished in a famine, the U.S. cut off food aid because Bangladesh sold jute to Cuba. In 1982, when famine struck Ethiopia, the U.S. held up relief assistance because Ethiopia was a Soviet ally. The cutthroats in Washington have turned death by starvation into a routine instrument of foreign policy.

The "Green Revolution" and Its Effects

The development of world food production has been prodigious, outstripping population growth since the 1960s as a result of the "Green Revolution" in agricultural technology. Yet under capitalism even such gains have translated into increased hunger and misery. They have also translated into vast profits for agribusiness giants who can

patent hybrid strains of food crops and monopolize the seed market.

The “Green Revolution” was launched in 1943 in Sonora, Mexico, where Norman Borlaug (who received the 1970 Nobel Peace Prize), with the backing of the Rockefeller Foundation, used genetic selection to develop “miracle” strains. Since they were introduced in the mid 1960s, hybrid strains of wheat, rice and corn have provided spectacularly increased yields. India went in five years from severe famine to being self-sufficient in grains. Indonesia, which had been the world’s largest rice importer, became self-sufficient in two years. The new hybrid strains were touted as solving the problem of world hunger.

In fact, the hunger of the world’s poor has *increased* as a result of the “Green Revolution.” Hybrid strains will grow only if they have irrigation, fertilizer and insecticides which require enormous capital outlays. Only the largest landowners can profit from the new technology, and small peasants, unable to compete, are driven from their land. (Indeed, part of the impulse behind investing in the “Green Revolution” in the early 1940s was a ruling-class backlash against the policies of the previous Mexican president, the bourgeois populist Lázaro Cárdenas. In order to head off social upheavals in the turbulent period of the 1930s, he had distributed substantial tracts of land to the rural population—in addition to nationalizing the Rockefeller Standard Oil subsidiary.)

Moreover, the “Green Revolution” has not been self-sustaining. Over time, the hybrid strains developed and introduced in the mid-late 1960s and ’70s have become increasingly susceptible to plant diseases and crop-killing pests. For example, when the rice variety IR8 was introduced in 1966, it produced almost ten tons per hectare (2.5 acres); now it yields barely seven (*Economist*, 19 April). Throughout the Third World, yields not only of rice but also of wheat and maize have fallen steadily in recent decades. Moreover, commercial agriculture now depends on a limited number of plant varieties; the lack of genetic diversity of the seed stock means that one pest or disease could quickly wipe out a significant portion of world production.

India, the country in which “Green Revolution” technology has been applied on the widest scale, is often cited as the archetype of its “spectacular success.” That “success” drove so many poor peasants from their land that, over the past two decades, the country’s urban slum population has more than doubled and now exceeds the entire population of Britain. By one estimate, some 150,000 poor peasants, driven to desperation by poverty and crushing debt, have committed suicide. Poverty is so entrenched that almost 46 percent of India’s children under the age of three suffer from malnu-



George McGovern, director of “Food for Peace” program during Kennedy administration, outside Rio de Janeiro in 1961. U.S. achieved dominance as world’s premier exporter of grains and other foodstuffs through government farm subsidies and by forcing grain prices down to drive out competition, including through food aid programs like “Food for Peace.”

trition—a higher rate than in sub-Saharan Africa (London *Times* online, 22 February 2007).

Peasant Agriculture in the Chinese Deformed Workers State

An explanation for rising world food prices put forward by U.S. agribusiness corporations, the Bush administration and others is that a raised standard of living in India and China has led to increased meat consumption, in turn boosting the demand for cereals to be used as animal feed. The defense minister of India, where per capita meat consumption is one twenty-fourth that in the U.S., aptly called President Bush’s “explanation” of high food prices a “cruel joke.” In China, it is true that per capita meat consumption has increased prodigiously—it is now ten times that of India—but as the *Economist* (6 December 2007) pointed out: “Because this change in diet has been slow and incremental, it cannot explain the dramatic price movements of the past year.”

In fact, China and India are two fundamentally different kinds of states and societies, a fact highlighted by the current food crisis. India, a capitalist regional power that is nonetheless dominated by imperialism, exports foodstuffs such as rice and wheat for profit on the world market. Meanwhile, according to UN estimates, India has more hungry people than any other country in the world.

The People’s Republic of China is a bureaucratically deformed workers state and has been since the 1949 Chinese Revolution overthrew capitalist/landlord rule and ripped the world’s most populous country out of the clutches of the imperialist powers that had long held China in their grip. Despite the bureaucratic parasitism and mismanagement by the Stalinist Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the collectivization of the economy has

resulted in enormous social gains for workers, peasants and women—not least an end to centuries of chronic starvation in the countryside.

Smashing the Chinese workers state is a strategic goal for the capitalist powers, particularly the American and Japanese imperialists, who seek to turn China into a vast sphere of untrammelled exploitation and super-profits. To that end, they are increasing the military pressure on China while pursuing a policy of internal economic and political subversion, including promoting counterrevolutionary provoca-



Labor-intensive rice harvesting in Yuanyang County, China.

tions, as in Tibet in the name of “human rights.”

The economic slowdown in the U.S. has been accompanied by increasing calls for chauvinist protectionism that are pushed by both Democratic politicians and the trade-union bureaucracy. Protectionism is deadly poison for workers in the U.S., not least because it is based on the lie that their enemies are the workers of other countries, while serving to conceal the fact that it is the capitalists and their system that are responsible for the destitution of the working class. During the Cold War era, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy was among the most rabid supporters of American imperialism against the Soviet Union. Today, these labor misleaders are directing their virulent hostility toward the People’s Republic of China in the name of “workers’ rights.”

As Trotskyists (i.e., genuine Marxists), we stand for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, just as we stand for the military defense of the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam—including their need to develop and possess nuclear weapons. Defense of the Chinese workers state is undermined by the rule of the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy whose policies are encapsulated in the anti-Marxist dogma of “building socialism in one country” and “peaceful coexistence” with world imperialism. We call for a proletarian political revolution to oust the venal and oppressive CCP regime and replace it with a government based on democratically elected workers

and peasants councils, a government committed to the program and perspective of international proletarian revolution.

Following the death of Mao in 1976, the regime of his successor, Deng Xiaoping, introduced a series of market-oriented policies in the name of modernizing the economy. One of the first economic “reforms” was the decollectivization of agriculture and its replacement by the so-called “household responsibility system,” family farms based on long-term leases (currently 30 years). Land, however, was not reprivatized and restrictions were imposed on the transfer of leaseholds.

Some 700 million of China’s 1.3 billion people are still engaged in agriculture, working small plots 90 percent of which are less than one hectare. Production techniques remain extremely labor-intensive, while China also uses three times as much chemical fertilizer per unit of land as does American agriculture (Paul Roberts, *The End of Food* [2008]). By international standards, China’s cropping intensity is among the highest in the world. In southern China, two or even three crops are produced on the same piece of land within a year. To achieve this, China has developed varieties with a shorter period of growth. Through such means China has to date maintained effective self-sufficiency (over 90 percent) in basic food grains—wheat, rice, maize.

However, in recent years China has experienced a steady decline in the arable land while the average size of a farm becomes ever smaller. Two years ago Bei-

jing government officials warned that the country was fast approaching the “red line” of 120 million hectares, the minimum amount of land necessary for “grain security” (*Economist*, 19 April). A major reason for this shrinkage of farm land has been the illegal seizure of peasant leaseholds by local CCP officials who then turn the land over to industrial or commercial enterprises. Such illegal seizures and other bureaucratic abuses have provoked widespread unrest in China’s countryside, at times igniting pitched battles between rural toilers and the police. We defend peasant families against the seizure of their farms and demand full compensation by the government for their loss of livelihood.

Nonetheless, social and economic modernization requires that China move from peasant smallholding to large-scale mechanized farming. The question is how. A government based on workers and peasants councils would not only prohibit or restrict the hiring of labor and leasing of additional land by rich farmers but would also promote the *voluntary* collectivization of agriculture. This does not mean reverting to the rural communes of the Mao era, which were basically an aggregate of backward peasant holdings. For the mass of Chinese peasants to give up their own holdings in favor of collective farms, they must be convinced that this will result in a higher standard of living for themselves and their families. Thus a government based on workers and peasant councils would offer, among other incentives, reduced taxes and cheaper credits to peasants who joined collectives.

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Hunger Crisis...

