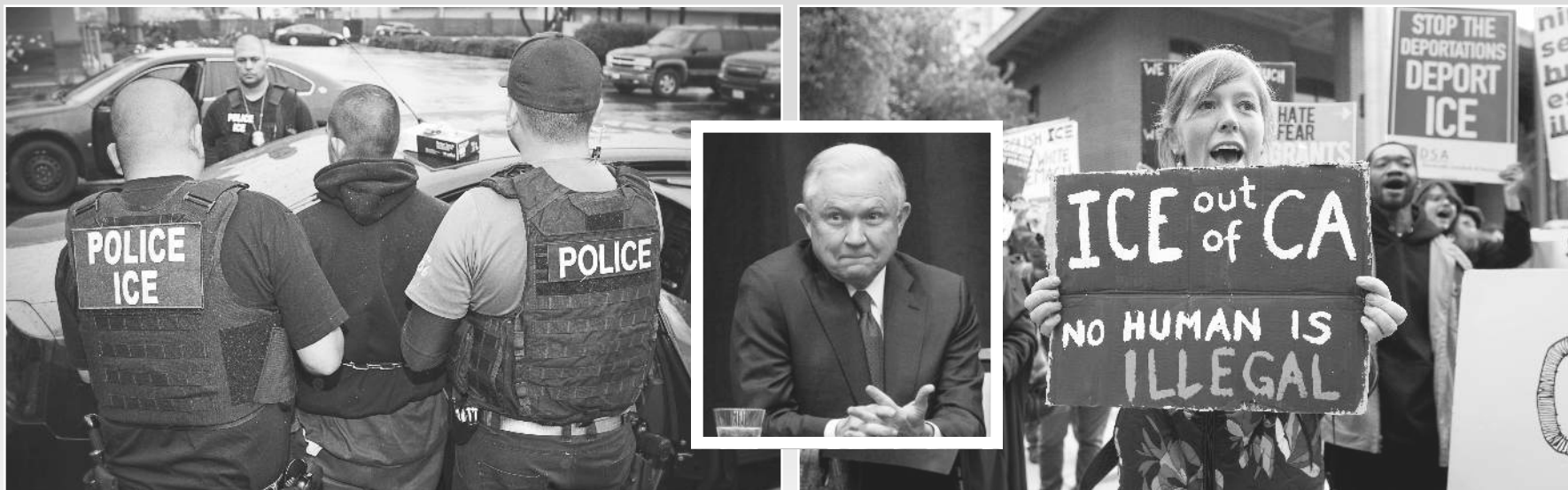


## Feds Ramp Up War Against Immigrants in California



Immigration and Customs Enforcement

AFP photos

Left: I.C.E. anti-immigrant raid in Los Angeles, February 7, part of recent large-scale roundups in California. Right: Immigrant rights activists protest outside speech to police by Attorney General Jeff Sessions (inset) in Sacramento, March 7, a day after he filed suit against the state over its sanctuary laws.

# Stop All Deportations!

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (I.C.E.) agents have been on a rampage throughout California, home to some 25 percent of undocumented immigrants in the United States. Hundreds have been rounded up in heavily armed I.C.E. raids on homes and businesses, and deported or sent to detention center hellholes. In the Central Valley, I.C.E. is staking out roads in order to nab immigrant farm workers on their way to work. In Delano, Kern County—where the campaign to organize the United Farm Workers union (UFW) began in the 1960s—I.C.E. agents hounded two farm workers, Santos

Hilario García and Marcelina García Profecto, to their deaths in a car crash, leaving six children orphaned. About a week earlier, the UFW had organized protests after I.C.E. seized more than 26 Kern County farm workers. It is vital for the multiracial labor movement to take up the fight to defend all immigrants against this police-state onslaught. **No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!**

Trump rode into the Oval Office by fanning the flames of anti-immigrant reaction, emboldening state forces like the border police and I.C.E. as well as racist vigilantes and outright fascists. Playing

to this base, the Trump administration declared war on “sanctuary” cities and states. In January, the acting director of I.C.E., Thomas Homan, took particular aim at California, where a law that placed some limits on cooperation between police (and other state agencies) and I.C.E. had just gone into effect. Promising to unleash “a lot more deportation officers,” Homan threatened that “California better hold on tight.” Between late January and mid February, I.C.E. rounded up more than 200 immigrants in a Los Angeles area sweep and raided nearly 200 workplaces throughout the state. Then, beginning on February

25, a major I.C.E. operation in northern California ripped 232 immigrants from their homes, jobs and families.

On March 7, Trump’s attorney general, the notorious racist and living monument to the Confederacy, Jeff Sessions, came to the state capitol in Sacramento to announce a lawsuit against the state’s sanctuary laws. While Sessions dementedly raved that these laws are the work of “radical extremists” promoting “open borders,” the Democrats used the occasion to cynically posture as the defenders of desperate immigrants. In fact, according to statistics for the month

*continued on page 6*

## Detainees Denied Abortion

# Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

In a frontal attack on immigrants and women’s rights, the U.S. government recently sought to compel a pregnant refugee teenager to give birth against her will. The Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), the federal agency that takes custody of the tens of thousands of unaccompanied minors caught crossing the U.S. border, stopped the 17-year-old girl, named in court documents as “Jane Moe,” from going to an abortion clinic. In January, a federal court overruled the ORR after the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed suit on her behalf.

This was the fourth case in the past

year that a pregnant immigrant teen was forced to sue the government to obtain an abortion, a legal medical procedure. The ACLU, which aptly characterized the government’s actions as holding these young women hostage, has filed a class-action suit aimed at preventing other detainees from facing the same peril. While the ORR was stopped from doing violence to these four women, they remain in danger of deportation.

The largest jailer in the world, the United States has the biggest immigration detention system as well. Today, the majority of unaccompanied immigrant children and teens ensnared by U.S. Border Patrol are fleeing from Hondu-

ras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Mexico, countries ravaged by U.S. imperialism. At least one of the four young women was a rape victim in her country of origin. Seeking to escape from desperate poverty and violence, most migrant women are physically and sexually assaulted on their way to the U.S.

Those who make it here only to fall into the hands of the U.S. government face new dangers in Immigration and Customs Enforcement detention centers, notorious for their inhumane treatment of detainees, poor medical care and unsafe food. Conditions at ORR facilities are often also deplorable. Formal constitutional rights are regularly

denied, not least the right to due process, as the ACLU emphasizes. We say: Free all the detainees! Anyone who has made it to this country has the right to live here, with full citizenship rights! No deportations!

