

## Down With “War on Terror” Government Repression!



AP



Read/NY Times

“War on terror” is pretext for government attack on civil liberties. New York City: Cops terrorize five British tourists of South Asian descent on July 24 (left), search bags of subway riders.

## U.S./British Troops Out of Iraq Now!

AUGUST 2—The horrific terror bombings of the London subway and bus systems have provided yet another pretext for the capitalist rulers in the U.S. as well as Britain and elsewhere to expand their murderous “war on terror,” further curtailing democratic rights. Two weeks after the July 7 bombing, a failed bombing attempt against the London transit system occurred on July 21. Two days later, on July 23, the Egyptian Red Sea resort town of Sharm el Sheik was hit by bombs, with over 200 wounded and 64 people dead, including many Egyptian workers. Like those who bombed the World Trade Center in 2001 and the Madrid commuter trains in 2004, whoever was responsible for these new atrocities shares the vicious mindset of the imperialist rulers, identifying the working class and the population as a whole with their brutal capitalist rulers.

For the ruling class, such terrorist attacks against civilians provide an opportunity to whip the frightened populace into an anti-terror hysteria in order to vastly expand the state’s deadly powers of repression. Particularly since the September 11 attacks, the capitalist rulers have been passing legislation, issuing executive orders and enforcing policing measures that have marked a qualitative diminution in democratic rights. And with every new terror attack, they see an opportunity to squelch more democratic rights. The capitalist rulers want the populace to accept as “normal” what only a few years ago would have been seen as a gross violation of people’s rights.

In London, cops have been given shoot-to-kill orders against suspected

“terrorists.” The meaning of this policy was shown by the brutal killing of Jean Charles de Menezes, a 27-year-old electrician. On July 22, plainclothes cops chased and gunned down the young Brazilian immigrant. He had had a recent confrontation with a gang, and horrified eyewitnesses said he looked terrified as he was pushed to the subway floor by the cops. He was shot *seven times* in the head

have been shot to death in the Chicago O’Hare airport, just as well as being taken into custody. Thus the rationale of the ‘war against terrorism’ is a construct justifying not only the right to disappear citizens, but the right to assassinate them as well.” That’s exactly what happened to Jean Charles de Menezes. And, indeed, the next day the London cops arrogantly said it could happen again.



ABC News

### Criminal Terror Bombings in London

and once in the shoulder. The police then nearly killed the driver of the train on which Menezes was killed. The driver was tackled by police and a gun put to his head, despite the fact that he was in uniform.

In May 2002, American citizen Jose Padilla was seized at a Chicago airport and has since been detained by the government without charge—i.e., disappeared. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee filed an *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief on behalf of Padilla, noting, “Padilla could

In the United States, authorities launched an outrageous assault on already beleaguered New Yorkers. In an unprecedented move, New York City cops are now authorized to “randomly” search commuters’ bags and belongings on the city’s subway system and suburban mass transit. These measures have nothing to do with stopping terrorism. Their purpose is to get people used to unquestioning obedience to the police and to the wanton violation of their rights. In London, chillingly, an average person may already be recorded on video 300 times daily by the

city’s more than 650,000 closed-circuit cameras. That and more is what the rulers want to do here.

And the panic and fear they want to spread was on display on the Sunday morning of July 24, when the police held up a whole busload of tourists in NYC’s Times Square after a panicky Gray Line supervisor said there were “suspicious” men on the tour. The cops cordoned off the bus, forcing all the tourists to put their hands up and be searched, while five men of South Asian descent were handcuffed and forced to kneel on the sidewalk. The five men turned out to be British citizens on holiday. The torturers of Abner Louima, the killers of Amadou Diallo and Ousmane Zongo, have now been given greater license to go after the population as a whole.

We have repeatedly warned that the repressive measures instituted after September 11, which initially targeted immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries, would be directed against black people and the entire labor movement. But the labor bureaucrats have signed on to the government’s “war on terror.” Most recently, the head of New York City’s Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, Roger Toussaint, who was accused of leading a “jihad” during the 2002 contract negotiations, used union funds to hire the former head of security at Israel’s Ben-Gurion Airport to train workers in sniffing out potential terrorists. TWU bureaucrats want union workers to act as auxiliaries to the cops, enforcing racist “ethnic profiling” and treating subway riders like the Israeli occupation forces treat the oppressed Palestinian people. TWU members must oppose this reactionary political stunt—what transit workers need to do is fight for their rights, including safe working conditions and transportation service and against the government’s repressive measures.

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# Free Leonard Peltier Now!

On June 30, with no advance warning to his family or lawyers, Native American class-war prisoner Leonard Peltier was transported from the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas to the federal prison at Terre Haute, Indiana. He is being held in solitary; all his privileges—telephone, visitation, even painting and the right to practice his religion—were suspended. Currently, his medication, which was running dangerously low, has been refilled; he has been visited by his lawyer and is allowed one phone call per month. At sixty years old, Peltier suffers from diabetes,

arthritis, bone spurs and he recently suffered a stroke. The authorities' line is that the treatment meted out to Peltier is "normal" for transferred prisoners. The reality is that this cruel and vicious treatment—a "domestic version of rendition" in the words of Russ Redner, executive director of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee—endangers Peltier's failing health and possibly even his life. We urge *Workers Vanguard* readers to send protest letters to: Warden Mark Bezy, USP Terre Haute, U.S. Penitentiary, 4700 Bureau Road South, Terre Haute, IN 47802.

It has been 30 years since FBI and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) agents, along with local vigilantes, attacked American Indian Movement (AIM) militants and their supporters on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Two FBI agents died in the firefight, and an international manhunt was launched against AIM leader Leonard Peltier and three other activists. It's been 28 years since Peltier was convicted in a frame-up trial, characterized by coerced, false affidavits, doctored ballistics reports and suppressed evidence. On 1 June 1977, he was sentenced to two consecutive life terms for a crime the government knows he did not commit (see "Free Leonard Peltier!" WV No. 847, 29 April). A judge later ruled that the original jury might well have acquitted Peltier had they heard the evidence improperly withheld from the defense. This case is one of those that define the vindictiveness with which this government tries to destroy its opponents.

Peltier and his lawyers have been battling for the release of tens of thousands of pages of FBI files from the 1970s, documenting surveillance of, and COINTEL-PRO activity against, AIM and Peltier. The enormity of Peltier's frame-up becomes even clearer with the revelation that at the time of the 1977 trial, the prosecutors gave only some 3,500 pages of material to Peltier's defense team, claiming this was all they had. But Michael Kuzma, one of Peltier's lawyers, has stated that the FBI has 142,579 pages. He knows this only because in 2001, after years of FBI stonewalling, attorneys working for Peltier sent Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests to every single FBI field office in the country, and followed up with two lawsuits in federal court!

On paper, the FOIA assures public access to government records, and, supposedly, documents are automatically declassified after 25 years. Yet, at every turn, Peltier's lawyers have had to engage in painstaking and expensive legal battles to pry any documents out of the FBI. And the courts routinely rule in favor of every FBI maneuver. Just a few examples: the Buffalo FBI field office released 797 pages but claimed an exemption for 15 that Peltier's lawyers believe would provide evidence of government attempts to place sources near Peltier's original legal team. On March 31 of this year, the judge ruled in the FBI's favor. The Minneapolis office that ran the original investigation into the killings has 90,000 pages of documents. But an AP article posted on April 26 ([www.twincities.com](http://www.twincities.com)) stated that U.S. District judge Donovan Frank had



Ben Corbett

rejected Peltier's lawyers' request for immediate release and upheld a previous ruling allowing the FBI to prolong the process until December 2005. Meanwhile, the FBI office in Manhattan has been "looking for" its Peltier files for three years!

Going up against the full resources of the U.S. government is a daunting task that requires lots of money. Just recently, on July 22, Peltier suffered another setback when U.S. District judge Ralph Erickson rejected his appeal, which argued that the U.S. government did not have the right to try him for alleged crimes that took place on land belonging to Native Americans, not the United States. Not only does Peltier's defense committee need money for these battles, but the entire defense operation is in the process of being moved from Kansas to Indiana to stay close to Peltier. We urge readers of WV to donate generously to the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, c/o Toni Zeidan, 2626 N. Mesa #132, El Paso, TX 79902.

We have no illusions that the courts are neutral. They are part of the capitalist state with its apparatus of repression along with the police, the prison system and the military. We place our full confidence in the social power of the working class at the head of the poor and oppressed to struggle against the capitalists and their "justice" system. At the same time, no legal avenue to free this innocent man should be left untried, and Peltier's lawyers need the resources to carry on the most powerful legal defense possible.