(continued from page 5)

A rational collectivization and modernization of Chinese agriculture would signify a profound transformation of the society. The introduction of modern technology and the whole complex of scientific farming into the Chinese countryside would require a qualitatively higher industrial base than now exists. This is a vital necessity in order to overcome the fact that with 21 percent of the world's population, China has only 9 percent of the arable land (and an even smaller share of the world's fresh-water resources). In turn, an increase in agricultural productivity would raise the need for a huge expansion of industrial jobs in urban areas to absorb the vast surplus of labor no longer needed in the countryside. Clearly, this would involve a lengthy process, particularly given the limited size and relatively low level of productivity of China's industrial base. Both the tempo and, in the final analysis, the very realizability of this perspective hinge on the aid that China would receive from a socialist Japan or a socialist America, underlining the need for international proletarian revolution. This perspective is counterposed to that of the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, from Mao to the current Chinese leaders.

Agriculture and the Imperialist Offensive Against China

Agriculture has in recent years been an arena of conflict between American imperialism and the People's Republic of China. In the negotiations leading up to China's joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) in December 2001, the Beijing regime effectively resisted pressure from Washington to open its domestic food supply to a flood of cheap imports from heavily subsidized, highly mechanized agribusiness in the U.S. and other advanced capitalist countries. The WTO agreement allowed China to protect its agriculture through a system known as tariff rate quotas (*OECD Review of Agricultural Policies: China* [2005]). As long as the total quantity remains below a certain limit (referred to as a "quota"), imports of basic food grains—wheat, maize and rice—were subject to a nominal tariff of 1 percent. For imports above that level the tariff became quite steep (65 percent). The quota limit for imports at world market prices was and remains low relative to China's domestic grain production (less than 10 percent). Since then, the American and European imperialists have sought to break down the barriers protecting China's agriculture mainly through the Doha round of trade talks launched in Doha, Qatar, under the auspices of the WTO. More generally, these negotiations were an effort by the Western capitalist powers to use food as a weapon in gaining even greater control over the semicolonial world. The U.S./European Union bloc attempted to shackle efforts by "developing nations" to use tariffs and other trade policies to protect their own agriculture, rather than increasing their dependency on food imports

from heavily subsidized U.S. and European agribusiness. Fearing the massive unrest that has already erupted from soaring food prices, Third World governments pleaded with the Western imperialists to reduce such government subsidies, a measure the U.S. categorically rejected. The talks collapsed in late July when China, supported by India, refused to submit to the demands of the U.S./EU bloc to cripple defensive Third World tariffs. Lu Xiankun, a spokesman for Beijing's WTO mission, defended his country's efforts to shield cotton, sugar and rice from Western capitalist agribusiness by pointing to



Cash crop farming such as cocoa farming in Indonesia eliminates land that could be used for food staples.

the hundreds of millions of farmers in China earning around \$2 a day (*New York Times*, 29 July). As a result of the breakdown in the WTO talks, many bourgeois commentators have raised the spectre of increased interimperialist economic conflict. American and European capitalists are now more likely to compete for separate trade agreements with dependent Third World countries at one another's expense. Economic analysts commented that the collapse of the WTO talks "could symbolise an end to multilateral trade agreements" (BBC News online, 29 July). We opposed China's entry into the WTO because it undercut the state monopoly of foreign trade. It potentially opens the Chinese economy to greater imperialist penetration and pressures. We wrote: "The actual economic effects of entry will be determined by the struggle of the Chinese working class and rural toilers against the privations caused by the 'market reforms' instituted by the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy" ("Workers Protests Shake China," WV No. 782, 31 May 2002). By the same token, fear of the growing unrest in the countryside is a major factor explaining the Chinese bureaucracy's resistance to making concessions during the Doha round of trade talks.

Toward a World Without Hunger

It has become commonplace among leftists, including professed Marxists, to praise peasant-based, petty-bourgeois radicals like the Mexican Zapatistas and also bourgeois-nationalist regimes like that of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela for propping up small-scale farming. Along similar

lines, the South African government of the African National Congress, South African Communist Party and COSATU trade-union federation has been calling for more emphasis to be placed on small farms, proclaiming that the use of every inch of possible farm land could solve the problem of hunger. Such pronouncements come in the context of the regime's much vaunted, and quite stillborn, "land reform" program by which 30 percent of the white-owned farmland, concentrated in large-scale commercial farms, is supposed to pass into the hands of black smallholders. It is truly grotesque to place the burden of overcoming hunger, caused by the capitalists'

manipulations of the market for food, on capital-starved black small farmers. The idealization of small-scale peasant farming by many self-styled leftists is a reactionary utopia. World hunger can be eradicated only through large-scale farming, utilizing the most advanced industrial technology and scientific research, and based on an internationally planned socialist economy.

The qualitative superiority of socialist economic planning over capitalist anarchy was proven in practice by the historical experience of the Soviet Union. The Russian Revolution demonstrated the ability of the proletariat to seize the reins of state power and construct a modern industrial society in which workers have access to medicine, science, education and culture. To deny the historic gains of the Russian Revolution, social democrats, anarchists and liberals point to the Stalinist bureaucracy, which in fact grew out of the isolation of the Russian Revolution in a single, economically backward country. Even given the tremendous bureaucratic distortions due to the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union was able to construct an advanced industrial economy almost from the ground up. The destruction of the USSR in 1991-92 through capitalist counterrevolution, prepared by decades of Stalinist misrule and lies as well as imperialist pressure, led to a catastrophic social and economic collapse in Russia, Ukraine and other former Soviet republics unprecedented in the history of any other modern industrial society except in wartime. A striking index of the resulting social pathology has been the sharp decline in life expectancy.

Marxists understand that the qualitatively higher level of industrial productivity of socialist society compared to capitalism will lay the basis for overcoming the division between manual and intellectual labor, agricultural and industrial labor. As we wrote: "The development of communism will be accompanied by a corollary downward drift in the present population hypertrophy. Evidence of this can already be seen under capitalism in the industrially advanced countries of the world—e.g., Japan, North America and Western Europe—where economic and technological advancement has effected, not through fiat, a substantial reduction in the birthrate. Under communism, both the division between town and country and economic dependence on the family will virtually disappear. No longer will poor peasants or agricultural workers be compelled to have more children in order to ensure enough manpower to work the land. Human beings will have far greater mastery over both their natural and social environments. "Additionally, communist society will be based on a thoroughly different set of social values from those that exist today. The liberation of women from patriarchal domination will mean complete and unhindered access to birth control and contraception. Communism will elevate the standard of life for everyone to the highest possible level. By eliminating scarcity, poverty and want, communism will also eliminate the greatest driving force for the prevalence of religion and superstition—and the attendant backwardness, which defines the role of women as the producers of the next generation of working masses to be exploited. A prolonged, mild population shrinkage based on increasing material abundance and progressive social ideals will go a long way toward ensuring that there are enough resources to guarantee the well-being of all." —"In Defense of Science and Technology: An Exchange on Eco-Radicals and HIV Denialists," WV No. 843, 4 March 2005

The basic goal of Marxist socialism is, by destroying class society and eliminating want, to lay the material basis for liberating the creative powers of humanity, which have been shackled by the capitalist system and earlier forms of class-divided society. Marxists regard the development of the productivity of human labor power as the prime mover of social evolution and the underpinning of historical progress. We look to a qualitative increase in the application of known science and the development of new technology. Ultimately this will liberate the productive capacities of mankind, eliminating economic scarcity—while laying the basis for the disappearance of classes and for the withering away of the state. As Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher remarked in his 1966 speech, "On Socialist Man": "We do not maintain that socialism is going to solve all predicaments of the human race. We are struggling in the first instance with the predicaments that are of man's making and that man can resolve. May I remind you that Trotsky, for instance, speaks of three basic tragedies—hunger, sex and death—besetting man. Hunger is the enemy that Marxism and the modern labour movement have taken on.... Yes, socialist man will still be pursued by sex and death; but we are convinced that he will be better equipped than we are to cope even with these."■

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Antiwar...

(continued from page 3)

a famous pamphlet by James Burnham, then a Trotskyist, called *The Peoples' Front: The New Betrayal* [1937].

Of course the differences are great in scale. In the 1930s the Communist parties, even in the U.S., actually had something of a working-class base to sell out, and internationally they had revolutions they could sell out, like in Spain. In the 1960s, the bourgeoisie didn't exactly need the SWP to control the unions—they had the AFL-CIO and the Democratic Party for that. But the SWP could still do service to the bourgeoisie by diverting radical-minded youth back into the fold of coalition politics, and keeping what passed for the organized antiwar movement out of the hands of the revolutionary Marxists.

Reformism Exposed

You know the contributions of the late comrade Dick Fraser on the black question [see "In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser," *Prometheus Research Series* No. 3, August 1990]. You may not know that he was also an opponent of the Dobbs-Kerry leadership in the SWP in the 1960s. He opposed their class-collaborationist politics as early as 1965. And in fact, if you look

also emerged as the only tendency present able to ignore and snub the civil rights movement."