The ORR is headed by Trump appointee Scott Lloyd, formerly a lawyer for the Knights of Columbus, a staunchly anti-abortion Catholic organization. In September, under a new policy laid down by Lloyd, the first of the four women (“Jane Doe”) was refused transport to a health care center for an abortion that had already been approved. ORR argued that this would be “facilitating abortion” and threatened the shelter that was holding her with loss of its federal grant if it allowed her to keep her appointment. Instead, she was taken to a religiously operated “crisis pregnancy

*continued on page 6*



# Ireland: Fight for Free Abortion on Demand!

We print below a March 7 leaflet issued by the Spartacist League/Britain. Our comrades distributed the leaflet to a thousands-strong abortion rights protest in Dublin, Ireland, on International Women's Day.

The upcoming referendum in Ireland on repealing the Eighth Amendment is a long-overdue opportunity to get rid of this vile anti-woman provision of the Constitution. On its own, though, repealing the Eighth won't bring any abortion rights. Even without the constitutional guarantee of the "right to life of the unborn," abortion will still be criminalised under the Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act (2013), except when the pregnant woman's life is in danger.

Under pressure from a population fed up with reactionary Catholic Ireland, the government is promising legislation to allow abortion, possibly on request in the first twelve weeks of pregnancy. If it became law, such a provision would certainly be welcome. It would be a more liberal regime than that in Britain, where women (including thousands of Irish women every year) are required to get two doctors to attest that continuing their



March 8: International Women's Day protest in Dublin demands abortion rights.

pregnancy would damage their physical or mental health, or that the child would be severely disabled. We Marxists are in favour of any reform that workers or the oppressed can wrest from the capitalist ruling class, but we recognise that the full

emancipation of women is only possible with the overthrow of capitalism itself.

Almost all of the groups involved in the fight to repeal the Eighth are affiliated to the Coalition to Repeal the Eighth Amendment, a class-collaborationist lash-up which includes bourgeois feminist and gay rights groups, several trade unions and the reformists of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Network. Dominated by feminists, this coalition limits its demands to what it thinks will be acceptable to the bourgeoisie, rather than fighting for what working-class women actually need. The Coalition urges people to email their TDs [members of parliament] and appeal to these representatives of bourgeois rule to be "open-minded, courageous and compassionate." This statement promotes the most ridiculous illusions in the Dáil [Irish parliament]. The bourgeois Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil, helped at times by the Labour Party, have taken turns administering the anti-woman clericalist capitalist Irish state.

Fighters for women's rights cannot place any trust in the promises of the Irish government—the executive committee of the ruling class. While the Catholic Church and its teachings are widely scorned in Ireland today, the church still wields considerable power, not least through its control of schools and hospitals. *For the separation of church and state!*

Even if abortion is to some extent legalised, there will surely be obstacles to obtaining an abortion in practice, especially for working-class, immigrant and Traveller [a historically itinerant ethnic group] women. A twelve-week limit, for instance, would still be a severe restriction on women's rights. In Britain, nearly ten per cent of abortions are carried out after twelve weeks. Abortion is a safe and simple medical procedure that should be completely decriminalised and treated as purely a healthcare issue. It should be available to any woman who wants it without restriction. *For free abortion on demand!*

The government has suggested that medical abortions will be provided by GPs [general practitioners], for which most women will presumably be expected to fork out the usual €50 [\$60] or so, plus prescription fees for abortion pills, antibiotics if needed, etc. In today's capitalist Ireland, those with money can easily obtain medical treatment, while those who can't afford it are placed on ever-growing waiting lists. The fight for abortion rights must be tied to a fight for quality healthcare for all, free at the point of delivery!

Health minister Simon Harris has assured medical professionals that they can refuse to provide terminations. Such a loophole could make abortion difficult to obtain even if it were legal. A similar "conscience" clause in Italy has resulted in 70 per cent of gynaecologists refusing to perform abortions. GPs and clinics which do end up providing abortion services would likely find themselves besieged by militant anti-abortion forces. Anti-abortion reactionaries are already

mobilising to prevent repeal of the Eighth Amendment, including with a nationwide billboard campaign by the arch-conservative Iona Institute and a 10 March rally in Dublin to "Save the 8th." The working class, which has the requisite numbers, organisation and social power, must be mobilised at the forefront of the fight to win abortion rights and defend them against the forces of clerical reaction.

While gains for women and the oppressed can be won under capitalism, the bourgeoisie constantly attempts to reverse them. In Britain, the 1967 Abortion Act, without decriminalising abortion, did broaden its availability. However, in 1990, the legal time limit was reduced from 28 to 24 weeks; now the Tories' vice chair for women, Maria Caulfield, is calling for it to be further lowered. In the States, abortion rights granted by the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision have been rolled back time and again.

Underlying the restrictions on abortion rights is the institution of the family—the root of women's oppression, and a key prop of the capitalist system—and the idea that motherhood is a woman's destiny. For the bourgeoisie, the family is used to pass property on to the next generation. For the working class, the family—in which women are consigned to running the household and rearing the next generation—inculcates and reinforces bourgeois ideology and morals and, above all, obedience to authority.

The primacy of the family and women's role within it are enshrined in the clericalist capitalist Irish state's Constitution. The repugnant Article 41 recognises the family "as a moral [!] institution" and pledges the state to prevent mothers from having to go to work "to the neglect of their duties in the home"! The entry of women into the working class opens the way to their liberation: their position at the point of production gives them the social power, along with the entire working class, to overturn the capitalist system. The fight for women's liberation is inseparable from the fight for international socialist revolution. Under the rule of the working class, a collectivised, internationally planned economy, will lay the economic basis for the socialising of childcare and housework, freeing women to play a full and equal role in social and political life.

Conditions for women in the North are no better than in Southern Ireland. The intertwining of social and national oppression can only be equitably resolved through a proletarian revolution on both sides of the border and both sides of the Irish Sea. The International Communist League, including its British section the Spartacist League/Britain, fights for the construction of Trotskyist parties which can lead the working class to power through socialist revolution. *For an Irish workers republic, part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles! ■*



TROTSKY

## In Honor of Karl Marx

March 14 marked the 135th anniversary of Karl Marx's death. We print below excerpts from the graveside speech given by his cothinker and longtime comrade Friedrich Engels in London's Highgate Cemetery on 17 March 1883.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must

first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of *vice versa*, as had hitherto been the case.

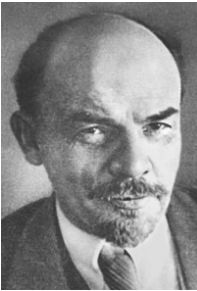
But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated—and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially—in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

Such was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry, and in historical development in general....

