

Racist Police Terror U.S.A.



Johnson Family

Oakland, January 7: Army of riot cops beat, tear-gassed and shot protesters with rubber bullets as hundreds demonstrated against cop killing of Oscar Grant (inset).

Atkins/SF Chronicle

Oscar Grant Executed in Cold Blood, Black Oakland Under Siege

OAKLAND—The coldblooded execution of Oscar Grant III, a young black apprentice grocery butcher and father of a four-year-old girl, by Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) cop Johannes Mehserle in the early morning hours of New Year's Day threw a spotlight on the deadly police terror that is a fact of life for black people in racist America. The video images taken by horrified BART passengers showed Mehserle stand over Grant, methodically draw his Sig Sauer P226 semiautomatic and fire into Grant's back as another cop held him face down with his hands behind his back. At protests after the brutal killing, demonstrators have carried signs reading "We Are All Oscar Grant" (see "Oscar Grant Killed in Cold Blood by BART Cop," WV No. 928, 16 January).

The killing of Grant in Oakland, where liberal black Democrat Ron Dellums is mayor, brutally exposes the hoax that the election of a black man, Barack Obama, as U.S. president represents progress toward black equality. Underlining the fallacy of such illusions, in Chicago police killed two black men during a five-day period in March, while the NYPD killed two people in April. Obama's "stimulus package" for the moribund U.S. economy includes plans to spend billions to beef up the police by hiring 100,000 more thugs in blue: any prospect of a decent job is fading fast for millions of laid-off workers and unemployed youth, but the ruling

class has plenty of money to pay its hired guns to intimidate and repress the ghetto masses and those who might protest being thrown on capitalism's scrap heap.

"When is this going to stop?" cried a black man outside Grant's memorial. "I'm sick of people acting like we deserve what we get, that because we are black, they can shoot us in the back and get away with it." More than 1,000 people, largely black and Latino, turned out for the memorial on January 7. Later that night, protesters took their justified outrage to the streets of Oakland, where they were met by an army of Oakland cops (OPD) equipped with riot gear, helicopters and an armored vehicle. The cops fired tear gas and rubber bullets at the protesters and arrested more than 100 people. Among those arrested and slapped with felony charges were David Santos, a 16-year-old supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), and JR Valrey, a KPFA programmer and journalist for the *San Francisco Bay View* who was trying to photograph the police violence. Drop all charges against the anti-racist protesters!

Along with the mailed fist of state repression came the velvet glove: the cops' masters, from Dellums to California Attorney General Jerry Brown, stepped in to try to dampen the flames of protest with calls for an investigation of Grant's killing. Behind them in trying to keep the peace was a cabal of black preachers and the newly formed Coalition Against Police Executions (CAPE), which hasn't been heard from since late February. Echoed by the cringing reformist left, CAPE advanced various schemes for

police reform while appealing for redress to state agencies and officials, from Dellums and Brown to the Feds.

The Labor Black League for Social Defense, which is fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, intervened in the protests over the killing of Oscar Grant to fight for a class-struggle perspective. A January 12 LBL statement, "Mobilize the Power of the Multiracial Unions in Protest!" (reprinted in WV No. 928, 16 January), declared:

"The hard truth is that there will be no end to police brutality short of the destruction of this entire system of capi-

talist exploitation and racial oppression. But a massive protest based on the organized muscle of the labor movement would give the cops and their capitalist masters some pause. And it would drive home the point that the interests of the working class are inseparably linked to the defense of the ghettos and barrios, the defense of immigrant rights and the fight for black freedom."

What prevents labor from waging such fights in its own defense and on behalf of all of the oppressed are the suicidal illusions in the possibility of reforming the system that are pushed by the patriotic,

continued on page 7

January 14:
Spartacist League
and Labor Black
League for Social
Defense at
Oakland protest
against racist
cop terror.



WV Photo



Evolution vs. Political Reaction

25 February 2009

In your “Salute to Charles Darwin” ([WV No. 930] 13 February) you hail his theories for “destroying the myths of racial superiority.” This is a triumph of oversimplification and wishful thinking. While Darwin was personally against slavery, evolutionary concepts have been used to support eugenics and racist pseudoscience. Darwin’s investigations of the natural world intersected with a pre-existing trend in sociology which glorified racial and class supremacy, and condemned the weak, poor, and “inferior” to extinction. This trend was exemplified by Thomas Malthus—incidentally an Anglican parson—and Herbert Spencer, who coined the phrase “survival of the fittest.” It reached its nadir with the Nazis. While scientifically invalid, the creation myth had long provided stronger support for egalitarianism: as John Ball, a leader of the English Peasant Revolt asked, “When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?”

Niall C.

WV replies:

Normally we would have no reason to respond to a letter that excoriates Darwinism, implicating it in the rise of Hitler’s Third Reich, and exalts religious belief. Such assertions would usually be accompanied by a diatribe against “godless communism,” “race mixing,” homosexuality, sexual promiscuity and abortion (as can be found in some of the tracts produced by the fundamentalist Christian right). Not so with Niall C., who in a previous letter to WV (see “Communiqué from Wikiality,” WV No. 890, 13 April 2007) indicated that he sees himself as a leftist, and who now writes in defense of egalitarianism.

It is troubling that his letter omits more than a few important considerations. For Marxists, it is hardly news that, in societies based on the class exploitation of the many by the few, science has not infrequently been employed to humanity’s disservice by those in the ruling strata in their pursuit of continuing and expanding their sway. Among the most grotesque

expressions of such disservice were the agonies visited on the populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August of 1945. What is lacking in Niall C.’s letter is any appreciation of science’s benefits, for example, the planetwide increases in human life spans. The discovery that pathogenic microorganisms are the cause of the common debilitating diseases afflicting mankind has led to an astounding reduction in childhood mortality in the last century. These and other gains are frequently forfeited to the rapacious imperialist order.

On the other hand, the virtues of religious belief are left unspecified—for good reason. With no evidence in reality, there are no merits of such belief other than as a solace for existing misery. In primitive societies, as a hunter or gatherer wholly dependent on an inexplicable, cruel and ever-changing nature, man devised a system of explanations for natural occurrences. Since the onset of class society, religion, while continuing to provide an “explanation” for a natural order that man could not otherwise explain, has primarily served as the handmaiden of the ruling masters, with benefit only insofar as the powers that be sought to effect any sort of progress.

There have been religious types like John Ball, associated with the 14th-century Wat Tyler serf rebellion in England, and Thomas Müntzer, leader of the 16th-century peasant uprising in Germany, who spoke and fought against societal injustice and oppression in the service of all. Both of these were enthusiastically harried, tortured and beheaded (Ball was hanged, drawn and quartered) by those committed to God and king (Martin Luther played a major role in inspiring the mobilization against Müntzer). Indeed, prior to the Enlightenment, virtually all social struggle was posed in religious terms, or as Trotsky put it when referring to Oliver Cromwell and the English Civil War, “under the integument of ecclesiastical disputes” (*Where Is Britain Going?* [1925]). At the same time, one wonders if Niall C. has ever heard of the “curse of Ham”—drawn from the Book of Genesis—a Christian justification for the enslavement of black Africans by Europeans.

For his part, Darwin was a fervent abolitionist well before his trip on the *Beagle* to the Galápagos Islands. His family, composed of Unitarians and enlightened Anglicans, had for generations been abolitionist activists as well as believers in the common descent of all mankind from Adam and Eve. Having shown little interest in medicine (his father’s profession), Darwin was sent to Christ’s College at Cambridge in the hope he might pursue a clerical career. Niall C., evidently, would

be pleased had Darwin’s investigations continued along these lines.

Not so Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. As Engels wrote in *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1880), “Nature works dialectically and not metaphysically.... In this connection Darwin must be named before all others. He dealt the metaphysi-

François-Auguste Biard



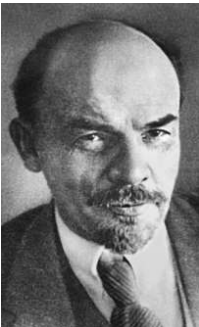
Top: Slaves being branded before hellish Middle Passage to North American and Caribbean slave plantations. Recently published book links Charles Darwin’s abolitionist views to his scientific conviction that all mankind are members of one species.



TROTSKY

Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie

V.I. Lenin, the leader of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution that brought the working class of Russia to power, explained how bourgeois democracy serves as a mask for the capitalist class’ bloody dictatorship, enforced by its courts, cops and military forces. At the founding congress of the Third (Communist) International, Lenin presented theses defending Soviet rule against the reformist leaders of the Second International, most of whom had sided with their own bourgeoisies in the imperialist slaughter of World War I.



LENIN

The bourgeoisie and their agents in the workers’ organisations are making desperate attempts to find ideological and political arguments in defence of the rule of the exploiters. Condemnation of dictatorship and defence of democracy are particularly prominent among these arguments....

Firstly, this argument employs the concepts of “democracy in general” and “dictatorship in general,” without posing the question of the class concerned. This non-class or above-class presentation, which supposedly is popular, is an outright travesty of the basic tenet of socialism, namely, its theory of class struggle, which socialists who have sided with the bourgeoisie recognise in words but disregard in practice. For in no civilised capitalist country does “democracy in general” exist; all that exists is bourgeois democracy, and it is not a question of “dictatorship in general,” but of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, i.e., the proletariat, over its oppressors and exploiters, i.e., the bourgeoisie, in order to overcome the resistance offered by the exploiters in their fight to maintain their domination....

The Paris Commune...showed very clearly the historically conventional nature and limited value of the bourgeois parliamentary system and bourgeois democracy.... It was Marx who best appraised the historical significance of the Commune. In his analysis, he revealed the exploiting nature of bourgeois democracy and the bourgeois parliamentary system under which the oppressed classes enjoy the right to decide once in several years which representative of the propertied classes shall “represent and suppress” (*ver- und zertreten*) the people in parliament....

The significance of the Commune, furthermore, lies in the fact that it endeavoured to crush, to smash to its very foundations, the bourgeois state apparatus, the bureaucratic, judicial, military and police machine, and to replace it by a self-governing, mass workers’ organisation in which there was no division between legislative and executive power.

—V.I. Lenin, “Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat” (March 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Bonnie Brodie
EDITOR: Alan Wilde
EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Elizabeth Johnson
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

EDITORIAL BOARD: Steve Henderson (managing editor), François Donau (production manager), Blandine Hauser (letters editor), Bruce André, Ray Bishop, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, Michael Davison, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Linda Jarreau, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

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

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Workers Vanguard, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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

The closing date for news in this issue is April 21.

No. 935

24 April 2009

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program

International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL, the ICL’s Declaration of Principles is a concrete expression of our purpose: to build national sections of a democratic-centralist international which can lead the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution.

The Declaration of Principles has now been published in 14 languages including its publication in *Spartacist*.

Chinese	\$1	Indonesian	\$1	Russian	\$1
English	\$2	Italian	\$1	Spanish	\$1.50
French	\$2	Japanese	\$2	Tagalog	\$1
German	\$2	Polish	\$1	Turkish	\$1
Greek	\$1	Portuguese	\$1		

Make checks payable/mail to
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

For Trade Union Protest Against State Repression!

Britain: Cop Rampage at G20 Protest Killed Ian Tomlinson

We print below an April 10 protest statement by the Spartacist League/Britain.

The cops were out for blood at the G20 protests last week in London, and they got it. Weeks of press articles ominously predicting widespread destruction and violence by G20 protesters set the stage for an enormous cop presence which then terrorised the protesters, cracking heads and corralling or “kettling” thousands in a virtual mass detention for hours. Ian Tomlinson died at the hands of the cops in the City of London on 1 April. A video clip posted on the *Guardian* Web site (7 April) shows Tomlinson, a 47-year-old who lived in the area, walking home from work through the City and getting caught up in the police corral. The video shows him being clubbed with a baton from behind by a cop wearing a balaclava [ski mask]. Seconds later, the cop violently pushes Tomlinson to the ground. Minutes later he was dead.

