

Democrats, Republicans: Parties of Exploitation, Oppression and War



Hafalia/SF Chronicle



Garcia/Chicago Tribune

Labor Must Defend Black and Immigrant Rights!

With the backdrop of an economic crisis that has thrown millions out of their jobs and homes, the midterm elections emitted an odor that was rancid even by the usual standards of American bourgeois politics. The Tea Party stoked the fires of racism and anti-immigrant bigotry to “energize” the Republicans’ base and win over some disaffected whites who voted for Barack Obama in 2008. For its part, the Obama White House continued its assault on “illegal” immigrants, having deported an all-time high of 387,790 in 2009, while Democratic candidates tried to appeal to workers fearful of more job losses by spewing crude protectionist venom against the Chinese deformed workers state.

The Republicans now control the House (although not the Senate, where some Tea Party candidates proved to be too whacked-out for many Republican voters to stomach) and eleven more governorships. Their heads in their hands, reformist “socialists” echo liberal pundits in moaning how the Democrats have “blown” the opportunity they were given with Obama’s election in 2008 by catering to big business. “Obama and the Democrats failed to take decisive action to alleviate the crushing pressure of widespread unemployment, rampant home foreclosures and devastating budget cuts,” the International Socialist Organization (ISO) editorialized in the November *Socialist Worker*. Similarly for the Party for Socialism and Liberation, the big factor in the elections was “unemployment, foreclosures, loss of health and pension benefits—and what the administration and the Democrats did and, more importantly, didn’t do about it” (PSLweb.org, 9 November).

Obama made clear from the beginning

For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!

Left: Demonstrator arrested at July 8 Oakland protest against verdict in cop killing of Oscar Grant. Right: Immigrants in El Paso being prepared for deportation to Mexico, January 2009.

what he would “do about it,” declaring to a mammoth Chicago crowd cheering his 2008 election the need for “a new spirit of sacrifice.” This sermonizing was not, of course, directed at Wall Street, whose operatives Obama would prominently place in his administration, the better to bail out failing banks and, with the complicity of the craven UAW union tops, the auto companies. Abetted by the labor tops and the reformists, the Democratic Party postures as the “friend” of labor, blacks and the poor, making the Demo-

crats more effective than the Republicans in demanding sacrifice from working people and launching imperialist adventures abroad. Where the Republicans openly attack workers and minorities, the Democrats lie and do the same thing.

As chief executive of U.S. imperialism, Obama has done his job. He has tripled U.S. forces in the murderous occupation of Afghanistan, where the purported withdrawal date is 2014. What such “withdrawal” might mean can be seen in Iraq, where 50,000 U.S. troops remain along

with thousands of U.S.-paid mercenaries. In competition against America’s imperialist rivals, the Federal Reserve is releasing \$600 billion, which will serve to depreciate the value of the dollar, thus boosting U.S. exports, and to encourage further investment bubbles. Meanwhile, with the number

of long-term unemployed in the U.S. at a record level, extended unemployment benefits are due to expire at the end of this month.

The essence of capitalist “democracy” is, as Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin put it in *The State and Revolution* (1917), that “the oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representative of the oppressing class shall represent and repress them in parliament!” No sooner had he acknowledged the Democrats’ “shellacking” at the polls than Obama declared his intention to seek “compromise” with the Republicans to extend the tax cuts for the rich that were enacted by George W. Bush. Nicholas Kristof noted in a *New York Times* (6 November) column titled “Our Banana Republic” that “both parties agree on extending tax cuts on the first \$250,000 of incomes, even for billionaires.”

The CEOs of the largest U.S. companies, who earned on average 42 times as much as the average worker in 1980, made 531 times as much in 2001. As of 2007, the top 1 percent of American income earners took in almost 24 percent of the country’s pretax income, up from less than 9 percent in 1976. The massive increase in the gap between that tiny handful and the rest of the populace has been overseen by both the Democratic and Republican parties of capital, beginning with the Democratic Carter administration in the late 1970s. This has been due in no small part to a continual assault on labor and has gone along with the massive incarceration of blacks, as well as Latinos.



November 2006: Workers at Smithfield meatpacking plant in North Carolina walked off the job to protest firing of immigrants. Workers won unionization two years later.

continued on page 8



An Exchange on M. N. Roy

August 23, 2010

To the editor of Workers Vanguard:

In your article on India, in the July 30th issue of Workers Vanguard [No. 962], you label the pioneer Indian Communist, M. N. Roy, a “pseudo-Marxist adventurer.” That is one-sided, to say the least.

As a young man, Roy joined a group of brave Bengali revolutionaries who were willing to sacrifice their lives to drive the British from India through force of bombs and bullets. Inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution, Roy became a Communist and made his way to Moscow in 1920 for the Second Comintern Congress, where he changed Lenin’s thinking in the debate on the national-colonial question. As his contemporary, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, noted at that time, “Roy had the support of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek.”

Right after the congress, Lenin dispatched his new protege, with two trainloads of weapons, to remote Tashkent, then a dangerous wilderness, to set up a Communist academy to train cadres for future operations inside British India. It was none other than Trotsky, the commander of the Red Army, who had first proposed this “adventure” a year earlier. After his return to Russia, Roy established his credentials as a first-class Marxist

theoretician with his book, *India in Transition*, which Lenin praised as the first Marxist analysis of India.

Having earned the trust and admiration of the top Bolshevik leaders, Roy rose quickly in the Comintern apparatus. He was regarded as a “leftist” in the political spectrum of the Comintern. If you read his writings in the early ’twenties, you’ll be surprised at how “Trotskyist” they sound.

You denounce Roy for advocating the formation of nationalist “Peoples’ Parties” in the colonies in 1926. In fact, Roy first mooted this policy at the Fourth Comintern Congress in 1922. Neither Lenin nor Trotsky objected. Roy developed this thesis jointly with Karl Radek, the secretary of the Comintern who was allied with Trotsky.

As your tendency has pointed out before, there were weaknesses in some of the experimental Comintern policies in the early 1920s. The whole motivation and purpose of the “workers-peasants party” changed qualitatively between 1922 and 1927.

Let me remind you what James P. Cannon, the leader of the American Trotskyist party, once said about flippant denunciations of Grigory Zinoviev, the Soviet leader who led the vicious, self-serving demagogic attack on Leon Trotsky after Lenin’s death: “I have always been out-

1927 execution of Chinese Communist, one of tens of thousands massacred by bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang.



raged by the impudent pretensions of so many little people to deprecate Zinoviev, and I feel that he deserves justification before history. I have no doubt whatever that in all his big actions, including his most terrible errors, he was motivated fundamentally by devotion to the higher interests of the working class of the whole world...In spite of all, Zinoviev deserves restoration as one of the great hero-martyrs of the revolution.”

And so does Manabendra Nath Roy.

Charles Wesley Ervin

WV replies:

M. N. Roy, whom Ervin so rhapsodizes, was briefly a prominent figure in the early Communist movement, having been recruited from the Indian nationalist movement. After falling out of favor in the Stalinized Communist International (CI), he aligned himself with the Right Opposition led by Nikolai Bukharin and was expelled from the CI in 1929. (As Leon Trotsky asserted, the victory of the program of the Right Opposition would have led to capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union in short order.) Roy rapidly reverted to his roots by becoming an increasingly open apologist for bourgeois nationalism, notably as an advocate of class collaboration with the bourgeois Indian National Congress, later the Congress Party. Revo-

lutionary Marxists fight for national liberation of the colonies and neocolonies of imperialism, but we do not support nationalism, a bourgeois ideology which is an obstacle to social revolution.

Charles Wesley Ervin is the author of a recent book on the history of Trotskyism in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and India, *Tomorrow Is Ours* (2006). Particularly useful from Ervin’s book is the powerful 1942 program of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India. While Ervin has cast himself as an apologist for Roy, the BLPI (like us) had a few choice words concerning Roy’s pernicious role. Ervin’s own text is also informative. He quotes Roy as coming out for “a political party representing the workers and peasants” at the Fourth CI Congress in 1922. Ervin adds: “After the Fourth Congress Roy pursued the People’s Party strategy for India. He wrote article after article, and ultimately a whole book, on how to transform the Congress [Party] into ‘a democratic party of the people with a programme of Revolutionary Nationalism’.” To be accurate, even prior to the Fourth Congress Roy was already arguing that workers and peasants have the same class interests.

Contrary to Ervin’s imputations, Trotsky from the start gave no quarter to the

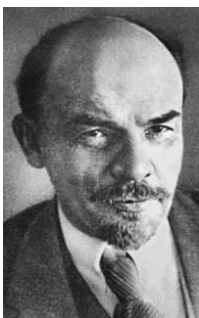
continued on page 5



TROTSKY

Irish Independence and the English Proletariat

Writing when all of Ireland was under British rule, Karl Marx stressed that for the proletariat in England to develop its class consciousness, it must champion Irish independence. Today, the emancipation of the working class in Britain remains inextricably linked to that of the workers in both Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic, posing the need for proletarian revolutions that establish a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles.



LENIN

I have become more and more convinced—and the thing now is to drum this conviction into the English working class—that they will never be able to do anything decisive here in England before they separate their attitude towards Ireland quite definitely from that of the ruling classes, and not only make common cause with the Irish, but even take the initiative in dissolving the Union established in 1801, and substituting a free federal relationship for it. And this must be done not out of sympathy for Ireland, but as a demand based on the interests of the English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain bound to the leading-strings of the ruling classes, because *they* will be forced to make a common front with them against Ireland. Every movement of the working class in England itself is crippled by the dissension with the Irish, who form a very important section of the working class in England itself. The *primary condition* for emancipation here—the overthrow of the English landed oligarchy—remains unattainable, since its positions cannot be stormed here as long as it holds its strongly-entrenched outposts in Ireland. But over there, once affairs have been laid in the hands of the Irish people themselves, as soon as they have made themselves their own legislators and rulers, as soon as they have become autonomous, it will be infinitely easier there than here to abolish the landed aristocracy (to a large extent *the same persons* as the English landlords) since in Ireland it is not just merely an economic question, but also a *national* one, as the landlords there are not, as they are in England, traditional dignitaries and representatives, but the mortally-hated oppressors of the nationality....

In fact, England never has and never *can* rule Ireland any other way, as long as the present relationship continues—only with the most abominable reign of terror and the most reprehensible corruption.

—Karl Marx, Letter to Ludwig Kugelmann (29 November 1869)

Letter from Indian Trotskyist

We received the following letter from a longtime supporter of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) on September 26.

Dear comrades,

The article on India published in WV, No. 962, 30 July, 2010 is highly impressive and informative. I wish to clarify certain points in the article only.