For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which *he* was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival....

His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!  
—Friedrich Engels, "Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx,"  
*Marx-Engels Reader*, W.W. Norton & Company (1978)



LENIN

# WORKERS VANGUARD

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## WORKERS HAMMER

Independence for Catalonia!  
Down with the EU!  
Anti-Muslim "Prevent" programme: Danger to everyone's rights

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Our longtime comrade Lisa Gruber died in the San Francisco Bay Area on March 6 after a lengthy and increasingly debilitating illness. She was 73. Beloved for her empathy, human insight and wit, Lisa was a personable Marxist politician whose intelligence and courage were a great strength to the party. She was among a number of pro-working-class New Leftists who had worked their way through the morass of competing political programs to find their way to Trotskyism and join the Spartacist League. In losing Lisa, we have lost a wealth of political wisdom drawn from experience beginning in the mid 1960s civil rights movement and spanning the next several decades.

Lisa joined the Spartacist League in 1972. In her 46 years as a communist, she was an auto union militant, an organizer and a mom. She spent years leading Spartacist locals in Houston, Cleveland and Vancouver, Canada. Her chronic infirmity eventually forced her to withdraw from daily activity in the Bay Area, but she nonetheless continued to do high-level party work, traveling internationally from Australia and Asia to West Europe. She managed to maintain her combative spirit and intense political interest until the last few years. We extend our heartfelt condolences to Lisa's son Josh, her sister Mimi and their families, as well as to her companion, Charlie.

Lisa was a "red-diaper baby," born and raised in New York in a non-religious Jewish, leftist family. She studied art at Reed College in Oregon, going on to University of California at Berkeley. By age 20, she had broken off her formal education to join the civil rights movement. Lisa and her then husband Bob Mandel were among the mostly white students who went South for Freedom Summer voter registration inspired by the leftward-moving radicals of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. As reported in a 23 June 1964 front-page *San Francisco Chronicle* article, Lisa and Bob were arrested in Clarksdale, Mississippi, two days after three civil rights workers—James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner—were arrested and went missing in Neshoba County, Mississippi. Weeks later, the bodies of those three young men were found buried in a dam, murdered by the Klan.

Like many youth stirred by the fight for black rights, Lisa joined the swelling protest against U.S. imperialism's bloody war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. She and Bob became prominent in Berkeley/Oakland and were both arrested during the 1967 Stop the Draft Week. As Lisa enjoyed recalling, she appeared briefly in Michelangelo Antonioni's 1970 film *Zabriskie Point* about 1960s counterculture. In the opening scene's documentary-like setting of an activist meeting, Lisa questioned Black Panther leader Kathleen Cleaver as to what would make white people into revolutionaries.

Lisa was shaped by a passionate commitment to black liberation and to women's liberation, but was influenced by prevailing sectoralist arguments, such as "only women can organize women." In 1968, Lisa headed up a small group within the male-exclusionist New Left feminist Berkeley Women's Liberation. Lisa and her group cast about trying to find a path to revolution in this flawed framework.

The student eruption and workers general strike in France in 1968 had a big impact on the New Left because it shot through the widespread contempt for the working class as being materially "bought off" and incapable of overturning capitalism. Lisa and others in her grouping, along with some male radicals, decided to move to nearby Hayward, at that time a largely white working-class city. Their collective did youth-centered agitation and workplace actions for several months to combat racism and to try to rouse the working class for revolution. Disappointed with their poor results, some joined another faction of the New Left, the Weathermen.

Lisa and her cohorts instead moved to East Oakland and, with some Maoist women, organized Oakland Women's Liberation. They continually clashed with the Maoists in their joint study group, and began to read Trotskyist critiques of Stalinist class collaboration and Maoist betrayals. Lisa began to seriously consider the need for a Leninist party and to debate Trotskyism with the SL.

# Lisa Gruber



WV Photo



## 1944–2018

The belief that the working class was crucial to the struggle for socialism collided with feminism when some of the women around Oakland Women's Liberation justified scabbing on a phone company strike by arguing that the strikers were men! Lisa's recruitment to the SL required convincing her that feminism and revolutionary Marxism were competing worldviews and that the struggle for women's liberation had to be the work of the entire revolutionary party, not just women. The SL's documentation of the work among women by the Bolshevik Party, and of the early Communist International after the 1917 Russian Revolution, was crucial in showing that our party was committed to this task.

In 1972, the same year that she joined the SL, Lisa got a job at the General Motors assembly plant in Fremont. Soon after, Lisa joined other unionists to form the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW), later the UAW Militant Caucus, which was politically supported by the Spartacist League. The Militant Caucus put forward a class-struggle program against the pro-capitalist UAW bureaucrats.

With the auto industry entering a period of crisis, Fremont was in the front line of the battle to preserve this key section of the U.S. proletariat. In 1974, the plant faced the worst layoffs in auto since the 1930s Depression. Lisa and the CMUAW fought tooth and nail for an industry-wide strike against layoffs, raising the call for a shorter workweek at full pay. This program went up against the various reformists in the plant, such as the Maoists whose scheme was to get the company to keep *women* working while the men were laid off, an open violation of union seniority. After the jobs were axed, these same Maoists launched a lawsuit that would have invited the courts to shred seniority protections. The CMUAW maintained an active campaign against all forms of government interference in the union, insisting that it is the *union* that must fight discrimination.

Lisa ran for union office in 1977 on the UAW Militant Slate calling for "a workers party based on an explicit program to abolish capitalism and establish a workers government." Over the years, the caucus sought to win workers to a broader internationalist and revolutionary program. They mobilized around issues including the 1977 murder of South African anti-apartheid activist Steve Biko and the British Ford strike in 1978. Ultimately, the capitalists dumped Fremont, shutting down the plant in 1982.

Lisa used her hard-won experience as a communist in the trade unions to lead SL locals in Houston and then Cleveland, both of which had important industrial arenas of work. After returning to the Bay Area, she finished her BA degree and trained to become a paralegal. She worked closely with the Partisan Defense Committee's counsel, Valerie West, on the case of Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), a Black Panther leader jailed for 27 years for a murder the state knew he did not commit. As a high-level paralegal, she attended depositions and pored over records to build a case against the state's retaliatory prison transfers and other harassment. This work helped keep Geronimo's cause in the public eye until his eventual release in 1997.