Even before the video came to light, a growing body of witness statements showed the cops’ story to be a tissue of lies: that Tomlinson simply dropped dead of a heart attack, unprovoked; that protesters intentionally blocked the police medics’ access to Tomlinson and hurled “missiles” at them. In fact, witnesses told how protesters who were trying to help Tomlinson were pushed away by the cops. Witness statements printed in the *Guardian* (8 April) indicate that Tomlinson was attacked twice, “both times from behind and as he was walking away.” Press photographer Anna Branthwaite gave a

detailed statement of one of the assaults, in which she saw a riot cop grab Tomlinson: “It was a very forceful knocking-down from behind. The officer hit him twice with a baton when he was lying on the floor.” She continues, “It became an

This is of a piece with the cops’ conduct throughout the protests; the 3 April *Guardian* quotes protester Ashley Parsons describing the police conduct at the “climate camp” protest in Bishopsgate as “sickening and terrifying”: “Without warn-

cers openly screaming in pumped-up rage.” An investigation into Tomlinson’s death is underway by the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC), but recall the 2005 police killing of Jean Charles de Menezes: pointblank execution on the London Tube [subway] in the name of the “war on terror” followed by a blizzard of lies from the Met [London police] about the innocent



Left: London cops attack demonstrators at G20 protest, April 1. Right: Ian Tomlinson, walking home from work, just before lethal beating by police.

assault. And then the officer picked him up from the back, continued to walk or charge with him, and threw him. He was running and stumbling. He didn’t turn and confront the officer or anything like that.”

ing, from around midnight, the police repeatedly and violently surged forwards in full riot gear, occasionally rampaging through the protest line and deliberately destroying protesters’ property, some offi-

Brazilian electrician’s “terrorist” behaviour. The jury at the de Menezes inquest last year were instructed *not* to return a verdict of unlawful killing, the police

continued on page 9

Free All Anti-NATO Protesters! Drop All Charges!

We print below an April 8 joint protest statement by the Komitee für soziale Verteidigung and the Comité de Défense Sociale, which are fraternally allied with the Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S. The KfsV and CDDS are class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organizations associated with the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany and the Ligue Trotskyste de France, sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

The fraternally allied Komitee für sozi-

ale Verteidigung (KfsV) and the Comité de Défense Sociale (CDDS) strongly protest against the first series of sentences handed down to demonstrators against the NATO summit. In summary hearings reminiscent of police-state dictatorships and in violation of their most elementary rights, six young French and German people received sentences ranging from six-month suspended sentences to six-month prison terms with banned entry into France. Further, three French youths, who were arrested outside a supermarket for buying

white spirit [paint thinner], are being held in detention until their trial on May 5. Days after a man’s death at the hands of the police during the London G20 protest, dozens of demonstrators were injured, some severely, during the brutal state attack on the anti-NATO protests. Over 300 demonstrators were arrested. French president [Nicolas] Sarkozy demanded that protesters be “punished with the most extreme severity.” In the weeks to come there will doubtless be further arrests. The KfsV and CDDS declare: **Down with the outrageous sentences against anti-NATO protesters! Drop all charges immediately! Free all anti-NATO protesters!**

In France as well as in Germany, the capitalist state, in the lead-up to the summit, pulled out all the stops in order to prevent mass participation in the protests: a menacing police deployment was mobilized; a witchhunt campaign against anarchists was carried out; the participation of known leftist activists was prevented by promulgating police registra-

tion requirements; the legal emergency team in Offenburg [Germany] was spied on; in the days before the protests, travel bans were imposed on 3,000 people at the border; Strasbourg was in effect turned into a militarily occupied zone; and so on. The police terror and the sentences and trials now following it represent a continuation of the state campaign, which aims to criminalize and suppress every protest against the crimes of the capitalist rulers of Germany, France, the U.S., etc.

Today it targets courageous leftists who demonstrate against the imperialist NATO war alliance, an alliance with which the imperialists seek to bloodily impose their interests worldwide. Tomorrow it will target those who defy the capitalists’ interests at home, such as trade unionists striking against layoffs and wage cuts, or minorities and immigrants fighting racist discrimination. **The workers movement must protest the brutal attacks on the anti-NATO demonstrators and the current outrageous sentences! ■**

Young Spartacus

NYC: Defend New School Protesters! Drop All Charges!

The following statement was distributed by the Spartacus Youth Club at a rally against police brutality at the New School on April 16 protesting the arrests on April 10. Reportedly, three protesters were also arrested at the April 16 rally. We call to drop all the charges now!

The Spartacus Youth Club denounces the NYPD’s vicious repression against protesters at the New School on Friday, April 10. Protesters calling for the immediate resignation of the New School President Bob Kerrey and Executive Vice President James Murtha had occupied the school’s 65 Fifth Avenue building. The NYPD brutally attacked protesters, some with pepper spray. At least twenty have been arrested and charged with bogus misdemeanors and felonies including criminal mischief. Outrageous among

the charges are resisting arrest and possession of burglar’s tools—typical frame-up charges used to portray protesters as criminals. Drop all the charges now!

This SWAT-style attack on these students and youth was an unmistakable act of intimidation to deter any form of protest against the administration. It was carried out at the behest of the infamous war criminal and former Democratic Senator Bob Kerrey, who oversaw the ruthless murder of 21 civilians—mostly women and children—in Thanh Phong, during the Vietnam War in 1969.

We demand that all charges be dropped immediately and that no further actions, including suspensions and expulsions, be taken against the protesters or any of those connected to the occupation! Release those still imprisoned, now! ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA

Thursday, April 30, 6:30 p.m.
The Trotskyists’ Fight Against Capitalist Counterrevolution
San Francisco State University
Cesar Chavez Student Center
Room: Rosa Parks F

Thursday, May 7, 6:30 p.m.
We Need a Workers Party that Fights for Socialist Revolution! Break with the Democrats and Greens!
San Francisco State University
Cesar Chavez Student Center
Room: Rosa Parks E
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Wednesday, May 6, 6 p.m.
The Russian Revolution of 1917
UCLA, Bunche Hall
Room 1221A
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK CITY

Wednesday, April 29, 7:45 p.m.
Marxism and Science:
A Tribute to Darwin and the 150th Anniversary of On the Origin of Species
Hunter College
West Building, Room 407
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
nysl@tiac.net

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

The IG and National Association of Manufacturers Oppose the EFCA

When the Employee Free Choice Act (EFCA) was introduced again in Congress on March 10, it immediately set off a renewed and widespread backlash from the heads of industry and commerce. For the bosses, the EFCA is anathema because it would ease the rules for government certification of newly organized unions. In an article titled “Playing the Labor Card—Business Looks for Ways to Block ‘Card Check’ Bill,” the *Journal of Commerce* (30 March) wrote that the EFCA “has triggered an urgent and widespread response from just about every imaginable business group—manufacturers, retailers, transportation providers and others—to erect political roadblocks to a measure they fear could bring lasting changes as important as anything happening in the trading economy.” “Stop the Employee ‘Forced’ Choice Act!” has become the rallying cry of union-busting employer associations that have pooled hundreds of millions of dollars for their anti-EFCA crusade. On the other side, the AFL-CIO and Change to Win union federations are waging a major campaign for the EFCA’s passage. The battle over the EFCA has become a referendum on unionization.

We have a side. Our article, “Why Marxists Support the EFCA” (WV No. 929, 30 January), drew a balance sheet of the proposed legislation:

“Even though it contains an arbitration clause that we oppose, we support the EFCA, as it allows workers to organize and form unions through a streamlined card-check system [majority signing of union authorization cards], bypassing the prolonged balloting process.”

At the same time, we have emphasized that the EFCA would not be a panacea for labor. The success or failure of any unionization campaign will ultimately be determined by *class struggle*. As we wrote: “To the extent that the EFCA affords the possibility of strengthening the working class by organizing unions, workers should make use of it. But at the same time workers must beware the EFCA’s pitfalls and not rely on it or the capitalist state, which exists to defend the rule and profits of the capitalist class.”

IG Opposes the EFCA

In a couple of recent articles on its Web site, including one titled, “Why Marxists Oppose All Government Intervention in the Unions” (23 February), the centrist Internationalist Group (IG) has made clear its opposition to the EFCA, denouncing our position with typical IG bombast. Yet nowhere in these recent articles does the IG mention that the Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers and almost every major employer association likewise oppose the EFCA.

What really comes through is the IG’s utter disdain for the prospect of increased unionization. In an article on the Obama presidency (23 February) that also touches on the EFCA, the IG blithely dismisses card-check union recognition with the observation, “Canada has a card check law and only 17 percent of the private sector workforce is unionized (as opposed to 7.5 percent in the U.S.).” It takes some chutzpah to sneer at “only” more than doubling union membership! There is no guarantee that the EFCA will pass in its current form or that its passage would result in similar numbers in the U.S., which would amount to *10 million* new union workers, but a streamlined “card check” would certainly facilitate union organizing.

Would the IG admit that this might have something to do with why the bosses oppose the EFCA? Employers have a whole “union avoidance” industry, spending \$4 billion annually to break up union



Internationalist Group (above) gives pseudo-Marxist cover to big business’ opposition to EFCA (right).

organizing drives. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the difference in wages and benefits between unionized and non-unionized production workers is \$8.41 per hour. This means that maintaining non-union production labor puts an additional *\$17,500 per worker* into the pockets of the exploiters on a yearly basis. For the capitalists, ten million newly organized workers pose the threat of at least *\$175 billion* in reduced annual profits.

Trying to give its opposition to the EFCA a veneer of orthodoxy, the IG claims we are repudiating our historic opposition to government labor boards and implies that we reject our article “California Farm Labor Bill Threatens Right to Strike” (WV No. 128, 8 October 1976). To the contrary, we stand on what we wrote then:

“In short, we oppose all government laws regulating union representation. Only essentially negative laws eliminating legal penalties and obstacles to unionization—for instance, the Norris-La Guardia Act—can be supported. Even then, communists must warn the workers not to place any trust in the bosses’ government.”

The EFCA, with its key “card-check” provision, is just that kind of supportable legislation, effectively eliminating a major union-busting restriction on labor organizing.

Currently, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) oversees a two-step union certification process: card signing followed by elections. Certification elections are commonly drawn out for months or even years (including when Democrats sit on the labor boards), giving the bosses

time to intimidate or fire pro-union workers. In its present form, the EFCA would give workers the option of foregoing the second step, *making it easier to win NLRB certification*. Precisely because of this, with Bush no longer around to blame for the failure to push through the bill, one Democratic “friend of labor” after another has over the last few weeks vacated their “support” for the EFCA as currently written. Politicians like Senators Dianne Feinstein and Tom Harkin are looking to “amend” the EFCA by undermining the card-check provision, thus threatening to gut the proposed legislation.

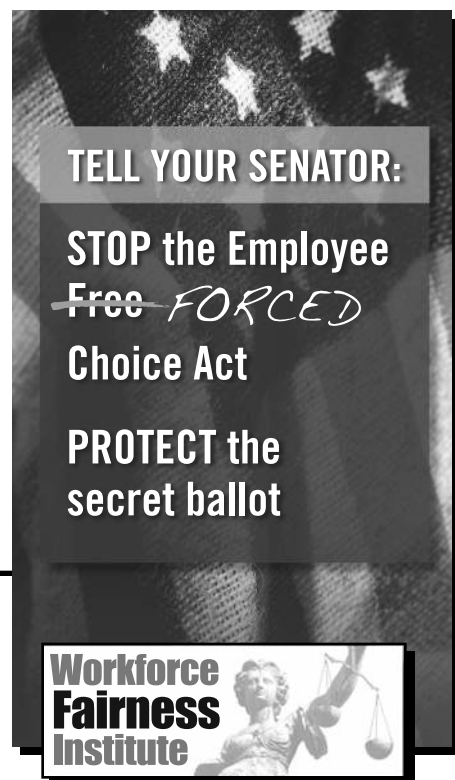
IG vs. the Trotskyists on the Wagner Act

The IG opens its polemic against us with the claim that the Trotskyists opposed the 1935 Wagner Act. The IG then conflates the creation of an entire corpus of labor law—i.e., the Wagner Act and its NLRB—with the proposed EFCA amendment, arguing that it “slightly modifies but maintains” mechanisms of government control. By its criteria, the IG would also oppose legislation eliminating California’s “three strikes” law if it did not also eliminate the entire state penal code!

In falsely equating the EFCA with the Wagner Act, the IG distorts the Trotskyists’ historical record as well. In our article in support of the EFCA, we qualified the statement from our 1976 WV article that “Trotskyists opposed the Wagner Act as a threat to labor’s ability to strike.” We noted in our recent article, “In fact, as far as we know, the Trotskyists neither explicitly supported nor opposed the Wag-



Unionists battle strikebreaking cops and deputies during 1934 Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters strike.



ner Act.” This brings howls of protest from the IG. But for all its protestations to the contrary, the IG cites no Trotskyist writings on the Wagner Act that contradict the position expressed in the authoritative article by John West (James Burnham) in the October 1935 *New Internationalist*, which we quoted in WV: “Take anything it offers, but never depend on it; depend only on independent class activity.”