As Fraser noted, there were two fundamental problems with the SWP's course. First was the reformist notion that an imperialist government will cease to operate militarily simply due to mass pressure. He says:

"The PC...has the totally false impression that the capitalist class has no fundamental stake in this war, and would pull out of it in response to a little more pressure....

"The *Militant* [SWP weekly paper] says, 'Bring the GIs Home.' But this only raises another question—how? The party and youth line is that an enlarged peace movement can do it by nationally directed pressure and agitation.

"In reality, a more tangible and quicker possibility for the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Vietnam could be accomplished if the National Liberation Front can drive them into the China Sea."

Needless to say, the bourgeois liberals such as Hartke and the labor Cold Warriors like Reuther would never stomach any hint of support for the Vietnamese side in the war. The SL called for the military victory of the National Liberation Front [NLF] and Viet Cong and carried the banner "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" at antiwar protests from 1970 onward. Then as now, the reformist organizers of the "official" protests sought



Doan Cong Tinh

Hanoi, 1973: Soviet-armed Vietnamese Communists display weapons for final campaign of war. Military defeat of U.S. imperialists ended Vietnam War.

home and imperialist slaughter abroad, that these were both rooted in the capitalist system. Instead of utilizing the war and the civil rights struggles to further the construction of the revolutionary party, the SWP expended its efforts to limit the antiwar movement to the single issue of "peace." It was no accident that the SWP leadership rejected Fraser's program of revolutionary integrationism, instead arguing that the struggle for black liberation was primarily the task of the black population. He says:

"Has the party forgotten that the tenacity with which previous peace movements clung to reformism was rooted in part in the liberal-Stalinist compulsion to isolate war and peace from the other great social problems? And don't they similarly isolate civil rights from the questions of war and peace, poverty, imperialism?"

"The upshot of this traditional limitation of the antiwar movement to peace only and the civil rights movement to civil rights only has been the incarceration of both movements inside the Democratic Party...."

For the "crime" of circulating his critical letter *inside* the party outside of the National Committee, Fraser was censured in February 1966. Shortly afterwards, he and most of the Seattle branch of the SWP quit. Fraser and his cothinkers formed the Freedom Socialist Party.

NPAC Redux

Now it seems that Socialist Action is trying to reincarnate another NPAC for the Iraq war, or actually Iraq occupation since the war was over a while ago. Marx said that history repeats itself, first as tragedy, then as farce. This is the third round—I'm not sure what happens after farce. All of the flotsam ejected from Jack Barnes' SWP in the purges that began in the early '80s look back to the halcyon days of the 1960s and '70s when the SWP was the power broker of the antiwar movement. This is their positive idea. We cite that same NPAC as positive proof of the SWP's descent into outright reformism. Socialist Action thinks it's the greatest thing since sliced bread.

I want to be clear about one thing: the mere presence of a Democratic Party politician on the rostrum of an antiwar event does not in itself signify class collaboration, although it's a pretty good indication. In our Mumia events, we actually got endorsements from people like Cynthia McKinney, and she's a bourgeois politician. We didn't throw that endorsement in the trash—it's her contradiction. The class character of any political formation is primarily determined by its program. As Trotsky noted in his article "The Lessons of Spain: The Last Warning" (17 December 1937):

"Politically most striking is the fact that the Spanish Popular Front lacked in reality even a parallelogram of forces. The bourgeoisie's place was occupied by its shadow. Through the medium of the Stalinists, Socialists, and Anarchists, the Spanish bourgeoisie subordinated the proletariat to itself without even bothering

to participate in the Popular Front. The overwhelming majority of the exploiters of all political shades openly went over to the camp of Franco...."

They knew that the mass mobilization of workers and poor peasants posed a threat to their class rule.

Just to ask a question: Let's say at the next ANSWER or United for Peace and Justice demonstration against the war, there's no Democratic Party politician. Maybe Teddy Kennedy had a cold. Does that make it not a popular front? Does that change the class character of a mobilization that didn't defend Iraq and refuses to say a peep about something called Afghanistan? That gives the game away right there.

For the SWP, and I guess for the latter-day SWPers in Socialist Action, the Vietnam War was ended by some sort of a political action committee, which threw the U.S. out. Well, actually it was called the North Vietnamese army and the NLF, and they came into Saigon with tanks. That was a good thing. We supported them militarily, not politically, because we knew that it would lead to the formation of a deformed workers state. There was a social revolution, which we defended. The SWP basically was doing everything to obliterate the idea of social revolution from a whole generation of antiwar activists. It's our job to make sure that the latter-day SWP ejecta don't do the same thing. ■



Bulletin

SPARTACIST

Supplement

July 1971

Against NPAC Pop Fronts:

FOR CLASS ACTION AGAINST THE WAR

The "Spring Offensive" is over, but the Vietnam war drags on. The Mayday Tribune threat to "Stop the Government" if the government did not stop the war only demonstrated with what ruthless efficiency the government handles radicals who talk about stopping the government but lack any means except wishful thinking. The Mayday Tribune represented merely a new chapter in the conflict of perspectives which has been ingrained in the antiwar movement since its inception: "respectable" reformism vs. petty bourgeois adventurism. Each outbreak of confrontationism is greeted by a new wave of "we told you so" from the radical liberal-bourgeois

of the U.S. and international working class unprecedented since World War II. This article is a star witness. In Ohio a thousand teachers went on strike in calling on the Rhodes to mobilize four thousand teachers to break the school system. "Friends of labor," "friends of the peace movement" like Senator Saxton and Mayor Stokes, and the international "leadership" of the Teachers, including President Fitzsimmons and Vice-President Harold Glendon—labor's "representative" on the

1971 NPAC conference: Labor bureaucrat Victor Reuther speaks. Spartacist and Progressive Labor supporters were attacked. Left: Spartacist supplement distributed at conference exposes SWP's class collaboration.

in *PRS* No. 3, we reprint a letter that he wrote to the Political Committee [resident leadership body of the SWP] objecting to the grotesque spectacle that the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance presented at a Thanksgiving antiwar conference in 1965. He says:

"Here the party and youth carried on an unprincipled, disruptive and politically reformist struggle against the entire left wing of the antiwar movement. They disrupted the conference around tertiary organizational demands and ended in isolation and national disgrace.... They

to quarantine our revolutionary program, including by physical exclusion for the crime of holding those slogans. But mainly, it was impossible for them to successfully police the thousands and thousands of subjectively anti-imperialist protesters.

Fraser mentioned the civil rights movement. This struggle for black equality had begun a decade earlier and helped break the anti-Communist consensus of the post-World War II period. Not a few activists in the '60s were beginning to make the connection between racism at

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Obama...

(continued from page 1)

Marxists, we oppose U.S. imperialist adventures and invasions everywhere. We wrote in “U.S. Imperialists Out of Afghanistan, Iraq!” (WV No. 918, 1 August):

“The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), stood for the military defense of Afghanistan and Iraq against imperialist attack without giving any political support to the reactionary, woman-hating Taliban cutthroats or the capitalist dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. We underlined that every victory for the imperialists in their military adventures encourages more predatory wars; every setback serves to assist the struggles of working people and the oppressed the world over. Today, we call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and bases from Iraq, Afghanistan and Central Asia!”

In contrast, reformist left groups, such as the International Socialist Organization (ISO), Workers World Party (WWP) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), and the various antiwar coalitions they built—ANSWER (founded by WWP but now run by the Party for Socialism and Liberation), United for Peace and Justice (where the ISO worked) and the RCP’s Not In Our Name—refused to militarily defend Afghanistan and Iraq against U.S. attack. Through their refrain of “money for jobs and education, not war,” the reformists promote the lie that imperialism can be reformed through some peace-and-justice-loving “different policy.” But as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin wrote in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), as the first interimperialist world war wreaked its devastation:

“Private property based on the labour of the small proprietor, free competition, democracy, all the catchwords with which the capitalists and their press deceive the workers and the peasants—are things of the distant past. Capitalism has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the population of the world by a handful of ‘advanced’ countries. And this ‘booty’ is shared between two or three powerful world plunderers armed to the teeth (America, Great Britain, Japan), who are drawing the whole world into *their* war over the division of *their* booty.”

The occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq have gone hand in hand with the capitalist rulers’ onslaught against working people, minorities and most everyone else domestically. What is necessary is class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home. Such a perspective requires political combat against the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, which subordinates the proletariat to its capitalist class enemy, particularly through promoting Democratic Party “lesser evilism.” Above all, what is required is the forging of a revolutionary workers party, built independently of and in opposition to the Democrats, Republicans, Greens and all capitalist parties; a workers party that fights for socialist revolution and a workers government.