CPI(M) [Communist Party of India (Marxist)] split from CPI in 1964, three years before the Naxalite split from the CPI(M). As a matter of fact, the CPI was divided into two cliques from almost its beginning. As early as 1928, two men S. V. Deshpande and B. T. Ranadive joined the Bombay group of the party. Deshpande became a follower of S. A. Dange and B. T. Ranadive acted at the behest of G. D. Adhikari. Even while in Mearut jail, the clique fight had assumed such a proportion that Dange was expelled from the party. Later Ranadive became the leader of his own clique while Adhikari shifted to the clique of Dange who had been readmitted later. So the clique fight continued. However some excuse was needed to precipitate a split and it was provided by two things, namely, Moscow-Peking dispute following Khrushchev’s revelations at the 20th Congress of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] and Indo-China border war in 1962. However, there was no essential ideological difference between the two as anyone who reads the post-split documents of the CPI and CPI(M) will realize.

Regarding anti-Indian, anti-Hindi hysteria in Nepal supported by the Maoists, I hasten to add that while we do not and cannot support such hysteria, it is rooted in big-brotherly attitude of the

Indian bourgeoisie displayed time and again by its government. It goes back to 1950 when India signed the Gandak Treaty to build a dam in Nepal on a river India shares with Nepal. I am not well informed about its contents but there was a feeling in Nepal that the treaty benefited India at the expense of Nepal. Moreover, time and again, Indian government has supported monarchy and other reactionary forces and came to their rescue whenever they were threatened by the peasant revolts in Nepal.

Parallel to anti-India hysteria in Nepal is the anti-Nepali hysteria in India, particularly in West Bengal. Poverty and absence of any opportunities of employment, medical care and decent education drove people of Nepal to neighboring lands. End of the British rule in India deprived Gorkhas of the chances of getting enlisted in the British Army. However, an agreement between India and Nepal signed in 1950 permitted free movement and trade between the two countries. So a number of Hindi speaking people settled in Nepal while people from Nepal got settled in Darjeeling (in West Bengal) and in the kingdom of Sikkim and became a majority in both areas in course of time. Political impact of this development was not felt immediately. But it came to be felt by 1975. The kingdom of Sikkim was annexed by India in 1975 as the Nepali speaking persons (who had become a majority reducing the original Lepcha people to a minority) voted for accession to India in a plebiscite conducted under the supervision of Indian army. Sikkim is a constituent state of Indian Union since then and monarchy is abolished. Frightened by the phenomenon, the kingdom of

continued on page 4

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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The closing date for news in this issue is November 16.

No. 969

19 November 2010

Free the Class-War Prisoners!

“The mills of capitalist justice grind out victims for the penitentiary....

“In one sense of the word the whole of capitalist society is a prison. For the great mass of people who do the hard, useful work there is no such word as freedom. They come and go at the order of a few. Their lives are regulated according to the needs and wishes of a few. A censorship is put upon their words and deeds. The fruits of their labor are taken from them. And if, by chance, they have the instinct and spirit to rebel, if they take their place in the vanguard of the fight for justice, the prisons are waiting.”

—James P. Cannon, “The Cause that Passes Through a Prison” (*Labor Defender*, September 1926)

Following in the tradition of Cannon’s International Labor Defense (ILD), the Partisan Defense Committee honors the class-war prisoners—those brave men and women railroaded to prison for standing up to racist capitalist oppression—irrespective of their particular political views or affiliation. Twenty-five years ago, the PDC revived the ILD program of providing monthly stipends to class-war prisoners and additional funds for their birthdays as well as holiday gifts for them and their families. We raise money for this unique and necessary program during the holiday season. Fund-raising efforts will include benefits in Chicago on December 18, New York City on January 21 and Toronto on January 28.

The \$25 monthly stipends help ease a little bit the horrors of “life” in capitalist dungeons. More importantly, they are a necessary expression of solidarity with these prisoners—a message that they are not forgotten. In letters to the PDC before last year’s Holiday Appeal, the prisoners gave a glimpse of what the program means to them:

Hugo Pinell: “Your care and solidarity has provided me with extra strength and drive to keep on pushing and evolving and I hope that my company has served you well. I am with you, in life and struggle.”

Janine Africa: “I want to thank everybody for yalls support all of these years. I’m not just talking about the holiday donations, I’m talking about the work yall do for the release of political prisoners from prison.”

Jaan Laaman: “This solidarity and support is important and necessary for us political prisoners, especially as the years and decades of our captivity grind on.... Being in captivity is certainly harsh, and this includes the sufferings of our children and families and friends. But prison walls and sentences do not and can not stop struggle.”

Tom Manning, Laaman’s Ohio 7 comrade: “Just so you know, it [the stipend] goes for bags of mackerel and jars of peanut butter, to supplement my protein needs.”

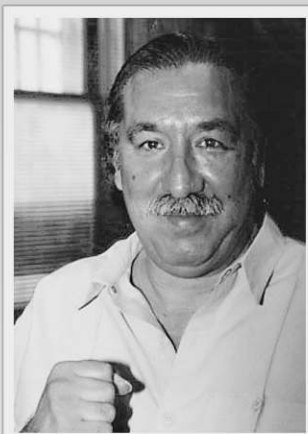
The struggle to free all class-war prisoners is critical to educating a new gen-

25th Annual PDC Holiday Appeal



Jennifer Beach

Mumia Abu-Jamal



Ben Corbett

Leonard Peltier



WV Photo

Lynne Stewart

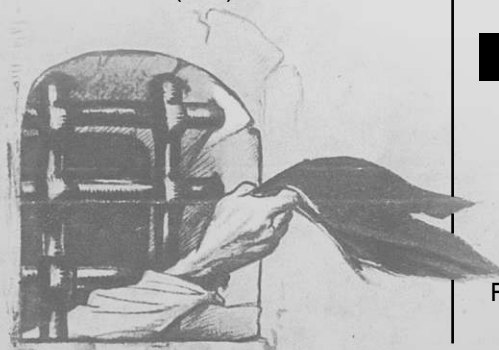
Chicago

Saturday, December 18
4 to 7 p.m.

U.E. Hall
37 S. Ashland

(at Monroe)

For info.: (312) 563-0442



Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

(212) 406-4252 • partisandefense@earthlink.net • www.partisandefense.org

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

Illustration by Deni

New York City

Friday, January 21
6 to 9 p.m.

La Pregunta Arts Cafe
1528 Amsterdam Ave.
(Manhattan, 135th/136th St.)

For info.: (212) 406-4252

Toronto

Friday, January 28
7 to 10 p.m.

Steelworkers Hall
25 Cecil Street
(1 block south of College at
Ross St., west of Queen’s Park Sta.)

For info.: (416) 593-4138

eration of fighters for the oppressed. This is given added meaning as we build for this Holiday Appeal. Persecution of those imprisoned for their political views and actions has not only continued unabated, but Obama and his top cop, Attorney General Eric Holder, are making reservations for many more to join them. The Obama administration has launched an ominous escalation of state repression, accelerating the repressive measures adopted during the Clinton/Bush years that will be wielded against those who propelled him to office—labor, blacks, immigrants and leftist youth.

Mumia Abu-Jamal, whose case will again be a focus of the Holiday Appeal, is threatened with the reinstitution of the death sentence (see article, page 12).

Seventy-one-year-old leftist lawyer Lynne Stewart has been resentenced to ten years in prison for the “crime” of representing her client. The PDC has added Stewart to the stipend recipients. In Chicago and Minneapolis, the FBI recently raided the homes of leftists, antiwar activists and unionists under the rubric of the “war on terrorism.” Among those targeted were members of the Freedom Road Socialist Organization and others, who have run afoul of Washington for their open support to leftist rebels in Colombia opposed to the U.S. puppet regime, the secular-nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Iranian-backed Lebanese Hezbollah.

In February, Obama signed into law yet another extension of the USA Patriot Act with its provisions of indefinite detention, expansion of secret FBI searches of homes and offices and elimination of formal restrictions on domestic spying, wiretapping and Internet surveillance. The message to all who would fight against the ravages of the capitalist economic crisis, war and racist repression: This is what’s in store for you if you step out of line.

The PDC initiated the stipend program at the height of the reactionary Reagan years, defining features of which included the destruction of the PATCO air traffic controllers union, the bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE commune and efforts to classify leftists and union militants as terrorists and criminals. It was an

important component of fighting efforts to criminalize leftist political dissent—and it remains so today, as the “war on terror” has given the government repressive powers that Reagan could only dream of.

We have provided stipends to over 30 prisoners, including eight union militants, on three continents. Many of these prisoners, largely victims of the racist rulers’ war against militant black activists, have been there from nearly the beginning of our stipends program. The government has repeatedly demonstrated its determination to make sure they die behind bars from old age or medical neglect—or in the case of Mumia, by legal lynching. In fighting for their freedom, we are dedicated to searing the injustice of these cases into the consciousness of the working masses—today and for generations to come. Regular features of the Holiday Appeal are presentations by PDC representatives to union locals in cities across the country. As Cannon noted, “The victory of the class-war prisoners is possible only when they are inseparably united with the living labor movement.” *An injury to one is an injury to all!*

The 17 class-war prisoners described below receive monthly stipends from the PDC.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a former Black Panther Party spokesman, a well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and an award-winning journalist known as “the voice of the voiceless.” This past January, the U.S. Supreme Court took a big step toward the legal lynching of this innocent man. The Court vacated a March 2008 decision of the federal Third Circuit Court of Appeals that had upheld a 2001 decision by federal district court judge William Yohn overturning Mumia’s death sentence. The high court in essence gave marching orders to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals to reinstate the death penalty. A hearing was held in Philadelphia on November 9.

This December marks the 29th anniversary of Mumia’s arrest for a killing that the cops know he did not commit. Mumia was framed up for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner and sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. Mountains of evidence proving Mumia’s innocence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner, have been submitted to the courts. But to the racists in black robes, a court of law is no place for evidence of the innocence of this fighter for the oppressed.

While others plead with President Obama and his attorney general to “investigate” violations of Mumia’s “civil rights,” the PDC says that Mumia’s fate cannot be left in the hands of the government of the capitalists. The racist rulers hate Mumia because they see in him the spectre of black revolt. The stakes are high and the situation is grim, but any real fight for Mumia’s freedom must be based on a class-struggle opposition to the capitalist rulers, who have entombed this innocent black man for more than half his life.

Leonard Peltier is an internationally renowned class-war prisoner. Peltier’s incarceration for his activism in the American Indian Movement has come to symbolize this country’s racist repression of its native peoples, the survivors of centuries of genocidal oppression. Peltier’s frame-up trial, for the 1975 deaths of two marauding FBI agents in what had become a war zone on the South Dakota Pine Ridge Reservation, shows what capitalist “justice” is all about. Although the

continued on page 11



Minneapolis, September 24:
Antiwar activist Meredith Aby, whose home was raided by FBI, speaking at press conference.