In the 1990s, Lisa was often called on to assist various SL/U.S. locals and ICL sections abroad. This sometimes meant planting herself for chunks of time in countries with many dangers and conditions hazardous to her precarious health. Lisa was especially skilled at disentangling political questions and dealing with disputes in a way that recognized where comrades were coming from. Through her characteristically relentless probing, Lisa proved herself a leader with tough political acumen and determination to build the party. As a comrade from our French section wrote of Lisa's time there, she had "an external eye, independent thought and a drive to identify problems and propose solutions to make the section function in a more Leninist, Cannonite way," a reference to James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism.

Despite the excruciating progression of her illness, as a consultative member of the Bay Area local Lisa strove to participate as much as possible—attending meetings, intervening in party discussions, and accepting assignments, such

as photographing protests for the party press. She regularly offered to host events in her home, from social gatherings to video showings and fundraisers. She pursued her passion for drawing and photography throughout her life and found a welcome outlet in her gardening.

People were known to spill their guts when exposed to Lisa's humor and honesty. In a 2011 interview, Lisa laughingly described how she became effective at convincing people to buy *Workers Vanguard*. She would show them the paper and say: "You don't know what you're missing." In the same interview, she summarized her lifetime commitment to the revolution, as well as that of her comrades going back to the 1960s: "We saw ourselves as right against a world that was going wrong. And I think that sustained us all the way, through these many years. It's a good thing to latch onto because it gives you direction."

Lisa inspired us and we will always honor and miss her.



Bettmann

**Lisa Gruber (back, second from left) at UC Berkeley sit-in protesting military recruiters, as Free Speech Movement leader Mario Savio addresses crowd, November 1966.**



# Drop All Charges Against Anti-Fascist Protesters!



**March 5: Anti-fascist protesters confront neo-Nazis outside Richard Spencer rally for race-terror at Michigan State University.**

On March 5, hundreds of activists came out to oppose would-be *führer* Richard Spencer, who was holding a rally for race-terror at Michigan State University (MSU) in East Lansing. Fascist thugs, including the Traditionalist Worker Party, marched in formation toward the venue chanting “white power” and giving Nazi salutes, but protesters blocked the way, preventing this putrid rabble from forming up again over the course of an hours-long stand-off. Cops from eight different police agencies, on hand to ensure the fascists could mobilize, beat protesters, using bicycles as battering rams and causing numerous injuries.

In the end, Spencer gave a speech,

which was live-streamed, to a small mob who were ushered in under police escort. Twenty anti-fascist protesters, arrested for their heroic acts of trying to drive these scum off the campus, now face a range of charges, including felonies that carry lengthy prison sentences. We demand: ***Drop all charges against the anti-fascist protesters!***

Emboldened by Trump’s election, fascists have been increasingly rearing their heads, including on college campuses across the country, which they see as fertile ground for recruiting to murderous violence. The fascist outpouring in Charlottesville last August was kicked off with a Spencer-led white-supremacist

rally at the University of Virginia. The next day, a fascist drove a car into a crowd of counter-protesters, killing Heather Heyer and seriously injuring 19 others. After a Spencer rally at the University of Florida on October 19, three Nazis shot at anti-fascist protesters.

We salute the courage of those who fought to keep Spencer and his fascist goons from having their way at MSU. The day before, some of the same activists were among those who stymied a fascist gathering in Detroit by exposing its secret location. The fascists have put a bull’s eye on the protesters in East Lansing, aided by the cops and by the court’s release of personal information.

Among the many in court on March 16 to show their support for the anti-fascists was Chelsea Manning, who was imprisoned for seven years by the U.S. imperialist military after exposing many of its war crimes in Iraq and Afghanistan. At this hearing, the judge conceded that the defense should be given time to view police video footage of the event. But the judge denied requests for the names and personal details of the defendants to be redacted to protect them from doxing by fascist thugs.

The fascists are paramilitary shock troops that are held in reserve by the capitalist rulers and unleashed at times of social crisis against any prospect of revolutionary struggle by the working class. The goal of the fascist scum is nothing less than the elimination of the unions and the left as well as genocide of racial minorities. From the Ku Klux Klan to “alt-right” thugs, the fascists have black people especially in their sights; they wave the Confederate flag of slavery and “speak” with the lynch rope. Stopping the fascists is an elementary act of self-defense for black people, immigrants, Jews, Muslims, trade unionists, leftists and all the fascists’ intended victims.

The fascist killers can and must be smashed in the egg. But individual acts of heroism are not enough. What is necessary is to mobilize the power of the unions with their large components of black and Latino workers. The working class uniquely has the interest and social power not only to sweep the scum off the streets but to put an end to the capitalist system that gives rise to and sustains the fascist scourge.

The Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has written a letter demanding the charges be dropped and has contributed money to the legal defense. We encourage our readers to do likewise by writing to Ingham County Prosecutor Carol Siemon, 303 W. Kalamazoo Street, 4R, Lansing, MI 48933, and making donations at [www.fundedjustice.com/stopspencermsu](http://www.fundedjustice.com/stopspencermsu). ■

## Confederate Flag in Dianne Feinstein’s Attic

With racist thugs on the march to defend Confederate monuments in the South, cheered on by “states’ rights” Republican officeholders, U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein, a grande dame of the Democratic Party, is having a light shined on her own embrace of the Confederate flag of slavery in the bluest city of the blue State of California. Colin Kalmbacher recounted in a February 27 article on the Law & Crime website that as San Francisco mayor in 1984, Feinstein not only flew the Confederate battle flag at the city’s Civic Center but oversaw the prosecution of Richard Bradley, the black worker and Spartacist League supporter who tore down that flag. The story, based in part on coverage in *Workers Vanguard* at the time, was picked up in a March 4 video post by Cenk Uygur on the left-liberal “Young Turks” website.

On 15 April 1984, clad in the Civil War uniform of a Union Army soldier, Bradley scaled a 50-foot flagpole and ripped down the Confederate flag that had flown for years at Civic Center, where Feinstein’s City Hall offices were located. At ground level, what was left of the flag was burned by a General Executive Board member of International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 6 amid jubilant cheers and a chorus of the anti-slavery anthem “John Brown’s Body” from the crowd of black people, trade unionists and socialists. Black people in the Bay Area welcomed the victory as their own, glad to be rid of the banner of the KKK and other home-grown fascists who have carried out lynch rope terror for the past 150 years. Ritchie was a local hero, with people buying him a drink or meal wherever he went.