Leonard Peltier said at his sentencing 28 years ago: "No, I'm not the guilty one here; I'm not the one who should be called a criminal..." In fact, the racist, capitalist government is punishing Peltier for being an implacable opponent of its genocidal policies against Native Americans. **Free Leonard Peltier!**

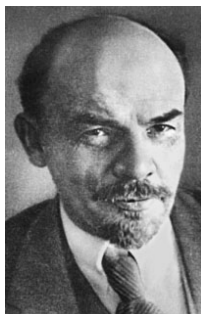
Even though he is in solitary, write to him; make sure the authorities know he is not forgotten. Leonard Peltier #89637-132, USP-Terre Haute, P.O. Box 12015, Terre Haute, IN 47801. ■



TROTSKY

## Germany 1933: Nazism and the Betrayals of Stalinism

*This year marks the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II when the Red Army, despite Stalin, defeated Hitler's Nazi regime. Writing in 1933, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky outlined the spectacular failure of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the Communist International under Stalin to lead the struggle against Hitler's rise to power earlier that year. Central to this was the sectarian refusal by the KPD to engage in united-front anti-fascist actions with the*



LENIN

*reformist Social Democratic Party, which the KPD equated with the fascists and labeled "social fascist." Such united actions were necessary not only to stop the fascist gangs in the streets but also to win Social Democratic workers to the fight for socialist revolution. The Stalinists' cynical idiocy in Germany and the utter silence of the entire Communist International in the face of Stalin's disastrous policy led Trotsky to call for a new, Fourth International.*

The point of departure of the German Communist Party was that there is nothing but a mere division of labor between the Social Democracy and fascism; that their interests are similar, if not identical. Instead of helping to aggravate the discord between Communism's principal political adversary and its mortal foe—for which it would have been sufficient to proclaim the truth aloud instead of violating it—the Communist International convinced the reformists and the fascists that they were twins; it predicted their conciliation, embittered and repulsed the Social Democratic workers, and consolidated their reformist leaders. Worse yet: in every case where, despite the obstacles presented by the leadership, local unity committees for workers' defense were created, the bureaucracy forced its representatives to withdraw under threat of expulsion. It displayed persistency and perseverance only in sabotaging the united front, from above as well as from below. All this it did, to be sure, with the best of intentions.

No policy of the Communist Party could, of course, have transformed the Social Democracy into a party of the revolution. But neither was that the aim. It was necessary to exploit to the limit the contradiction between reformism and fascism—in order to weaken fascism, at the same time weakening reformism by exposing to the workers the incapacity of the Social Democratic leadership. These two tasks fused naturally into one. The policy of the Comintern bureaucracy led to the opposite result: the capitulation of the reformists served the interests of fascism and not of Communism; the Social Democratic workers remained with their leaders; the Communist workers lost faith in themselves and in the leadership.

The masses wanted to fight, but they were obstinately prevented from doing so by the leaders. Tension, uneasiness, and finally disorientation disrupted the proletariat from within. It is dangerous to keep molten metal too long on the fire; it is still more dangerous to keep society too long in a state of revolutionary crisis. The petty bourgeoisie swung over in its overwhelming majority to the side of National Socialism only because the proletariat, paralyzed from above, proved powerless to lead it along a different road. The absence of resistance on the part of the workers heightened the self-assurance of fascism and diminished the fear of the big bourgeoisie confronted by the risk of civil war. The inevitable demoralization of the Communist detachment, increasingly isolated from the proletariat, rendered impossible even a partial resistance. Thus the triumphal procession of Hitler over the bones of the proletarian organizations was assured.

—Leon Trotsky, "The German Catastrophe: The Responsibility of the Leadership" (May 1933)

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# “Deep Throat” COINTELPRO Top Cop Finked on Imperialist Pig

“Mark Felt is one of America’s greatest secret heroes,” proclaimed the July *Vanity Fair*, revealing that the former No. 2 man at the FBI was “Deep Throat.” Felt was the secret source who helped *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein uncover the Watergate conspiracy that brought down President Richard Nixon in the context of the U.S.’ losing war against the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. Felt’s action reflected the sentiment of a wing of the ruling class that resented *their* government’s agents using the kind of illegal surveillance and sabotage normally reserved for communists, black activists and unionists against another wing of the bourgeoisie. But while Felt was tipping off Woodward and Bernstein about Nixon administration dirty tricks at night, during the day, under the rubric of the Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), he was running the most massive domestic spy, sabotage and outright assassination campaign in American history against all manner of government opponents.

When FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover promoted Felt to the No. 2 slot in 1971, COINTELPRO was already literally going great guns. The first COINTELPRO operation was directed against the Communist Party in 1956 at the height of the Cold War. Disruption and sabotage had always been components of the government’s suppression of the left and labor movement. But Hoover’s COINTELPRO unleashed a dramatic escalation of these covert activities, with some 900 agents



Polaris

**“Deep Throat” Mark Felt, with wife, honored by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover (center). Felt was an architect of Hoover’s COINTELPRO campaign of surveillance, disruption, frame-up and outright killing of leftists and black activists.**

and informers. In 1961 COINTELPRO was extended to the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, and over the next five years the FBI conducted at least 90 burglaries (“black bag jobs”) of the SWP’s national office.

With the radicalization of the black movement and the explosion of black anger in the northern ghettos in the ’60s, President Lyndon Johnson’s attorney general Ramsey Clark instructed Hoover and the FBI to use

“the maximum resources, investigative and intelligence, to collect and report all facts bearing upon the question as to whether there has been or is a scheme or conspiracy by any group of whatever size, effectiveness or affiliation to plan, promote or aggravate riot activity.”

—quoted in Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *The Cointelpro Papers* (1990)

(In the 1960s Clark was notorious not only for targeting black militants, but also for prosecuting anti-Vietnam War liberals like pediatrician Dr. Benjamin Spock. But since the early ’90s, LBJ’s top prosecutor has been closely associated with the Workers World Party [WWP] through the International Action Center, of which he was a founder, and is a frequent speaker on the platform of WWP’s class-collaborationist outfits, such as its current antiwar lash-up known as ANSWER.)

In August 1967, Hoover directed COINTELPRO in a murderous campaign against black liberation organizations. Representing the best of a generation of black radicals, the Black Panther Party was COINTELPRO Target No. 1. In 1968, FBI director Hoover declared, “The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to

understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries.” In coordination with local police forces, the FBI masterminded the murder of 38 key Panther activists. Those they couldn’t kill they framed up and penned up in America’s prison hellholes. Former Panther and renowned journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal had been in the cross hairs of COINTELPRO since age 15. Framed up for killing a cop, America’s foremost political prisoner has been on death row since 1982 despite the confession of the actual killer.

Under Felt’s watch, COINTELPRO was expanded to include the American Indian Movement, Puerto Rican activists, feminists—just about anyone critical of the Vietnam War or other government policies. Before COINTELPRO was curtailed in 1975, 1,100 organizations were under surveillance. A 1980 federal jury trial convicted Felt and a fellow agent of having conspired to “injure and oppress citizens of the United States” in their dragnet against the radical, New Left Weathermen. They were the only FBI personnel ever convicted for their COINTELPRO crimes and were pardoned the following year by the Reagan administration without ever serving a day in jail.

## Watergate and the Capitalist State

To move decisively and quickly as the top imperialist power in the world, the American ruling class requires its bourgeois democracy to have an effective bonapartist component in the form of the strong executive. In 1968, they turned to Nixon as the strong “law and order” president to crush the rebellious anger of the black ghetto, shackle a restless labor movement and silence a radical student movement that was opening up to proletarian, Marxist politics. Indeed, Nixon imposed wage controls on the labor movement with the assistance of the AFL-CIO tops, and expanded FBI and police

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# Muslim Professor Sentenced to Life for “Thought Crime” Free Ali al-Timimi!

On July 13, the government’s “war on terror” dealt another heavy blow to the rights of anyone who would speak out against government policies. Muslim scholar Ali al-Timimi, a U.S.-born American citizen, was sentenced to life in prison on charges of “conspiracy,” “soliciting treason,” “soliciting others to wage war against the United States” and “aiding and abetting the use of firearms and explosives.” Did al-Timimi carry out any terrorist acts? Did he plan any? Did he provide support or financially assist in any terrorist plot? No, no and no! Ali al-Timimi, a cancer researcher, is condemned to a life of prison hell for nothing more than exercising the right of free speech supposedly guaranteed by the First Amendment of the Constitution. The prosecution, conviction and sentence of a living death are a clear and present danger to labor, blacks, leftists—to anybody who speaks out against the policies of this increasingly greedy and blood-thirsty ruling class.

What did al-Timimi do that would require that he be locked away forever as a “terrorist”? According to the government, five days after the criminal attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, al-Timimi allegedly told his students that it was their “Muslim duty” to defend the Taliban in Afghanistan against the impending U.S. invasion, adding that the U.S. military was a legitimate target. The other evidence that sent him to prison: al-Timimi’s young students played paintball, a typical, youthful activity that was portrayed by prosecutors as



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paramilitary training for international *jihād* because some of his students traveled to Pakistan seeking to join up with the Taliban; and, in an Internet message following the destruction of the Columbia space shuttle in 2003, al-Timimi described it as a “good omen” that “Western supremacy (especially that of America) that began 500 years ago is coming to an end, God willing.” Such views are hardly the exclusive purview of Muslim fundamentalists. Christian fundamentalist Jerry Falwell, a close friend of the Bush administration, saw the World Trade Center attack as “probably what we deserve,” adding, “the pagans and the abortionists and the feminists and the gays and the lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, the ACLU, People for the

American Way, all of them who try to secularize America...I point the thing in their face and say you helped this happen.”