Young Spartacus

Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs!

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

What We Fight For

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

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

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



Young Spartacus

SYC at March 4 demonstration in defense of public education at Hunter College, New York City.

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

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

5 Down with racist anti-immigrant laws! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Organize foreign-born workers into the unions! No deportations! No to

racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Arab, anti-Asian, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry!

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

7 Defend separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Keep religion out of the schools!

No prayer in the schools! Down with the teaching of creationism! For the teaching of evolution! No government funding for religious, private or "charter" schools!

8 Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! U.S. and allied forces out of Iraq, Afghanistan now! Down with the neocolonial occupations! For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers at home! No illusions in the UN—a den of imperialist thieves, their victims and their lackeys! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans, Haiti! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean! U.S. imperialist butchers: hands off the world! No to the draft! Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military! Drive ROTC, CIA and police recruiters off the campuses!

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

10 Break with the racist, warmongering Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism! No support to any capitalist parties, including Greens! For a revolutionary, multiracial workers party that fights for socialist revolution! Look to the example of the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 Russia! For new October Revolutions! For the international rule of the working class!

27 July 2010

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

Indian Trotskyist...

(continued from page 2)

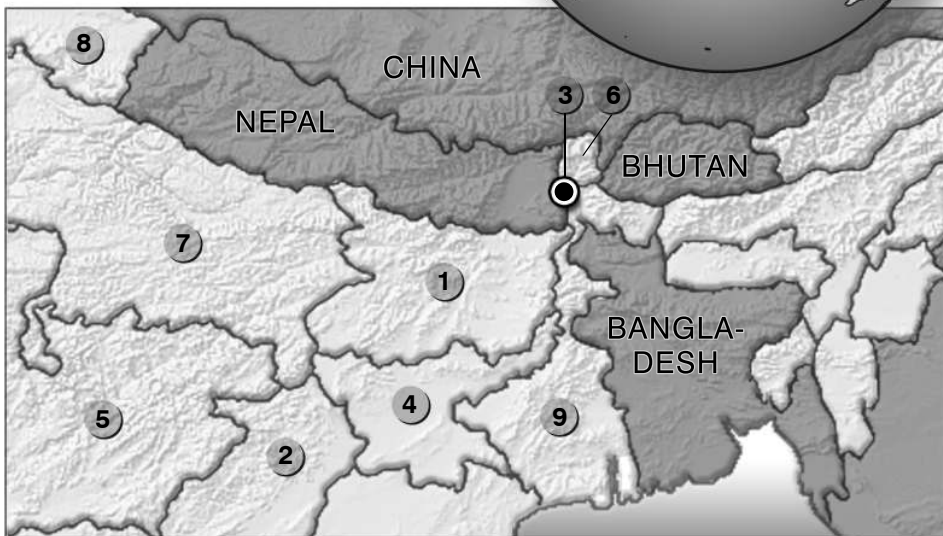
Bhutan tightened its laws about entry of foreigners and their employment and prohibited their permanent stay in Bhutan. Not only that, it expelled a lot of Nepali speaking people from Bhutan as illegal immigrants who moved to India and Nepal. These people now accommodated in refugee camps in India are called Bhupalis.

In Darjeeling too the Lepchas were the original inhabitants but as the Nepalis became a majority, they started an aggressive movement for a separate state of Gorkhaland by 1980. The ruling CPI(M) like other parties subscribing to Bengali chauvinism calls the demand as unconstitutional and separatist which is absurd, particularly after the creation of the states of Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand—states created by carving out certain parts of the states of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh respectively. The demand of Gorkhaland led to sudden appearance of new outfits like JANACHETANA (people's consciousness), JANA JAGARAN (people's awakening), and BANGLA O' BANGABHASA BACHAO SAMITI (save Bengal and Bengali language) who brand the Nepalis in Darjeeling and adjacent areas as illegal immigrants and demand the cancellation of the Indo-Nepal Agreement of 1950. In

Northeast India

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1. Bihar | 6. Sikkim |
| 2. Chhattisgarh | 7. Uttar Pradesh |
| 3. City of Darjeeling | 8. Uttarakhand |
| 4. Jharkhand | 9. West Bengal |
| 5. Madhya Pradesh | |

0 200 Kilometers
0 200 Miles



WV Map

turn the Nepalis call the Bengalis illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. Thus an inter ethnic tension and anti-Nepali hysteria prevails in North Bengal at present.

A further complication has arisen from

the fact that leaders of the Nepali speaking parties demand inclusion of areas like Tarai and Duars (sub Himalayan tracts) in Gorkhaland where the population is mixed and the Nepali speaking people

do not constitute a majority. The tribal population has reacted against it by forming an organization called Adivasi Vikash Parishad (Tribal's Development Council). It is also challenging Bengali chauvinism by demanding Hindi medium schools and colleges, a long felt need in the region. None of the parties claiming to be left has proved capable of facing these challenges as their approach is narrow minded and determined by electoral considerations, not on principles.

Trotskyist movement in India was destroyed by impatience of leadership and get rich quick tactics. The parties they entered into were well experienced in entryism. They (the Stalinists and Social Democrats) had worked for not less than fourteen years in the Congress and recruited their cadres there and they were not going to permit the entrants freedom to work as a group inside their parties. The Indian Trotskyists ruined their base hopelessly as they allowed their trade unionists to enter rival organization which meant surrendering all they had gained to their class enemies beyond hope of recovery. They repeated the mistake again when RWP [Revolutionary Workers Party] merged with RCPI [Revolutionary Communist Party of India]. So at the risk of sounding dogmatic, I dare say patience and "no entryism" are going to be the first two guiding principles of Trotskyist movement in India. More later.

Revolutionary greetings,
Fraternally,
Upendranath Roy
West Bengal, India

WORKERS VANGUARD

Gay Oppression and the Suicide of Tyler Clementi

NEW YORK CITY—On September 22, 18-year-old Rutgers University student Tyler Clementi committed suicide by jumping from the George Washington Bridge. Earlier that week, his college roommate had secretly streamed video over the Internet of him making out with another man. Following Clementi's death, reports of suicides of gay youth around the country came trickling out in the press. The next month saw the kidnapping and torture of three young men in the Bronx because they were suspected of engaging in homosexual sex. These terrible events are not anomalies; they speak to the ongoing oppression of gays, and of all those who diverge from the deeply entrenched gender roles inherent to the institution of the family in capitalist society.

Homosexual youth are up to four times more likely than straight youth to attempt suicide. Almost two-thirds report feeling unsafe at school. The growth of religious backwardness and the reactionary "family values" campaigns pushed by both Democrats and Republicans have further intensified anti-gay bigotry and violence, at the same time that state-sponsored "abstinence only" campaigns and the rollback of abortion rights have aimed to repress every expression of young people's sexuality.

Confronted by the events of the last several months, everyone from the *New York Times*, the bourgeoisie's newspaper of record, to the reformist International

Socialist Organization has responded with calls for anti-bullying measures. For public school and campus administrations, the capitalist rulers' watchdogs, anti-bullying policies are a pretext for further snooping into the private affairs of youth, who are already subject to anti-drug witch-hunts. Black and minority students, who especially are branded as criminals by cops and security guards and subject to discriminatory "zero tolerance" policies in their schools, would be among the first targets.

We oppose school administrators having stronger disciplinary powers, and we also oppose "hate crime" legislation. Hate crime legislation strengthens the capitalist state's repressive powers while promoting the absurd idea that the state will defend the interests of those oppressed and exploited under capitalism. In practice, such laws have been used to persecute anarchist protesters and pro-Palestinian activists while gays, immigrants and black people continue to face cop and vigilante terror in the streets.

We seek to win youth to building a revolutionary workers party that will act as a champion of the oppressed against the barbarism of capitalist society. Only socialist revolution will open the way to an egalitarian, communist society where the institution of the family, the source of women's and gay oppression, can be replaced because its economic and social functions will be fulfilled by society as a whole.

We print below a Spartacus Youth

Club speaker's remarks at the New York Spartacist League's October 9 forum, slightly edited for publication.

* * *

What I wanted to talk about is what, probably, you have been reading in the papers, this recent wave of attacks against gays in New York and the surrounding areas. There is the case of Tyler Clementi, the Rutgers student, a tragic suicide. There are also the cases of the brutalized gays in the Bronx that were on the front page of the *New York Times*, and the attack on a gay man at the landmark of the gay rights movement, Stonewall, in the Village.

It is a vital task of the workers revolutionary vanguard to fight for full democratic rights for gays. In the United States, which is one of the most politically backward advanced capitalist countries on Earth, we see an infestation of Puritanism and religious fundamentalism.

The monogamous family remains the legally enforced social model for the organization of private life in its most intimate aspects, such as love, sex, bearing and raising children. It is the central institution oppressing women, and anti-gay bigotry flows from the need to punish any "deviations" from this patriarchal model.

So what is our program? You can, of course, read more in the *Women and Revolution* pages of our newspaper, or come to one of our youth classes at City College this semester. To give you a snapshot of



our program for women's liberation and for the complete end to this system of oppression, I would like to quote Leon Trotsky.

We had this in our article "For the Right of Gay Marriage...and Divorce" [WV No. 824, 16 April 2004]. Leon Trotsky wrote a response to the magazine *Liberty* in January 1933. They were asking him, "Is Bolshevism deliberately destroying the family?" This is Trotsky's answer:

"If one understands by 'family' a compulsory union based on the marriage contract, the blessing of the church, property rights, and the single passport, then Bolshevism has destroyed this policed family from the roots up.

"If one understands by 'family' the unbounded domination of parents over children, and absence of legal rights for the wife, then Bolshevism has, unfortunately, not yet completely destroyed this carry-over of society's old barbarism.

"If one understands by 'family' ideal monogamy—not in the legal but in the actual sense—then the Bolsheviks could not destroy what never was nor is on earth, barring fortunate exceptions."■

M.N. Roy...

(continued from page 2)

notion of a revolutionary party simultaneously representing the class interests of workers and peasants, as we will see. The peasantry consists of petty-bourgeois layers; the poor peasants can be won to following the lead of the revolutionary proletariat, but such an outcome is by no means the only possibility. As an intermediate social layer, the peasantry can also support outright reactionary forces, or it can serve as a cover for the interests of the big bourgeoisie itself.

A major factor propelling Trotsky to found the International Left Opposition and later the Fourth International, which carried forward the struggle for the authentic internationalist program of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, was the betrayal of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 by Stalin and his allies in the CI. At the core of Stalin's policy was looking to the Guomindang, the party of the Chinese bourgeoisie, as the leader of the Chinese national revolutionary struggle, and the complete liquidation of the young Chinese Communist Party (CCP) into the Guomindang. The "workers and peasants party" theory blossomed as the "bloc of four classes," as the Guomindang was dubbed.