The 1935 *New Militant* articles cited by the IG, written before and after passage of the Wagner bill, are both scathingly critical but do not, in fact, explicitly oppose the bill. Their central thrust was to dispel illusions in this legislation that was touted by AFL leaders as a “Magna Carta” for labor. The latter article warned that the newly created NLRB and other such agencies are concerned only with “preventing strikes or if they break out somehow, ‘settling’ them” and are thus “in effect strike-breaking agencies even under the best conditions.” At the same time, the article also noted that the bill’s passage may create the impression that unionization had government support and thus “stimulate organizing campaigns and strikes.” Indeed, as the Trotskyists predicted, bloody strike battles and union organizing drives increased in the years following passage of the Wagner Act—something the IG fails to mention.

The IG does find historical cothinkers in the Stalinist Communist Party (CP), positively citing a passage opposing the Wagner Act from a 1935 article in the CP’s *Daily Worker*, written as the CP was coming out of its ultraleft “Third Period”—before swinging sharply to the right, including by supporting the Democratic administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. As if writing against the IG today, Burnham concluded his 1935 *New Internationalist* article: “The passing of the Wagner Bill was neither a victory for labor, as [AFL head William] Green hails it, nor a defeat, as the *Daily Worker* insists. Its significance depends on what is done with it. Properly utilized it can play its part in a notable advance.”

Class Struggle vs. Class Collaboration

Most backers of the EFCA, from the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats to the reformist left, support the arbitration clause in the bill. This is consistent with their strategy of trying to reform the workings of the capitalist state, especially through the agency of the Democratic Party. Instead of fighting at the point of production, they plead hat in hand before Obama

and Congressional Democrats. Under the EFCA as it is currently proposed, if a newly certified union hasn't reached a contract settlement after 90 days of negotiations, the process leading to arbitration could be invoked by either the union or the employer. This would then be followed by at least 30 days of mediation. If no contract is reached by that point, then a government arbitrator would dictate the initial—and only the initial—contract, lasting two years.

The labor skates atop the union federations, with the fake socialists in tow, push the EFCA not as an *aid* in the struggle to organize the unorganized but as a *substitute* for that struggle. It was the labor tops who wrote the arbitration clause into the EFCA as a means to “guarantee” a first contract without having to engage in struggle. In fact, workers should not be lulled into thinking that the bosses would not use every means at their disposal against newly organized unions.

The IG falsely claims that union organizing under the EFCA would necessarily result in binding arbitration. That outcome is certainly preferred by the trade-union bureaucrats. But arbitration is not the only course available. As we pointed out in our earlier article on the EFCA, “While the purpose of such a provision is to curtail class struggle, there are no legal prohibitions in the EFCA to prevent strike action during this four-month period.” The IG simply accepts that the political strategy of the pro-capitalist labor tops will always prevail within the unions.

In grasping for arguments against our observation that strike action is possible, the IG brandishes spurious “legal precedent” they claim would turn the EFCA into a “no-strike” law. Sounding like company lawyers, the IG legal eagles cite a 1974 Supreme Court decision involving a contractual arbitration clause and then apply it to newly organized unions that haven't even negotiated a contract! It is testament to the complete political bankruptcy of the IG that a group that claims to be Marxist cites “legal precedent” against class struggle. For our part, we stand by what we wrote in “Bosses' Rules—A Losing Game: Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win” (WV No. 349, 2 March 1984), when present-day IG leader Jan Norden was editor of WV:

“No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket lines, in plant occupations....

“The entire history of the American labor movement is one long string of laws broken and court injunctions defied. Otherwise there would be no labor movement.”

We oppose on principle all government intervention in the labor movement. But short of workers revolution the capitalist government *is* going to intervene in the class struggle on a daily basis. The question is how to resist it and fight to maintain proletarian class independence. Integral to our opposition to capitalist state intervention is our fight against the union tops' class-collaborationist program of reliance on the government, including its labor boards and arbitrators. There is no such thing as an “impartial” arbitrator—the deck is always stacked against the workers.

All government intervention is not the same, however. Those who bring the class



Workers from the Smithfield Foods hog slaughterhouse in Tar Heel, North Carolina, here rallying in 2007 at Smithfield shareholder meeting, won unionization last December after a more than 15-year organizing battle.

enemy's government directly into the union, for whatever reason, undermine the very purpose of unions—to defend the interests of the workers against the employers. It is *always* unprincipled to sue the union and bring the bosses' courts in to decide internal union affairs. Government arbitration of disputes between unions and bosses, on the other hand, does not in every case undermine the integrity of a union.

The American Trotskyists, whose militants led the pitched battles on the streets of Minneapolis in 1934 that laid the basis for forging the Teamsters as a powerful industrial union, agreed to federal mediation in the July-August strike and subsequent to the union recognition elections filed a request for arbitration to raise the minimum wage rates. One of the leading participants in the Minneapolis strikes, Farrell Dobbs, would later explain in *Teamster Rebellion* (1972) the considerations for doing so:

“Since union recognition was the paramount issue in the fierce battle with the bosses, we could afford to be somewhat flexible on the wage issue insofar as that might help to win on the main point. Any setback on the wage question arising from this tactical course would be only limited and temporary. Once the union was firmly established on the job, the workers would have a solid foundation for a steady advance in wages and working conditions.”

The difference between such forms of arbitration and bringing the bosses' government into the unions is, on a much smaller scale, analogous to the difference between the 1918 Brest-Litovsk treaty between Soviet Russia and German imperialism and a workers party inviting a capitalist government to determine its central committee's makeup. Immediately after the October 1917 Revolution, with World War I still raging and the Russian army disintegrating, German troops were amassed along the front, threatening the very existence of the young workers republic. Bolshevik negotiators at Brest-Litovsk in early 1918 were forced to make huge concessions, including ceding large amounts of territory, in order to secure an onerous treaty to end the war with Germany. In fact, the Brest-Litovsk treaty was the subject of great controversy within the Bolshevik Party, with many leading comrades vehemently opposing it. But in accepting this treaty, the Bolsheviks and the Soviet workers state, however belea-

guered, remained intact to fight another day. Leon Trotsky soon forged the Red Army, which eventually triumphed in the ensuing Civil War, including regaining much lost territory.

In terms of the EFCA, the importance of union recognition and an initial contract has not been lost on the bosses. The central reason that employer associations oppose the arbitration clause is that it lets unions get a foot in the door. This calculation is predicated on the current weakness of the labor movement, a result of decades of betrayals by the pro-capitalist labor tops in the face of relentless union-busting attacks and deindustrialization.

In the 1930s, mass labor struggles prompted Roosevelt to enact the Wagner Act that recognized unions and supposedly even the right to strike but sought government “regulation” of the class struggle. In an effort to head off further class explosions and any potential for revolution, Roosevelt even strong-armed recalcitrant capitalists into accepting unionization for the greater capitalist good. Crucial to channeling this tumultuous union upsurge into support for the Democratic Party was the pro-Roosevelt union bureaucracy, along with its Communist Party backers who used their political authority in the unions to provide a left cover for the “New Deal.”

The Trotskyists opposed Roosevelt's government and the American capitalist order. Trotskyist leaders in the trade unions took care not to get entangled with government labor boards. The lessons of Minneapolis and other hard-fought union battles were codified by the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party in a 1940 draft resolution on “The Trade Union Movement and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in the Development of Mass Work.” It noted:

“Arbitration of disputes over the interpretation and enforcement of a contract is permissible under certain conditions. However, every effort should be made to avoid this course whenever possible. Certain minor points may, for tactical considerations, be submitted to arbitration in the negotiation of a contract, both with and without strike action being involved....

“A union should not in any case agree to a contract containing a clause providing for the arbitration of the terms of the renewal contract to be negotiated upon its expiration. To do this is to give up the strike weapon, to handcuff the workers.

“Attempts to legislate compulsory arbitration upon the unions must be fought with every ounce of energy which the workers can rally.”

IG: Small-Time Opportunists

Applying Marxist principle and historical experience to present-day struggles is alien to the IG, whose nominal principles reside on paper and have little application to its activity in the real world. When the IG's founders defected from the revolutionary Trotskyism of the International Communist League in 1996, they abandoned the struggle to forge proletarian vanguard parties in order to chase after Stalinist washouts, Latin American nationalists and left-talking trade-union bureaucrats. Now, the *Internationalist* lectures that “genuine Marxists (i.e., Trotskyists) oppose any mechanisms of government control of labor.” This is laughable coming from the IG. The Brazilian affiliate of these “Marxists” ran an ex-cop for president of a cop-infested public employees union, and then wielded lawsuits to drag the union through the bourgeois courts to hold tight to their union posts (see “IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies,” WV No. 671, 11 July 1997). In Mexico, the IG has blatantly refused to defend the miners union against state intervention, even when the bosses' state deposed the union leader, froze the bank accounts of the union and gunned down and jailed striking miners a couple of years ago. According to the IG, that union and others affiliated to the former ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party, which ran Mexico for some seven decades, are not workers organizations but the “class enemy” (*El Internacionalista/Edición México* No. 1, May 2001). The IG's class betrayal is an expression of its affinity for the more “progressive” bureaucrats in the unions affiliated with the bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (see “Miners, Steel Workers Strikes Shake Mexico,” WV No. 872, 9 June 2006).

The IG's opportunism takes full flower in its own backyard. The *Internationalist* blows hot air about trade-union independence while in practice the IG alibis the chauvinist, class-collaborationist labor tops to further its own petty maneuvering in the unions. In three lengthy articles enthusing over the West Coast port shut-down in opposition to the war in Iraq last May Day, the IG obscures the role of the grotesque patriotism of the International tops of the ILWU longshore union, as well as the criminal subordination of the work action to pro-Democratic Party pressure politics and the disappearing of any opposition to the war in Afghanistan, which is now Obama's war. More recently, the IG has taken a prominent role in CUNY Contingents Unite, a class-collaborationist formation in the New York City PSC teachers union that has issued a fact sheet on budget cuts at city and state universities, encouraging people to contact the Democratic-controlled New York State legislature and city council (see “For Free, Quality, Integrated Education for All!” WV No. 934, 10 April). Now, the IG has joined with the bosses in opposing the EFCA. *Cui bono* (who benefits)? The IG doesn't care.■

Special ICL Bulletins

No. 38:
Norden's "Group": Shamefaced Defectors From Trotskyism

English edition: \$6 (152 pages) Spanish edition: \$6 (92 pages)

No. 41:
The Fight for a Trotskyist Party in Brazil

Correspondence between the International Communist League and Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil

In English, Portuguese and Spanish: \$7 (184 pages)

Order from/make checks payable to

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

☐ \$10/22 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)

☐ New ☐ Renewal

international rates: \$25/22 issues—Airmail \$10/22 issues—Seamail

☐ \$2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

☐ \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

☐ I would like to contribute \$_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (_____) _____ E-mail _____

935

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

The Capitalist State and the Renegade “Bolshevik Tendency”

The police execution of Oscar Grant was a chilling illumination of the savage violence, racism and terror of the capitalist state and its armed thugs. But this wasn't the message of the misnamed “Bolshevik Tendency” (BT). On the contrary, the BT's only response was devoted to excoriating the Spartacist League for exposing the illusions in the “democracy” of the capitalist state, such as are put forward by reformists like the Party for Socialism and Liberation and its ANSWER Coalition. Such illusions are what lie behind the call to “jail killer cops,” a slogan raised by ANSWER at the Oakland protests against the cop killing of Grant. In a 29 January article on its Web site, “Polemic with the Spartacist League—On Jailing Killer Cops,” the BT takes umbrage at our statement:

“The capitalist rulers are hardly going to jail their own police guard dogs. And, even if one cop were charged and imprisoned, it wouldn't stop police brutality and terror. The cops serve, together with the military and the prisons, as the core of a state whose purpose is the repression of the working class and oppressed by any means necessary.”

—“Oscar Grant Killed in Cold Blood by BART Cop,” WV No. 928, 16 January

After a perfunctory nod to our Marxist understanding of the state, the BT goes on to opine that “advocacy of a revolutionary solution to social oppression does not, however, mean that Marxists are not also prepared to advance certain concrete, usually negative, demands on bourgeois authority.” But it is a far cry from a “negative” demand, such as opposition to particular oppressive or reactionary laws, to call on the capitalist state to jail *its own* killer cops.