That this was a speech and “thought crime” prosecution is not in dispute. Reporting in the *Washington Post* (14 July), Jerry Markon characterized al-Timimi as “a man convicted for what he said.” Writing in a 2 May piece on the Front-Page Magazine Web site of racist ideologue David Horowitz, Daniel Pipes hails al-Timimi’s conviction as “momentous” because “the U.S. government has put away a terrorist not for his deeds, such as raising money or blowing something up, but for his words.” This is not the rantings of an isolated right-wing nut. Pipes is part of the Project for the New American Century, which has included Vice President Cheney, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, and former Assistant Secretary of Defense and now head of the World Bank, Paul Wolfowitz.

Upon sentencing, al-Timimi made an eloquent statement to the court:

“I will not admit guilt nor seek the Court’s mercy. I do this not out of any disrespect to the Court. I do this simply because I am innocent....

“For to accept these charges we must believe that a solitary man who would spend his days working full time at one of *Fortune* magazine’s one hundred best companies and then spend his evenings and weekends engaged in cancer research for a doctorate in computational biology; an individual who never owned or used a gun, never traveled to a military camp, never set foot in a country in which a war was taking place, never raised money

for any violent organization would be—could be—the author of so much harm.... “Imprisonment of any term, as this Court well knows, is a crisis for the incarcerated and his or her loved ones. I am no exception to that.

“But the real crisis brought on my imprisonment, I sincerely believe is America’s. For if my conviction is to stand, it would mean that two hundred and thirty years of America’s tradition of protecting the individual from the tyrannies and whims of the sovereign will have come to an end. And that which is exploited today to persecute a single member of a minority will most assuredly come back to haunt the majority tomorrow.”

For almost four years the Bush administration, abetted by the Democrats, has been using September 11 as a pretext to increase the power of the American capitalist state to repress and stamp out expressions of political dissent. As we said from the outset, though initially targeting men from largely Muslim countries, the police-state measures are ultimately directed against blacks, labor and the left. In testimony to the Senate Committee on Intelligence on February 16, FBI director Robert Mueller cited among the “domestic terrorists” they are watching, “black separatists, animal rights/environmental terrorists, anarchists,” specifically citing the Anarchist Black Cross Federation. The massive police mobilizations in the name of “fighting terrorism” that met the protesters at the Republican and Democratic National Conventions last summer had nothing to do with Al Qaeda, but rather antiwar protesters.

As an unvarnished prosecution for nothing but speech, the al-Timimi case represents a dangerous escalation of the government’s war on democratic rights. Labor, blacks and all defenders of civil liberties must demand: “Free Ali al-Timimi!” ■



# German Trotskyists on World War II

## May 1945: Red Army Smashed Nazi Regime!

We print below an article, abridged and translated from Spartakist No. 158, Spring 2005, newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

### SPARTAKIST 4

May 8th of this year marks the 60th anniversary of the liberation from the Nazis' reign of terror by the Red Army. Twenty-eight million Soviet citizens gave their lives to smash the Third Reich of German imperialism. The Red Army put an end to the Holocaust, the industrial murder of six million Jews, of Roma and Sinti [Gypsies], communists, Red Army soldiers, homosexuals and countless others. It liberated Europe from the enslavement and bloody oppression of the Nazis. May 8th is a day of celebration for the working class and all oppressed worldwide. World War II provided a bloody demonstration of the necessity of overthrowing the capitalist system of exploitation—it's socialism or barbarism. It was from this standpoint that Trotskyists fought internationally for workers revolution. In December 1941, shortly after the entry of the U.S. into the war, James P. Cannon, the leader of our predecessor organization, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), presented the revolutionary position on the Second World War (while President Roose-



Soviet soldiers raise red flag over Berlin's Reichstag, 1945. Red Army smashed Hitler's Third Reich and freed Europe from scourge of Nazism.

the nationalized property established by the October Revolution. That is a *pro-gressive war*."

—"A Statement on the U.S. Entry into World War II" (22 December 1941), first published in *Fourth International* (January 1942)

Today the Social Democratic/Green government is exploiting the various memorial celebrations to advance the interests of German imperialism vis-à-vis its

the invasion of Normandy, or when I spoke recently in Berlin for the sixtieth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. Those who matter in the world know that the political, cultural and economic elites in this country don't want the past to be forgotten" (*Welt am Sonntag*, 13 February). Centrally what is being preached is the fairy tale that the German bourgeoisie and their state have made a clean break with the Nazi past. [Foreign Minister Joschka] Fischer encapsulated this in his 24 January speech to the UN General Assembly on the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz: "The new, democratic Germany has drawn the lessons from this. It has been molded by the historical-moral responsibility for Auschwitz."

In reality, the Federal Republic of Germany is the self-proclaimed successor state to the Third Reich. It was built up by the U.S. following World War II as a bulwark against the Soviet Union. By the early '50s at the latest, the last capitalists who had supported and financed Hitler and brought him to power were out of jail and back at the levers of power. It was with Nazi cadres that the West German capitalist state was constructed—the judges who, as members of [Roland] Freisler's People's Court of Justice [a court established by Hitler to prosecute political offenses], had earlier sent communists and oppositionists to concentration camps and their deaths were now enforcing the "free, democratic" constitution. It was SS killers and Gestapo torture-masters who constructed the police and the *Bundeskriminalamt* [Federal Criminal Office, German counterpart of the FBI]. [Reinhard] Gehlen's Nazi *Fremde Heere*

*Ost* [Foreign Armies East, a military intelligence agency directed against the Soviet Union] was turned into the *Bundesnachrichtendienst* [Federal Intelligence Service, German counterpart of the CIA]. By 1945, a circle of Nazi generals was already cooperating with the Western Allies in a meticulous evaluation of the Second World War and planning the rebuilding of the West German army. Like its predecessor, the *Wehrmacht*, the *Bundeswehr* was a tank-supported, land-based army—this time supported by tactical nuclear weapons—aimed at smashing the Soviet Union. The so-called "rat line" was set up by the CIA and Vatican to funnel Nazi war criminals out of Germany. They were provided with new identities and brought to Latin America and other countries, where they then used their murderous experience to set up and preserve the bloody local military dictatorships. Much of this is dealt with quite well in Jörg Friedrich's *Die Kalte Amnestie* [*The Cold Amnestie*] (1984). At the same time the U.S. imperialists, who had not forgotten the indispensable services of the German Social Democratic Party [SPD] in maintaining the capitalist order in Germany following the First World War, were helping to rebuild the Social Democracy. Their aim was to use it as an anti-Communist bulwark within the West German working class to beat back the influence of the Stalinist KPD [German Communist Party] and purge the unions of Communists.

Fearing that the Soviet working masses could be inspired to overthrow the Soviet bureaucracy, the last thing Stalin wanted was workers revolution in Germany and Europe. He was striving for a neutral, capitalist Germany as a buffer state. But the imperialists were not interested in a deal and preferred, as [German Chancellor Konrad] Adenauer expressed it, to get half a Germany completely rather than the reverse. Therefore, in 1948 the Kremlin established a deformed workers state and expropriated the German bourgeoisie in eastern Germany. The DDR [German Democratic Republic] was constructed on the model of the Soviet workers state following its decades of Stalinist degeneration. Thereby, in contrast to West Germany, fascism was deprived of its social basis, capitalism. The greater part of the cadre who built up the DDR came directly from the Nazi concentration camps or from exile.

### Schröder's Commemoration of the Soviet Sacrifice: Hypocrisy for Imperialist Cooperation

As part of the anti-Communist consensus of the Cold War against the Soviet

*continued on page 10*



Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp, 1944.

Yad Vashem

velt, using the Smith Act, was making preparations to jail Cannon and other SWP leaders):

"The considerations which determined our attitude toward the war up to the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and the Axis powers retain their validity in the new situation.

"We considered the war upon the part of all the capitalist powers involved—Germany and France, Italy and Great Britain—as an *imperialist war*.

"This characterization of the war was determined for us by the character of the state powers involved in it. They were all capitalist states in the epoch of imperialism; themselves imperialist—oppressing other nations or peoples—or satellites of imperialist powers. The extension of the war to the Pacific and the formal entry of the United States and Japan change nothing in this basic analysis....

"This characterization of the war does not apply to the war of the Soviet Union against German imperialism. We make a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and its 'democratic' allies. We defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, although degenerated under the totalitarian-political rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Only traitors can deny support to the Soviet workers' state in its war against fascist Germany. To defend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and against Stalin, is to defend

imperialist rivals and its own citizens. The goal is to enable German imperialism, despite its history of unspeakable crimes, to play the role of a world power. Chancellor Schröder showed himself satisfied with the results so far of how the government has "come to terms with the past": "And this is recognized—I learned this last June, when I was invited to the celebrations of the sixtieth anniversary of



AP

Left: German troops outside Kosovo, 1999. SPD/Green government joined U.S./NATO imperialist war against Serbia. Right: Cops unleashed by SPD/PDS Berlin city government shield Nazis, brutalize leftist protesters, 1 May 2004.