Stalin made use of the opportunism and adventurism of his operatives in China, principally Mikhail Borodin and later M.N. Roy. (This of course does not excuse his making his minions scapegoats after the fact.) Thousands of Communists and pro-Communist workers paid with their lives for Stalin's criminal opportunism. In April 1927, Guomindang head Chiang Kai-shek, turning on his CP allies, carried out a bloody coup in Shanghai, murdering thousands of Communist cadres and trade unionists; the catastrophe was then repeated in other cities. To conceal the hideous results of his policy of liquidating the CCP into the Guomindang, Stalin

launched a series of cynical ultraleft, adventurist uprisings in China that added greatly to the death toll of Communist comrades, pro-Communist workers and revolutionary peasants, completing the beheading of the Chinese proletariat.

History's verdict on the Chinese debacle was rendered by Trotsky in his 1928 critique, "The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals" (printed in *The Third International After Lenin*). In this crucial indictment of the Stalinized CI, Trotsky quoted from Lenin in 1909 concerning the Russian Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs): "The fundamental idea of their program was not at all that 'an alliance of the forces' of the proletariat and the peasantry is necessary, but that there is no *class abyss* between the former and the latter and that there is no need to draw a line of class demarcation between them, and that the social democratic idea of the petty bourgeois nature of the peasantry that distinguishes it from the proletariat is fundamentally false." Trotsky added:

"In other words, the two-class workers' and peasants' party is the central idea of the Russian Narodniks [populists]. Only in the struggle against this idea could the party of the proletarian vanguard in peasant Russia develop. Lenin persistently and untiringly repeated in the epoch of the 1905 revolution that 'Our attitude towards the peasantry must be distrustful, we must *organize separately from it*, be ready for a struggle against it, to the extent that the peasantry comes forward as a reactionary or anti-proletarian force.'" [emphasis added by Trotsky]

Trotsky devoted several pages of the section of *Third International After Lenin* on "Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution" to the nature of the peasantry. Quoting from Lenin against the anti-Bolshevik idea of workers and peasants parties, he concludes: "This idea reappears in hundreds of Lenin's major and minor works. In 1908, he explained: 'The alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry must in no case be inter-

preted to mean a *fusion of the different classes or parties* of the proletariat and the peasantry'" (emphasis added by Trotsky).

Trotsky wrote in the same work: "In the West the idea of a workers' and peasants' party is simply ridiculous. In the East it is fatal. In China, India, and Japan this idea is mortally hostile not only to the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution but also to the most elementary independence of the proletarian vanguard. The workers' and peasants' party can only serve as a base, a screen, and a springboard for the bourgeoisie."

Summarizing Roy's role in the Indian communist movement, Trotsky wrote in "Who Is Leading the Comintern Today?" (September 1928):

"It is doubtful if greater harm could be done to the Indian proletariat than was done by Zinoviev, Stalin, and Bukharin through the medium of Roy. In India, as in China, the work has been and is oriented almost totally toward bourgeois nationalism.... Through the medium of Roy, the leadership of the International is holding the stirrup for the future Indian Chiang Kai-sheks.... In India the catastrophe is being prepared just as methodically as it was in China. Roy has taken the Chinese example as a model."

In an article on "Trotskyism in India" in *Revolutionary History* (Winter 1988-89), Ervin fantasized, "Had Roy gone over to the Left Opposition, rather than to the Right, the whole story of Indian Trotskyism might have been quite different." Trotsky offered a rather different judgment on Roy, writing in his September 1928 essay: "It is not necessary to say that this national democrat, poisoned by an adulterated 'Marxism,' is an implacable foe of 'Trotskyism'."

M.N. Roy's most lasting contribution to "Communism" was his attempt to reconcile it with bourgeois nationalism. His "non-doctrinaire" approach to communist theory, so admired by many academic pseudo-Marxists today, consisted in pushing proletarian subordination to the bourgeoisie in the colonial world. As noted above, this was anything but a new ap-

proach, owing much to the Narodniks and SRs. Its results in China in 1925-27 were horrific and counterrevolutionary. And we also note, with the benefit of more hindsight than Lenin and Trotsky had, that the results of bourgeois nationalism in power in the former colonies in the last half of the 20th century and today have similarly been horrific and counterrevolutionary.

Throughout the Indian subcontinent, from Kashmir to Jaffna, the imperialist-dependent capitalist rulers have built upon the fratricidal divisions inherited from imperialism, promoting social backwardness of every kind and practicing state-sponsored communalist slaughter of minority peoples. Real national and social liberation of the working class and oppressed Third World masses cannot be accomplished under the rule of the neocolonial bourgeoisie, as Trotsky explained in putting forward the program of permanent revolution. The first condition for the proletariat being able to carry out its revolutionary role is the scrupulous safeguarding of its class independence from the bourgeoisie.■

International Communist League Pamphlet

The Development and Extension of Leon Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution

See Page Three

Rearming Bolshevism
A Trotskyist Critique of Germany 1923 and the Comintern.....30

International Communist League's Fifth International Conference:
Down With Executive Offices of the Capitalist State!.....56

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Bloody Sunday, 1972



Derry, 30 January 1972: British soldier grabs Catholic protester (left); child wounded by soldier's rubber bullet is carried away (right).

The Defining Story of the British Army in Northern Ireland

We print below an article from *Workers Hammer* No. 211 (Summer 2010), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League. The article was written after British Conservative prime minister David Cameron, following the conclusion of a government inquiry, issued an official “apology” for the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre. On January 30 of that year,

WORKERS HAMMER

British troops occupying Northern Ireland fired on protesters in the city of Derry demanding civil rights for the oppressed Catholic population. Twenty-six unarmed people were shot. Fourteen died.

The Bloody Sunday slaughter cast a sharp spotlight on the brutality of the British occupation force and became a rallying point for the civil rights movement for Catholic equality in Northern Ireland. Nearly 40 years later, the Catholic minority remains subjugated.

As our comrades underline, there can be no solution to the oppression of Catholics in Northern Ireland under capitalism. The existence of Northern Ireland is premised on Protestant domination of the Catholic minority. At the same time, the Irish nationalist program for reunifying the six counties of Northern Ireland with the Irish Catholic clericalist state would result in a reversal of the terms of oppression, leading to communalist slaughter and forced population transfers. While opposing all aspects of the national oppression of the Catholic minority, we recognize that the conflicting claims of Catholics and Protestants can be equitably resolved only within the political framework of proletarian class rule in the British Isles, in which the capitalists’ divide-and-rule drive against the working class in the service of profit has been eliminated.

* * *

The relatives and supporters of the 14 civil rights marchers who were gunned down by the British Army on 30 January 1972 cheered when British prime minister David Cameron officially admitted on 15 June that the killings were “unjustified and unjustifiable.” Cameron’s speech revealed to the public the results of the twelve-year-long inquiry into Bloody Sunday by Lord Saville, which has been

a bone of contention since it was established in 1998. For the oppressed Catholics of Northern Ireland, the Saville Inquiry represented the hope that the hated Widgery Report of 1972, which cast suspicion that some of the dead “had been firing weapons or handling bombs,” would be removed from history. For the military top brass, the inquiry represented a potential threat that army personnel might actually face charges for killing with impunity.

When Saville’s findings were revealed, the relatives felt vindicated, not least when they heard a British prime minister say that those who were slain on Bloody Sunday were innocent. At the same time, contrary to the orchestrated complaints about Saville by the military, the report did not recommend that a single soldier should be prosecuted and it carefully avoided describing the killings as “unlawful.” Saville fell far short of the truth about Bloody Sunday, which was stated clearly by Derry coroner Hubert O’Neill at the time of the 1973 inquest: “It was sheer, bloody unadulterated murder.”

“My brother was running away from the soldiers when he was shot,” said Joe Duddy, speaking about Jackie Duddy who was shot from behind as he tried to escape from the paratroopers. The Widgery Report “destroyed our loved ones’ good names,” he added. “Today we clear them.” Tony Doherty, whose father Patrick was shot as he tried to crawl to safety, addressed the thousands-strong crowd in

Derry saying: “It can now be proclaimed to the world that the dead and the wounded of Bloody Sunday, civil rights marchers, one and all, were innocent, one and all, gunned down on their own streets by soldiers who had been given to believe that they could kill with perfect impunity” (*Guardian*, 16 June).

Heaping praise on the British Army for its “courage and professionalism in upholding democracy and the rule of law in Northern Ireland,” Cameron sanctimoniously declared that “Bloody Sunday is not the defining story of the service the British Army gave in Northern Ireland from 1969-2007.” This is a blatant attempt to bury the memory of British Army brutality in Northern Ireland once and for all. The theme about the need to “move on,” to erase the memory of Bloody Sunday from history, is echoed *ad nauseam* in the British capitalist press. By portraying Bloody Sunday as an exceptional incident within an otherwise impeccable record, the Saville Report is being used to refurbish the credentials of the imperialist forces who today shoot-to-kill with impunity in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Announced by Tony Blair’s Labour government as a prelude to the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, the Saville Inquiry was designed in part to give the Dublin government some credibility with the Northern Ireland Catholics whom it has long treated with disdain, including over Bloody Sunday. Bertie Ahern, who was

Irish Taoiseach [the head of the government] at the time, spoke recently of the Bloody Sunday inquiry’s centrality to the “peace” process. “I had to put a lot of pressure on Tony Blair. All the advice he was getting from securicrats was to not go into a full judicial inquiry,” said Ahern, who added that the Dublin government had “a lot at stake in building up nationalist confidence that we would be able to work with the British government and work with Tony Blair” (*Guardian*, 15 June). Talking in Blair’s other ear, David Trimble, then Unionist leader, warned in 1998 that if the inquiry moved “one millimetre” from the Widgery Report, there was a risk of soldiers facing charges “of manslaughter, if not murder.” “I pointed out to Blair that we would see soldiers in the dock,” said Trimble (*Guardian*, 10 June). Indeed the Saville Report, at 5,000 pages and a cost of £192 million, did not recommend putting any of the killers in the dock. Some soldiers may be charged...with perjury, for having made “knowingly untrue” statements to the inquiry (*Guardian*, 16 June). Seemingly a “crime” against the process itself is more serious in the eyes of the good Lord Saville than gunning down Catholic protesters.