The Bolsheviks didn't call to “Jail the Killer Freikorps” when Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered by these reactionary thugs at the behest of the ruling Social Democrats in their bloody onslaught against the 1918-19 German Revolution. Just the opposite. The Bolsheviks honored these fallen revolutionary leaders with searing indictments of the fraud of bourgeois democracy and its Social Democratic bloodhounds. In a speech to a mass demonstration of Moscow workers and Red Army units to protest the murders, Lenin declared: “The example of the German revolution proves that ‘democracy’ is only a camouflage for bourgeois robbery and the most savage violence.”

In contrast, the BT's cry to “jail the killer cops” borrows from the social-democratic lie that this state can be made accountable to the “will of the people.” The BT says so itself, writing, “whenever a few cops can be held accountable for a few of their crimes it is a small victory for their victims.” In reality, even on

On “Jail Killer Cops”

those rare occasions where the rulers find it necessary to punish one of their murderous gendarmes, the purpose is to refurbish illusions in the state as some kind of “neutral” arbiter. Such occasional “democratic” facelifts are in turn designed to bolster the effectiveness of the

“Cops, Crime & Capitalism” is devoted not to rampant cop terror but to “crime”—the code word for whipping up racist reaction and getting more cops on the streets—even providing an Interpol read-out from the time of statistics for murders, rapes and robberies in the U.S.!



Indymedia

PSL's ANSWER Coalition banner at January 30 bail hearing for Bay Area Rapid Transit cop who gunned down Oscar Grant.

state's armed forces against the working class, black people and any and all perceived enemies of the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Cops, Crime and the BT

Following the killing of Oscar Grant, the BT resurrected its “Cops, Crime & Capitalism” article, which was written in the aftermath of the 1992 multiracial explosion of protest against the acquittal of the racist L.A. cops who mercilessly beat Rodney King. At the time, the BT was peddling its wares to the “police reform” liberals in Berkeley “Copwatch.” Echoing Copwatch's “nonviolence” credo that “all cops are not into police brutality,” the BT added: “The police occasionally do useful things, of course, such as directing traffic, comforting children and even risking their lives to rescue victims of disasters.” They even went on to provide an alibi for the racism and brutality of the police, arguing that this is the product of “their function of controlling people who live in brutally dehumanizing conditions on the margins of society”—i.e., ghettos. Indeed a goodly portion of

Today, the BT's “anti-crime” fearmongering is a not-so-distant echo of the fear and loathing of the ghetto masses on the part of Oakland mayor Ron Dellums and other black elected officials, who rail against “black-on-black” crime and pour more cops into the streets. Indifference to the brutal reality of black oppression in the U.S. has long defined the BT. In May 1985, when Philadelphia cops—at the behest of black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode in collusion with the FBI—bombed the MOVE household, incinerating eleven black men, women and children and burning down an entire black neighborhood, the BT couldn't even choke out its cringing call to “jail the killer cops.” In fact, the BT didn't protest at all! Instead, in the very first issue of their paper 1917 the BT took the occasion of this racist atrocity to sneer at the Spartacist League for only “denouncing the authors of the hideous massacre” rather than politically attacking the victims at a 1985 New York City memorial meeting we organized in solidarity with MOVE.

In its January 29 polemic against us, the BT argues, “If calling for jailing killer cops only creates illusions in the capitalist state, one might imagine that this would also be true of demands for freeing Mumia Abu-

Jamal or abolishing the racist death penalty.” The BT's cynicism reflects its appetite to swim in the same stream as those who call for a “new trial” for Mumia. That call and the demand to “jail the killer cops” are both born of the same illusions in the inherent “justice” of the capitalist rulers. Our fight to free Mumia is based not on appeals for “justice” from the capitalist state, but on mobilizing the social power of the multiracial working class *in opposition to* the capitalist state. The demand to abolish the racist death penalty is likewise predicated not on faith in this state but in principled opposition to any state being accorded the right to determine who lives and who dies.

The BT's “On Jailing Killer Cops” points to the fact that we have “raised similar demands in the past.” That is true and we stopped doing so in the early 1990s precisely because we recognized that calling on the state to jail its own armed thugs was a social-democratic repudiation of the Marxist understanding of the state. Now, the BT opines that “the ostentatiously sectarian impulse evident in opposing the call to jail killer cops” is matched by our opposition to running for executive offices of the capitalist state. Indeed, both positions flow from the understanding, codified by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*, that “the executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.” As we wrote in “Marxist Principles and Electoral Tactics” (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 61, Spring 2009): “The question of the state is a life-and-death question for a revolutionary workers party. It is the question of revolution.” Shattering illusions in the “democracy” of the capitalist state is vital to building a revolutionary vanguard party to fight for the class rule of the proletariat. That is our purpose. The purpose of the BT is otherwise.

As we wrote in “Cops, Crime and the BT” (WV No. 569, 12 February 1993), the BT's “‘Cops, Crime and Capitalism’ is simply their attempt to give a ‘proletarian’ facelift to liberal ‘law and order’ reaction.” Today it is recycled to “reach out” to those seeking to channel outrage over the killing of Oscar Grant into schemes to white-wash police terror. The BT's accompanying polemic against us for refusing to go along with the lies of the liberals and reformists is simply another ticket for entry into the Bay Area pro-Democratic Party swamp. ■

The Logan Dossier

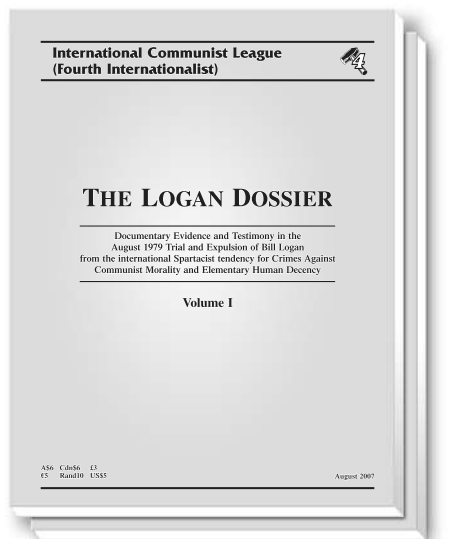
Documentary Evidence and Testimony in the August 1979 Trial and Expulsion of Bill Logan from the international Spartacist tendency for Crimes Against Communist Morality and Elementary Human Decency. Logan is now the leader of the “International Bolshevik Tendency.”

Two volumes, \$5 each

August 2007 (189 pages total)

Order from/pay to:

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

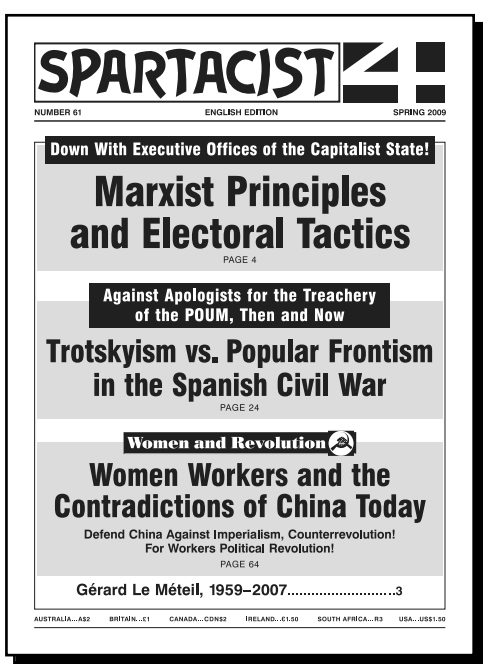


Spartacist
(English edition)
No. 61, Spring 2009

\$1.50 (64 pages)

Spartacist is sent to all
WV subscribers.

Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



Police Terror...

(continued from page 1)

pro-capitalist union bureaucrats. The labor tops promote such illusions above all by chaining the working class politically to the class enemy through support to the capitalist Democratic Party.

“Reforming” the Repressive Apparatus of the State

The capitalist politicians had scarcely dried their crocodile tears after the cop killing of Grant when four cops were killed in a March 21 shootout in the streets of the East Oakland ghetto. The SWAT team had charged into that deadly confrontation with 26-year-old black parolee Lovelle Mixon, who was also killed. A fifth cop was wounded in the shootout: Pat Gonzales, who in 2007 killed 20-year-old Gary King, shooting him in the back in the street near King’s home. In 2008, the trigger-happy Oakland cops gunned down five more young black and Latino men.

Now, from Oakland City Hall to the California governor’s office and right on up to the White House, the bourgeois politicians have closed ranks to salute the “heroism” of the police amid cries to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the state. In a chilling and ominous display of police power, reminiscent of Nazi Third Reich Nuremburg rallies, thousands of cops from all over the country marched into Oakland’s Oracle Arena for a March 27 memorial. They were joined by California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, Democratic Senators Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein, liberal black Congresswoman Barbara Lee and other politicians.

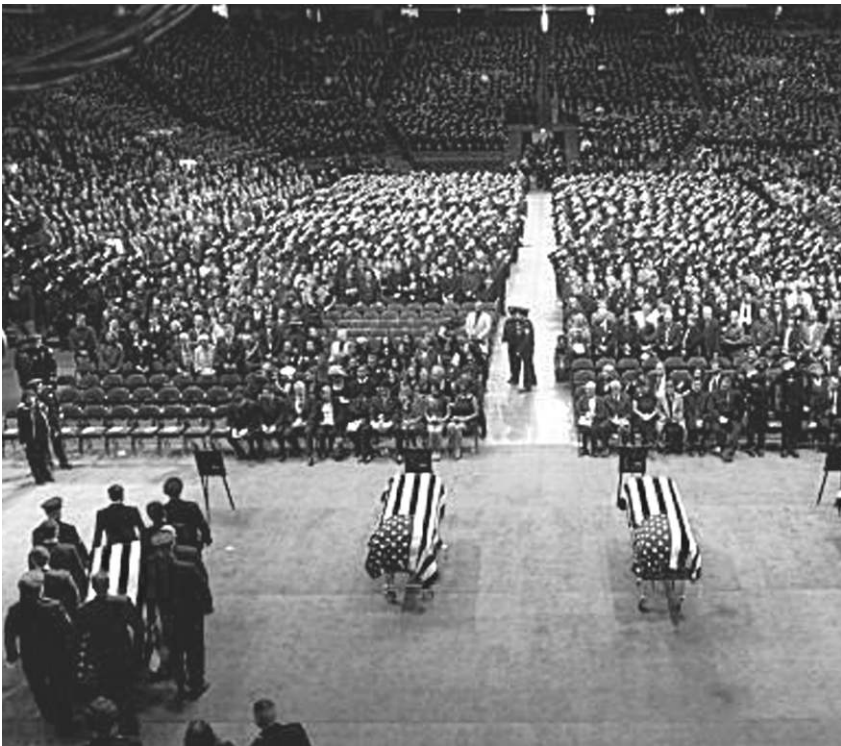
The consummately corrupt and brutal Oakland Police Department is being rehabilitated and the memory of Oscar Grant buried under an avalanche of demands for more police patrols, stricter parole guidelines and harsher jail sentences. The capitalist media and the entire spectrum of established black “leaders” are also screaming for more stringent gun control laws to strengthen the state’s monopoly of violence. We defend the basic democratic right to bear arms: No to gun control!

A frenzy is being whipped up on behalf of the cops. A column by retired San Francisco Deputy Police Chief Kevin Mullen in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (29 March) chillingly made clear the rulers’ contempt for the ghetto masses: “For sure, fix the parole system and, while you’re at it, pour money into the schools and fix the mental-health system as well. But unless the hate and grievance peddlers are stilled, and inner-city attitudes evolve, not much will really change.”

According to an AP dispatch, “one of the most affecting tributes” at the pro-cop media event came from Captain Edward Tracey, commander of the SWAT team. “These were my men,” Tracey said. “They died doing what they loved: riding in motorcycles, kicking in doors, serving in SWAT.” In his condolences, President Obama added, “Their loss reminds us that the work to which they dedicated their lives remains undone.” So many doors to kick down, so many minority youth to shoot, so little time.

Even amid the outpouring of support for the dead cops, some 500 people came out to the funeral for Lovelle Mixon. Flowers and condolence messages were laid at a memorial site for him, and one text message captured a cry of rage and defiance against the police: “Us: 4—Them: 1.” The black-oriented press, talk radio and various blogs testify to the divisions among the black population over the role of the police, with some dreaming of getting the cops “out of the black community,” while others imagine ways to make the cops less racist or less violent.