DPA

# Preachers of “Collective Guilt” Justify U.S./British War Crimes

## German Nationalism and the Bombing of Dresden

We print below a translation of an article from Spartakist No. 158, Spring 2005, newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).



The 60th anniversary of the bombing of Dresden [in World War II by the Americans and British] has polarized the entire country, with the question of how to deal with today’s Nazis of the NPD [National Democratic Party] dominating. The NPD had cynically made a motion in the [state of] Saxony parliament proposing a minute of silence on January 21 for the victims of the bombing. Following this, the NPD launched revanchist tirades that attempted to use the victims of the Dresden bombing in the service of their genocidal program by speaking of a “Holocaust by Bombing.” The social-democratic PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism], the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] and the petty-bourgeois Greens had nothing with which to counter this. *Spiegel* online (11 February) headlined “Uprising of the Clueless,” explaining: “They [the Nazis] have modernized their terminology. The Holocaust is no longer denied; it is integrated into their own argumentation. Instead of saying, as earlier: there was no Holocaust, now they say: the Holocaust was against the Germans. We weren’t the perpetrators, we were the victims.” The reason for the bourgeois-democratic cluelessness is that Nazi revanchism and liberal collective guilt complement one another, for both equate the populace with the Nazi rulers and the German bourgeoisie. To the Nazi demagoguery of a “victim people,” the liberals oppose the “collective guilt” lie of a “perpetrator people.” Thereby the liberals whitewash the German bourgeoisie and play into the hands of Nazi demagoguery.

In World War II, we Trotskyists offered unconditional military defense to the Soviet degenerated workers state. In the war among the imperialist powers—between Germany and Japan on the one side, the U.S. and Britain on the other—we took no side, since these powers were fighting only over redividing the world so as to exploit it more intensively. The strategy of Allied saturation bombing was one of consciously targeting the German working class:

“In its ‘Area Bombing Directive’ of 14 February 1942, the [British] Aviation Ministry set as Bomber Command’s future ‘main goal’ destroying ‘the morale of the opposing civil population, especially the industrial workforce’ through saturation bombing. To avoid misunderstandings, the Ministry added ‘that the target points should be settled areas and not, for example, shipyards or aircraft industry. This must be made very clear.’”

—*Spiegel Special* No. 1/2003

In early 1943 at the latest, with the victory of the Red Army at Stalingrad, it was clear that German imperialism would lose against the Soviet Union. One of the central motivations for the bombing of German workers’ quarters was the fear that the German working class might overthrow capitalism—and turn all Europe red—as it had already attempted to do at the end of World War I, but this time with the aid of a victorious Red Army. Stopping the Red Army and preventing workers revolution were also the only reasons for the haste in suddenly opening the sec-



Deutsche Fotothek Dresden

**Firebombing of Dresden, February 1945. American and British imperialists slaughtered tens of thousands of civilians.**

ond front in Normandy [France] in June 1944. Churchill and Roosevelt had earlier been in no hurry to open a second front as they had assured Stalin they would in 1942 and again in 1943. They were hoping Germany and the Soviet Union would bleed one another white, and that they would get to laugh from the sidelines.

In fact, coal liquefaction factories, where fuel essential to Hitler’s tanks was produced, were hardly bombed until 1944. *Der Spiegel* wrote:

“Only 1.1 percent of all bombs dropped up to May 1944 landed on the oil refineries that produced the fuel for the tanks clattering through Russia. Speculations [why this was the case] range from the suggestion that the plants were built in part with Anglo-American capital, e.g., Standard Oil of New Jersey and the British Royal Dutch Shell, to the musings of the Berlin historian Groehler that it might have been in the interests of the Western Allies for the German tanks on the Eastern Front to have enough fuel to keep the Russians far from Germany as long as possible—long enough anyway for the Anglo-American invaders to advance far enough to be able to limit Communist influence in postwar Europe.”

Groehler is absolutely right. Regarding the bombing of Dresden, it was even explicitly stated [in January 1945] in the daily orders of the Royal Air Force that this should also constitute a warning to “the Russians”:

“The intentions of the attack are to hit the enemy where he will feel it most, behind an already partially collapsed front, to prevent the use of the city in the way of further advance, and incidentally to show the Russians when they arrive what Bomber Command can do.”

—*Die Welt*, 20 February 2004

The criminal U.S. atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the summer of 1945 had the same aim—intimidating the Soviet Union and demoralizing the working class [see article below].

Dresden mayor Ingolf Rossberg (FDP [Free Democratic Party]) utilized the arguments of the British historian Frederick Taylor, who, while criticizing Churchill’s bombing of Dresden as inhumane, claims nevertheless that it was completely justified militarily: “In February 1945, Dresden was the largest extant center of the German armaments indus-

try. Hence we must abandon the formula of the ‘innocent city’.” Only, the bombing of Dresden didn’t target the armaments factories, which were situated on the outskirts! These were barely hit, as Taylor himself honestly admits in his book, *Dresden: Tuesday, 13 February, 1945*, which is well worth reading. Because of the favorable weather conditions and absolute lack of flak, the bombers were able to take precise aim at their target, the Dresden inner city (where there was scarcely a plant, let alone armaments factories), murdering 25,000 to 40,000 Dresden civilians and refugees, above all women, the elderly and children. This was a war crime.

A feature article in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* (14 February) justifies the incineration of Dresden with the argument that some of the few remaining Dresden Jews were thereby able to escape deportation to Auschwitz: “The Saving Inferno—The Destruction of Dresden in February 1945 Protected 20-year-old Henny Wolf from the Concentration Camp.” One can, of course, only rejoice over every single person who, through whatever fortunate circumstances, was able to escape alive from the Nazi machinery of genocide. Henny Wolf had incredible luck in not being blown to bits by a British bomb or engulfed by the firestorm. This is also indirectly stated in the *FR* article: “Some time in the middle of the night, in a narrow alley, the suction from the fire seized people. ‘My mother suddenly floated into the air. We all held each other’s hands’.” What the article attempts to conceal is that the fate of the European Jews was a matter of total indifference to the British and American Allies.

A *Spiegel* interview (29 October 2001) with Gerhart Riegner, who informed the World Jewish Congress of the Holocaust in 1942, encapsulates the bitter truth about U.S. and British imperialism:

“Riegner: The will to save [the Jews] was lacking. The Americans told us in

*continued on page 11*

## Hiroshima, Nagasaki: U.S. Imperialist Mass Murder

This August marks the 60th anniversary of one of history’s greatest crimes: the atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by U.S. imperialism. Over 200,000 civilians were killed by the atom bombs dropped on August 6 and 9, and tens of thousands more continue to suffer from horrific illnesses and genetic defects. The racist rulers of imperialist America used Japan as a human testing ground to show the world—and above all the Soviet degenerated workers state—that they would stop at nothing in their drive for global domination.

The deliberate targeting of Japanese civilians reflected the deep-seated anti-Asian racism of America’s rulers. U.S. war propaganda depicted Japanese as subhuman “yellow monkeys.” In 1945, the U.S. launched a massive terror-bombing campaign against Japan, destroying 58 cities by August. On the night of March 9-10 alone, the American firebombing of Tokyo killed some 100,000 people. In the U.S., Democratic president Franklin

D. Roosevelt ordered 120,000 Japanese Americans in the western United States to be rounded up beginning in February 1942, put them into concentration camps located in the barren desert and

forced many to harvest the fields as slave laborers.

Apologists for the war crimes of U.S. imperialism claim that the atom bombing

*continued on page 11*



Japan Peace Museum

**The “Atomic Bomb Dome,” at center of August 1945 Hiroshima A-bomb blast, is now a memorial to victims of this heinous U.S. war crime.**



# The Lynching of Emmett Till and the Fight for Black Liberation

## 50 Years Later

“Before Emmett Till’s murder, I had known the fear of hunger, hell, and the Devil. But now there was a new fear known to me—the fear of being killed just because I was black. This was the worst of my fears.... I didn’t know what one had to do or not do as a Negro not to be killed. Probably just being a Negro period was enough, I thought.”

—Anne Moody, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee Organizer, 14 years old in 1955, in *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (1968)

Fifty years ago this month the name Emmett Louis Till became synonymous with the brutal American tradition of lynching. Till was only 14 years old that summer when he left his home in Chicago to join his cousin on a trip to stay with relatives in Mississippi. Within days of his arrival, young Emmett was kidnapped, tortured and brutally murdered for allegedly whistling at a white woman. Till’s gruesome murder, and his mother’s courageous campaign to ensure that the world saw at first hand the stark reality of race-terror by displaying her son’s mutilated body at his funeral, provoked horror and outrage against racist oppression in America. The lynching of Emmett Till, along with Rosa Parks’ defiant stand in Montgomery, Alabama in December of that same year, were key in galvanizing many thousands to join the burgeoning civil rights movement.

Today, a half-century later, black people still sit in the cross hairs of this bloody capitalist ruling class. The explosive struggles of the civil rights movement smashed Jim Crow segregation in the South and broke the back of the anti-Communist McCarthy era. But the social reality remains—black oppression is the cornerstone of capitalist class rule in America. Contrary to assertions that the worst abuses against black people are a thing of the past, a quick survey of the massive prison population, unemployment, miserable ghetto conditions, poverty, deteriorating health care and increasingly segregated schools proves the opposite, not only in the South but throughout the country.