Saville cleared Major General Ford, the commander of land forces in Northern Ireland in 1972, of responsibility for the deaths, saying he “neither knew nor should have known at any stage that his decision [to deploy the Parachute Regiment] would or was likely to result in soldiers firing unjustifiably on Bloody Sunday” (*Saville Report*, Volume III). Never mind that three weeks before Bloody Sunday Ford had advocated shooting “rioters” in Derry, or that on Bloody Sunday he was heard to say: “Go and get them and good luck” as the Paras entered the Catholic Bogside where the massacre took place. Saville concluded that Martin McGuinness, an adjutant in the IRA in Derry at the time, was “probably armed with a Thompson sub-machine gun” on the day, a claim which McGuinness says “has no foundation or substance.” A glaring illustration of the “impartiality” of British justice is the case of Gerald Donaghy, who served a six-month sentence for throwing stones at the police in 1971. On Bloody Sunday, five weeks after his release, he was shot dead by the British Army, but no one is likely to spend a day behind bars for his killing. The Saville Report upheld the army’s



Spartacist League/Britain contingent in 1981 London protest shortly after death of IRA prisoner and hunger striker Bobby Sands.

Britain: Hands Off Student Protesters!

LONDON, November 14—Britain’s capitalist rulers are baying for blood after their vicious attacks on education met with sharp protest on the streets of London on November 10. In the largest demonstration so far against the Tory-Liberal Democrat government, more than 50,000 students, together with lecturers and others, marched against plans to nearly triple the upper limit on university tuition fees, to £9,000 [\$14,500] a year beginning in 2012, while slashing university budgets by 40 percent.

During the march, a sizable group of protesters split off to rally at the headquarters of the Tory party at Millbank Tower. Some windows were smashed, then a couple hundred demonstrators briefly occupied the building before being ejected by police. Over 50 were arrested and released on bail, another 250 were searched and photographed to face possible charges, and hundreds more could be snared in the police dragnet. Outrageously, a protester who allegedly threw a fire extinguisher (that hit no one) may be charged with “attempted murder.” The Spartacist League/Britain demands: **Defend the Millbank protesters! Drop all charges! No reprisals!**

Immediately after the protest, Tory prime minister David Cameron, in chorus with Labour Party Members of Parliament and the bourgeois press, began to howl about the “violence” of the protesters who scuffed up Millbank Tower. To the press’s anguished cries of “Why?”, one protester quipped, “Tory HQ, property of the capitalist state, mate!” All the clamour about “violence” is rich coming from Cameron, and from Labour: tell it to the peoples of Iraq and Afghanistan who



Getty

November 10: Demonstrators try to gain entry to Conservative (Tory) Party headquarters in London in protest against government plans to triple tuition fees.

know the brutality of occupation by British and U.S. imperialist troops.

Ominously, the Metropolitan police are vowing to be better “prepared” next time. These are the same police who killed Ian Tomlinson during a bloody cop rampage against last year’s G20 protest; who executed Brazilian electrician Jean Charles de Menezes on the London Tube in 2005 in the name of the racist “war on terror”; and who daily assault black and Asian youth using “stop and search” powers. The cops are at the core of the capitalist state—which also comprises the courts, prisons and military—the purpose of which is to maintain through violence the system of exploitation of the

working class by the bourgeoisie.

The coalition government’s massive budget cuts amount to an all-out assault on working people, the poor and elderly, as well as youth, on a breathtaking level. Members of David Cameron’s cabinet—stuffed with some 18 millionaires and assorted Eton graduates—sneer that “benefit cheats” are draining the British economy and label single mothers on welfare as “scroungers.” The unemployed are ordered to “get a job,” even as the government announces cuts that will wipe out half a million public sector jobs and many more in the private sector. Railing against the “dependency culture” and calling it a “sin” to refuse any miserable

job on offer, work and pensions secretary Iain Duncan Smith is hatching schemes to cut benefits for millions of people. The government is taking a budget axe to youth centres, social services, libraries, parks, the National Health Service, schools, programs for the elderly...anything that provides a lifeline to working people and the poor.

The student protest shows the depth of anger against Cameron’s Tories and not least against Nick Clegg, leader of the Liberal Democrats, who pledged not to raise student fees during the election campaign. Chanting “Tory scum!” and “Nick Clegg, we know you, you’re a f---ing Tory too!”, reformist organisations such as the Socialist Workers Party seek to channel this anger into support for a Labour government, under newly elected leader Ed Miliband. What an inspiration! Labour: which before the general election promised cuts “deeper and tougher” than Margaret Thatcher’s in the 1980s; which for 13 years carried out imperialist butchery abroad and union-busting and racist immigrant-bashing at home; and which in fact first brought in university tuition fees in 1998, and later tripled them.

Any capitalist government—whether Labour, Tory and/or Liberal Democrat—would try to gouge the working class to pay for the current economic crisis. What’s needed is class struggle to defend the working class and poor against these attacks. The Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League, fights to build a multiethnic revolutionary workers party that will lead the struggle for socialist revolution to uproot the capitalist order and put in power a workers government. ■

claim that Donaghy was carrying a nail bomb when he was killed. This is contrary to reports by witnesses, including “soldier 138,” a medical officer who pronounced Donaghy dead and conducted an examination of his body, that they saw nothing in his pockets. The armed forces are widely suspected of having planted the nail bomb which was visible in police photographs taken after Donaghy’s death.

The Saville Inquiry has bolstered illusions in public inquiries, based on the myth that the armed forces of the capitalist state can be made accountable to the oppressed peoples and classes they maraud over. The capitalist state is an 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. Marxists understand that imperialist “democracy” is the velvet glove to disguise the mailed fist of capitalist class rule. Events such as Bloody Sunday are not some aberration, but part and parcel of the normal workings of the armed forces of the capitalist state.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, one of

the leaders of the civil rights movement who was at the Bloody Sunday demonstration, noted that Saville let the British government off the hook, saying: “It is the British government, not their anonymous and brutalised soldiers of their alphabet army who should be in the dock, at the international court of justice at The Hague. If Saville has closed that route to truth and justice, the British government will consider it worth every penny” (guardian.co.uk, 15 June). The idea that the capitalist rulers can be held to account is bogus, but not inconsistent for Devlin McAliskey who supported the British Army being sent to Northern Ireland in 1969. In a 1970 interview she gave to *Workers Press*, paper of the Socialist Labour League, she is quoted as saying:

“The saving of lives, the necessity of saving lives in that circumstance, was brought around by the whole system and therefore you cannot simply say take the troops out of Ulster. Because the people will say you cannot take the troops out because if you do the people will die.” —*Workers Press*, 18 June 1970

Eamonn McCann, another leading figure in the civil rights movement in Derry, and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) supported the Labour government of the day sending in British troops. Shamelessly peddling illusions in British imperialism as a force for “peace,” the SWP declared: “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).

Bloody Sunday is the defining story of the British Army in Northern Ireland, but it is hardly a unique atrocity. According to the Pat Finucane Centre, more than 150 killings by the army between 1970 and 1973 were not even investigated by the police. During the period 9-11 August 1971, when the British introduced internment without trial, paratroopers shot dead eleven civilians in Belfast’s Ballymurphy area in a remarkably similar operation to Bloody Sunday. Relatives of those killed are now calling for an “independent inter-

national inquiry” into the shootings. But no one should be fooled into having illusions in public inquiries. Tony Blair introduced the 2005 Public Inquiries Act specifically to curtail what can be made public in any “public” inquiry. This legislation was a kick in the teeth to the family of Pat Finucane, a Belfast Catholic lawyer who defended Bobby Sands and other Irish hunger strikers, who was gunned down in front of his family by the [pro-British] Loyalist UDA [Ulster Defence Association] in 1989. Finucane was targeted by Brian Nelson, an agent of the British Army and intelligence chief of the UDA, which means that his case would be a devastating exposure of British imperialist collusion with the Loyalist paramilitary killers.

The 1998 Good Friday Agreement gave a facelift to the sectarian Orange state of Northern Ireland, allowing for the entry of Sinn Fein into Stormont [the historic seat of Orange government] and making some cosmetic changes to policing. But the *fundamental* nature of the Orange state as it was created by the British at the time of partition, based on the subjugation of the oppressed Catholics, remains unchanged. The “peace process” brought no peace to those who try to expose to the outside world the British state’s murderous role. In 1999, Rosemary Nelson, a prominent Catholic lawyer who reported to the UN that she received death threats from the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary], was murdered by a Loyalist bomb. In June 2007 Northern Ireland’s Public Prosecution Service announced that no police officer or soldier will face prosecution for the murder of Pat Finucane.

British “democracy” was never much in evidence in Ireland, which was a testing ground for state repression to be used elsewhere. The treatment routinely dished out to Irish Catholics, who were once indiscriminately targeted as “terrorist suspects,” is now being applied to Britain’s Muslims and to any perceived opponent of British imperialism. Internment without trial and the shoot-to-kill policy, practised for years on the streets of Northern Ireland, have been brought to the streets of London as seen in the brutal execution

of Brazilian immigrant Jean Charles de Menezes who was labelled a “terrorism suspect” in July 2005.

An internal report entitled “Operation Banner—An Analysis of Military Operations in Northern Ireland” issued by the British Army in August 2007, when its military campaign in Northern Ireland officially ended, boasts that this was “one of the very few ever brought to a successful conclusion by the armed forces of a developed nation against an irregular force.” The report’s foreword is written by none other than General Sir Michael Jackson, former head of the British Army during the Iraq invasion and former chief of the general staff. Jackson was in Derry on Bloody Sunday and as adjutant to the Parachute Regiment he has responsibility for false reporting of what happened—his handwritten “shot list” indicated that those killed included “nail bombers, gunmen or snipers” (*Guardian*, 16 June).

Despite the much-trumpeted end of military operations there, the British Army maintains troops and bases in Northern Ireland, as back up to the 9,000-strong heavily armed Police Service of Northern Ireland/Royal Ulster Constabulary (PSNI/RUC). We have uniquely warned that, within the framework of capitalism, there is no democratic solution to the oppression of the Catholic minority, in a situation where they are geographically interpenetrated with the Protestants, who are a distinct community.

We demand all British troops and bases out of Northern Ireland, Afghanistan and Iraq! Together with the U.S. military, the British Army is one of the most powerful forces for terrorism in the world. There is no way to end the oppression, brutality and subjugation perpetrated by the British Army short of a workers revolution to overthrow this brutal ruling class which has committed atrocities against its colonial subjects for centuries. We seek to build revolutionary parties dedicated to mobilising the proletariat on both sides of the Irish border, and both sides of the Irish Sea, in a struggle for a workers republic in Ireland, part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles. ■

Dublin Spartacist Youth Group

Ireland: workers to power!

Understand 1916: Protesters included workers from Belfast's Shankill Road who armed themselves with Molotov cocktails, and 1918 United Ireland League, who fought against the British Army and the RUC.

THE CONNECTION WITH CAPITALISM

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Immigration...

(continued from page 1)

We can expect new rounds of attacks on workers, blacks and immigrants, on abortion and gay rights. An early signal is the attack on Social Security proposed by a bipartisan deficit reduction commission appointed by Obama. Republicans are already saying they will try to further clamp down on union organizing. As for the Democrats, newly elected New York governor Andrew Cuomo and California's Jerry Brown have made clear that they're gunning for public employees unions and their pension benefits to rescue state budgets.