Feinstein ordered the slaveholders’ ban-



**15 April 1984: Spartacist League supporter Richard Bradley shreds Confederate flag at San Francisco Civic Center. Another SL supporter burns what remains.**

ner to rise again—a racist provocation that came a day after the acquittal of a KKK/Nazi death squad that had gunned down five leftists, civil rights activists and union organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979. Hours later, Bradley, surrounded by SL supporters, once again scaled the flagpole and that flag was torn to pieces. Arrested twice on vandalism charges, Bradley climbed the flagpole a third time in order to put up a replica of the Union garrison flag that flew over Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor when Confederate forces fired the opening shots of the Civil War. Demonstrating anew her scorn for those who fought to smash slavery, Fein-

stein vindictively ordered the *Union* flag that Bradley had hoisted to be removed and shredded.

Bradley was put on trial, which ended on June 4 of that year with a hung jury (eight for acquittal). Shaking Bradley’s hand, one juror exclaimed, “I would have done it if I had the guts.” Attempting to avoid further embarrassment, a week later Feinstein’s district attorney moved to dismiss all other charges.

But Dixie Dianne wouldn’t let it rest. At the end of June, she raised the “Stars and Bars,” the first flag of the Confederacy, on the same flagpole. In the early morning hours of June 29, anti-racist militants

not only took down that flag of slavery but also felled the pole. As Kalmbacher observed, “No Confederate flag flew at San Francisco City Hall ever again.”

Uygur and Kalmbacher both note that at the time Feinstein, who was in the running for the Democratic vice presidential nomination, was seeking to curry favor with the Dixiecrats; the Democratic National Convention was due to begin in SF three months later. Feinstein’s gambit failed. The Democrats instead chose Geraldine Ferraro to break ground as the first woman candidate for vice president on a major party ticket. Representing a white enclave in Queens, New York, in Con-

WV Photos

# Chicago Transit Union Tops Ram Through Sellout Contract

In February, the bureaucrats who run Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 241 (bus) and 308 (rail), acting in the service of Mayor Rahm Emanuel’s Democratic Party administration, forced a rotten contract on transit workers. For years, the arrogant Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) bosses have been taking the knife to union benefits and seniority rights while imposing widespread, ever-harsher discipline and more miserable work schedules. The new transit pact follows this pattern and mirrors attacks on public workers nationwide: nominal pay raises will be wiped out by higher health care costs to come. But the bad news does not stop there. The contract further enshrines the union-busting “Second Chance” program, which exploits ex-convicts as virtual slave labor.

Under this so-called “apprentice” program, introduced in late 2007 with the complicity of the ATU tops, the CTA has created a layer of hundreds of miserably paid, overwhelmingly black workers who are union members in name only; they pay dues and retiree health care contributions, but receive no union benefits or real protections. They are at the complete mercy of the CTA bosses; even the slightest perceived infraction is considered grounds for firing. Made to take on long, grueling shifts, these workers clean buses and trains for less than half of what full-time permanent union servicers are paid to do the same work.

Since its inception, there has been widespread opposition to “Second Chance” within the ATU. *Workers Vanguard* was told that at meetings of both locals last year, union members voted overwhelmingly against the program’s renewal. Many were in solidarity with these workers and support them getting equal pay and full rights. However, other union members opposing “Second Chance” have bought the bosses’ lie, echoed by the ATU misleaders, that these former prisoners are to blame for their second-class status. As we wrote during the early days of the program (WV No. 923, 24 October 2008): “It is crucial for the ATU to take up the defense of the apprentices. Workers must demand that they receive full union wages, benefits, training, protections and rights on the job and in the union. *Equal pay for equal work! No second-class union membership!*”

In Chicago, known as “Segregation City,” trigger-happy cops roam the ghettos and barrios, subjecting everyone from teenage students to black bus drivers to a reign of terror. Many of the city’s black youth have been swept up into prison hell-holes under the racist “war on drugs.” Initiated under Republican Richard Nixon, this is in reality a war on black people that was for years pushed by black Democrats like Bobby Rush and Jesse Jackson. And it is Rush and other black Dems who champion “Second Chance” as giving a break to the very people they helped put behind bars! Once a prisoner, one is branded for life: stripped of voting and

gress, Ferraro not only joined Southern conservatives in pushing school prayer but supported a constitutional amendment to ban busing for school integration. Feinstein would go on to rise to the pinnacle of the Democratic Party establishment, as an advocate of the racist death penalty and Bill Clinton’s anti-crime bills, which accelerated mass incarceration and gutted habeas corpus rights, as well as the war on Iraq, and NSA domestic spying.

While welcoming the new publicity, we recognize the Young Turks have no intention of promoting the SL’s Marxist program, which sees the fight for black freedom as central to the fight for workers power in the

## “Second Chance” Program: Racist, Anti-Union



James/Chicago Tribune

**“Second Chance” worker cleaning subway car. Under this slave-labor, union-busting program, ex-convicts hired into transit are relegated to poverty wages and second-class union status.**

other rights; denied employment, housing and basic services; barred even from qualifying for a commercial driver’s license. It is in the interest of the labor movement, in the city and nationally, to fight for the full restoration of rights for ex-convicts.

The CTA “Second Chance” program is one of the largest programs of its kind in the country, having quadrupled in size under Emanuel. It is the product of the “re-entry movement,” a cabal of religious conservatives and Democratic Party politicians like Barack Obama, Bobby Rush and his fellow Chicago-based Congressman Danny Davis. They claim that such programs help people with a criminal record find employment, but that is pure deception. Few learn new skills or get a permanent CTA job, and some 90 percent are fired within a few years. With the new union contract, the ATU tops have criminally reinforced the pariah status of ex-convicts on the job.

We warned in our 2008 article: “All transit workers stand to lose, as the program is a dagger aimed at the entire union.” CTA management has long sought to set up pools of cheap labor, as seen in the proliferation of low-paid, part-time jobs with no pension benefits among drivers, motormen and customer service attendants. Many bus drivers are forced to work 12-14 hour split shifts with unpaid hours in the middle of their day.

Granted a free hand to bully the “Second Chance” workers, the transit bosses have been cracking the disciplinary whip on all union members. Two black bus drivers, Leonard Price and Michael Reeves,

Jr., are currently fighting to get their jobs back after the CTA fired them for defending themselves. Price faced down a provocative racist on his bus, and Reeves, a man wielding a knife. Both ATU locals must demand: *Reinstate Price and Reeves with no loss in pay or seniority!*

Before the contract vote, for which only about half the membership turned out, transit workers had been working without a contract for over two years. Many wanted to make a fight of it. A golden opportunity presented itself when the previous contract expired at the end of 2015. Emanuel was in political crisis after he was exposed for trying to cover up video of a cop gunning down black youth Laquan McDonald. Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) members had just voted by a large margin to strike. Given the hated mayor’s all-sided attacks on poor and working people, a strike by teachers and transit workers would have widely resonated among these sections of the population, posing the real possibility of driving Emanuel out through labor action.