The current federal investigation of the Emmett Till atrocity is one of a handful of decades-old cases reopened beginning with the 1994 conviction of Byron De La Beckwith for the 1963 assassination of Mississippi civil rights leader Medgar Evers. One reason these cases are being opened is to polish the tarnished image of the South. But union-busting “right to work” laws, attacks on black voting rights, Ku Klux Klan terror like the cross-burnings in Durham, North Carolina this May along with Confederate flags, monuments and Dixie anthems still mark the landscape of the “New South.” Meanwhile, Northern ghettos trap black people into holding pens, and

Emmett Till with his mother, Mamie. Chicago, 1955: Emmett Till’s funeral drew as many as 250,000 people to Roberts Temple Church.



Chicago Defender

kill-crazy cops stalk the streets.

Bush’s Republican regime pushes ahead to wipe out the remaining gains of the civil rights movement that had been under attack by Democratic as well as Republican administrations for the last three decades. On the heels of the government launching a vindictive IRS tax investigation of the NAACP, the chairman of the Republican National Committee cynically professed at the NAACP’s convention in July, which Bush refused to attend, that the Republican Party’s decades-long campaign of courting the racist Southern vote away from the Democrats by opposing civil rights legislation, the “Southern Strategy,” was “wrong.”

The re-opening of Till’s case was largely sparked by the determined nine-year effort of a young filmmaker, Keith

Beauchamp, and his 2002 documentary *The Untold Story of Emmett Louis Till*. The Feds recently exhumed Till’s body to seek forensic evidence, additionally claiming it is necessary to verify that it was indeed Till in the grave. The only people who ever cast doubt on this question were the defenders of the lynchers. For America’s capitalist rulers, such re-investigations are nothing more than hypocritical attempts to foster the illusion that today’s FBI and Department of Justice are different from the very same state institutions that worked hand in hand with the Klan in the South. By the mid 1960s, nearly 20 percent of Klan members were FBI “informants” serving as loyal double agents of both organizations. Even when the Senate passed a meaningless resolution this June apolo-

gizing for never passing anti-lynching legislation, several senators, including the two from Mississippi, refused to sponsor the bill.

Capitalism is a system based on exploitation of labor, and, in the U.S., a unique and critical mainstay continues to be the subjugation of the black population at the bottom of society. American Trotskyist Richard Fraser wrote in the same year that Emmett Till was murdered: “The dual nature of the Negro struggle arises from the fact that a whole people regardless of class distinction are the victims of discrimination. This problem of a whole people can be solved only through the proletarian revolution, under the leadership of the working class” (“For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle,” January 1955). We of the Spartacist League base our program for black liberation upon Fraser’s perspective of *revolutionary integrationism*, premised on the understanding that black freedom requires smashing the capitalist system and constructing an egalitarian socialist society. One of our founding documents written at the time of the ghetto upheavals of the 1960s states:

“The Negro people are an oppressed race-color caste, in the main comprising the most exploited layer of the American working class. Because of the generations of exceptional oppression, degradation and humiliation, Black people as a group have special needs and problems necessitating additional and special forms of struggle. It is this part of the struggle which has begun today, and from which the most active and militant sections of Black people will gain a deep education and experience in the lessons of struggle. Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution.”

—“Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom,” 1967, *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9

### The Lynching of Emmett Till

By all accounts Emmett Till was an amazing kid. He was bright, fun-loving and considerate. His mother, Mamie Till-Mobley (earlier known as Mamie Till Bradley), and her family had migrated from Mississippi along with hundreds of thousands of other black farmers and sharecroppers fleeing the Jim Crow South in hopes of finding a better life in the “Promised Land” known as Chicago. She knew firsthand the strict social and racial codes of the South that literally spelled life or death if not followed to the letter. So, when she reluctantly allowed Emmett to accompany his cousin Wheeler to Mississippi, she did her best to instill some sense of the dangers and she recounted that she held “the talk that every black parent had with every child sent down South back then” (*Death of Innocence: The Story of the Hate Crime That Changed America* by Mamie Till-Mobley and Christopher Benson, 2003).

By the summer of 1955, white racists in Mississippi were seething in bitterness in the aftermath of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, which opened the door for integrating schools, albeit hedged with limitations and the reservation of “deliberate speed.” The Supreme Court decision to allow school integration was a reflection of a growing movement for black civil rights, for the right to vote and for integration. Black men fought on the front lines in World War II, a war proclaimed to make the world “safe for democracy.” Black women migrated to the cities to toil in defense

Florence Mars Collection



All-white jury (above) took just over an hour to acquit Till’s lynchers. Right: At enormous personal risk, Mose Wright identified in court Klan thugs who abducted his nephew Emmett Till.

UPI



plants. When the soldiers returned, they were determined to have a better life. The end of the war ushered in the beginning of the Cold War against the Soviet Union, the preparation for new imperialist wars to “roll back Communism” everywhere on the planet. Most black people were concerned about the “cotton curtain,” the iron grip of the racist Southern police state here at home, and were less likely to buy into or embrace the American bourgeoisie’s propaganda about an “Iron Curtain” Soviet threat.

The response of the racist Southern Democrats (the Dixiecrats) to the *Brown* ruling was one of organized terror and defiance from the highest-ranking officials on down. Francis M. Wilhoit described the role of the Democratic Party in *The Politics of Massive Resistance*:

“For it was, after all, the region’s political parties—particularly the dominant Democrats—that bore the chief responsibility for politicizing the segregationist masses and getting them to the polls on election day to vote for anti-integration candidates. Furthermore, since membership in Southern parties overlapped with membership in the Klan, the Councils, and other resistance groups, it appeared for a time that the segregationists would get a stranglehold on policy making in the racial area, and prevent even tokenism.”

White Citizens’ Councils, the suit-and-tie incarnation of the Ku Klux Klan, formed to terrorize blacks through vigilante violence and uphold Jim Crow segregation, flourished throughout Mississippi. These councils, claiming a membership of 60,000, were headquartered in the very county that Emmett was preparing to visit. In May that year in Belzoni, Mississippi, Reverend George Lee, local NAACP organizer, was shot to death from a passing car. Just days prior to Till’s arrival, WW II veteran Lamar Smith was gunned down in broad daylight on a crowded courthouse lawn in Brookhaven, Mississippi for urging black people to vote. This was the murderous atmosphere that a lively, self-confident teenager from the North journeyed into that fateful August.

On August 24, after picking cotton all morning, Emmett, his cousins and some friends drove into Money, Mississippi to purchase some candy and sodas at the local grocery store that serviced the black population. The white owner, Roy Bryant, was out of town and his young wife, Carolyn, was tending the store. There are conflicting stories of what happened at the store. Did he whistle? Was he trying to control his stutter? Did he speak up? The only thing that happened that day at the store for sure is that Emmett Till was seen as having “stepped out of line,” ignoring “the customs of the South” in the presence of a white woman where this was punishable by death. On August 28, Roy Bryant and his half brother, J. W. Milam, came looking for Emmett at his relatives’ home, kidnapping him in the dead of night. Three days later the hideously battered corpse of Emmett Till was found in the Tallahatchie River with a 75-pound cotton gin fan tied around his neck with barbed wire. Mose Wright, Emmett’s great uncle, was able to identify his body only by a ring belonging to his father that the child wore on his finger.

For the vast majority of unnamed lynch mob victims that have filled American history, the story would end here and would have also for Emmett Till if not for the courage and determination of his mother and family. Mamie Till-Mobley immediately alerted the press upon hearing that her son was missing. She fought to have her son’s body returned to Chicago after the local sheriff hastily tried to bury the evidence—literally. She defied the Mississippi authorities by opening the padlocked and sealed casket. Most courageously, she insisted that the casket be displayed openly for the world to see, and ensured that graphic photos circulated internationally. An estimated 100,000-250,000 people waited in line for hours at Chicago’s Roberts Temple Church of God in Christ to view the open casket. So



Library of Congress  
**NYC: NAACP flew this flag outside its headquarters to announce reports of lynchings in 1930s. Right: Excerpt from NAACP chronicle of lynchings.**

shocking was Emmett’s horrifically mutilated body that an estimated one out of every five individuals needed assistance out of the building. Emmett’s death was transformed from “just another lynching” into an internationally known scandal. Although there had been thousands of Southern black men, women and children that met such horrible deaths, this was one that would spark a generation into action.