Mehserle, the BART cop who faces murder charges in the killing of Oscar Grant, conveniently got his preliminary hearing date postponed, with his lawyer claiming distress over the death of the four OPD cops. The International Socialist Organization (ISO) bleats that this only reinforces the need to press “for the police



Macor/SF Chronicle

to be held accountable in Oscar’s death.” But Mehserle’s arrest, which was promoted by the ISO, the RCP, the Party for Socialism and Liberation and the “By Any Means Necessary” coalition, was only meant to quell protest. The cops aren’t going to be held “accountable” for their crimes for the simple reason that their purpose, together with that of the courts and the prisons, is to enforce the rule of the capitalist exploiters through the violent suppression of the working class, blacks and all the oppressed. Even in the increasingly unlikely event that Mehserle is thrown behind bars, the purpose will simply be to give the state’s armed thugs a more “democratic” facade (see article, page 6).

Oakland and the cities surrounding it have served as a virtual laboratory for the liberal schemes advanced by CAPE and

man with nothing to lose.” Mixon grew up on the mean streets of the East Oakland ghetto, cast off like countless thousands of black youth in the inner cities of this country whose lives are deemed worthless by America’s capitalist rulers.

During World War II, when shipbuilders in the Oakland region desperately needed their labor, untrained and often semiliterate black youth recruited from the rural South were, in a matter of months, taught to read and write and became skilled apprentices. Today, the shipyards are barely a dim memory, and the factories that once thrived in the area were shut down in the 1980s de-industrialization of America. The black ghetto poor who once served as a “reserve army of labor” to be maintained, albeit minimally, are now written off by American capitalism as expendable. Like Lovelle



AP

Left: In menacing show of force, thousands of cops packed Oakland’s Oracle Arena for March 27 memorial to four cops who died in shootout. Above: Black Democratic mayor Ron Dellums (far right), liberal face of racist police terror, at March 21 press conference.

Here is the real face of CAPE’s appeals for community “healing centers” and police reform, embraced by Dellums and other black elected officials—to rehabilitate the cops as “servants” of the community so that they can more effectively go after the “criminal” black youth in the ghetto. This is the voice of the black petty bourgeoisie, a small but significant layer who were the main beneficiaries of the limited gains of the civil rights movement as well as of the later “war on poverty” programs aimed at pacifying the ghetto upheavals of the mid 1960s. Barack Obama is representative of the layer of petty-bourgeois blacks who got their piece of the action either by administering these programs or by pushing through narrowly opened doors to privileged spheres that were previously barred to black people. Obama’s move into the Oval Office was prefigured by decades of big city black mayors, who were put into office precisely to put the lid on social struggles.

A 29 March opinion piece in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, titled “Speak Out Again, Mr. President,” appealed to Obama to replay his “More Perfect Union” speech in Oakland in order to bridge “Oakland’s racial and social divides.” That speech was an effective demonstration of Obama’s credentials to become Commander-in-Chief of U.S. imperialism, as he used a little bit of truth—acknowledging America’s roots in slavery and racial oppression—the better to push the big lie that racism and inequality are just past history. Obama’s speech denounced welfare, conciliated racist opposition to affirmative action and condemned black people for “complicity in our condition,” echoing the line of Booker T. Washington, who over a century ago told blacks to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps (that is, if they had any).

Writing of the racist killing of a black Howard University student by black cops in 2000 in majority-black Prince George’s County, outside Washington, D.C., black journalist Ta-Nehisi Coates nailed the political sensibilities of much of the black middle class: “Just as affluent white people aren’t too interested in the plight of poor whites, neither are affluent blacks especially concerned with their brothers in the ghetto—in fact, they may be even more eager to distance themselves from the ghetto than white people are trying to distance themselves from the trailer park” (*Washington Monthly*, June 2001).

But in racist America, even those blacks who have “made it” are still branded by the color of their skin. Mayor Dellums, chief executive officer of Oakland, who has probably done more to expand the OPD than any recent mayor, was barred from speaking at the memorial to the cops. Despised by a police force that hasn’t forgotten his association with the Black Panther Party (BPP) many years ago, he sat silent on the podium, humiliated amidst a sea of armed cops, while

continued on page 8



Macor/SF Chronicle

Condolence messages at memorial site for Lovelle Mixon, who died in March 21 shootout with Oakland cops.

the reformist left, such as police “civilian review boards.” This con game started some 36 years ago when Berkeley established the first police review board in the country. Of course, that never stopped Berkeley cops from blowing away black people, like grandmother Anita Gay, shot down on her own front porch in February 2008. The Oakland Citizens’ Police Review Board (CPRB) was established in 1980 following an OPD killing spree that wiped out nine black people the previous year. One of those killed, Charles Briscoe, was an International Association of Machinists shop steward at the Alameda Naval Air Station, then a major industrial concentration of integrated, unionized workers. Five hundred of Briscoe’s union brothers and sisters jammed an Oakland City Council meeting, making palpable the potential for mobilizing the social power of the multiracial working class against cop terror. The CPRB was established to head off any such possibility and to whitewash the OPD with the illusion that they can be reformed to serve “the people.”

The Class Divide in the Racial Divide

Writing of the young black man who shot the four Oakland cops, an article in the black newspaper the *San Francisco Bay View* (24 March) noted: “Lovellev Mixon was America’s worst nightmare: the Black

Mixon, the most likely “future” for black inner-city youth is jail or an early death at the hands of the cops, one of their peers or the many diseases of poverty that are rampant.

At a meeting in Oakland of clergy, city leaders and the cops to “create an action plan to address youth violence,” an adviser to Dellums decried spending time and effort on “people who are unskilled, uneducated and end up in prison” (*Oakland Tribune*, 25 March). This was echoed in an opinion piece in the 29 March *San Francisco Chronicle* by black liberal Brenda Payton. Speaking of her neighborhood just up the hill from “Oakland’s killing fields,” Payton contrasts the good people there, with their neighborhood meetings, block parties and Christmas caroling, to the “violence and crime bred from ignorance, family breakdown and lack of opportunity” just blocks away. Another piece, by a former resident of Oakland, now a director of juvenile detention in Washington, D.C., opined: “A leading cause of street violence is the lack of trust between the community and law enforcement. The tension in Oakland since the murder of Oscar Grant had amassed into a powder keg and it ignited. Whether Mixon lit it intentionally we may never know, but it was lit. And now, before it gets even worse, a deliberate, public, sincere healing is needed in Oakland.”



Left: Drug bust. Right: Democratic Party huckster Al Sharpton marking “crack house” in 1986. Rulers’ “war on drugs” is a racist war on blacks, other minorities.



Police Terror...

(continued from page 7)

columnists in the local press ominously intoned that he got what he deserved.

And today the Brenda Paytons, so uneasy at being only one block away from “Oakland’s killing fields,” could also themselves be one paycheck away from sharing the situation of their less affluent black brothers and sisters. Close to 70 percent of black middle-class households have no net financial assets, and a report by the Pew Research Center states that 45 percent of their children end up “near poor.”

Down With the Racist “War on Crime”!

Heightened cop terror has been the handmaiden of a drive for gentrification, particularly in the West Oakland ghetto, which butts up against the downtown area. An “anti-crime” crusade was initiated by the previous Democratic Party mayor, Jerry Brown. Following his mayoral election in 1998, Brown presided over the OPD “Riders,” who rampaged through West Oakland, torturing and framing up their victims. The Riders were so notorious that three of them were put on trial, only to be acquitted on all counts. Under Dellums, more cops have been put on the streets with the purpose of making Oakland safe for a new influx of well-heeled petty-bourgeois elements. Once, these people would have been overwhelmingly white; but Oakland now has a significant layer of black professionals, executives and government administrators whose bread and butter depends on keeping the black ghetto masses down.

The upscale black petty bourgeoisie regards “crime” as the scourge of Oakland and wants more cops for their own protection. They see the ghetto masses as “bringing down the community,” a sentiment also spread from the church pulpit and too often shared within the black working class. Blaming the black poor for their own oppression is equally the program of Louis Farrakhan’s Nation of Islam, which has long offered to police housing projects in the ghettos. At an Oakland meeting to protest the killing of Oscar Grant, Farrakhan took black pro-

testers to task for marching only against Oakland District Attorney Tom Orloff and not protesting “when day after day we are killing each other.”

The desperate conditions of life in the vast ghetto wastelands of America have also produced a reactive glorification of lumpenism, gang warfare and other pathological behavior among inner-city youth. How could it be otherwise? There are no jobs. Parents have been cut off welfare. Whatever social infrastructure existed—schools, hospitals, community centers—was gutted long ago. While slashing any and all known social programs benefiting the ghetto poor, billions have been poured into prisons. In California, one out of every 12 black men in their twenties is behind bars in the state’s overflowing prisons—the majority of them snared under the racist “war on drugs.” In a society where the rate of joblessness among ex-cons is more than 75 percent and rates of rearrest nearly 45 percent, Lovelle Mixon was a marked man with little future except jail or the morgue.

An elementary demand, part of the Ten-Point Program of the Labor Black League, is for the decriminalization of drugs, which would take the money and thus the crime out of drug dealing. But to really change the systematic demonization and degradation of black youth trapped in ever more hellish conditions requires shattering the entire system of racist American capitalism, in which the subjugation and segregation of the majority of the black population at the bottom of this society is rooted. Only then will it be possible to eliminate the material roots of black oppression through the integration of black people into an egalitarian socialist society based on a collectivized economy, with jobs and quality housing, health care and education for all.

“Community Control of the Police”—A Liberal Hoax

Arguing that the solution to police terror “is not simply removing individual racist police officers,” an article in the *San Francisco Bay View* (26 March) opines that the solution is “a police force that comes from within the oppressed community and that is democratically controlled by that community.” It points to the “American roots” of this demand in the Ten-Point Program of the Black Panther Party of 40 years ago.

The best of a generation of radical black nationalists, the Black Panther Party was born in Oakland in response to the failure of the liberal-led, pro-Democratic Party civil rights movement to challenge the oppressive conditions of life for blacks in the ghettos when it came North in the mid 1960s. In the late ‘60s, the BPP heroically organized armed patrols of the Oakland ghetto against cop terror. But while subjectively revolutionary, the Panthers, like other components of the New Left, identified the organized working class with the ossified, racist Cold War trade-union bureaucracy atop the AFL-CIO; dismissing the workers as “bought off,” they saw the ghetto poor as the vanguard of revolution. Absent a Marxist program, the Panthers, under the pressure of events, especially state terror, adopted explicitly reformist politics, such as the “breakfast for children” program and the call for community control of the police, which combined liberal illusions in the

bourgeois state with dreams of ending black oppression through “control” of ghetto institutions. (For more on the BPP, see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [Revised], September 1978.)

Even if it could be accomplished, black “control” of the inner cities would not put an end to endemic poverty, joblessness, crime, gutted housing and broken-down schools. The liberation of black people in America requires a massive reallocation of wealth and resources, which is possible only with the expropriation of the bloodsucking capitalist class as a whole and the creation of a workers state where production is based on human need, not profit. The capitalist state cannot be taken over and used for this purpose but must be destroyed and replaced with a very different kind of state where those who labor rule. The multiracial working class, including its strategic black component, is the only class with the social power and objective interest to smash the rule of the

ment of the Bay Area “progressive” black/labor coalition whose purpose has been to divert working-class and black struggle away from any challenge to capitalist rule. Getting his start as a community organizer during the heyday of the 1960s anti-poverty programs, he served to keep the antiwar movement safe for the capitalists by helping to channel it into Democratic Party electoralism. Elected to Congress in 1970, he actively sought appointment to the House Armed Services Committee, where he worked to repackage the imperialist military as a force for “human rights.” Dellums is best known as the force behind the 1986 amendment for divestment from South Africa adopted by the U.S. Congress over Reagan’s veto. This piece of legislation was a signal that the U.S. rulers were willing to let their longtime allies, the brutal apartheid government, go down to defeat...so long as what got installed in its place was a regime of black front men



Obama speaking at graduation of police recruits in Columbus, Ohio, March 6. President’s “stimulus package” promises billions to hire 100,000 more cops.

bourgeoisie and its system of exploitation and vicious racial oppression. To lead this struggle requires a revolutionary workers party built in unwavering opposition to all the state agencies and political parties of the capitalist class enemy and in unwavering commitment to the fight for black freedom as the key to breaking the chains of capitalist wage slavery in America.