The point was not to replace the strutting bully Emanuel with some other Democratic Party false “friend of labor.” Rather, it was to open the door for the multiracial working class to engage in wider struggle, not only in its own interest but also on behalf of the oppressed. As we stated at the time: “Our purpose is to fight to translate the mounting anger and discontent into a conscious understanding that the working class needs its own party—not an electoral vehicle vying to be the administrators of the capitalist

that the senatorial nomination is a matter for California voters to decide.

For those repulsed by the racism, sexism, xenophobia and war synonymous with capitalism, we suggest not wasting efforts on trying to reform the party of the Confederacy, Bay of Pigs and Vietnam. Ritchie Bradley wore the uniform of a Union soldier to underscore that it took a second American revolution, the Civil War, to end slavery, and it will take a third, socialist American revolution to attain full equality for black people. Join us in the task of building the workers party necessary to lead this fight. Finish the Civil War! ■

state and its cops, courts and jails—but a party that would play a leading role in a broad fight against the ravages of capitalism” (“We Need a Multiracial Workers Party!” WV No. 1081, 15 January 2016).

The ATU and CTU union tops worked overtime to defuse the situation and let the crisis pass. As part of shoring up the image of Emanuel in the middle of the crisis, Davis and Rush for their part trotted out to a bus garage for a photo op with the mayor, pushing for renewal of the “Second Chance” program. The union misleaders’ refusal to strike against Emanuel when he was on the ropes went a long way toward resuscitating his credibility to the racist rulers as their man for the job.

The ATU locals have the social power to turn the Loop into a parking lot and upend business as usual. But the pro-capitalist ATU officials have long refused to wield the strike weapon. The union tops share the political program of City Hall—to maintain “labor peace” and not upset the capitalist applecart—based on the lie that the ruling class and the toiling masses have common interests. The Democrats, who have long run the city, posture as “friends” of labor and the oppressed, only to slash jobs, attack unions, gut public services and deploy cops to terrorize black and Latino neighborhoods.

We learned last year that, with sentiment for a strike running high, angry Local 308 members sought to force a strike authorization vote. Union officials responded by organizing a June “straw poll,” cynically orchestrated to let off steam. In that poll, Local 308 members voted 98 percent in favor of strike action. This desire was echoed by workers in Local 241. But in the end, with the carrot of back pay and the stick that “we’ll do worse in arbitration,” Local 308 president Ken Franklin and Local 241 president Keith Hill pushed through contract ratification.

Behind the scenes, the ATU bureaucrats had already started the process of binding arbitration, a trap designed to head off strikes and leave workers with no say in the contract. While Franklin postured as more militant by talking “strike,” his counterpart Hill was busy penning legal memos worthy of the CTA law department to explain why an ATU strike would be “illegal,” citing the union’s no-strike arbitration clause. In fact, the 1985 Illinois Labor Relations Act does not ban transit strikes *unless* the union agrees to enter binding arbitration. It is a damning indictment of the ATU tops that contract after contract, including the latest, has contained an arbitration clause.

Hill and his ilk hide behind anti-labor laws as an excuse to just roll over. Of course, taking on the capitalist state, with its cops and courts, is a serious matter, but what the bosses can actually get away with depends on the class struggle. Historically, the industrial unions in the U.S. were forged through class battles that defied capitalist legality.

What is urgently needed is a fight for a class-struggle leadership of the unions, one based on complete independence from the bosses and their Democratic Party political operatives. The unions must be rebuilt as battalions of the multiracial working class against the bosses, including by inscribing on labor’s banner the call for the emancipation of black people and all the oppressed. A new, militant leadership would fight for jobs for all at good union wages and for industrial unionism—e.g., one union for all Chicago transit workers, as opposed to the current divisions between rail and bus locals and 12 different craft unions. Crucially, such a leadership would have as its perspective the building of a workers party that fights for a workers government. ■

California...

(continued from page 1)

of December, the number of immigrants rounded up by I.C.E. in California had not drastically increased over that recorded for the same month in the waning days of the Obama administration. Trump’s Democratic Party predecessor expelled over 2.5 million immigrants, more than any previous president in U.S. history.

Drawing particular fury and threats of possible prosecution from Trump and Sessions is Oakland mayor Libby Schaaf who last month publicly warned that unspecified I.C.E. raids were imminent in northern California. I.C.E. top cop, Homan, compared the Oakland mayor to a “gang lookout yelling ‘Police!’” On the contrary, Schaaf ran for mayor as the pro-cop candidate of law and order. In short, her “gang” is the police, in this case the notoriously racist killers of the Oakland Police Department. Her pro-immigrant posture was in the service of promoting her prospects for re-election in November and, possibly, for higher office beyond.

California Democratic Party state senator, Kevin de León, also seized on the I.C.E. raids as an opportunity to burnish his credentials as the “progressive” challenger for Dianne Feinstein’s U.S. Senate seat this year. Promoting California’s supposed “diversity and inclusivity,” de León boasted that the state has the “sixth-largest economy in the world thanks to the hard-working immigrants who want to become American citizens.” There is no question that the labor of undocumented immigrants who make up nearly 10 percent of California workers—including roughly half or more of those in agriculture and some one-fifth of those in construction—has generated enormous profits, particularly for the state’s giant agribusiness bosses.

California’s sanctuary laws dovetail with the needs of a major section of the bourgeoisie in the state. To these capitalists, Mexico and Central America are little more than a reservoir of cheap labor—a clear example was the notorious *bracero* program of 1942-64 under which millions of “temporary” Mexican workers, denied elementary rights, were brought in to slave in the fields. Relying on the brutal exploitation of vulnerable immigrants for their profits, capitalists like the agribusiness bosses view Trump’s ideologically driven anti-immigrant crusade as contrary to their interests.

The three California sanctuary laws targeted by Sessions are overwhelmingly for show. As Democratic Party governor Jerry Brown declared in signing the “California Values” bill in October, it “does not prevent

or prohibit” I.C.E. and Homeland Security “from doing their own work in any way.” While barring police and other state agencies from sharing certain information about prisoners with I.C.E., it exempts those who have been convicted of any one of **800 crimes**. Moreover, regional police databases, which include data provided by sanctuary cities, are readily available to immigration authorities. At Brown’s insistence, the law also allows I.C.E. to work with state prisons and enter county jails to question immigrants. Another of these laws, purportedly preventing I.C.E. agents from hunting down “illegals” at their work places, merely requires that these anti-



May Day 2015: Spartacists raise call for full citizenship rights for immigrants at ILWU longshore union march against racist cop terror in Oakland.

immigrant stormtroopers have warrants in order to investigate employee records.