Mamie Till-Mobley set the tone by immediately demanding an investigation and publicizing the case. Although President Eisenhower and FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover stonewalled her requests for an investigation, she persisted in bringing

Dec. 14—	Rock Springs, Wyo.—	Wade Hampton, hanged; annoying white women.
Dec. 15—	Matter, Ga.—	Claxton Deckle, hanged; killing in quarrel.
1918		
Jan. 17—	Hazelhurst, Miss.—	Sam Edwards, burned to death; charged with murder of Bera Willes, seventeen-year-old white girl.
Jan. 26—	Benton, La.—	Jim Hudson, hanged; living with a white woman.
Feb. 7—	Fayetteville, Ga.—	“Bud” Cosby, hanged; intent to rob and kidnap.
Feb. 12—	Estill Springs, Tenn.—	Jim McIlhheron, burned; accused of shooting to death two white men. G. W. Lych, who hid McIlhheron, was shot to death.
Feb. 23—	Fairfax, S. C.—	Walter Best, hanged; accused of murder.
Feb. 26—	Rayville, La.—	Jim Lewis, Jim Jones, and Will Powell, two hanged and one shot to death; accused of stealing hogs. In the fray one white man and one Negro were killed.
Feb. 26—	Willacoochee, Ga.—	Ed. Dansy, shot; he had killed two white officers and wounded three others.
Mar. 16—	Monroe, La.—	George McNeel and John Richards, hanged; alleged attack upon a white woman.
Mar. 22—	Crawfordsville, Ga.—	Spencer Evans, hanged; convicted of criminal assault upon a colored woman at the February term of court and sentenced to be hanged, but a mob took him from jail and lynched him.
Mar. 26—	Lewiston, N. C.—	Peter Bazemore; alleged attack upon a white woman.
April 4—	Collinsville, Ill.—	Robert P. Praeger (White) hanged; accused of making disloyal remarks.

The American Labor Year Book 1919-1920

down upon arriving in Illinois. It took a tremendous amount of courage for these black witnesses to stand up to white racists in Mississippi, knowing they might not live to see another day, knowing that the only way to save themselves from the lynch rope was to leave everything behind and escape North. Their actions were not unlike slaves fleeing on the Underground Railroad nearly one hundred years earlier.

At this time, Medgar Evers, a Mississippi NAACP organizer, gained national attention. Evers understood that the only

town of Mound Bayou, Mississippi, helped organize and contributed to pay the costs of the investigation and relocation of the witnesses. He also was eventually forced to flee North. He made speaking tours of the country to expose the reign of terror in Mississippi. For the smallest shred of hope that justice might be served, these people put their lives on the line.

But that smallest shred was really no shred at all in the mid ’50s in the Mississippi Delta. The ensuing murder trial of Bryant and Milam was exactly what one would expect. All five lawyers in the county joined the defense team so that none could be appointed special prosecutor in the case. Neither of the defendants denied kidnapping Emmett. The jury came back with a verdict of not guilty in just over an hour. It took them “that long” because they stopped to get a soda, hoping to stretch the time for appearance’s sake. The jury came up with the lie that the bloated, rotting body that was dragged out of the Tallahatchie River might not be Emmett at all, but a body planted by his mother and the NAACP. Emmett was supposedly alive and well in Detroit, according to the Southern racists. A grand jury would not even indict them on kidnapping charges. Then, just months after the acquittal, *Look* magazine published a confession by Bryant and Milam boasting of their lynching of Till.

A campaign orchestrated by plantation owner, arch-segregationist Mississippi Senator, James O. Eastland, tried to smear Emmett Till and his dead father Louis as rapists. The U.S. army had executed Louis Till in 1945. While serving in Italy, he was charged with raping two white women and killing another, charges that many who served with him stated were lies. The same man, Dwight D. Eisenhower, who as a general signed the execution order of the elder Till, sat as U.S. president and refused to investigate the lynching of the son. When Eastland managed to secure the army death records of Louis Till—the same records that Mamie Till-Mobley had been denied—and leaked them to the press, the

*continued on page 8*



WV Photo

**Atlanta, 21 January 1989: PDC-initiated 3,500-strong mobilization met Klan provocation with show of labor/black defiance.**

national attention to her son’s lynching. Till-Mobley, her father and her cousin Rayfield Mooty, an Inland Steel worker, traveled to Sumner, Mississippi for the trial of Emmett’s murderers and braved a gauntlet of white racists each morning as they entered the courthouse. Her uncle, Mose Wright, who had pleaded with Bryant and Milam not to take his nephew, did what virtually no black man in Mississippi had dared to do for nearly a century. He stood up in court and identified the two white men as the kidnappers. According to Wright’s son, Simeon, who was in the same bed when Emmett was dragged away, Mose Wright was determined to testify. Knowing full well that he was risking the same fate as Emmett, he told his family that he didn’t know if he would live or die, but he knew for sure that he was going to testify. Before Wright testified, the rest of his family had to be spirited away to Chicago. He joined them immediately following his testimony. Similarly an 18-year-old field hand, Willie Reed, came forward as a surprise witness for the prosecution to testify that he had heard Emmett’s screams coming from Milam’s barn. As soon as Reed stepped off the stand, he went directly to the train station and left for Chicago, rightly fearing for his life. He suffered a nervous break-

way a case would be built against Bryant and Milam was if he took it into his own hands and mobilized his forces. The NAACP recruited volunteers to dress as sharecroppers and sent them out to gather information. These brave individuals knew full well what lay in store for them should they be detected. Civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn worked on the case and identified others involved in the killing, but they were never prosecuted. Dr. T.R.M. Howard, leader of the all-black

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# Emmett Till...

(continued from page 7)

NAACP took a step back from the case, concerned to maintain their image of “respectability.”

Louis Till was not the only man to be executed or “disappear” under such dubious circumstances during World War II. In her autobiography, Mamie Till-Mobley spoke to the chilling stories she heard from other black soldiers and friends of Louis Till of the “problem that followed them overseas from the United States.” She described 3 a.m. line-ups of black soldiers by racist white officers and Military Police. A woman would be brought in to identify one of the soldiers and the “black soldiers who got pointed out at three in the morning were always taken away. They were not brought back.” As Mamie Till-Mobley astutely pointed out,

“It seemed that the army really didn’t need much more proof than a late-night identification to take black soldiers out. But based on what Louis’s friends told me, it seemed the real offense wasn’t always against white women. Often, it was really against white men. A number of women in those late-night lineups, it seems, were only identifying the men who slept with them, not men they were accusing of rape.... But for many of the white officers and soldiers from the South, there also was a custom about that sort of thing.... Louis died before he could see what would happen to his son. Bo [Emmett’s nickname] died before he could learn about what had happened to his father. Yet they were connected in ways that ran as deep as their heritage, as long as their bloodline.... Maybe Emmett did wind up like his father, an echo of what had happened ten years earlier. Maybe they were both lynched.”

## Lynching—“As American as Baseball and Church Suppers”

In 1924, a young Communist from Indochina named Nguyen Ai Quoc—later known as Ho Chi Minh—wrote:

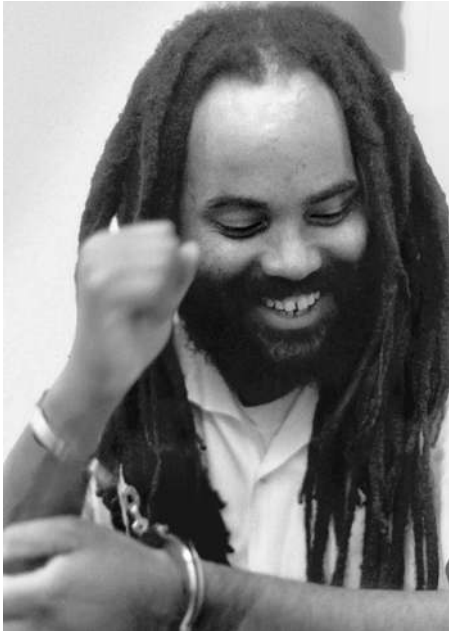
“It is well known that the Black race is the most oppressed and the most exploited of the human family. It is well known that the spread of capitalism and the discovery of the New World had as an immediate result the rebirth of slavery, which was for centuries a scourge of the Negroes and a bitter disgrace for mankind. What everyone does not perhaps know is that after sixty-five years of so-called emancipation, American Negroes still endure atrocious moral and material sufferings, of which the most cruel and horrible is the custom of lynching.”

The story of Emmett Till lays bare the harsh reality of black life in a country built on human bondage. The fight for genuine black equality remains an unfinished task of the American Civil War. The 200,000 ex-slaves and Northern blacks who fought in that war helped turn the tide of the war in favor of the Union Army, but the victorious Northern capitalists betrayed the promise of equality. Radical Reconstruction was the most democratic period in U.S. history. But the Northern capitalists looked at the devastated South and saw opportunity—not for building radical democracy, but for profitably exploiting Southern resources and the freedmen. With the “Compromise of 1877,” the last of the Northern troops were pulled from the South and Reconstruction came to an end. Freed blacks were disenfranchised,

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politically expropriated and kept segregated at the bottom of society. The institution of Jim Crow segregation began to take shape, marked by strict racial codes, returning the black population to a position of complete subservience, enforced by violence. How or when to address whites, where to live, eat, sit, shop, wash your hands, or take a drink of water were all strictly regulated and backed up through a system of race terror—the omnipresent threat of the lynch rope.