Evil Dead II: Obama’s Heroes

Obama told the Chicago Council on Global Affairs in 2007 that the U.S. needs “the first truly 21st century military.... We must maintain the strongest, best-equipped military in the world.” He stated in March that he “would return the country to the more ‘traditional’ foreign policy efforts of past presidents, such as George H. W. Bush, John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan.” Such a “tradition” includes the Bay of Pigs invasion under Kennedy, the covert wars against Nicaragua and El Salvador in the 1980s under Reagan, and the invasion of Panama and the Iraq War of 1990-91 under Bush Sr.

Obama’s foreign policy coterie includes Democratic advisers Zbigniew Brzezinski and Madeleine Albright. Brzezinski is the anti-Communist Dr. Strangelove who served as National Security Advisor to Democratic president Jimmy Carter and as godfather to the reactionary Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats financed by the CIA against the Soviet Army, which intervened in Afghanistan in late 1979 in defense of the USSR’s southern flank and on the side of elementary human progress.

Madeleine Albright was Democrat Bill Clinton’s Secretary of State. When asked about the U.S. starvation blockade against Iraq that killed *one and a half million people*, she said: “We think the price was worth it.” She was also a key player in Clinton’s U.S./NATO devastating aerial war against Serbia in 1999, supported at the time by liberals and many reformists as the kind of “human rights” interventions that the U.S. should be carrying out.

Delaware Senator Joseph Biden, Obama’s vice presidential choice and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was aptly described by radical-liberal columnist Alexander Cockburn—a supporter of right-wing libertarian Republican Ron Paul!—as a “corporate serf” (along with his new boss Obama) and “a man so ripely symbolic of everything that is unchanging and hopeless about our political system that a computer simulation of the corporate-political paradigm senator in Congress would turn out ‘Biden’ in a nano-second” (*CounterPunch Diary*, 23/24 August). In his speech at the Democratic convention on August 27, Biden outlined the Obama camp’s imperialist blueprint:

“Our country is less secure and more isolated than at any time in recent history.... The emergence of Russia, China and India as great powers; the spread of lethal



Bettmann

Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter’s national security adviser, at Khyber Pass outpost overlooking Afghanistan in 1980 as U.S. financed and armed cutthroat mujahedin against Soviet Red Army. Today Brzezinski serves as one of Obama’s foreign policy advisers.

weapons; the shortage of secure supplies of energy, food and water; the challenge of climate change; and the resurgence of fundamentalism in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the real central front against terrorism.... We’ve once again seen the consequences of this neglect with Russia’s challenge to the free and democratic country of Georgia. Barack Obama and I will end this neglect.”

World, watch out.

The “End of Racism” Lie

Both conventions were an exercise in rank hypocrisy. With the vice presidential nomination of Alaska governor Sarah Palin, Republican anti-abortion bigots have now discovered the evils of sexism. Or witness the spectacle of Republican politicians pretending to care about black and poor people, as they scaled back the first day of their convention when Hurricane Gustav hit the Gulf Coast. The threat of Gustav to the Gulf Coast recalled the racist atrocity by the bourgeois rulers—Democrats as well as Republicans—in the wake of Hurricane Katrina and reminded everyone that the levees have yet to be adequately rebuilt.

One should also recall that following the horror exposed by Katrina in 2005, Obama declared, “the incompetence was color-blind.” The Obama campaign touts the “end of racism” myth, with the Obama family itself supposedly living proof that black people can make it in the U.S. The “end of racism” lie and the burial of the struggle for racial integration as a “failed experiment” are the domestic side of the reactionary “end of communism” mythology promoted by imperialist ideologues after the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR. Both myths are deeply false. Black oppression, rooted

**July 24:
Obama’s
speech before
cheering crowd
in Berlin hailed
U.S.-led
Cold War
anti-Soviet
crusade.**



Corbis

in chattel slavery, is deeply interwoven in the social fabric of capitalist America. It can be measured in astronomical unemployment rates, police terror, the consignment of nearly one million blacks to prisons and the purge of black youth from higher education. Obama looks upon all this and claims, as he did in his speech in Selma last year, that America is “90 percent of the way” toward racial equality! In fact, it is only the current *lack* of militant labor and black struggle against conditions of oppression that makes this lie even possible.

The link between U.S. imperialist wars abroad and racist reaction at home is clear. Two years before the 1898 Spanish-American War, when U.S. imperialism came onto the world scene, the Supreme Court codified Jim Crow segregation with the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision declaring “separate but equal” the law of the land, while the years 1889 to 1903 saw an average of two lynchings a week. Among black people, opposition to U.S. imperialism’s military adventures has historically been stronger than among the rest of the populace.

From U.S. imperialism’s genocidal “pacification” of the Philippines following its victory in the Spanish-American War, to its intervention in Nicaragua to suppress the Sandino rebellion in the 1920s and ’30s, to the occupation of the Dominican Republic in 1965, to Lebanon, Panama and Grenada, to its wars on Iraq and Afghanistan, U.S. imperialism has left a grisly trail of carnage around the globe, all accompanied by vicious racial oppression and contempt for “non-white” peoples. This includes U.S. imperialism’s counterrevolutionary wars against the social revolutions in Korea and Vietnam, resulting in the slaughter of some six million people. As one Iraqi driver bitterly commented after being trapped in

social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League—wrote in a September 7 protest letter: “The brutal suppression of the rights of speech and assembly, which was also carried out by the police in Denver outside the Democratic National Convention as well as the conventions in 2004, has become a staple of these spectacles to choose those vying to become what is ludicrously promoted as the leader of the ‘free world.’” We denounce the police violence at both conventions and demand that all charges be dropped against those arrested.

The fact is, however, that most of what passes for the left in this country has either explicitly or implicitly endorsed a Democratic Party victory over the Republicans in the upcoming election. Having built an “antiwar movement” premised on appeals to bourgeois (Democratic) politicians to “end the war” in Iraq—and only Iraq, not Afghanistan—the liberals and their reformist supporters have now buried that “movement” in the morass of American electoral politics. The starting point of the reformist left is *not* the fight for socialist revolution, but rather the lie that capitalism can be reformed to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed.

In *Imperialism*, Lenin denounced such shams, noting that “reactionary, petty-bourgeois critics of capitalist imperialism dream of going *back* to ‘free,’ ‘peaceful,’ and ‘honest’ competition,” and insisting that “a ‘fight’ against the policy of the trusts and banks that does not affect the economic basis of the trusts and banks is mere bourgeois reformism and pacifism, the benevolent and innocent expression of pious wishes.” That sums up the support by groups like Workers World to the capitalist Green Party’s presidential candidate and former Georgia Democratic Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, who spoke at

**Spartacists at
March 2007
New York City
antiwar
demonstration.**



WW Photo

Baghdad as the city was closed down during Obama’s visit this summer: “Why does it matter to us if a white man or a black man wins the election. Obama and Bush are two faces on the same currency, an American currency.”

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Socialist Revolution!

While bloodsoaked war criminals and corporate fat cats made deals as their candidates preened for the cameras inside both Republican and Democratic conventions, outside these bastions of bourgeois politics masses of police were mobilized to muffle protest. As the Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle, legal and

a “Recreate ’68” rally outside the Democratic convention. She promoted the usual reformist pabulum about ending occupations abroad and redirecting “excessive” military spending toward higher education, and other good things like universal health care.

The reformist, anti-Communist ISO, for its part, claims that “Support for Barack Obama is one sign of a deeper shift to the left” (*Socialist Worker*, 13 August). The ISO never met a counterrevolutionary “freedom fighter” it didn’t like, so the Obama/Brzezinski crew’s anti-Communism is right up their alley. *Socialist Worker* (27 August) reprinted a piece by Dave Zirin, a regular contributor

Immigrants...

(continued from page 12)

back pain, Ng died—five days after finally being diagnosed with terminal cancer and a broken spine.

The I.C.E. raid at Howard Industries comes amidst a growing wave of arrests and deportations. Over the past five years, the number of deportations has increased by 60 percent; last year more than 250,000 people were deported, many after being picked up for things as trivial as a routine traffic stop.

It is in the vital interest of the U.S. labor movement to mobilize in defense of immigrants, who form a key and vibrant component of the U.S. working class and a living bridge to the struggles of working people in Mexico and elsewhere. As in the so-called free-trade *maquiladora* factory zones in northern Mexico, Mexican and other foreign workers often work for—and struggle against—the same employer as U.S. workers. It is necessary for the U.S. labor movement to oppose such imperialist trade deals as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which we have always denounced as a “free trade” rape of Mexico. Our position 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.