The third “sanctuary” law bars California jails from securing any new contracts with I.C.E. to detain immigrants and allows the state government to conduct inspections of I.C.E. detention centers. The idea that the state of California—whose prisons have numbered among the worst of the worst in a country known as “incarceration nation”—is going to conduct investigations to ensure the health and well-being of immigrants is beyond a sick joke. Like others locked up in California’s prison dungeons, immigrants held in I.C.E. detention centers suffer from inadequate and rotting food, lack of medical care, forced labor and assault.

At the privately run Adelanto detention center in the desert northeast of Los Angeles, three inmates died within four months last year. A hunger strike by Central American immigrants was met with pepper spray, beatings and scalding hot showers. In Richmond, a jail on contract with I.C.E. has been exposed by immigrant rights activists for its rampant abuse of women, denial of medical care and grossly

unsanitary conditions. The response of the Contra Costa sheriff was to ban CIVIC, the immigrant support group that had publicized these atrocities, from visiting the jail. And that was after the implementation of California’s sanctuary laws.

We welcome any measure that may impede the immigration cops. But we warn: counting on a “sanctuary” designation to protect immigrants is a dangerous illusion. The racist, trigger-happy cops who daily gun down black and Latino youth on the streets are not about to stop harassing immigrants or colluding with I.C.E. “Sanctuary” did not stop San Francisco police from blowing away 19-year-old

Jesus Adolfo Delgado Duarte, a Mexican immigrant hiding in the trunk of a car, in a hail of **99 bullets** on March 6. Nor did sanctuary policies get in the way of the Los Angeles Police Department when its cops killed a black homeless man from Cameroon in 2015. In fact, many police chiefs support sanctuary policies in order to build immigrants’ “trust” in the cops as they go about terrorizing black and Latino youth.

Echoing the pro-sanctuary police chiefs, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) denounces I.C.E. raids because “they don’t protect communities from dangerous criminals, but are designed to instill fear and send a message that immigrants should live in the shadows” (*Socialist Worker* online, 14 March). The ISO’s call for protests “to make sure law enforcement officials adhere to sanctuary policies” was realized in a protest by the Democratic Socialists of America last July. The rally demanded that the L.A. sheriff support the sanctuary state bill, chanting, “You work for us.” As any revolutionary Marxist understands, the cops work for the capitalist class, not “us.” The job of the police, together with the courts,

prisons and military, is to enforce the rule of the capitalist class enemy against the working class, black people, immigrants and all the oppressed.

The bosses have long whipped up anti-black racism and anti-immigrant chauvinism in order to set white worker against black and native-born against immigrant. The purpose is to divide and rule their wage slaves in order to degrade wages, benefits and working conditions and further the exploitation of all workers. Yet just as black workers remain a militant backbone of the unions, immigrant workers are far from helpless victims of the viciously racist system of American capitalism. From supermarket workers and janitors to drywallers, immigrant workers have been central to many of the small number of union victories won in California in the last few decades.

The situation cries out for mobilizing the power of the multiracial working class in the fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. Taking up this struggle is vital for the unions themselves. Many, such as the UFCW grocery workers and SEIU service workers, have a large immigrant membership. Working-class unity, embodied in labor actions, can be a crucial force to push back the racist anti-immigrant campaign, and to revive the labor movement itself. A vivid example of the importance of unity in struggle was shown by the union organizing victory at Smithfield meatpacking in Tar Heel, North Carolina, in 2008. During that 15-year battle, the heavily black and immigrant workforce mobilized in action to beat back union-busting attacks, including attempts by *la migra* to round up immigrant union activists.

A central obstacle to marshaling labor’s power in defense of immigrants is a union misleadership that is committed to the defense of American capitalism. The protectionist cry for “American jobs for American workers” pushed by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy fans the flames of anti-immigrant bigotry. At the same time, the bureaucrats’ support for the Democratic Party serves to shackle working people, including union activists fighting against the deportations, to the other party of racist American capitalism.

Our aim is to forge a revolutionary workers party—one that is 70 percent black, Latino and other minorities—that can lead the fight for the class rule of the workers. Only by seizing the productive wealth of society can a new social order be built, one where the material abundance now monopolized by the tiny minority of capitalists will be used to meet the needs of the many and lay the basis for creating a socialist egalitarian society. ■

Abortion...

(continued from page 1)

center” for anti-abortion counseling. In December, Lloyd personally intervened in the case of “Jane Poe,” a rape victim, charging that the abortion she wanted might “further traumatize” her and would be “violence against an innocent life”!

When challenged in court over the cases of “Jane Poe” and “Jane Roe,” the Justice Department argued: “The government has strong and constitutionally legitimate interests in promoting its interest in

life, in refusing to facilitate abortion, and in not providing incentives for pregnant minors to illegally cross the border to obtain elective abortions while in federal custody.” A government lawyer sneered that minors who want to terminate pregnancies can just leave the country—never mind that in El Salvador and Honduras, for example, abortion is illegal even to save a mother’s life. Essentially arguing that undocumented women have no rights that the U.S. government is bound to respect, Texas attorney general Ken Paxton railed that “Texas must not become a sanctuary state for abortions.”

During his campaign, Trump went out of his way to court the racist anti-immigrant and anti-abortion bigots. In January, he made history as the first sitting U.S. president to address the annual anti-abortion march in Washington, D.C., via live video feed. Recently, the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) Office for Civil Rights created a “Conscience and Religious Freedom Division” to “protect” health workers who object to abortions.

Like the ORR, the HHS is now packed to the gills with off-the-deep-end ideologues for anti-abortion, anti-contraception and abstinence-only nonsense. An exposé in the *New England Journal of Medicine* (14 June 2017) cites government “health” officials pushing lies that condoms don’t protect against STDs and that abortions and contraceptives can cause cancer, infertility and mental health problems. One adviser to the president, Katy Talento, earlier claimed that a woman’s use of birth control risks “breaking your uterus for good.”

The *Roe v. Wade* decision establishing women’s right to abortion came in 1973, after a period of significant social struggle in this country. But like any gain won under capitalism, it is reversible, and the availability of abortion has always been limited for working-class and poor women, many black and Latina. The Spartacist League has always raised the demand for free abortion on demand. Over the decades, terrorism against abortion clinics, legal challenges, restrictions and other attacks have

massively chipped away at the availability of abortion; 90 percent of the counties in the U.S. have not even one abortion clinic.