In the period following Reconstruction, in the late 19th century, lynching reached its height. Lynching is rightfully equated with the summary torture and execution of black people. But this was not always the case. The term “lynch law” is believed to have come from Judge Charles Lynch,

a patriot in the American Revolutionary War. Upon discovery of a Tory conspiracy in 1780, Lynch was said to have presided over an extralegal court that meted out summary punishment to the pro-British Loyalists. Such methods were given free rein in a burgeoning young country with a vast frontier and a roughly established legal system. The evolution of lynching into an act of race terror is organically linked to the history of black chattel slavery. Lynching became a form of sadistic black subjugation in reaction to the rise of the anti-slavery abolition movement, developing into a widespread social phenomenon in the wake of the defeat of Reconstruction. By the end of the 19th century, “lynch law” had a specific meaning. At its height in the 1880s and 1890s, as many as two to three black people were lynched per week. Sociologist John Dollard wrote in 1937: “Every Negro in the South knows that he is under a kind of sentence of death; he does not know when his turn will come, it may never come, but it may also be any time.”

American historian Leon F. Litwack has found that of the thousands of *recorded* lynchings, about 640 involved “accusations of a sexual nature”—the most notorious and hysteria-inducing accusation. The targets of the race terrorists were often those who owned competitive businesses and farms, the man who managed to acquire some property and was deemed by the racists to not have enough humility, the man who challenged the system, the man who was educated and/or prosperous. W.E.B. Dubois put it

this way: “There was one thing that the white South feared more than Negro dishonesty, ignorance and incompetency, and that was Negro honesty, knowledge, and efficiency” (Leon F. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* [1998]).

In many cases, lynchings were not spontaneous mob violence but planned and advertised events bringing trainloads of spectators from near and far. These were ordinary, “church-going, upstanding” citizens, drawn together in a grotesque racist ritual. The “pillars of the community” were often directly involved or had prior knowledge, and they always approved afterward. “Lynching was an undeniable part of daily life, as distinctly American as baseball and church suppers. Men brought their wives and children along to the events, posed for commemorative photographs, and purchased souvenirs of the occasion as if they had been at a company picnic” (Philip Dray, *At The Hands of Persons Unknown* [2002]). Celebratory postcards of mutilated and charred bodies were sent through the U.S. mail to friends and relatives. James Baldwin noted on seeing the red clay hills of Georgia for the first time, “I could not suppress the thought that this earth had acquired its color from the blood that had dripped down from these trees.”

## The Civil Rights Movement

As Mamie Till-Mobley remarked in a TV documentary, “When people saw what had happened to my son, men stood up who had never stood up before.

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People became vocal who had never vocalized before. Emmett’s death was the opening of the civil rights movement.” Ten thousand people rallied in Harlem the Sunday following the acquittal. Thousands packed meeting halls and overflowed into the streets to hear Mamie speak around the country. Labor rallies and demonstrations were held to protest the lynching of Emmett Till and race-terror in Mississippi. The CIO Steelworkers Union to which Till’s grandfather belonged wired the Mississippi governor demanding justice.

In the convulsive years that followed, social protest exploded into the civil rights movement. Eventually, Jim Crow, the poll taxes and sham rules that prevented black people from voting were abolished, and segregated schools and other public facilities were formally opened up. However, the civil rights movement was stopped cold when it came North and confronted the hardened economic foundations of black oppression, rooted in American capitalism. The heroic struggles of many thousands of black and white activists were betrayed by the liberal perspective of the leadership of the civil rights movement. Much as the organizers of the demonstrations against Till’s murder appealed to Eisenhower, the strategy of the liberal-led civil rights movement was based on appeals to a section of the American bourgeoisie to right the historic wrongs done against black people, as though black freedom could be attained under the capitalist system.

There were important exceptions to this, exemplified by militant black leaders such as Robert F. Williams, the head of the NAACP branch in Monroe, North Carolina, which heavily recruited from the black working class of the area. Williams, who was denounced by liberal civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King, put forward a program of armed self-defense to fight race-terror as opposed to



Danny Lyon

**SNCC activists stage sit-in at segregated diner in Atlanta in early 1960s.**

reliance on the capitalist state and its politicians. This earned him the enmity of the liberal NAACP, which disowned him, as the FBI hounded him out of the country. Williams found refuge in Cuba in 1961 and then China, before returning to the U.S. in 1969. In 1965, the Louisiana-based Deacons for Defense and Justice organized patrols to protect blacks and civil rights workers. At about the same time, in Gulfport, Mississippi, the black longshoremen’s union threatened to close the port down if civil rights activists were injured or arrested.

But despite determined struggle to fulfill the unfinished promise of the Civil War—the promise of black freedom—the civil rights movement could only go so far. The Democratic Party co-opted many of the black leaders into their ranks. They and their political heirs today sit on Capitol Hill, in the state-

houses and city halls, administering this system which is based on racial injustice and class oppression, while posing as defenders of black and working people.

### **For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

The lynching of Emmett Till was not an aberration. Such inhuman acts of violence were part of the fabric of the American Jim Crow South—a system that could only be enforced through violence. Nor did the smashing of Jim Crow mark the end of racial oppression in the U.S., in the North or the South. The laws enforcing segregation may be abolished, but segregation and inequality remain as facts. The death penalty represents the lynch rope as the ultimate form of institutionalized state terror, backed in the streets by racist cops who carry out their own summary executions. The continued

oppression of black people some 40 years after the inauguration of formal, legal equality demonstrates that black oppression is an intrinsic component of the capitalist order in the U.S.

The capitalist rulers promote the poison of racism to keep the working class divided—to pit white workers against black workers—in order to more easily maintain their rule. But black people are not simply victims. Black workers represent a large component of the organized labor movement. The way forward lies in multiracial class struggle. A key obstacle to this perspective is the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, which ties the working class to its exploiters, particularly by promoting illusions in the Democratic Party as a “friend” of labor and blacks.

The road to black freedom lies in the struggle to shatter this racist capitalist system through proletarian socialist revolution, and the power to do that lies with the working class. But this power cannot and will not be realized unless a class-struggle labor movement actively champions the cause of black liberation. The key to unlocking the chains that shackle labor to its exploiters is the political struggle to build a revolutionary internationalist leadership of the working class.

At the time of the Civil War, Karl Marx, the founder of modern communism, captured a fundamental truth of American society in his statement that “labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded.” The Spartacist League fights to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party that will wrest the tremendous productive resources of this country out of the hands of the capitalist owners and put these resources into the hands of the working class, those who produce the wealth of this society. Only then will racial oppression be a thing of the past. ***Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■***

# ***Join the Spartacus Youth Club!***

## **SYC Ten Point Program**

*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.*

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

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

**5** Down with racist anti-immigrant laws! Full citizenship rights for all 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 now! Down with the colonial occupation! For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers at home! No illusions in the UN—a den of imperialist

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

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

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

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

# May 1945...

(continued from page 4)

Union, the U.S. imperialists assisted their German ally generously in deeply burying the history of Nazi crimes. Since the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, interimperialist rivalries between the U.S. and Germany, France, etc., have increased, a fact reflected in the memorial celebrations. Thus, when French president Jacques Chirac invited Schröder to the 60th anniversary memorial celebration of the Allied landing in Normandy last year, he was the first chancellor so invited. “The invitation,” said [government spokesman] Steg (2 January 2004), “is a sign of the new form of cooperation with our French partners and of the fact that times have indeed changed.”

This “new form of cooperation” came into being above all via the joint opposition of Germany, France and Russia to the U.S.-led war against Iraq. This opposition had absolutely nothing to do with any kind of love of peace, as the imperialist deployment of the *Bundeswehr* in Kosovo and Afghanistan or the French army in Sierra Leone show. Rather, German imperialism is pursuing its own interests and is attempting to check U.S. claims to sole world domination. For its part, with the Iraq war and its “unilateral-

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**Anti-Soviet Cold War rehabilitated Nazi war criminals. Following World War II, General Reinhard Gehlen (far left in Nazi uniform) worked for U.S. intelligence and joined West Germany's intelligence service. Near left: Gehlen feted at Yale University.**

ism,” U.S. imperialism is seeking to put its rivals in their place. As our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. explained (WV No. 843, 4 March):

“The unchallenged global hegemony of the U.S. stands in sharp contrast to its declining economic base.... Having presided over the deindustrialization of the country and driven by the pursuit of greater profit margins exacted from the labor of workers abroad, the American capitalist class cannot now easily reverse its industrial decline. This is the material basis for the rabid behavior of the Bush administration. Its outlook brings to mind the siege mentality of the Afrikaners in South Africa, the Ulster Protestants in Northern Ireland and the Zionists in the Near East.”

With a GNP about one-third that of the U.S., Germany is necessarily forced to rely on imperialist partners. Hence its efforts to transform the EU [European Union], an imperialist trade bloc, into an instrument for its ambitions of political dominance. However, as the Iraq war once again clearly illustrated, the EU is torn apart by counterposed imperialist interests, including differences between France and Germany. In order to even approach the military and technological level of the U.S., the German bourgeoisie would have to massively increase its military budget; this can be financed only by drastically raising the rate of exploitation of the working class. And thus the German bourgeoisie's plans for becoming a world power depend to a great extent on the course of class struggle in their own country.