The social power of the union movement must be mobilized to *fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants*, no matter how they got here. We call on the unions to organize immigrant workers with full rights and protections. This is integral to revitalizing the labor movement and *organizing the unorganized*.

For a Class-Struggle Fight for Immigrant Rights!

Anti-immigrant hysteria has become particularly intense in the South and the Southwest, where a number of states have passed laws targeting undocumented immigrants in the workplace. During the 2007 Mississippi state elections, 500 Klansmen rallied in Tupelo, carrying placards demanding “Stop the Latino Invasion.” Four months later, Mississippi’s anti-immigrant SB 2988 law was passed with overwhelming support by both Republican and Democratic state legislators—including by three-quarters of the Mississippi Legislative Black Caucus.

Following the mass arrests at Howard Industries, an I.C.E. spokeswoman tried to play on anti-immigrant sentiment by claiming that the raid was carried out in response to a complaint made by a union member...three years ago! By all accounts, there are sharp tensions in the Laurel plant—where immigrant workers make up about half the workforce—among some white, black and Latino workers. At the same time, as a spokesman for MIRA told *Workers Vanguard*, many union workers opposed the I.C.E. raid.

to that paper, under the title, “What We Didn’t Learn in Beijing.” The article chides the bourgeois media for insufficient China-bashing during the Olympics, condemning them for supposedly not asking “why the State Department last April took China off its list of nations that commit human rights violations.” While the ISO, the Revolutionary Communist Party and Workers World, as well as other reformist leftists, all have articles “exposing” Obama’s policies, these are thin covers for their actual politics of Democratic Party “lesser evilism,” as all their various coalitions in one way or another recapitulate the RCP’s classic call, “The World Can’t Wait: Drive Out the Bush Regime!” This is also the goal—what an amazing coincidence—of the Democrats this year.

The Democrats’ rhetoric about “hope” and “change” is meant to refurbish illusions that the shell game of bourgeois electoral politics can work in the interests of the working masses. And, indeed, Democratic voter turnout during the primaries, including among black people and youth, has been very high. But while



Virginian-Pilot

August 2006: Members of United Food and Commercial Workers protest against Smithfield Foods during annual shareholders meeting in Richmond, Virginia.

In fact, there have also been clear signs of solidarity. When a group of women workers who had been released from detention in order to care for their children went to the plant to demand their pay, the company initially refused and threatened to have them arrested. The company relented and issued the paychecks after the women’s fellow workers protested.

According to journalist David Bacon, who has written a number of reports from Laurel, IBEW Local 1317 has made efforts to organize Latino workers, though it initially “did not offer much support to its immigrant members” (alternet.org, 2 September). The union brought in Spanish-speaking organizers and began to distribute leaflets in Spanish. Yet to date, the Local 1317 leadership has not even issued a statement protesting the I.C.E. raid or defending *their own members*.

In fact, the national IBEW bureaucracy essentially calls for *intensifying* the wave of anti-immigrant workplace raids by demanding “authorization and funding for additional work-site” I.C.E. agents (“Talking Points,” www.ibewunity.org). And the head of the Mississippi state AFL-CIO helped whip up anti-immigrant hysteria two days after the I.C.E. raid by complaining that southern Mississippi had become “a little Mexico,” denouncing companies that hired undocumented immigrants and questioning whether such workers can even be allowed to join the union (AP, 27 August).

Meanwhile, the right of undocumented workers to unionize is under attack at the Agriprocessors warehouse in Brooklyn, where workers voted in 2005 to join the UFCW. When workers struck against the company’s refusal to negotiate with the union, Agriprocessors claimed that many of its employees were using someone else’s social security number. In an ominous attack on immigrants and the labor movement, Agriprocessors has appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court asking it to reverse its 1984 ruling that granted undocumented workers the right to unionize, arguing that attitudes on the question

the Republicans may revel in inflicting suffering on working people and the oppressed, the Democrats put on a more kindly face and do the same thing. As Lenin captured it in his 1917 work, *The State and Revolution*, “To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism.”

This system of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, cannot be reformed. It cannot be pressured into being more peaceful or humane. Lenin’s Bolsheviks showed in leading the October Revolution of 1917 that it can and must be defeated through workers revolution. The Spartacist League stands for forging a working-class party like the Bolshevik Party to overturn, by socialist revolution, this rotting capitalist order. Thus we stand in implacable opposition to the dual parties of capitalism, as well as petty-bourgeois would-be reformers like the Green Party. Break with the Democrats—For a revolutionary workers party to fight for socialist revolution! ■

have “undergone a sea change” (*New York Times*, 1 September).

Agriprocessors is notoriously anti-union and its factories are well known for their deplorable conditions. Before the Postville raid, the Iowa Division of Labor fined the plant \$182,000 for violating safety rules (this was reduced to \$42,750 after the raid). Since the raid, the Iowa state government has brought 57 child labor cases against Agriprocessors, involving “egregious violations of virtually every aspect of Iowa’s child labor laws,” according to the Iowa Labor Commissioner.

The workplace raids by I.C.E. agents have been denounced by the Change to Win trade-union federation, which includes heavily immigrant unions such as



Whittaker/NY Times

Wife and four sons hold portrait of Maya Nand who had a heart attack in an Arizona immigration detention center and died February 2 shackled to hospital bed. In his last call from prison, Maya told his son: “If you don’t get me out of here today, I’m going to die.”

the UFCW, the SEIU service workers union and the UNITE HERE hotel, restaurant and garment workers union. But the Change to Win bureaucrats call to beef up the border to prevent “illegal” immigration. They push immigration “reform” bills with provisions to expand “guest worker” programs—the modern equivalent of indentured servitude—that tie immigrants’ visas to their employers. Meanwhile, the Change to Win tops’ rivals in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, while opposing the expansion of “guest worker” programs, complain that “lax enforcement of labor laws created an incentive for corporations to recruit and hire workers who came to the United States from Mexico without authorization to work.”

The role of the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats is to tie the proletariat to the class enemy, especially through support to the capitalist Democratic Party, of which they are a component. Both the AFL-CIO and Change to Win are throwing all they have into getting the Democrats elected in November.

The reformist left tails the bureaucracy’s pro-Democratic Party “lesser evilism.” Workers World Party (WWP) wrote of the I.C.E. raids in Postville and Laurel: “Thousands of labor officials attended the Democratic National Convention.... Was there an effort during the convention to at least pass a resolution condemning these anti-worker, racist raids?” (*Workers World*, 5 September). Such inane, groveling appeals partake of the union misleaders’ entire strategy, which rests on a pro-

gram of class collaboration. This is directly counterposed to mobilizing the power of the multiracial proletariat independent of the capitalist class enemy. To unchain the power of labor requires, above all, a *break* with the Democrats, the other party of American capitalism, racism and war. This can only be achieved through sharp political struggle within the unions against the labor lieutenants of capital, who tie the workers to the class enemy.

Workers of the World, Unite!

A major factor behind the gutting of the union movement in this country since the late 1970s has been the massive transfer of industry from the North and Midwest to the open shop, low-wage South and Southwest. This has been accompanied by an important demographic shift, of which Mississippi is an example. As in most Southern states, starting well before World War II and peaking in the 1960s, there was a steady decrease in Mississippi’s black population, which was attracted to industrial jobs in the North—and repelled by Jim Crow. Over the past several decades, that trend reversed, such that today black people constitute over 37 percent of the population of Mississippi. Meanwhile, it is estimated that immigrants are now almost 5 percent of the total state population.

Today, a massive organizing drive in the South, where conditions are ripe for unionization, is vitally necessary if the U.S. labor movement is to regain its strength. Yet efforts to organize labor are

still met with police-state measures abetted by fascist terror.

One key labor battle is the years-long effort by the UFCW to organize the Smithfield pork processing plant—the largest such plant in the world—in Tar Heel, North Carolina. Smithfield management has repeatedly collaborated with I.C.E. to target militant immigrant workers, who along with black workers make up the bulk of the workforce (see “Smithfield Plant: Smash Anti-Union RICO Suit!” WV No. 909, 29 February).

Above all, the crucial battle to organize the South must go hand in hand with the fight against racist discrimination. As the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Grupo Espartaquista de México, sections of the International Communist League, wrote in a joint declaration, reprinted in WV No. 867 (31 March 2006):

“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. Black oppression is the cornerstone of American capitalism.”

What is urgently needed is the forging of a workers party to lead all the exploited and oppressed in the struggle for a workers government that will seize the productive wealth of this society from the capitalists and create a planned, socialized economy. For socialist revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán! ■

Running Dogs...