Unsurprisingly, Texas is a leader at implementing the “pro-life” forces’ strategy of imposing ever more restrictions, such as medically unnecessary regulations for clinics, which force many to raise fees or just close down. Working women, especially when they have to travel significant distances, are squarely targeted by rules like those requiring a second clinic visit before a patient can obtain an abortion. Lack of access has forced many women to turn back to dangerous means to seek to terminate their unwanted pregnancies.

Both the Republicans and Democrats are responsible. In 1977, Democratic president Jimmy Carter signed the Hyde Amendment into law, banning the use of federal funds to cover abortions; it has been renewed every year since, regardless of which party was in the White House. In order for “Jane Moe” and the other three detainees to obtain their abortions, funds had to be raised from private sources.

The U.S. government’s war on immigrants is similarly a bipartisan policy. Trump inherited a vast deportation machine from his predecessors. In 1996, President Bill Clinton enacted the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act allowing even long-time permanent residents to be deported for minor offenses, and his “Operation Gatekeeper” militarized the border. Dem-

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Italy Elections: Populism and Right-Wing Reaction



Left: Beppe Grillo and Luigi di Maio of Five Star Movement, March 2. Right: Center-right March 1 coalition meeting includes Giorgia Meloni of Fratelli d'Italia, Silvio Berlusconi of Forza Italia, Matteo Salvini of Lega and Raffaele Fitto of Noi con l'Italia.

MILANO—The results of the Italian elections on March 4 introduced a new riddle for the Italian bourgeoisie and the Euro-imperialists. The result was a hung parliament dominated by forces that are not part of the mainstream bourgeois establishment and that have at times opposed the European Union (EU), although in their bid for government they made it quite clear that they are willing to support the EU.

Disgruntled over a decade of immiseration and austerity, working-class and petty-bourgeois voters ditched the main bourgeois parties—the Partito democratico (PD) and Silvio Berlusconi's Forza Italia—to massively support bourgeois-populist formations posing as defenders of the “little man”: the far-right, racist Lega (formerly Lega Nord—Northern League) and the nationalist Five Star Movement (M5S). Both of the latter two parties advanced a chauvinist agenda of “Italians first.”

While the PD promised to continue austerity policies, the Lega trumpeted demands for a 15 percent “flat tax” benefiting entrepreneurs in the North and a lowering of the retirement age. The M5S got support based on its tirades against corruption and its proposal for a minimum monthly income, which would require recipients to accept jobs proposed by the state and would exclude anyone who is not an Italian or EU citizen. The minimum income scheme was particularly popular in the impoverished South. The M5S emerged as the leading party in parliament, gathering almost 36 percent of the seats and sweeping Southern regions with 40 to 60 percent of the vote. The Lega, which dropped its historic “Northern” label to appeal to right-wing voters throughout Italy, got 19 percent, scoring over 30 percent of the vote in the Venezia region and in the hinterland of Milan.

The success of the Lega and M5S is a sinister development for the working class, as both parties promote anti-immigrant racism, anti-unionism and chauvinism. But class-conscious workers must shed no tears over the collapse of the PD, which got less than 19 percent of the vote. The PD, which had been at the core of ruling coalitions since 2011, was formed in 2007 through the fusion of social-democratic remnants of the old Communist Party with elements from the Christian Democracy and other bour-

## Down With the European Union!

geois politicians. Since its inception, it has been capitalist in its social composition and program.

No coalition got a decisive majority, and at the moment it is unclear what will emerge from the parliamentary cattle market. The only certain thing is that whatever government is formed will benefit the capitalist class, the enemy of the workers and all the oppressed. The Lega trotskista d'Italia (Ltd'I) issued a leaflet opposing a vote for any of the parties standing for election, including those left slates run-

ning against the PD, Lega and M5S, none of which represented even a deformed expression of working-class independence.



Rome, February 24: Thousands of COBAS union members, including many immigrants, protest against the “Jobs Act” and in defense of immigrant rights.

There is a burning need for a revolutionary party to lead the working masses in repelling capitalist attacks and opening the road to a socialist future. The Ltd'I fights to build a revolutionary party of the multi-ethnic proletariat—a section of a reformed

### Right-Wing Populist Backlash Against Austerity

The Lega and M5S fomented anti-immigrant racism in order to channel discontent over poverty and unemployment into hatred directed against the most vulnerable section of the population and away from the capitalists and their government. The Lega called for “defense of the white race” and for a “halt” to the alleged “inva-

sion” of refugees. (Berlusconi promised to deport 600,000 “clandestines” accused of making a living off crime.) The M5S is also racist, nationalist and anti-working-class. Just like Lega chief Matteo Salvini, M5S guru Beppe Grillo rants about “closing Roma [Gypsy] camps” and “repatriating all irregular immigrants immediately.”

In Italy as in other European countries,

the rise of the right is the product of the “left-wing” reformist and liberal governments that have administered the EU’s murderous austerity. While the PD claims to have created a million jobs, these were overwhelmingly part-time and other forms of precarious employment. PD governments presided over the devastation of the country’s industrial output, which in 2015 was 31 percent below the level right before the 2008 economic crisis. Bankrupt banks, dismantled airlines, jobs in industry wiped out: this is the political legacy of the PD. The PD dealt a blow to previous conquests of the workers movement, symbolized by Labor Law Article 18, which protected workers in larger companies from individual firings. Destroying these protections, in 2014-15 the “Jobs Act” introduced conditions of unbridled exploitation. This was extended to students who are now forced to work as unpaid interns. PD-led governments pushed the retirement age to almost 70, so that many workers die before they retire or shortly thereafter.

It was the acquiescence of the trade-union bureaucrats that let these governments continue their anti-worker austerity policy: all the attacks were allowed to go ahead without even the usual symbolic strikes. For the unions to be revived, we need hard class struggle based on the understanding that the interests of the workers are counterposed to those of their bosses. We need a new leadership of the trade unions, built in the course of the struggle for a multiethnic revolutionary workers party.

### Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

PD-led governments have been responsible for the deaths of thousands of immigrants with their policy of repatriation at sea, detention camps and military missions in Libya and Niger. All these actions are aimed at blocking desperate people from fleeing imperialist devastation. The PD has maintained the Bossi-Fini law, which binds residency visas to employment contracts, and racist laws based on the “ius sanguinis,” which deny citizenship to the 800,000 young people born in Italy to parents who are not citizens.

The bosses use racism against immigrants to divide and rule their wage slaves. But immigrants are not only victims. They are a vital part of the Italian working class

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