While the elections marked a victory for the right wing of the American bourgeois political spectrum, bourgeois elections offer only a distorted reflection of what is going on in society, where there is enormous anger at the base. The question is how to fight the attacks on workers' livelihoods, on civil liberties and the rights of the oppressed.

The "answer" provided by the social democrats of the ISO is: Hail to the Chief. Lance Selfa writes in *Socialist Worker* (November 2010) that "a Republican majority in one or both houses of Congress can do plenty of damage. But as long as the Democrats hold the presidency, the damage can be limited." The ISO makes starkly clear its faith in the top executive office of the blood-soaked capitalist-imperialist state power, as administered by the Democrats.

We have a different answer. As we wrote in "Electoral Circuses, No Bread: For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!" (WV No. 967, 22 October): "There is a desperate need for *class struggle*, placing a revived labor movement at the head of the ghetto and barrio masses in a fight against the common capitalist class enemy. Such struggle needs a political expression: a workers party organized independently of, and in opposition to, the Democratic and Republican parties of capital." This was the theme of a presentation by Joe Sol at an October 9 New York Spartacist League forum, which we print below, edited for publication.

* * *

The capitalist system is based on the brutal exploitation of all labor, with the ruling class inflaming racial and ethnic hostilities to keep the working class divided and thus ensure a greater extraction of profit. Just as immigrant workers are brought in during economic boom times to provide a pool of low-wage labor, the current rise in anti-immigrant attacks worldwide is exacerbated by the global economic crisis and its attendant soaring unemployment.

The legacy of slavery means that black people have been forcibly segregated to the bottom of this deeply racist capitalist society. The question of black freedom is key to the revolutionary overthrow of



WV Photo

Immigrant rights demonstration in Los Angeles, March 2006.

the capitalist order, which cannot survive without its fundamental prop: the brutal, racist oppression of blacks. Black, white, immigrant and other minority workers need a multiracial revolutionary workers party, not just for defense against the rapacious capitalists but for class struggle whose aim is the destruction of the capitalist system of exploitation, poverty and war through socialist revolution here as part of the fight for socialist revolution internationally. Crucial to the building of such a party in the U.S. is the understanding of the unbreakable connection between the fight for labor's emancipation, the defense of immigrant rights and the key cause which must be the axis

Obama, with Homeland Security Secretary Napolitano, signs \$600 million bill for increased militarization of Mexican border, August 13. Right: April 2009 procession at Tijuana border wall commemorating more than 5,000 who died trying to cross into U.S.



Getty

of a revolution in the U.S., the fight for black freedom.

The pro-capitalist trade-union leadership and its reformist leftist hangers-on stand opposed to the fight for socialist revolution. Through words and deeds,

they seek to turn the inevitable struggles of workers forced to defend their very existence back into support for the capitalist system through the agency of the Democratic Party—a party of racism and war in which the trade-union bureaucrats play an integral role. The Democratic Party is a party of and for the capitalist masters that cannot be pressured to represent the interests of the class it seeks to oppress, the working class.

Exploitation and Anti-Immigrant Repression

It was a hot summer in Europe. There has been a wave of huge demonstrations and one-day general strikes, defensive



AP

struggles against attempts by the capitalist governments in the midst of the world economic crisis to slash the wages of public sector workers, gut pensions and jack up sales and other taxes. The latest round of European strikes and demonstrations took place on September 29, with protests of hundreds of thousands of workers and strikes across 13 countries. But these struggles are used by the workers' social-democratic leaderships to blow off steam. What is necessary is a fight for workers power.

And just as is happening here, in Europe the bourgeoisies push anti-immigrant reaction and scapegoat and throw out immigrants. Roma, better known as Gypsies, are suffering a torrent of racist abuse in France, while in Italy African immigrants are being targeted by the racist cops for beatings and expulsion. All this anti-immigrant bigotry is not just a particular expression of backwardness but serves a purpose for the various national bourgeoisies—the exploiting class. It enhances their ability to divide and rule over the working class.

This is seen as well in the recent swell of anti-Muslim bigotry, which is underpinned by the capitalist rulers' continual "war on terror." Like the "war on drugs" and "war on crime," this phony "war" serves to intensify racist capitalist state repression. It also provides a pretext for imperialist marauding in Iraq, Afghani-

stan and elsewhere. From the mass murder of imperialist war to economic devastation on a world scale, the capitalist rulers have nothing to offer the workers and oppressed of the world but calls for further sacrifice.

The destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92 represented a world-historic defeat for the international proletariat, resulting in a general retrogression of working-class consciousness. The proletariat today does not view its struggles through the prism of the fight for socialism. But it is an imperialist triumphalist lie that the capitalist system of exploitation is the only economic system possible in the modern world. The October Revolution of 1917, a proletarian revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, translated Marxism into deeds. It showed that the working class can take power and wield it through democratically elected workers soviets. The internationalist early Soviet Union became a beacon to the working class and oppressed worldwide.

As Marxists, we in the International Communist League know that the capitalist system creates its own gravediggers, the proletariat—the working class that produces the wealth of society with its own hands and has the power to shut down capitalist production. The capitalist class—the bourgeoisie—expropriates the wealth of society through its ownership, as private property, of the means of production. In a competition of each against all, individual capitalists must constantly seek to maximize their profit simply to stay afloat. They must drive up the rate of exploitation of the workers through speedup, wage cuts, slashing benefits, what have you. Of course, the worker wants the opposite: better pay, more free time, safety, health benefits, retirement, etc. The interests of the worker and the interests of the capitalist are directly counterposed.

The capitalists profit by paying the workers only a fraction of the total value of the product they create, so the workers in any given country can only afford to buy a fraction of what they produce. The capitalists of the advanced industrial countries must constantly look for new markets internationally to exploit. Thus you have imperialism, marked by the export of capital, and its continual crises of overproduction in the midst of generalized poverty. Lenin identified imperialism as "the highest stage of capitalism," which, in its death agony, is defined by a handful of imperialist powers, armed to the teeth, locked in a never-ending struggle for the redivision and control of the world's markets, natural resources and labor to exploit.

The contradictions inherent in the capitalist system point directly to the need for workers rule of society and the elimination of private property in production—for the smashing of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The vital tool needed for that task is the revolutionary workers party. A revolutionary must be, as Lenin explained in *What Is To Be Done?*, "*the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalize all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

Here in the U.S., there is now a great deal of disillusionment among workers and other oppressed sectors of society with Democrat Barack Obama, the first black president, largely because illusions were so high after eight years of the Bush administration. Skin color notwithstanding, Obama simply is what he is: the overseer of the most deadly and exploitative imperialist power on the planet.

Obama now plans to deploy 1,200

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Immigration...

(continued from page 9)

perspective for the United States must confront the *special oppression* of black people—their forced segregation at the bottom of capitalist society as a race-color caste and the poisonous racism that divides the working class and cripples its struggles. With the mass migration of blacks from the South to the Northern cities, particularly beginning in the early 20th century, the earlier nativist hostilities against immigrant workers were supplanted by anti-black racism. The color bar, a fundamental dividing line in American capitalist society, is a key prop for obscuring the irreconcilable class divide between labor and capital.

Counterposed to liberal integrationism, which holds that black equality can be achieved within the capitalist system of ruthless labor exploitation and racial subjugation, we advocate *revolutionary integrationism*: the understanding that black freedom requires smashing the capitalist system and constructing an egalitarian socialist society. This perspective is also counterposed to petty-bourgeois black nationalism, an ideology of defeatism that would deny blacks their birthright: *the wealth and culture their labor has played a decisive role in creating*. As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky told his American supporters in 1939: “We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class.”

Our program is counterposed to “people of color” politics, which views race as the primary dividing line in capitalist society as opposed to the class division between the capitalists and the workers. There is an implicit presumption that all non-white people have common interests against all whites. White workers and bosses are supposedly united in “white skin privilege.” Obviously, the heads of some white workers are filled with the racist rulers’ lies of white superiority and black inferiority. This has considerably weakened the whole working class to the extent that the U.S. is the only industrialized society that does not have a mass party that even in a deformed way represents the interests of the working class.



Los Angeles, September 6: Protest against LAPD killing of Guatemalan immigrant Manuel Jamines.

Over the past few decades, white workers along with black, Latino and Asian workers have lost jobs and hard-earned benefits. Thus, white workers do not benefit from the oppression of minorities. White workers have no material stake in the perpetuation of this incredibly unequal society, whose white ruling class enjoys unparalleled riches coming at all workers’ expense. We fight to win the multiracial working class to a program and perspective of class independence from and class struggle against a common enemy, the capitalist exploiters—i.e., to the struggle for socialist revolution to abolish capitalism.

Obama Takes Aim at Immigrants

In the 16 years since NAFTA was signed, the Mexican countryside has been devastated, including through the removal of protection against U.S.-produced corn and beans, the mainstays of the diet of the poor and the key staples grown by poor peasants. Thus, the mass immigration over the Mexican border that has occurred is a direct consequence of U.S. imperialism’s free-trade rape of Mexico.

The anti-immigrant hysteria of the bourgeois parties is sharply rising as actual immigration is falling. Fewer workers are now undertaking the dangerous passage across the border because there are many fewer jobs. Between 2007 and 2009, the

number of undocumented immigrants dropped by nearly a million. Mass deportations and the scapegoating of immigrants by the Democratic Party Obama administration in the current economic crisis have also had their devastating effect. Today, the latest figures released show that the Obama administration has broken records, deporting some 390,000 in 2009. They have at least tripled the rate of deportations of the Bush years.

The Obama administration pushes employers to fire workers whose Social Security numbers do not match government records. To force the issue, Obama expanded many of the anti-immigrant programs of the Bush White House, such as the E-Verify database and I-9 audits of employer records. Mass terminations of immigrant workers have followed the audits at one industrial plant after another, from 254 workers, mostly women, at food processor Overhill Farms in May 2009 to about 1,500 at clothing maker American Apparel last September, both in the Los Angeles area. We demand: No deportations! Down with the raids!

The Democrats’ so-called “immigration reform” plans include the institution of a national biometric identity card for everyone in the United States. This will increase the police-state powers and repressive apparatus of the capitalist state in the context of the so-called “war on ter-

ror.” The Obama administration has also vastly expanded a program called in Orwellian language the “Secure Communities” initiative, whose purpose is to help local police forces throughout the country identify and deport so-called “criminal immigrants.” The program, which has been responsible for the deportation of nearly 47,000 immigrants over the past year and a half, slanderously tars immigrants as criminals, while in fact the vast majority of immigrants identified and deported under this program committed no crimes.