(continued from page 2)

organizing” and “accommodating backward consciousness” when we initiated the Labor Black Leagues, which are linked to the SL.

When in 1985 Philadelphia cops under Democratic mayor Wilson Goode, working in collusion with the FBI, bombed the MOVE commune, killing eleven people and incinerating an entire black neighborhood, the BT could not choke out a word of protest. Rather, the BT used the occasion of a New York meeting called by the Spartacist League in solidarity with the victims of this racist atrocity to attack the SL for not polemicizing against the MOVE victims! Notably, under the “Black Question” heading of the subject index for the BT’s newspaper *1917*, their Web site lists a total of *five* articles (the last one in 1993), while *47* articles are listed under “Spartacist League.”

Ever since the SL and PDC took up Mumia’s case in 1987, we have fought to make the fight for Mumia’s freedom a cause within the workers movement and left. For its part, the BT did not muster a single article on Mumia until *1996*, and their first piece was to denounce us for “sectarianism.” Thus, the BT’s “contribution” in 1995 to Mumia’s case, when mass protests helped stay the executioner’s hand after a death warrant was signed, was to appear in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*. A 16 June 1995 article by this house organ of U.S. finance capital retailed the BT’s slanders of the Spartacist League as a deranged “cult” in order to smear the efforts of the PDC and others on Mumia’s behalf. As we wrote in the exchange with the BT in WV No. 903, “The *Wall Street Journal*’s intent was transparent enough. How and why the minuscule BT was readily wielded as a tool for the *Wall Street Journal* is not.”

The BT is not only wretched on the question of black oppression in the U.S., but equally so on other questions of special oppression in other countries where it operates. Thus, its gross Anglo-chauvinist position *opposing* independence for Quebec in Canada. As we wrote in the article further exposing the BT over Quebec, “Bolshevik Tendency: Kneeling Before the Body of General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham” (WV No. 827, 28 May 2004): “From Canada to Germany, inasmuch as the BT raises political questions, it reflects the ‘values’ of the ruling class as refracted through its own national social democracy.” And of course this means both abasement before and an opening into the milieu of the pathetic “left” loyalists to that social democracy or, in the U.S., of reformists addicted to giving some “fight the right” version of support to the bourgeois Democratic Party in the U.S.

It is hardly an accident that Logan is “disappeared” entirely from the BT’s June 9 letter. But the voluminous documentary evidence against this sick and sadistic individual, found to be a “proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism” at the time of his 1979 expulsion from our organization, cannot be airbrushed away by the BT school of falsification. Logan—who tried to force a

young woman comrade to have an abortion and when that failed, pressured her to put her child in a foster home—now offers his services as a “counsellor” and “celebrant,” including with a Web site replete with sample texts for a “funeral for a baby.” This leader of a “Bolshevik” organization also appears on a New Zealand government “career services” Web site (see box on this page).

The recently published ICL bulletin, *The Logan Dossier*, further augments our documentation on this sick puppy. As we noted in the preface to *The Logan Dossier* (reprinted in WV No. 900, 12 October 2007): “In publishing the documentary record of the Logan trial, we aim to make clear to a new generation of leftists that the likes of Logan have no place in the workers movement, to expose his opportunist ‘Bolshevik’ Tendency for the suspect outfit it is and to demolish its lying smears and slanders against our party.”

Pursuing Unity with Reformists, Slander Against Revolutionists

The main political features of the BT’s mating call to the reformists are carried significantly further rightward with its new “open letter.” Not only is it bereft of any criticism of the liberals and reformists, but it purges the Leninist tactic of the united front of any hint of communism while reviving the Stalinist, class-collaborationist “united front” as a lowest-common-denominator political non-aggression pact; it makes concrete the BT’s call for “regroupment” with the remnants of anti-Soviet, left social democrats based on the twin pillars of Stalinophobia and Spartacist-baiting.

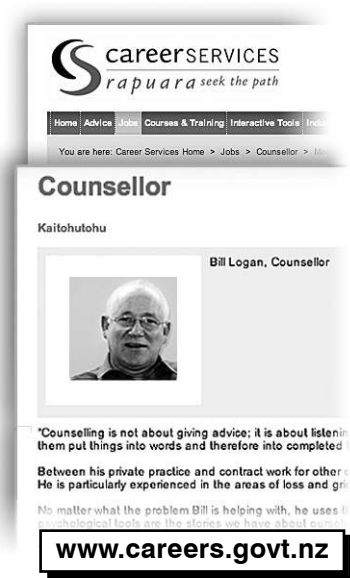
In order to serve these purposes, the BT has to brazenly falsify history, including very recent history. Curiously, considering their practice of trumpeting every other event they have ever claimed credit for initiating, the BT’s Web site has no photos or reports on the April 19 demonstration in Toronto. The simple reason is that the photos of the demonstration show that who *actually* built and led the united-front demonstration in Toronto on April 19 was the Partisan Defense Committee and our Canadian comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste.

The BT letter claims: “Yet while nominally endorsing the event, members of the TL/PDC adamantly refused to participate in any sort of joint activity to build it.” In fact, at a March 28 emergency protest in Toronto, the day after the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Mumia’s frame-up conviction, the PDC put out the call for a united-front demonstration on April 26. The BT *refused to endorse*. Instead, they popped up a week or so later with a new “committee”—notably including “new trial” advocates like Socialist Action in Canada—calling for a protest on April 19. Because we are for the mobilization of the largest forces to fight for Mumia’s freedom, the PDC shifted our united-front protest to the same date.

The BT coyly notes: “The TL/PDC’s offer to provide a sound system was accepted, and a list of speakers for the rally agreed upon.” Bluntly put, in addition to building the April 19 demonstration, including through winning the endorsement and participation of trade unions, we provided the sound system and mobilized most of the speakers. Moreover, a representative of our Canadian sec-

Bill Logan: PR Man for New Zealand Capitalism

A government “career services” Web site is not where you’d expect the leader of a self-styled Marxist organization to advertise his services. But the misnamed Bolshevik Tendency is not your typical left group. It is led by one Bill Logan, who was expelled from our international tendency in 1979 as a “proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism” (see the ICL bulletin, *The Logan Dossier*). On his own Web site, Logan advertises his snake oil services as a “counsellor” and “celebrant.” Logan now also promotes his “profession” on the New Zealand government’s “career services” Web site. The same man who tried to force a young woman comrade to have an abortion and, when that failed, pressured her to put her child in a foster home now touts his “life experience”! This doesn’t add much to what we already know about this sociopath. But it does show that in his quest for bourgeois respectability, he’s not beneath becoming the New Zealand government’s poster boy (literally) for his profession of choice!



tion chaired the rally (while a speaker from the BT’s “committee” introduced a handful of speakers in the middle of the rally).

So, what’s the beef? According to the BT’s letter, there was our “flat refusal to distribute the common united-front poster—despite the fact that the text had been amended to meet concerns they had raised regarding a minor technicality. The TL/PDC produced its own poster for the Toronto demonstration....” Yes we did! We produced our own propaganda for the protest, powerfully motivating Mumia’s case to the working class and laying out the programmatic issues that are central to fighting for his freedom.

In fact, the real “crime” of our comrades in the eyes of the BT is contained in the concluding paragraph of its revealing letter: “The demonstration, which drew more than 150 people, was a success, although the sectarianism exhibited by the TL toward various participating organizations was not particularly useful. At various points during and after the demonstration, several of your supporters crowded around our literature table shouting apolitical abuse and acting in a generally obnoxious manner. The behavior of the TL supporters, which was remarked on by many who attended the rally, is unfortunately all too familiar. As we have observed in the past, this is particularly regrettable given the very important contributions the PDC has made to Mumia’s defense.”

To the BT, the “united front” is synonymous with opportunist unity with the reformists and disappearing any political differences with them. Even as it ludicrously accuses us of a “desire to *avoid* substantive political discussion,” the BT whines about our “unfortunately all too familiar” political combat with other organizations, including the BT, at the united-front protest.

Such political combat is from the arsenal of Leninism, expressed in the united-front call, “march separately, strike together.” As we explained in the pamphlet *On the United Front*: “The tactic of the UF [united front] should never be seen as a cessation of political struggle, as a non-aggression pact or mutual amnesty with other tendencies. The CI [Communist International] slogan for the UF—‘freedom of criticism, unity in action’—anticipated that the UF would *sharpen* the political struggle and exacerbate hostilities between communist and non-communist leaderships.”