Democratic Party: Graveyard of Labor/Black Struggle

In the late 1960s, the Black Panther Party stood up to the racist violence of the trigger-happy cops, soon bringing down upon them the fury of the capitalist state. Under the impact of murderous repression which took the lives of 38 Panthers, the BPP lurched to the right and split in 1971. The wing led by Huey Newton used the Panthers’ authority to build up the Democratic Party’s base in Oakland. Bobby Seale ran for Oakland mayor as a Democrat in 1973. Five years later in 1978 the city’s first black mayor, Lionel Wilson, took office, putting an end to a half-century of control of Oakland by the right-wing Republican Knowland regime. By 1983, conditions for blacks were worse than ever as unemployment and cop terror mounted. That year, when the Spartacist League ran Martha Phillips as a candidate for Oakland City Council, we wrote: “The city of Oakland is itself the best argument against the Democratic Party.”

Not accidentally, Ron Dellums played a key role in husbanding the Panthers into the Democratic Party. He is the embodi-

(led by the formerly outlawed African National Congress) to oversee the same exploitation of the mainly black working masses for the benefit of the white ruling class and its imperialist big brothers.

In a recent interview on National Public Radio, Dellums was asked what it was like moving from Congress to the local stage. He replied that the local stage was not new to him, “but it is different.... You’re the chief executive officer, so it’s the executive branch.” Unlike parliamentary talk shops such as the U.S. Congress, the executive officers of the government have the job of running the racist capitalist state (see “Marxist Principles and Electoral Tactics,” *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 61, Spring 2009). Just as Obama is now Commander-in-Chief of U.S. imperialism, it is Dellums who commands the racist OPD and slashes the jobs and wages of city workers. In 2007, this supposed “friend of labor” moved against Waste Management sanitation workers fighting a union-busting lockout by threatening to make the city’s garbage collection non-union.

Obscenely, Dellums was a keynote speaker at CAPE’s January 14 protest against the killing of Oscar Grant. In response to news of the arrest of Mehserle, Dellums declared: “You guys were able to make the system bend to the will of the people.” This was CAPE’s reward for having organized squads of marshals, including city workers mobilized for this purpose by their union tops, to prevent protesters from “getting out of hand.”

Marxist Bulletin 5-
REVISED

**WHAT STRATEGY
FOR BLACK LIBERATION?**

**Trotskyism
vs.
Black Nationalism**

Key documents and articles
1955-1978

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Marxist Bulletin No. 5 (Revised)
 Key Documents and Articles 1955-1978

\$1.50 (72 pages)
Make checks payable/mail to:
 Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO
 New York, NY 10116

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The Labor Black Leagues stand for mobilizing the masses of black and working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America.

Initiated by and fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and the oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

Since they were brought to this country in chains and enslaved, black people have been an integral part of American class society while at the same time forcibly segregated at the bottom. It took the Civil War to emancipate black people from chattel slavery. But the Civil War was not carried to its completion, and black people were freed from slavery only to be stripped of political rights and economically subju-

gated. The civil rights movement, tied to pro-Democratic Party pressure politics and sold out by liberal reformism, failed to complete the unfinished business of the Civil War. We fight to win the entire working class, including white workers as well as the growing number of Latino and other immigrants, to the fight for black liberation, strategic to the American revolution. Black and working-class militants must stand for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and in their defense against racist and chauvinist anti-immigrant attacks. An injury to one is an injury to all!

The Labor Black Leagues raise the call: Finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers state! They base their perspectives on the realization that it will take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to finally liberate black people.



WV Photo

Labor Black League denounces bipartisan "war on terror" at united-front protest for Mumia in Oakland, April 2008.

If You Stand For —

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabberding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting; keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops, prison guards and security guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour child-care! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Latino, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Defend the separation of church and state! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt—cops and courts out of the bedroom! Down with all laws against consensual activities such as

"crimes without victims" like pornography, gambling, drugs and prostitution!

6 Mass labor/black/Latino mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or community control of the police! Down with the racist and anti-labor "war on drugs"! For decriminalization of drugs! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend the deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea—against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For proletarian political revolution to oust their Stalinist bureaucracies! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adven-

tures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

—Join the Labor Black Leagues!

Membership pledge: \$3/year unemployed; \$10/year employed. For more information:

CHICAGO(312) 563-0441

Labor Black Struggle League
Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680

LOS ANGELES(213) 380-8239

Labor Black League for Social Defense
c/o Box 29574, Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029

NEW YORK(212) 267-1025

Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 2502, Church St. Station
New York, NY 10008

OAKLAND(510) 839-0851

Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604
lbsdbayarea@sbcglobal.com

Scandalously, CAPE joined Dellums in bad-mouthing the "violent" protesters.

As the Bay Area LBL wrote in its January 12 protest statement: "The mass outrage against cop terror needs an organized political expression, and not one that strengthens the hand of the Democratic Party, the political tool of the very capitalist rulers whose interests the cops 'serve and protect.'" The Bay Area's multiracial unions—longshore, municipal and transit workers—can strike a powerful blow against the racist killers in blue. To shut down the city and port of Oakland for a day would do more for the victims of police brutality than a thousand demonstrations pleading for "accountability."

Black workers who are a vital part of the Bay Area unions are an equally vital link to the ghetto masses. But the central obstacle to mobilizing labor's power is the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who chain the unions to the Democratic Party and push the lie that workers and bosses have common "national interests." Far from mobilizing against police terror, they have organized these hired thugs for capitalism into the unions. The SEIU, the same union that organizes BART maintenance workers and Oakland city workers, includes the BART cops! As the LBL Ten-Point Program demands: "Cops, prison guards and security guards out of the unions!"

The hard truth is that the only way to eliminate police brutality is to do away with the system of racist American capitalism, for which the "gang in blue uniforms" is the front line of defense. A multiracial, revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all of the oppressed can be forged only in political combat against the misleaders of labor and

their leftist outriders. Led by such a party, the victorious workers revolution will shatter the power of the racist rulers and their state. Only then will justice be meted out to Mehserle and his ilk and the basis laid for eradicating all inequalities based on class and race and for using the wealth of this country and all the world for the benefit of those whose labor produced it. ■

G20 Protest...

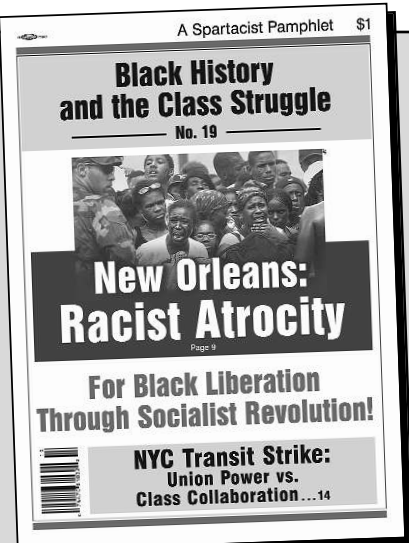
(continued from page 3)

were exonerated, and the clear message was *the cops can kill and they will get away with it.*

The IPCC is no "independent" body committed to establishing the truth. Funded by the Home Office with its chair "appointed by the Crown following recommendation by the Home Secretary" (IPCC.gov.uk), it exists to defuse outrage at cop brutality; to whitewash the police and thereby facilitate their violent, racist business as usual. And it is their business, as millions of workers are being thrown on the scrap heap, to use riot shields, dogs and truncheons when a protest assembles outside the Bank of England. Contrary to the Labourite drivel of so-called "socialist" organisations who say cops are part of the working class, they are a key component of the capitalist state. The state is no neutral arbiter, it is at its core "armed bodies of men" comprising police, courts, prisons and military that exist to maintain the capitalist system of exploitation of the working class by the bourgeoisie. It can-

not be reformed through parliamentary claptrap, investigations, or moral pleadings; it must be smashed through socialist revolution and replaced with a workers state.

The cops were determined that no "disruption" would mar the perfect obscenity of Obama and [British prime minister Gordon] Brown at the G20 summit plotting how best to shore up their crumbling capitalist economies on the backs of the working people and send more imperialist troops to Afghanistan. State repression such as was meted out in the City of London ultimately targets the working class. And it's the trade-union movement—the organised working class—that must be mobilised in self-defence which means also the defence of all the oppressed, of immigrants, blacks and Asians, Muslims witchhunted under the "war on terror," and of those who protest the barbarism of capitalism. The necessary instrumentality for the uprooting of the capitalist system is a revolutionary party, like the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the 1917 October Revolution in Russia. It is the building of such a party to which the Spartacist League is committed. ■

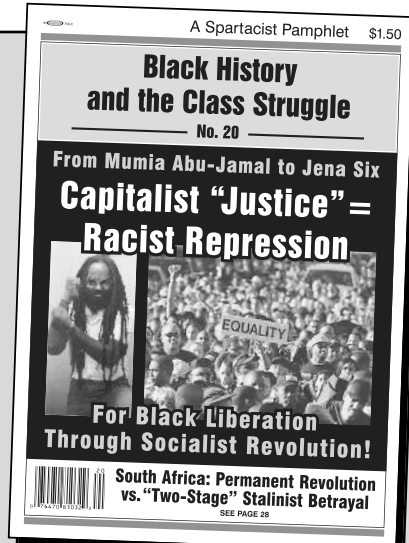


No. 19 \$1 (48 pages)

Black History is sent to all Workers Vanguard subscribers.

Order from/make checks payable to:

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



No. 20 \$1.50 (56 pages)

Evolution...
(continued from page 2)

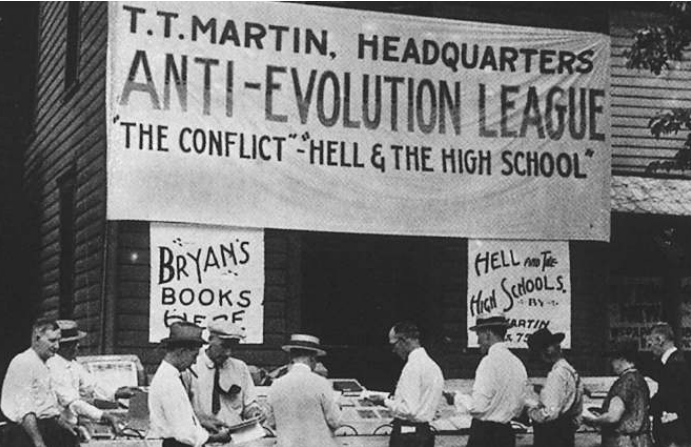
the origin of species. Darwin's theory, which provided a material explanation for natural phenomena, eliminated the necessity for a supernatural explanation for the incredible diversity and complexity of living organisms. Descent with modification, natural selection and a lot of time are all that is needed. I.e., Darwin took God out of evolution and gave a plausible, testable mechanism to explain all varieties of life.

Neither Darwin's anti-slavery fervor nor his revulsion to man's inhumanity to man ever dampened. He was appalled by the treatment of slaves in Brazil, by the extermination of the indigenous tribes in Argentina and by the brutalities visited on the Xhosas in South Africa. In the journals of his travels on the Beagle, Darwin wrote with scathing passion:

"Those who look tenderly at the slave-owner, and with a cold heart at the slave, never seem to put themselves into the position of the latter;—what a cheerless prospect, with not even a hope of change! picture to yourself the chance, ever hanging over you, of your wife and your little children—being torn from you and sold like beasts to the first bidder! And these deeds are done and palliated by men, who profess to love their neighbors as themselves, who believe in

poloical findings that have destroyed the myths of racial superiority have only existed for a few decades. Darwin could not have had such tools—nor did we claim that. In WV No. 930, we cited the 1986 amicus curiae brief presented by the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee to the Supreme Court against the teaching of the myth of Biblical creation in Louisiana schools. That brief noted that it was "the study of scientific evolution" that provided "material evidence that we are all part of the same human race, definitively destroying the myths of racial superiority."