So Obama and the Democrats scold racist pigs like Republican governor Jan Brewer for passing the Arizona apartheid-style anti-immigrant pass law SB1070, while in essence doing the same thing and more effectively, using the racist cops to harass anyone who doesn’t look “American” and to sweep up immigrant workers, break up families and deport immigrants en masse.

There have been some immigrant student protests in support of the “Dream Act,” which is supposed to provide a conditional path to citizenship for some undocumented immigrant youth who complete two years of college or a tour of duty in the military. Of the tens of thousands of undocumented immigrant youth who graduate from high school each year but do not have the money or other resources to go to college, a large majority would then end up in the military. We oppose the Dream Act, which would be a boon for military recruiters, roping immigrants in as cannon fodder for U.S. imperialism.

Capitalists Make Workers Pay

To build a revolutionary party we have to politically defeat the opportunist currents within the labor movement. Reformist “socialist” organizations that seek to pressure the Democrats are an obstacle to the independent mobilization of the working class in its own interest.

For example, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) in an August 2 *Socialist Worker* article, “Standing Up to a Racist Law,” reports that “the administration has refused to take tougher measures to make sure the racial profiling law is defeated.” Later on they gleefully report that “protesters called on the president to end the criminalization of migrant communities with ‘the stroke of a pen’.”

Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

crucial issues brought by Mumia: the racist jury-rigging in the initial trial; the prosecutor’s prejudicial summary argument that Mumia would have “appeal after appeal” so the jury need not worry about sentencing him to death; Mumia’s grossly biased appeal hearings were held before the notorious “hanging judge” Albert Sabo. Known as the “king of death row,” Sabo also presided over Mumia’s original trial, when he was overheard saying he would help the prosecutors “fry the n----r.” It may take months for the Third Circuit to announce its decision on the death sentence, which will then likely be appealed to the Supreme Court.

From day one, the courts, backed by Democratic and Republican politicians, have colluded with the police and prosecutors against Mumia. At every level, the courts have refused to consider mountains of evidence of Mumia’s innocence, not least the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981. While supporting the use of every legal means available to Mumia, we place no trust in the courts of the class enemy. As we have long stressed, what is needed is mass protest centered on the social power of the working class.

In the latest phase of the campaign to legally lynch Mumia, the Philadelphia F.O.P. has endorsed a movie, *The Barrel of a Gun*, directed by black Republican Tigre Hill. The lying premise of this slick, sick documentary is that Mumia, as a supporter of the Black Panthers in his youth and a journalist championing MOVE’s

cause, was predisposed toward killing cops. Along with the Centurion motorcycle gang, police packed the September 21 Philadelphia premiere of this hit piece, breaking into cries of “Kill him!” and “Fry him!” according to anti-Mumia blogger Conor Corcoran.

In an effort to counter Hill’s smear job, a film titled *Justice on Trial: The Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal* opened the same night in Philadelphia. Produced by Baruch College professor Johanna Fernandez, the film interviews J. Patrick O’Connor, author of *The Framing of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, and features much evidence of Mumia’s innocence. However, the film steers clear of the most compelling evidence, not least Mumia’s statement about what happened the night of Faulkner’s killing and Arnold Beverly’s confession that he and another man were hired to kill Faulkner, who had become a problem for the mob and corrupt cops (see the July 2006 Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal*).

Many of Mumia’s liberal and even leftist supporters reject the Beverly confession, with its clear picture of organized, murderous cop corruption, as incredible. In fact, this is standard fare for the capitalists’ thugs in blue, not least in Philadelphia. Since March last year, 15 Philly cops have been arrested on corruption charges, six were nabbed in three drug investigations and two are charged with murder, the latest arrest coming only days before the Third Circuit hearing.

In their legal persecution of Mumia, a defiant opponent of racist state terror, the capitalist rulers are sending a message to anyone who might struggle against their system of exploitation and oppression. Outside the court hearing, supporters of

the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee carried signs reading: “There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!” and “Obama’s ‘War on Terror’=Imperialist Occupation Abroad, Political Repression at Home.” In contrast, a Workers World/International Action Center contingent combined their standard call for a “new trial” for Mumia with appeals to U.S. Commander-in-Chief Barack Obama and his top cop, Eric Holder, to speak out against the death penalty and “investigate” Mumia’s case. Preaching reliance on the forces of racist capitalist “law and order,” the reformists are an obstacle to militant struggle in defense of Mumia.

Mumia’s cause must be a clarion call for all opponents of the racist death penalty, which in the U.S. is the legacy of chattel slavery. If linked to a revived labor movement, the fight for Mumia’s freedom could strike a powerful blow against the system of state terror employed by the capitalists against the working class, black people and all the oppressed. In polemicizing against the reformists’ appeals to Obama and Holder, we wrote in WV No. 941 (28 August 2009): “The stakes are high and the situation is grim, but any real fight for Mumia’s freedom must be based on a class-struggle opposition to the capitalist rulers, who have entombed this innocent black man in prison for more than half his life.”■

Partisan Defense Committee

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FAULKNER

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See page 5

Protesters Counter New Drive to Execute Mumia

See page 2

Declaration of Mumia Abu-Jamal

See page 14

Partisan Defense Committee

July 2006

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The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Is Innocent!

Anatomy of a Frame-Up

Presentation by Rachel Wolkenstein 5

Affidavit of Rachel Wolkenstein 23

Affidavit of Arnold R. Beverly 39

Declaration of Mumia Abu-Jamal 39

Declarations of William Cook 39

Affidavit of Donald Haring 41

Declaration of Linn Washington 44

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10

WORKERS VANGUARD

Similarly the last line in a statement released by the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) this summer was, “Instead of mass deportations, the Obama administration should support comprehensive immigration reform that gives millions of super-exploited immigrant workers full legal rights.” No, that is not going to happen! The ISO and the PSL, through their words and especially their actions, peddle illusions that the Democrats can lead a kinder and gentler capitalism.

They imply that the bourgeois state, which in our Marxist view is an instrument for the suppression of the working class in the interests of the capitalist class, can somehow be reformed to serve our interests. No, it can’t. Composed at its core of armed bodies of men—cops, *la migrá*, the army, courts and prisons—the capitalist state must be smashed by the revolutionary workers, and a workers state established.

In opposition to the capitalists and their reformist agents, Trotsky argued in the Transitional Program (1938): “If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish.” Over the past three and a half decades, the rich have fabulously increased their wealth, mainly by slashing benefits and driving down wages. Pay for production and other non-supervisory workers—80 percent of the private workforce—is today 9 percent lower in real terms than it was in 1973. During that same period, output per worker increased by more than 80 percent.

So, the American capitalists have enormously ratcheted up the rate of exploitation by extracting increased output from employed workers, including through forced overtime. Also, there have been mass layoffs that have vastly increased the numbers of unemployed and underemployed. Marx called them the “industrial reserve army,” whose existence serves

to restrain what he ironically referred to as workers’ “pretensions” to demand higher wages.

Alongside growing unemployment, large numbers of black and Latino youth are condemned by the racist capitalist state to rising rates of incarceration and murderous police repression. Of the 2.3 million men, women and children behind bars, 70 percent are black or Latino. The recent killing by NY police thugs of Luis Soto and attempted killing of Angel Alvarez in a hail of 50 police bullets are by no means an aberration. In Los Angeles a few weeks ago, Manuel Jamines, a Mayan from Guatemala, was killed in the street by the vicious LAPD. We should not forget Sean Bell and Amadou Diallo, as well as the countless other victims of police terror. These killings are part of the systematic police violence against the black and Latino populations under racist American capitalism.

In spite of the trade-union tops’ class

collaborationism, there have been multi-racial labor struggles in this country that point the way forward. Divisions among black, white and immigrant workers break down in the course of class struggle. The potential to fight and win was shown in the campaign for union recognition by the workers at Smithfield’s Tar Heel, North Carolina, pork processing plant. When the Smithfield bosses tried to fire 75 “no match” workers in November 2006, a two-day walkout that included black and white workers as well as Latinos forced the company to rehire everyone. However, by the time workers won their union in late 2008, workplace raids by immigration agents had driven out a significant number of immigrant workers. The battle at Smithfield underlines the need for a mass, militant union organizing drive throughout the country and particularly in the open shop South.

The situation we face underlines the need to throw out the pro-capitalist sell-

outs and replace them with a class-struggle leadership of labor as part of the fight to build a revolutionary workers party. Labor needs a leadership standing on the principle of class independence which would fight not only for immediate economic demands but on broader social issues, a leadership which seeks to mobilize the power of workers independent of the bosses’ parties and the capitalist state. Defense of immigrant rights against the government’s “war on terror,” defense of black and Latino youth against racist cop terror, opposition to the “war on drugs” and the murderous occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan—these are some of the causes that a class-struggle union leadership would take up, putting the massive power of the working class on the side of all the oppressed.

It is the task of the revolutionary party as the tribune of the people to mobilize labor and the oppressed in struggle against all forms of capitalist oppression. Our model remains that of the Bolshevik Party which led the 1917 Russian October Revolution. The rule of the capitalists and landowners was replaced by that of the working class, which inspired workers and oppressed peoples internationally. In spite of Stalinist degeneration, which in the end threw open the doors to capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, the Soviet Union demonstrated the capacity of a collectivized, planned economy to provide work, education, health care and decent conditions of life for all.

We carry forward the battle for the emancipating principles of the Bolshevik Revolution. The proletariat must struggle—for the survival of humanity—to take power in its own name under the banner of the revolutionary party. Through international socialist revolution and the establishment of an internationally planned socialist society, the slogan “Asian, Latino, black and white, workers of the world unite” will become a permanent reality.■



Boni and Liveright
Workers at Petrograd’s Putilov metal works, a bastion of soviet power during 1917 October Revolution. Banner at left proclaims: “Long Live the Third International!”

Oakland...

(continued from page 12)

obtain ‘justice’ from the courts of the capitalist class enemy.” The capitalist rulers are hardly going to punish their own police guard dogs for the crimes they commit in the capitalists’ service. And even if one cop were charged and imprisoned, it wouldn’t stop police terror.

The burning anger of the ghettos and barrios against the rampaging cops must be linked to the social power of the multi-racial working class mobilized in *class-struggle* opposition to the capitalist state—its cops, courts and military—and all of its political parties. There will be no end to police terror short of the destruction of

this entire system of exploitation and oppression, which the cops “serve and protect.” Our purpose is to build the revolutionary workers party that can lead the fight for a socialist America. Only then will there be justice for working people and all the oppressed.

We reprint below a November 10 letter by the Partisan Defense Committee to the Alameda County District Attorney protesting the mass arrests in Oakland following the sentencing of Mehserle.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee condemns the massive police assault on the November 5 Oakland march in solidarity with Oscar Grant by an army of cops in riot gear from a slew of different police

agencies. The marchers were expressing their justified outrage at the token sentence for Johannes Mehserle, the BART cop who killed Oscar Grant in cold blood on New Year’s Day 2009. The November 5 police assault was a repetition of what happened following the July 8 slap-on-the-wrist “involuntary manslaughter” verdict against Mehserle.