In its “open letter,” the BT doesn’t say just who might have “remarked” upon our “unfortunate” Leninism. Could it be the BT’s Socialist Action bloc partners, players in the hastily constituted “committee” for the April 19 demonstration? The U.S. affiliate of this abjectly reformist group—initiators of the San Francisco Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal (aka “MOBE”), led by Socialist Action hon-

cho Jeff Mackler—refused to endorse the Oakland mobilization initiated by the PDC and Labor Black League for Social Defense, citing our communist criticism of Socialist Action and others as the reason.

That the ever-obliging BT does not breathe a word of criticism against the reformist left in its letter is a conscious “unity” pitch. To make this crystal-clear, the BT opines that the Spartacists “have on occasion come very close to overtly rejecting the very idea of joint activity with other leftists.” The BT continues:

“This was particularly evident in your coverage of last October’s New York launch of Bryan Palmer’s biography of James P. Cannon, an event the SL co-sponsored with the IBT and four other groups. You specifically criticized a statement by one of our comrades at the meeting that members of different political tendencies should work together on particular issues where there is significant agreement, and took umbrage at the suggestion that the political discussion that would inevitably ensue could open the door to regroupment.”

Our article on the Palmer event (“Defending the Legacy of James P. Cannon,” WV No. 903, 23 November 2007), an event at which sales of *The Logan Dossier* were brisk, did not oh-so-politely “take umbrage,” but rather forthrightly stated that:

“We took issue with Palmer’s call at the end of his presentation for ‘revolutionary regroupment’ among leftists, a sentiment echoed by the BT and Solidarity. Regroupment generally results from big changes in the objective situation, usually victories, and involves a process of splits and fusions. The Bolshevik Revolution (October 1917), toward the end of the terrible world war, impelled hundreds of thousands of former left social democrats, anarchists and syndicalists (Cannon among them) to re-examine their political programs, laying the basis for the founding of the Third (Communist) International and the construction of Communist parties around the world.

“Calls for regroupment are hollow in this period of deep reaction, shaped above all by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, a world-historic defeat for the working class. While the bulk of the left internationally either hailed or abetted this defeat, we Spartacists fought to the end against the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East and Central Europe.”

We further noted that the BT’s Tom Riley “was appealing for ‘unity’ to an audience that consisted largely of groups that share the BT’s crass Stalinophobic appetites. For our part, we find such smarmy appeals for ‘unity’ grotesque coming from a group whose history consists of one provocation after another against us, a group that has dedicated itself to our destruction. Bill Logan’s BT is the antithesis of Cannon’s Leninist legacy.”

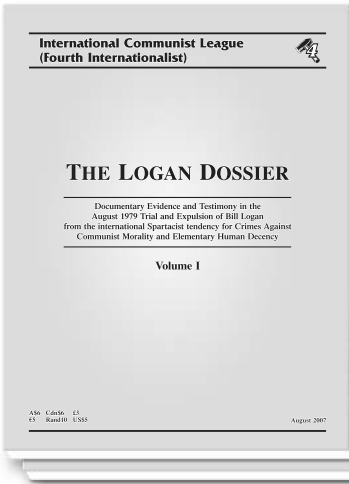
The BT’s June 9 letter affirms the point we made about its Stalinophobic appetites when it repeats its “criticism of the

Documentary Evidence and Testimony in the August 1979 Trial and Expulsion of Bill Logan from the international Spartacist tendency for Crimes Against Communist Morality and Elementary Human Decency

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Boeing Strike...

(continued from page 12)

aircraft and supply customers with spare parts, sapping the effectiveness of the strike. With SPEEA opening its contract negotiations next month, its leaders are not only helping the bosses to undercut the IAM strike, but also setting up the engineers for defeat by instructing the membership to work. SPEEA officials justify this betrayal by hiding behind no-strike contract clauses—to which they agree time and again in negotiations. **Picket lines mean don't cross!**

Yesterday, *Workers Vanguard* salesmen observed a union truck driver stop on the way into the huge Everett, Washington, Boeing site to ask Machinists to set up a picket outside a nearby parts supplier, as she could by contract refuse to cross *that* picket line. The 2005 strike at Boeing coincided with a strike by Northwest Airlines AMFA mechanics and cleaners. Some Boeing IAM members joined the AMFA pickets, and vice versa, even though IAM officials at Northwest were engaged in brazen strikebreaking. **For concrete acts of labor solidarity!**

For their part, the IAM officials are keeping the pickets small. Striking workers told WV that assigned picket duty is only once every two weeks. What is needed is to mobilize mass pickets to shut down the plants. The unions at Boeing should set a common contract expiration date. Joint negotiations and strike action would strengthen the unions' collective muscle and provide a springboard to forming a single industrial union at Boeing, incorporating everyone from engineers to production workers to cleaners. As a first step, the strike should be extended to the roughly 8,000 Machinists who are still on the job in the Boeing Integrated Defense Systems unit. In 2007, Boeing's revenue from its military orders nearly matched that of its commercial jet-

liner production. **One out, all out!**

The aerospace industry as a whole is crucial to the ambitions of U.S. imperialism. The drive by the aerospace bosses to boost their profits, both through ratcheting up the exploitation of labor at home and through "outsourcing," is inextricably bound up with the projection of U.S. military might abroad. The U.S. proletariat must oppose the imperialist pillage carried out by "its own" government, from the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan to the mounting military provocations against Iran.

But the labor bureaucracy pushes the lie that there is a partnership between labor and the filthy rich capitalists who run the country, that American workers share a common "national interest" with their exploiters. IAM head Tom Buffenbarger expresses this view in his statements around the controversial \$40 billion air tanker contract originally awarded by the Pentagon to Northrop Grumman and the parent company of Airbus earlier this year: "How we could turn over the crown jewel of support for our nation's Air Force to foreign manufacturers is beyond me."

Like the rest of the labor officialdom, Buffenbarger is committed to defense of the profit system, expressed through the bureaucracy's loyalty to the capitalist Democratic Party. After Hillary Clinton spoke at the IAM convention today, the union formally endorsed Democratic candidate Barack Obama for imperialist Commander-in-Chief. Illinois Senator Obama is already Boeing's man. The company, which is headquartered in Chicago, took out a full-page ad congratulating him on the nomination. From Scoop Jackson to Richard Gephardt, Boeing has a long history of keeping Democratic Party politicians in its hip pocket. Gephardt, whom the IAM endorsed for president for the 2004 elections, was hired by Boeing to help negotiate the sellout contract ending the 2005 strike. The labor

bureaucracy's fealty to the Democratic Party has resulted in a lengthy string of defeats for organized labor.

Boeing is further counting on the IAM bureaucrats to divert the power of the striking membership into the trap of protectionism. Boeing is one of the nation's largest exporters and now has contracts with 22,000 aerospace companies and suppliers worldwide for parts and other services to drive down the cost of production and increase profits. But protectionism only gives aid to the company's bottom line, directing workers' anger against "foreign labor" instead of against the greedy bosses. What the strikers need is a fighting alliance of Boeing workers in the U.S., Japan and everywhere else that jet parts are produced—international workers solidarity, not the "Fly Made in the USA" bleating of chauvinist trade-union tops.

Today, with more than one-third of Boeing's active fleet worldwide containing parts and assemblies built in China, the IAM bureaucrats are especially exercised over the possibility of "technology transfer" to China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state where capitalist rule was overthrown by the 1949 Revolution. As we wrote in "Protectionism vs. Class Struggle: Exchange on Boeing Strike" (WV No. 634, 1 December 1995) in response to a letter to *Workers Vanguard* from a Portland IAM official, "The IAM leadership has placed itself at the center of an anti-Communist campaign against 'totalitarianism' in China. This dovetails all too neatly with the counter-revolutionary designs of U.S. imperialism.... Not only would the restoration of capitalism in the most populous country on the planet mean even more 'cheapening of labor,' it would necessarily bring to white heat the rivalries over the spoils between U.S. and Japanese imperialism." It is the duty of workers in the U.S. and internationally to defend China against capitalist resto-

ration and imperialist attack.

The 2002 contract gave Boeing the opening to use outside companies to deliver parts to the factory floor, work previously handled by the IAM. This contract was rejected by a majority of Machinists. But it went into effect because a bureaucratic provision in the IAM constitution requires a two-thirds majority for a strike, which was not achieved. Today the non-union North Carolina subcontractor New Breed delivers parts for the 787 assembly lines. Meanwhile, the Dreamliner's wings and fuselage are manufactured in Italy and Japan and by other companies in Kansas and South Carolina. IAM officials want additional language in the contract furthering the union's ability to underbid outsourced work, i.e., an opportunity to push speedup on its own members. "We're trying to show them a way to run the business better," Buffenbarger said. "We can save them money, or make them money" (*Seattle Times*, 7 September).