Darwin would, in all probability, have been surprised by the finding that it was possibly only 50 to 100 thousand years ago that the Adams and Eves of Homo sapiens sapiens migrated out of Africa, scant time in which to develop the posited genetic variations claimed by the "social Darwinists" and their modern counterparts, the sociobiologists. Darwin would have much appreciated the evident probability that the progenitor of all life on earth was the cyanobacteria, the first photosynthetic biota that have left fossil evidence going back almost 3.8 billion years. Darwin's theory in no way determined these outcomes; matters have simply turned out that way. (We recognize, of course, that scientific knowledge is dynamic and, unlike religious belief,



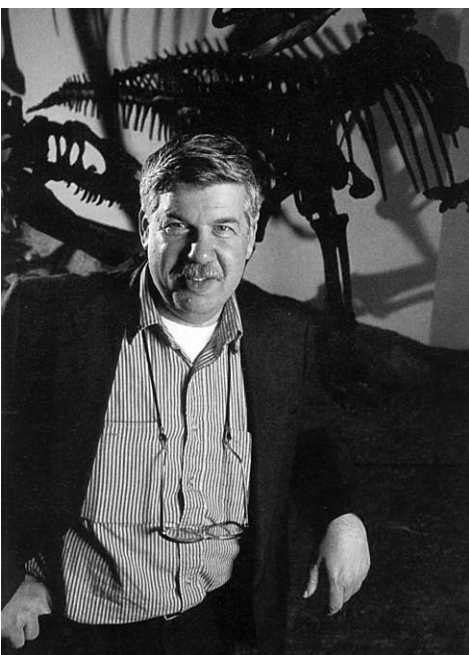
Dayton, Tennessee: Evangelists, segregationists mobilized at the time of the 1925 Scopes "monkey trial," the most famous battle between evolutionists and creationists in U.S. history.

God, and pray that his Will be done on earth! It makes one's blood boil, yet heart tremble, to think that we Englishmen and our American descendants, with their boastful cry of liberty, have been and are so guilty."

—Quoted in Adrian Desmond and James Moore, Darwin's Sacred Cause: How a Hatred of Slavery Shaped Darwin's Views on Human Evolution (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009)

Recently released, Darwin's Sacred Cause compellingly argues that Darwin's abolitionist sentiments especially steeled him in his developing scientific conviction that all mankind were members of one species. Although he made a strong argument for this in The Descent of Man (1871), the actual molecular basis of heredity was unknown in Darwin's lifetime. The structure of DNA was not discovered until 1953 by Watson and Crick, and the host of technological advances in protein and gene sequencing and anthro-

changeable in the face of evidence.) As profound as was Darwin's grasp of common descent with modification, his grasp of social reality was at times little better than pedestrian. Quite telling in this regard was Darwin's tendency to see the white "subspecies" (as he then perceived the different supposed races), and more specifically the Victorian gentleman, as the pinnacle of existing civilization (Charles Dickens' view of such types was rather more jaundiced). Darwin was, to some extent, influenced by Thomas Malthus's view that the numerical growth of "subspecies" (Darwin seemed to see the Irish as such a "subspecies") led to competition for insufficient resources (primarily food) and, thus, to the elimination of the unsuccessful. He became willing to consider that the slaughter of colonial peoples in the wars of the expanding European powers, the brutality of which he abhorred, might be the operation



Terrence McCarthy

The Mismeasure of Man by the late paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould refuted pseudo-scientific justifications for racism.

of natural selection, the survival of the fittest, within the human species. And although Darwin never attempted to verify these leanings by creating "facts" to support them, others, to his dismay, soon did.

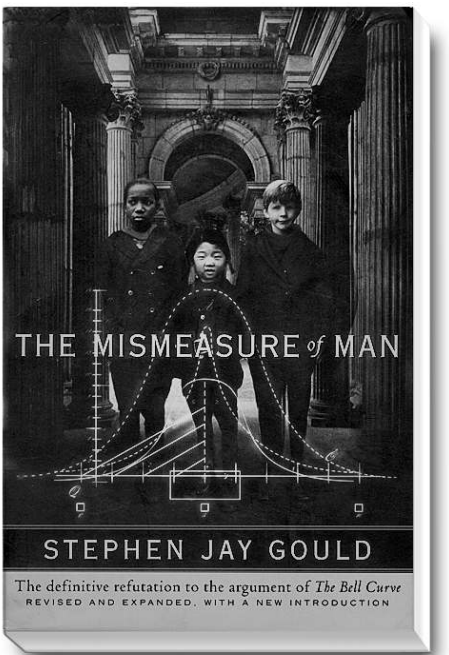
Marx and Engels were also concerned about human civilization, meaning for them, as it no doubt did for Darwin, the social progress of man. For Marx and Engels, this was based not on the struggle between "subspecies" but on the existing social relationships of production. As Engels succinctly put it in his 1883 "Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx":

"The production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case."

The soft-wired, plastic and intrinsically social featherless bipeds that constitute mankind are not in the final analysis conditioned by innate talents or instincts, but rather by their social arrangements. Great and seemingly impregnable societies have been overthrown by so-called barbarians to the eventual benefit of human progress. The fall of the Western Roman Empire helped spawn the feudal order in which capitalism, which was to become the most productive society yet known to man, gestated and ascended, rising to world dominance through the agency of revolution and war.

Civilization does not continually advance. Throughout history, human societies have also paused, decayed or moved backward. As we wrote in a prior article, "Hail Charles Darwin!" (WV No. 854, 16 September 2005):

"This motion, its tempo and direction are intrinsically linked to the economy and class struggle. Science is not independent of these processes. At the time of the



industrial revolution, when the ascendant bourgeoisie challenged and replaced the feudal order, there was not only tremendous progress in the material results of knowledge (e.g., the steam engine), but also leaps in ideas of human freedom (the Enlightenment). But the French Revolution's philosophy of 'liberty, equality, fraternity' was limited in application to the new ruling bourgeoisie once it had achieved its own fundamental class interest: the abolition of feudal restrictions on private moneymaking through exploitation of the working people. Marx surpassed the radical idealism of the French Revolution, understanding from his analysis that the dominant ideas of every historical period are those of the ruling class. Enlightenment philosophy could find universal material expression only through the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat as a bridge to communism."

In the aftermath of the capitalist counterrevolutions in East Europe and the USSR, it has become even more commonplace for people to think that their reality can be shaped by what they believe and feel rather than by what they are and what they do. Such idealism has led many to concur with the view of the newly elected president, Barack Obama, that racial oppression is a thing of the past and that unity of purpose and "hope" will right all wrongs. In fact, in the face of this mammoth economic crisis, the race-caste oppression of black people can and will only worsen and the wrongs visited on America's working people will only multiply and deepen, until they are answered by class struggle; and U.S. imperialism will continue to rain death and destruction down on its victims, until it is overthrown through an American workers revolution. We do not know if Niall C.'s belief in the effectiveness of religious-based egalitarianism extends to the realm of economic social reality, nor do we care. As Marx wrote in his 1845 "Theses on Feuerbach," "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it." ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

- Web site: www.icl-fi.org • E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net
- National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, (212) 732-7860
- Chicago Box 6441, Main PO, Chicago, IL 60680, (312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m., 222 S. Morgan (Buzzer 23)
- Los Angeles Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, (213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m., 3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
- New York Box 3381, Church St. Sta., New York, NY 10008, (212) 267-1025
nysl@tiac.net
Public Office: 1st and 3rd Sat. of every month, 1-4 p.m., and by appointment, 299 Broadway, Suite 318
- Oakland Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604, (510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 1-5 p.m., 1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

- Toronto Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, ON M5W 1X8, (416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com
- Vancouver Box 2717, Main P.O., Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2, (604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Marxism and Religion



Enlightenment
Rationalism
AND THE
Origins
of Marxism

150 Years of the Communist Manifesto 35
Marxism and Religion 48

\$2 (48 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

No. 85-1513
In THE
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
OCTOBER TERM, 1985

EDWIN W. EDWARDS, in his official capacity as Governor of Louisiana, WILLIAM W. GUSTE, JR., in his official capacity as Attorney General of Louisiana, LOUISIANA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, and THOMAS G. CLARKEN, in his official capacity as Superintendent of Education of Louisiana,

Appellants,
—v—
DON AGUIILLARD, LOUISIANA BOARD OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, ORLEANS PARISH SCHOOL BOARD et al.,
Appellees.

ON APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

BRIEF FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AS AMICUS CURIAE ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

RACHEL H. WOLKENSTEIN
General Counsel, Spartacist League
299 Broadway
New York, New York 10007
(212) 235-1886
(Counsel of Record)
VALERIE C. WEST
Staff Counsel, Partisan Defense Committee
299 Broadway
New York, New York 10007
(212) 732-8271

1986 amicus brief by SL and PDC
opposed teaching of "creation
science" in Louisiana public
schools.

\$4 (30 pages)

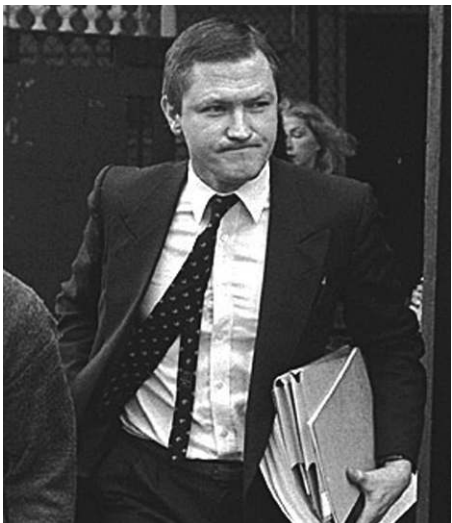
Ireland...

(continued from page 12)

IRA, “the armalite and the ballot box,” wielding armed struggle along with diplomatic manoeuvres and appeals to the “democratic” pretensions of the imperialists as pressure tactics. In the changed political landscape resulting from the collapse of the Soviet Union, which had acted as a counterweight to the imperialist powers, petty-bourgeois nationalist formations no longer have the diplomatic, military and financial means they once had and have been compelled to accept “negotiated solutions”: the Oslo Accords in the case of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the Good Friday Agreement in the case of the IRA.

When Sinn Féin’s Martin McGuinness, former IRA leader who is now deputy first minister in Stormont, stood shoulder to shoulder with Orde and condemned dissident Republicans as “traitors to the island of Ireland,” it was aptly described as McGuinness’s “Michael Collins moment.” Collins led the military struggle against the British and signed the Treaty with Britain that led to the partition of Ireland. Upon taking over the administration of an independent capitalist Ireland in 1922, Collins ruthlessly suppressed the IRA dissidents of the time, executing many of those who continued the struggle against the Treaty and the new Irish “Free State.” From Collins to McGuinness to the IRA dissidents of today, Irish nationalism has inevitably proven to be a dead end for the oppressed whose interests it claims to represent.

The partition of Ireland by British imperialism created the Northern Irish state-



Solicitor Pat Finucane, whose best-known client was IRA martyr Bobby Sands, was murdered in 1989 by Loyalists in collusion with state forces.

let as a reactionary move against the consolidation of an Irish bourgeois national state encompassing the entire island. Since then, the Protestant majority dominates over the Irish Catholic minority. However, the Irish nationalist programme—upheld today by Sinn Féin and the dissidents, and previously by the “anti-Treaty” forces that went on to form the Fianna Fail party—calls for reunifying, necessarily by force in the case of the Protestants, the six counties of Northern Ireland with the southern Catholic clericalist Irish bourgeois state. If achieved, this would simply be a reversal of the terms of oppression, leading to communalist slaughter and forced population transfers.

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

We have consistently called for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the Brit-



AFP photos



ish troops and we opposed the imperialist “peace” deal. In 1993 we stated: “Any imperialist ‘deal’ will be bloody and brutal and will *necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority*. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either.” Our article stated:

“The essential assumption, explicit or implicit, in all the ‘peace’ proposals being touted about is that the British Army, with its shoot-to-kill policy, will remain to police capitalist order, backed up by the bloodthirsty Loyalist thugs. The British imperialists played divide and rule in colonies like India and Palestine, and then on their way out sought to wreck these places by whipping up communalism. Today they adopt a racist and arrogant pretence that they are just trying to stop the tit for tat barbarities of the ‘uncivilised Irish’ of all hues. All of [then-leader of the Catholic SDLP] John Hume’s initiatives, including the talks and proposals with Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams, are based on the premise that British imperialism is somehow ‘neutral.’ All history and the graves of many Irish Catholics say otherwise.”