In the media, the cops claimed that they expected protesters to march as planned to deFremery Park, but the police told demonstrators that any march to the park would be blocked. The march instead went east and, according to witnesses, the cops—who heavily outnumbered the marchers—eventually formed a wall on 6th Avenue near East 17th Street, declared the demonstration an “unlawful

assembly” and the entire block a “crime scene,” and gave protesters no chance to disperse before they moved in. The cops threw many demonstrators to the ground and arrested 152, almost the entire march. As of November 8, six were still being held. At least one protester, Stephanie McGarrah, has been vindictively charged with felony arson. We demand their immediate release and the dropping of all charges against everyone arrested!

This assault on protesters in Oakland is just the latest brutal attempt to silence and intimidate those who would protest rampant, racist police terror. Only three days later, on Monday, November 8, the Oakland police killed another unarmed black man, Derrick Jones. Free all the Oscar Grant protesters! Drop all the charges!■

Holiday Appeal...

(continued from page 3)

lead government attorney has admitted, “We can’t prove who shot those agents,” and the courts have acknowledged blatant prosecutorial misconduct, the 66-year-old Peltier is still locked away. Last year, the U.S. Parole Commission again turned down Peltier’s parole request and shockingly declared they would not reconsider his case for another 15 years.

Eight MOVE members—**Chuck Africa, Michael Africa, Debbie Africa, Janet Africa, Janine Africa, Delbert Africa, Eddie Africa and Phil Africa**—are in their 33rd year of prison. They were sentenced to 30-100 years after the 8 August 1978 siege of their Philadelphia home by over 600 heavily armed cops, having been falsely convicted of killing a police officer who died in the cops’ own cross fire. In 1985, eleven of their MOVE family members, including five children, were massacred by Philly cops. This year, again, after more than three decades of unjust incarceration, nearly all of these innocent prisoners had parole hearings, but none were released.

Lynne Stewart is a radical lawyer incarcerated for zealously defending her client, a blind Egyptian cleric imprisoned for an alleged plot to blow up New York City landmarks in the early 1990s. On July 15 she was resentenced to ten years—more than quadrupling her original sentence—in a loud affirmation by the Obama administration that there will be no let-up in the massive attack on democratic rights under the “war on terror.” Stewart, now 71 years old and suffering from breast cancer, is known for her defense of Black Panthers, radical leftists and others reviled by the capitalist state.

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

The Ohio 7’s politics were once shared by thousands of radicals during the Vietnam antiwar movement and by New Leftists who wrote off the possibility of winning the working class to a revolutionary

program and saw themselves as an auxiliary of Third World liberation movements. But, like the Weathermen before them, the Ohio 7 were spurned by the “respectable” left. From a proletarian standpoint, the actions of these leftist activists against imperialism and racist injustice are not crimes. They should not have served a day in prison.

Ed Poindexter and Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa are former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska, National Committee to Combat Fascism. They were victims of the FBI’s deadly COINTELPRO operation under which 38 Black Panther Party members were killed and hundreds more imprisoned on frame-up charges. Poindexter and Mondo were railroaded to prison and sentenced to life for a 1970 explosion that killed a cop, and they have now served more than 40 years in jail. Nebraska courts have repeatedly denied Poindexter and Mondo new trials despite the fact that a crucial piece of evidence excluded from the original trial, a 911 audiotape long-suppressed by the FBI, proved that testimony of the state’s key witness was perjured.

Hugo Pinell is the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. He was a militant anti-racist leader of prison rights organizing along with George Jackson,

his comrade and mentor, who was gunned down by prison guards in 1971. Despite numerous letters of support and no disciplinary write-ups for over 28 years, Pinell was again denied parole last year. Now in his 60s, Pinell continues to serve a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay Security Housing Unit in California.

Jamal Hart, Mumia’s son, was sentenced in 1998 to 15½ years without parole on bogus firearms possession charges. Hart was targeted for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania law, which would have meant a probationary sentence, Clinton’s Justice Department intervened to have Hart thrown into prison under federal law. The U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals has turned down Hart’s *habeas corpus* petition, and he has faced myriad bureaucratic obstacles and racist targeting throughout his incarceration.

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

WORKERS VANGUARD

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Him Now!

Federal Appeals Court: D.A. Demands Mumia's Execution

In the latest threat to the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, on November 9 the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia heard oral arguments on whether or not to reinstate the death penalty for this class-war prisoner. A prize-winning journalist and supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, Mumia was railroaded to death row in 1982 on false charges of killing police officer Daniel Faulkner. To secure a death sentence, prosecutors painted a lying portrait of Mumia as a committed “cop killer” from the time he was a 15-year-old Black Panther Party spokesman.

As hundreds rallied for Mumia outside the courthouse, scores of cops and Feds under the watch of the Department of Homeland Security put the area under tight security. Inside the courtroom was a large contingent from the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.). Along with the press, supporters of Mumia entering the hearing were subjected to a canine unit sniffing their bags and bodies, treated as potential “terrorists.”

At issue in the Third Circuit hearing were the jury instructions during the sentencing phase of Mumia's 1982 trial. In 2001, federal judge William Yohn, while

**November 9
Philadelphia
protest out-
side court
hearing.**



upholding every aspect of Mumia's frame-up conviction, overturned the death sentence. Yohn found the sentence to be unconstitutional under the precedent of the *Mills v. Maryland* decision because the sentencing form and jury instructions did not allow jurors to freely consider the mitigating circumstances weighing against a death sentence.

Yohn's ruling had been upheld by the Third Circuit Court of Appeals. But last January the U.S. Supreme Court vacated the Third Circuit decision, all but ordering

the reinstatement of Mumia's death sentence. The Court cited its earlier decision reinstating the death sentence for neo-Nazi Frank Spisak, whose sentence had also been overturned due to improper jury instructions. As we wrote at the time in “Supreme Court of Death Rules Against Mumia Abu-Jamal” (WV No. 951, 29 January): “Spisak is a sociopath who admitted to killing his victims and made no secret of his admiration for Adolf Hitler. Mumia has always maintained his innocence and won acclaim as the ‘voice of the voice-

less’ for his powerful commentaries. The Court is consciously manipulating abhorrence of the fascist Spisak's crimes to set a precedent for the legal murder of Mumia, a man whose ‘crime’ was to stand up to the racist capitalist rulers.”

Just days before the current hearing, Robert Bryan, who had been Mumia's main lawyer for seven years, was fired. Bryan would not honor Mumia's request that Widener University law professor Judith Ritter, who had argued the specific question of jury instructions and mitigating circumstances before, be his sole spokesman at the hearing. Outrageously, in his motion to the court withdrawing from the case, Bryan asserted he had been “threatened by those in the ‘movement’ claiming to oppose execution of the client,” treacherously adding his voice to the slanders by the police and their press agents who brand Mumia's supporters as criminals.

The three-judge panel maintained an appearance of impartiality, asking probing questions of prosecutor Hugh J. Burns Jr. It should be noted that in May 2007, the same panel had appeared favorable to Mumia before ruling against him on

continued on page 10

Oscar Grant's Killer Gets Slap on Wrist, Protesters Get Thrown in Jail

Oakland Cops Gun Down Another Unarmed Black Man

The killing of Oscar Grant, a young black apprentice butcher, by Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) cop Johannes Mehserle on New Year's Day 2009 was literally a shot heard around the world. Video images recorded by horrified passengers on the platform of the Fruitvale BART stop in East Oakland showed Mehserle as he stood over Grant, methodically drew his Sig Sauer P226 semiautomatic and fired into Grant's back, as another cop held him face down with his hands behind his back.

On November 5, Mehserle got the minimum sentence of two years, less time served, for this coldblooded execution. Declaring that the evidence was “simply overwhelming” that Mehserle had mistaken his gun, weighing over two and a half pounds, for a taser weighing less than a pound, Los Angeles County Superior Court judge Robert Perry wrote off the killing as an “accident.” He also charged that Oscar Grant was corresponsable for his own death, retailing the cops' allegation that Grant was involved in a fight

on the train. Arguing “this is not a case about race,” the judge sneeringly dismissed as ill-informed the hundreds of letters appealing for justice from black people and others in Oakland, who are all too familiar with racist cop terror. As he stood outside the Los Angeles courthouse, where Mehserle's trial had been moved and conducted before a jury that included not one black person, Grant's uncle Cephus Johnson powerfully indicted the judge's ruling as but another example of this “racist, criminal justice system.”

That night, following a protest rally in downtown Oakland, the cops told protesters that their planned march to a West Oakland park would be blocked by police barricades. When the protesters instead began to march toward the Fruitvale BART stop where Grant had been shot to death, they were trapped by an army of cops. With an armed personnel carrier on the ground and police helicopters buzzing overhead, riot-equipped cops rounded up and arrested 152 people.

Three days later, two Oakland city cops

gunned down another unarmed black man, Derrick Jones, a 37-year-old barber in East Oakland and father of a two-year-old girl. Claiming that Jones was fleeing the scene of a reported domestic disturbance, the cops said they shot him several times through the chest because he was allegedly reaching for his waistband. One is reminded of the case of black African immigrant Amadou Diallo who in 1999 was cut down in a hail of bullets by New York City cops for reaching for his wallet. “Fleeing while black” is another “crime” punishable by death at the hands of the Oakland Police Department (OPD). In 2008, the cops killed Jodie “Mack” Woodfox, shooting him in the back as he “fled.” The year before, 20-year-old Gary King Jr. was also shot in the back in broad daylight by an Oakland cop who claimed that King was reaching into his waistband as he held up his pants trying to flee an OPD posse. Derrick Jones is the third person to have lost his life at the hands of the OPD this year.

At a November 11 protest that began

at Jones' barber shop and marched to the Fruitvale BART station, a multiracial crowd of 100 chanted, “Oscar Grant, D.D. Jones! We won't let them kill our own!” Speaking to the protesters, Cephus Johnson pointed to the two-year sentence for Mehserle as a license for cops to kill black people. This license is granted by the capitalist rulers, whom the police serve as an occupying army in the inner cities, as anti-union strikebreakers and as the fist to be brought down to repress social protest.

Hundreds mobilized for an October 23 protest in Oakland, initiated by International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10, to demand “Jail Killer Cops!” The unionists and others who came out that day reflected widespread anger over rampant cop terror. But, as we underlined in “There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!” (WV No. 968, 5 November), the outrage over the slap-on-the-wrist verdict for Mehserle was seized upon by left-talking union misleaders to “try to lull the working class into believing that they can

continued on page 11



Mario Hodge
Derrick Jones