Instead of participating in a race to the bottom, the IAM should launch an all-out campaign to organize the increasing numbers of non-union, lower-wage aerospace workers in the U.S. One place to start is the new and growing "Southern aerospace corridor." Any organizing drive in the "right to work" South, where the racist legacy of slavery and Jim Crow segregation has always served to head off labor struggle, must center on the fight for black rights as well as the rights of immigrant workers. To prepare for the battles ahead, there needs to be a fight to replace the labor bureaucracy with a leadership committed to mobilizing labor's power, independently of the capitalist state and politicians, in the interests of all the exploited and oppressed. This fight is part of forging a workers party capable of leading struggles not only to improve present conditions but to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery. **Victory to the IAM Boeing strike! ■**

SL's salute to Yuri Andropov, the butcher of the Hungarian workers' revolution of 1956." It is hardly a slip of the pen when the BT refers to Hungary as a "workers revolution" as opposed to a **proletarian political revolution**. The 1956 Hungary uprising was led by pro-socialist workers against the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy and in defense of the workers state. As Trotskyists, we supported the Hungarian workers and opposed their suppression by the Kremlin Stalinists.

Nor is it an accident that the BT was horrified by our refusal to bend with the winds of Cold War II, including our jocular dubbing as the "Yuri Andropov Brigade" a busload of sympathizers and ex-members going to Washington, D.C. in 1982 to participate in a labor/black mobilization against the Ku Klux Klan that flew in the face of Reagan reaction. Nor was it an accident that the BT landed in the camp of the pro-imperialist reformists when it later renounced our call, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" when the Soviet Union intervened in that country

on behalf of elementary human progress and in defense of its southern borders. These are all BT admission tickets to the anti-Soviet, anti-Spartacist reformist swamp, laced with the BT's obsessive hatred for and very dubious machinations against our organization.

At every demonstration for Mumia's freedom, our comrades argued communist politics, seeking to link the capitalist frame-up of this courageous "voice of the voiceless" to the imperialists' racist "war on terror," the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, and raising the urgent need for the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam. These positions necessarily cut against those of anti-Communist social democrats like Socialist Action and the BT itself. In retaliation, the reformists' invective against us, augmented by their dubious BT quislings, is redolent of the vicious red-baiting visited upon Cannon's International Labor Defense, defense arm of the early Communist Party, during the course of the

fight to free anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti (see "Lessons of the Fight to Free Sacco and Vanzetti," WV Nos. 897 and 898, 31 August and 14 September 2007).

We turn again to comrade Trotsky's work cited at the beginning of this article: "We are now in the period of principled self-clarification and merciless demarcation from opportunists and muddlers.

This is the only avenue to the highway of revolution." As to the BT's road: it is more provocateur than political opponent and as such it is open to anyone's bidding. Its lies and slanders are the weapons of choice for a bitter and vicious gang of renegades. Its purpose is to give ammunition to the forces arrayed against us. **Caveat emptor! ■**

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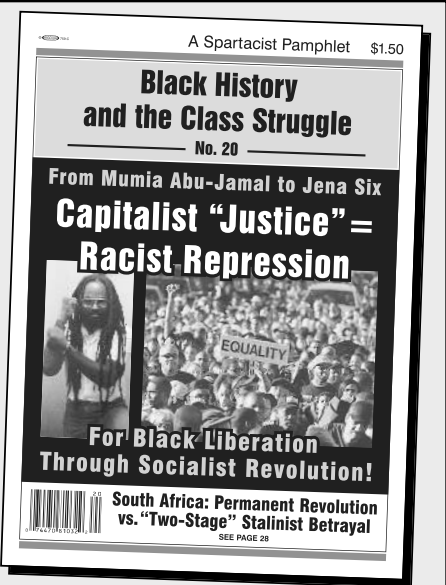
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Victory to the IAM Boeing Strike!

SEPTEMBER 8—Chanting “Union power!”, over 27,000 members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) at Boeing commercial airplane factories walked off the job early Saturday for the second time in three years. Pickets went up at plants around the Seattle/Puget Sound region and in Oregon and Kansas after last-minute contract talks collapsed. Angered by subpar contracts in 2002 and 2005, Machinists are ready and determined to fight. “We’re staying out to the end,” one black striker told *Workers Vanguard*. “It is going to be something like Boeing has never seen before.”

Two days earlier, weeks of protests against the arrogant Boeing Corporation—the world’s largest producer of jetliners and military aircraft—culminated in 87 percent of the workers voting to strike, decisively rejecting the company’s “final offer.” When union leaders followed up by announcing a 48-hour delay in the

strike to accommodate federal mediators and the Democratic governor of Washington, they were shouted off stage by outraged Machinists. During the company’s two-day reprieve, some 30 percent of the workforce reportedly stayed home while those on the job worked to rule.

Both sides are digging in for the battle. The aerospace giant is flush with \$13 billion in profits over the last five years, and it wants to pocket more by dividing and gutting its unions. Boeing is directing its fire at new-hires, intending to eliminate their pensions and retiree medical benefits altogether, and similarly wants to cut off survivor benefits. Meanwhile, in 2006 the company did not contribute one penny to fund the IAM pension plan but shelled out \$522 million for executive pensions. Its wage proposal is grossly inadequate, with more than 4,000 Machinists currently earning less than \$30,000 a year because of a tiered wage structure. Another key issue is outsourcing.



Mulligan/The Herald

September 5: Machinists walk out of Boeing plant in Everett, Washington, to attend a union rally. IAM strike began hours later.

All labor has a stake in the strike’s outcome. A hard fight by the Machinists could stem the tide of labor give-backs, breathe life into the manufacturing unions and inspire wider class struggle. The strikers are in a strong position. The demand for fuel-efficient aircraft is high, and Boeing has a record commercial order backlog totaling \$275 billion. Its prized 787 Dreamliner is already 14 months late for delivery, and the company is under a lot of pressure to meet its

schedule as it faces stiff competition from Airbus in Europe. With the strike so far halting the production of jets, Boeing is losing as much as **\$120 million** a day in revenue.

However, the plants remain open, with other Boeing workers crossing picket lines, including members of the 21,000-strong Society of Professional Engineering Employees in Aerospace (SPEEA). As a result, Boeing plans to deliver assembled

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Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

595 Immigrant Workers Rounded Up in Mississippi

SEPTEMBER 8—On August 25, Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (I.C.E.) agents raided a Howard Industries transformer plant in Laurel, Mississippi, detaining 595 workers, most of them from Mexico, for immigration violations. This was the biggest immigration raid on a single plant in U.S. history, surpassing the raid on the Agriprocessors meatpacking plant in Postville, Iowa, in May, when nearly 400 workers were rounded up. Nearly 500 children, most of them under five years of age, had one or both parents arrested in Laurel. The head of the Mississippi Immigrants Rights Alliance (MIRA) declared: “People in the Latino community are afraid to go out of their homes. In many cases they are afraid to go to work” (Reuters, 26 August).

This latest mass arrest of immigrant workers, many of whom are reportedly union members, came as Local 1317 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) was engaged in contract negotiations with Howard Industries. As in Postville, where the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) had been trying to organize the Agriprocessors plant for at least two years, these raids show the union-busting that goes hand in hand with the government’s



AP

August 26: U.S. Marshal deputies transport immigrant workers to holding facility after 595 workers were rounded up at manufacturing plant in Laurel, Mississippi.

anti-immigrant onslaught.

As in the Postville raid, those rounded up at Howard face not only deportation but lengthy prison sentences. So far, eight

have been charged with “identity theft.” In the Agriprocessors raid, hundreds of immigrants were sentenced to five-month prison sentences before deportation. Many

of those arrested at Howard could also be charged under Mississippi’s draconian SB 2988 law, which makes working with false papers a felony punishable by up to five years in prison. This sinister escalation of anti-immigrant repression is a threat to the entire labor movement. **An injury to one is an injury to all! Drop all charges! No deportations! Free the detainees now!**

Most of those arrested in the Howard Industries raid were whisked out of the state and locked up in an immigration detention center in Jena, Louisiana. Jena is the city where tens of thousands marched last year against Jim Crow justice after six black youths faced a series of felony charges for defending themselves after months of intense racist harassment and threats of violence. The hellish conditions in such detention centers have been exposed in several *New York Times* articles that have noted the scores of immigrants who have died in the past few years while in custody. The most recent piece (13 August) concerned Hiu Lui Ng, a Chinese computer engineer and New York City resident who was arrested while applying for his green card. After months of being denied medical treatment for excruciating

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Drop All Charges! No Deportations! Unions: Organize and Defend Immigrant Workers!