—*Workers Hammer* No. 138, November/December 1993 [reprinted in *WV* No. 589, 3 December 1993]

Socialist Party: Union Jack “Socialists”

While the Taaffeite Socialist Party in England was up to its neck in a reactionary crusade for “British jobs for British workers,” its sister group the Socialist Party in Northern Ireland played an equally reactionary role, lining up behind British imperialism and the Orange state in whipping up a chauvinist frenzy against the “terrorism” of the Irish nationalists. On 11 March the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions called a pro-imperialist, anti-“terrorism” rally in which Loyalists, clergy and trade-union bureaucrats united in condemning the Republican attacks on the army and PSNI. The Socialist Party was highly visible and distributed a leaflet titled “No More Killings!” (dated 11 March), which said: “The killings by the Real IRA and the Continuity IRA of two soldiers and a policeman should be roundly condemned by every section of the working class movement,” adding that: “The killings in Antrim and Lurgan are a reactionary attempt to divert the attention of workers away from the class issues that bring people together by stirring up sectarian division.”

This chauvinist organisation’s idea of “bringing people together” is unity under the Union Jack—whether leading chauvinist anti-immigrant strikes in England or pandering to Loyalists in Northern Ireland, such as former paramilitary killer Billy Hutchinson whom they hosted in their meetings in the 1990s. The leaflet said not one word against the British Army, either for its butchery in Iraq and Afghanistan or in Northern Ireland, which

is hardly surprising given that the Socialist Party refuses to call for the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. Rather they view British imperialism as a force for “democracy.”

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) also supported the pro-imperialist, anti-Republican rallies on 11 March. Addressing the Derry rally, the SWP’s Eamonn McCann said:

“It’s worth recalling that it was protests by ordinary people that gave the spur for the peace process that ended 30 years of armed conflict between the mainly Catholic Republicans, who want a united Ireland, and Protestant Unionists backed by the British state. Time and time again people took to the streets to push the process forward when establishment politicians were blocking it.”

—*Socialist Worker*, 21 March

Indeed the likes of McCann and the trade-union bureaucracy did mobilise the unions in Northern Ireland and peddled massive illusions in the imperialist “peace deal” because, like the Taaffeites, promoting British imperialism as a force for “democracy” is what their programme boils down to. Thus the SWP welcomed the British troops being sent to Ireland by a Labour government in 1969, obscenely declaring that: “The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but vital. Those who call for the immediate withdrawal of the troops before the men behind the barricades can defend themselves are inviting a pogrom which will hit first and hardest at socialists” (*Socialist Worker*, 11 September 1969).

Britain’s vaunted parliamentary “democracy” is the velvet glove to disguise the mailed fist of the capitalist state—the army, police, courts and prisons whose purpose is to maintain the rule of capital. The capitalist rulers have long used Northern Ireland as the testing ground for domestic repression in Britain: Irish Catholics were indiscriminately targeted as “terrorist suspects” and subjected to the same treatment as Britain’s Muslims today. Shoot-to-kill has been brought to the streets of London as seen in the brutal police execution of Brazilian immigrant Jean Charles de Menezes in July 2005.

The Orange state in Northern Ireland has always been a police state, obsessed with repression against Irish nationalists. From the horse’s mouth, this is described by Sean Rayment, a former commander of the Close Observation Platoon (C.O.P.) of the Parachute Regiment—the regiment responsible for the slaying of innocent Catholics on Bloody Sunday—who says that in the 1990s:

“Around 13,000 soldiers, and an equivalent number of RUC officers, patrolled Ulster’s cities, towns and villages, while a bewildering array of covert agencies secretly monitored the IRA. These covert agencies were collectively known as ‘The Group’ and consisted of the SAS

[Special Air Services]; 14 Intelligence Company, a covert organisation which conducted close surveillance of senior IRA members; and the Force Research Unit, which ran a network of IRA informers. The military agencies also worked closely with the Special Branch’s SAS-trained E4A teams. The Special Branch also ran their network of informers, as did MI5 which had a sizeable presence in the Province.”

—*Telegraph.co.uk*, 14 March

Little has changed today. The covert forces described above have been replaced by the SRR, a sinister outfit that was involved in the operation that led to the execution of de Menezes and has been active in covert operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Today Britain’s MI5 devotes a whopping 15 per cent of its resources to Northern Ireland, against Republicans. The notorious collusion between state forces and the Loyalist killers remains untouched: no police officer will be prosecuted for the murder of Belfast solicitor Pat Finucane who was gunned down in his home in 1989 by Loyalists, working with state forces. Such collusion is not some aberration, but *par for the course* for “democratic” imperialism. One year after the Good Friday Agreement was signed Rosemary Nelson, a prominent Catholic lawyer who reported to the UN that she received death threats from the RUC, was murdered by a Loyalist bomb in 1999.

More than a decade after the ballyhoo about the “peace deal” Northern Ireland society is more segregated than it was before the army was sent there four decades ago and is riven by over 40 “peace” walls. Catholics remain oppressed, and the SWP reports that: “Some 60 percent of applicants for social housing in Northern Ireland are Catholic and 40 percent Protestant. Yet 60 percent of allocations go to Protestants and only 40 percent to Catholics” (*Socialist Worker*, 21 March).

The task of revolutionaries is to seek opportunities for a proletarian perspective in Ireland and to transcend the religious divide that has been fostered by the bourgeoisie in its efforts to increase capitalist exploitation. This means mobilising the whole working class—Protestant and Catholic—to fight for an end to discrimination against the oppressed Catholics, in jobs, housing and education. We advance a programme of transitional demands based on what workers need, not what capitalism can afford. We fight for jobs for all; work-sharing on full pay and a sliding scale of wages and hours. In Northern Ireland, as elsewhere, these demands point to the need to transcend the framework of capitalist rule, to break out of the problem of scarcity which inevitably pits workers against each other. A planned economy, organised under working-class rule, exercised through soviets (workers councils), would regenerate the former industrial areas throughout the British Isles that have been turned into an economic wasteland by capitalism. To resolve the centuries-long oppression of Ireland and come to a voluntary arrangement with all, including the Protestant community, our goal is a workers republic in Ireland within a voluntary federation of socialist republics in the British Isles, led by a Leninist party. ■

WORKERS HAMMER
Down with occupations of Afghanistan, Iraq!
Imperialist troops out of Pakistan, Central Asia!
Obama, Brown escalate war in Afghanistan

Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain
£3/1 year—Britain, Ireland (Europe outside Britain and Ireland: £5; Other: £7)
US\$10/1 year
Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publications
PO Box 42886, London N19 5WY, Britain
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

WORKERS VANGUARD

British Troops Out of Northern Ireland Now!

Defend Irish Republicans Against State Repression!

The following article is reprinted from Workers Hammer No. 206 (Spring 2009), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

WORKERS HAMMER

The Orange state in Northern Ireland has unleashed a wave of repression against Republicans in the aftermath of the Real IRA's killing in March of two British soldiers in Massereene British Army base in Antrim and the killing of a police officer in Craigavon by the Continuity IRA. These attacks by IRA [Irish Republican Army] dissidents on state forces came in the midst of a public row in which police chief Sir Hugh Orde was forced to admit that the British Army's "Special Reconnaissance Regiment" (SRR) had been deployed to crack down on IRA dissidents.

Even prior to these killings there had been a massive increase in state repression against Republicans, which targets the whole Catholic population: the last quarter of 2008 saw a **245 per cent** increase in the number of people stopped and searched by police. Now the police are conducting sweeping raids and roundups in Catholic areas, which have led to riots in Craigavon and Belfast. A Catholic bar in North Belfast was attacked with a pipe bomb and a Catholic primary school in the same area was daubed with Loyalist graffiti. According to the *Derry Journal* (16 March), Irish nationalist dissidents fear for their lives. One said: "It is only a matter of time before one of us is taken out by the Brits or some branch of their so-called security agencies. It is always a possibility but it seems more likely now." Among those arrested are prominent Republicans Declan and Dominic McGlinchey (Junior) as well as Colin Duffy who has now joined others on hunger strike. **Release the detainees! Down with Orange state repression!**

The killings of two British soldiers and a cop were met with obscenely hypocritical declarations against "terrorism," not least from the British Labour government which is part of the world's biggest force for terrorism as seen in the brutal occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan. British imperialism's murderous record in Northern Ireland includes the killing of 13 Catholic demonstrators on Bloody Sunday in 1972 and countless deaths in collusion with the Loyalist death squads.

Obscenely Sinn Féin, which for many years was subject to repression by British armed forces and those of the Orange state, joined the denunciations of the IRA dissidents. Gerry Adams condemned the shootings as an attack on the "peace process." In fact the aftermath of the shootings shows that the *only* significant change brought about by the "peace process" is the disarmament of the IRA—something decades of state repression by the British military failed to do—in exchange for "power sharing" between Sinn Féin and the Democratic Unionists in Stormont, the historic seat of Orange-



Daily Mail



Faith/PA

Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness (left) backed Northern Ireland police chief Sir Hugh Orde (above) as cops carried out raids on Catholic homes in Bellaghy.



Belfast Telegraph

supremacist government in the province. This imperialist-brokered "peace" deal is premised on the continued oppression of the Catholic minority under the heel of the sectarian Orange state. The *fundamental* nature of that state as created by the British at the time of partition remains unchanged. It is today what it always has been: *a heavily militarised, anti-Catholic, police state*. Although the British Army no longer patrols the streets, having reduced their presence in August 2007, some 5,000 British troops remain there as backup for the heavily armed Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI, the renamed RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary]), while the Loyalist paramilitaries have not disarmed. In May 2007, Sinn Féin agreed that its representatives would sit on the new Policing

Board, absurdly claiming that they would ensure "the PSNI are publicly held to account" (*An Phoblacht*, 17 May 2007). Police accountability is a myth also frequently peddled by reformists. In Northern Ireland as elsewhere, the capitalist state is the executive arm of the ruling class and cannot be made accountable to the working class and oppressed. It must be shattered in the course of workers revolution, led by a revolutionary workers party, and replaced with a new state power of the working class. Coming from the petty-bourgeois nationalists of Sinn Féin, the pledge to hold the PSNI "to account" is a whitewash of the anti-Catholic nature of the Orange statelet. To underline the fact that little has changed, when Orde called in the SRR as part of a major crackdown on Irish nationalists, he didn't

bother to inform the Policing Board.

From the point of view of the working class, the killings of these British military personnel and a Northern Ireland cop are not criminal acts. However, in most such terrorist acts, innocent civilians are among those killed or maimed. Among those injured in the shooting were two workers delivering pizza to the army barracks, one of whom was a Polish immigrant. The obscene claim by the Real IRA that both workers were "collaborators" with the British shows the reactionary (and racist) logic of nationalism, which purports to represent its "own" people and writes off all "other" people as the enemy. This outlook frequently leads to acts of indiscriminate violence against the working people.

We stand for the military defence of the Irish nationalist organisations in their conflicts with the British Army, the Northern Ireland state forces and Loyalist paramilitary groups. At the same time, we oppose and condemn communalist attacks by the Irish nationalist forces on the Protestant population as well as indiscriminate attacks on civilian targets in Britain and in Northern Ireland, such as the Omagh bombing in 1998. These indiscriminate actions are indeed crimes against the working class of these islands. Politically our programme is counterposed to the terrorism that is carried out in the service of the nationalist programme which *cuts across* the class unity of the workers in the struggle against their common enemy: the capitalist class.

Our perspective requires the internationalist unity of the working class throughout the British Isles in a struggle against British imperialism, the Irish clericalist state and the Orange state. We fight to eliminate all forms of national oppression, from a proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist perspective. Thus we call for British troops out of Northern Ireland as an integral part of our programme for an Irish workers republic within a federation of workers republics in the British Isles.

The Dead End of Nationalism

Today, disillusionment among Irish nationalists with the disbandment of the IRA in favour of power-sharing in [Northern Ireland Assembly] Stormont is running high. The *Sunday Times* quotes Richard O'Rawe, a former IRA member imprisoned with Bobby Sands (who died on hunger strike in 1981) saying he would "not have joined the IRA in the first place" if he had been told that power-sharing with the Unionists would be the outcome. "Who in their right minds would do a minute in jail for this?" Rawe pointedly asks (*Sunday Times*, 15 March). Such disillusionment has led some hard-line nationalists to seek a solution by trying to re-ignite the military campaign that the IRA abandoned. Prior to the recent shootings, a 300 lb. bomb produced by IRA dissidents supposedly intended for another British Army base was found in Castlewellan, Co. Down in January.

Irish nationalist movements have always combined, in the words of the

continued on page 11



Morrison/AP

Dublin, January 2007: Protest at Sinn Féin conference, which voted to support the Police Service of Northern Ireland.