Like Chirac, Russian president [Vladimir] Putin also invited Schröder to the 60th anniversary festivities. Gernot Erler, foreign policy spokesman for the SPD parliamentary fraction, commented:

“The day will be one of remembrance of the 30 million victims of the war in the Soviet Union and of the desolation Hitler's armies left behind. But the memorial celebrations—that's the wish of the hosts—should also send a signal for European reconciliation. For the first time, the head of the German government is invited to participate. And the



Spartakist

**January 1990, East Berlin: Spartacists initiated 250,000-strong rally against Nazi desecration of Treptow Park memorial to Red Army liberators.**

very next day, the EU-Russia summit in Moscow will meet and direct its gaze to the future.”

—*Frankfurter Rundschau*,  
12 March

Putin used his 27 January Auschwitz speech to justify the “war on terror,” in whose name Russia is carrying out its genocidal colonial war against Chechnya: “We also must be clear that modern civilization today is confronted with a new and no less horrific threat. Terrorists have taken over the role of the hangmen

of the National Socialist dictatorship, but rather ‘today much more for the continued occupation by the totalitarian Soviet Union’” (3 March). The same ruling elite of the Baltic states that rails against the former Soviet Union honors the former Baltic SS troops, which carried out frightful crimes against Jews and Communists during the Nazi occupation.

## For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Internally, the politics of the memorial ceremonies are dominated by the issue of the NPD [neo-Nazi party]. It is a bitter result of Germany's capitalist reunification that the Nazi filth can dare to attempt to march through the Brandenburg Gate on May 8, the 60th anniversary of liberation from Hitlerite fascism. We Trotskyists intervened with all the forces of our international in the fall of 1989-90 in the unfolding proletarian political revolution in the DDR. Against capitalist *Anschluss* [annexation], we fought for the revolutionary reunification of Germany—for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy through political revolution in the DDR and for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and its expropriation through socialist revolution in the West. We called for a red Germany of workers councils.

A high point of our intervention was the 3 January 1990 workers united-front protest we initiated against the Nazi desecration of the memorial in Berlin's Treptow Park, where the Soviet soldiers who gave their lives in the battle for the liberation of Berlin from the Nazis rest and are honored. In our protest call we warned: “Resurgent fascism is still an extremist fringe phenomenon. It would again threaten all mankind, as soon as the first crises in a reunified Greater Germany appear. Today, however, the SPD/SDP is the chief instrument to bring about such a Greater Germany.” Speaking before the quarter-million working people who came to this pro-socialist, pro-Soviet, anti-fascist protest, we called for the founding and rule of workers and soldiers councils.

As we warned, counterrevolution has led to mass unemployment, a massive increase in institutionalized racism, and, encouraged by these, Nazi terror. The fake Trotskyists, from the SAV [Socialist

Alternative, affiliate of Peter Taaffe's Committee for a Workers International] and Linksruck [affiliate of the International Socialist Tendency], to Workers Power [affiliate of the League for the Fifth International], talk big today about the fight against fascism and attempt to paper over their reformism with Trotsky quotes. But they all actively supported capitalist reunification in 1990, thereby doing their bit for the strengthening of the Nazis. In order to defeat fascism, it is necessary to understand that it is generated by capitalism. The German bourgeoisie wanted Hitler in power and in the early '30s cast its weight—money, power and countless connections—onto the scales. The German bourgeoisie set its hopes on the fascists because it saw its rule as being threatened by the working class.

The recent electoral gains of the fascist NPD are a result of the social attacks by the SPD/Green government (and the Berlin SPD/PDS-run Senate is not one iota better) like Agenda 2010 or Hartz IV [that slash pensions and welfare and devastate unemployment benefits]. These intensified assaults have especially catastrophic effects in eastern Germany, which has been deindustrialized as a consequence of capitalist reunification. Simultaneously, the racist “war on terror,” directed against Muslim immigrants, puts wind in the sails of the Nazis. As Trotsky stated in 1929, the social democracy, which is committed to capitalism, is not an obstacle to the Nazis but rather paves their way:

“In Austria as in all other countries, fascism appears as a necessary supplement to the Social Democracy, lives off of it and comes to power with its help.... Fascism nourishes itself from the Social Democracy, but it must smash its skull to come to power. The Austrian Social Democracy does what it can, to make this surgical operation easy for them.”

Today, when the destruction of the DDR and the Soviet Union has cast back the consciousness of the working class, and the bourgeoisie does not see its rule as being threatened, it holds the Nazis in reserve, utilizing them both as a means of political pressure and for terrorizing leftists and immigrants. Thus the growing strength of the NPD finds expression above all in an increase of its murderous terror in the streets. To organize the fight against the slashing of benefits, against racist oppression by the state and against Nazi terror, it is necessary to wage an uncompromising struggle against the Social-Democratic misleaders and their fake-leftist water boys. We must fight to construct a party capable of breaking the working-class base from the social democracy, both of the SPD and the PDS. These parties are, as Lenin explained, bourgeois workers parties, i.e., they rest on a proletarian base but have a fully bourgeois program. Forging a political instrument with which to do battle, a revolutionary multiethnic workers party, is urgently necessary. We Spartacists have committed ourselves to the struggle to build such a party. ***For the reforging of the Fourth International, world party of proletarian revolution!*** ■



Action Press

**German workers protest against SPD/Green government economic austerity plan, 2004.**



# Dresden...

(continued from page 5)

June 1944 that they couldn’t bomb Auschwitz. It was too far away, the airplanes couldn’t make the flight back. But at the same time bombers were repeatedly attacking I.G. Farben’s Buna plant in Monowitz, five kilometers away from Auschwitz. Why were we lied to?

“*Spiegel*: The other Western governments also were hardly ready to help the victims.

“Riegner: That’s true, unfortunately. Most of the countries were worried they’d get stuck with the Jews. For them it was preferable that they be killed, somewhere far away. That’s the most frightful thing of all, but that’s how it was.”

Thousands of Dresdeners streamed to the official memorial for the victims of

and immigrants all over Germany, they were enraged at the Nazi provocation taking place at the same time. The [London] *Guardian* (14 February) reported: “‘This is a horrible day for Dresden—I’m angry,’ said Ursula Hamann, 77, who was living in the city in 1945 and survived the attack. ‘It’s sad to have to see such a thing happen again in Germany.’ Edeltraud Krause said: ‘Just look at them. You only have to look at their stupid faces. They don’t represent us.’” Adding to the Nazi deployment, the so-called “anti-Germans” mobilized against the populace of Dresden and cynically cheered its incineration: “No tears for Krauts” and “Bomber Harris, do it again” [original in English] were their slogans. These ex-leftists regurgitate the “collective guilt” ideology, as represented by [Foreign Minister Joschka] Fischer and a whole series of bourgeois liberal feature writers. An example is the historian and journalist Götz Aly, who recently published an article with the unbelievable title “The Feel-Good Dictatorship” in *Der Spiegel*. The article is intended to provide a foretaste of Aly’s book *Hitlers Volksstaat* [*Hitler’s People’s State*], and embodies the lie of “collective guilt” which is aimed at whitewashing the German bourgeoisie: “Anyone desiring to comprehend the criminal dynamic of National Socialism should no longer fixate on the giant banks and big companies.” Another example is *Frankfurter Rundschau*’s justification of the incineration of Dresden referred to above.

The “anti-Germans” are in fact not part of the left, but rather Fischer’s “clean-up crew,” who seek to destroy the left by any means and rant against immigrants of Muslim origin. With their “Solidarity with Israel,” the “anti-Germans” are marching in lockstep with the Foreign Ministry. In his 24 January commemorative speech at the United Nations for the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, Fischer said: “The right to exist of the state of Israel and the security



Statements issued by ICL sections in 1995 in German, Polish, English and Russian for 50th anniversary of liberation of Auschwitz by Red Army.

of its citizens will always remain non-negotiable fundamentals of German foreign policy. Israel will always be able to rely on this.” “Solidarity” with the Zionist rulers of Israel, who bloodily oppress the Palestinian people, has *nothing* to do with the fight against anti-Semitism. We defend the dispossessed and impoverished Palestinian people against Zionist state terror. At the same time, we give not one iota of support to Arab nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism. We are for the right to self-determination of both the Palestinian and the Hebrew-speaking nations, even if the latter is not presently threatened. Within a capitalist framework, a just solution is impossible when two nations lay claim to one and the same territory, as in Israel/Palestine. Only a workers revolution in the Near East that sweeps away the sheiks and the colonels, the mullahs and the Zionist rulers can lay the foundations for a just, democratic solution of the national question. *For a socialist federation of the Near East!* While Fischer was weeping media-minded crocodile tears over Auschwitz at the UN, the German state interior ministers were consulting on how to stop the immigration of Jews from the ex-Soviet

Union. [Federal Interior Minister] Schily & Co. are supported in this by Israel, whose rulers flip out not only because Jewish refugees would prefer to immigrate to Germany rather than to the death-trap of Israel (which is quite embarrassing) but also because they have been emigrating from Israel back to East Europe, in order to travel from there to Germany or somewhere safer. Jewish refugees justifiably do not want to be used as cannon fodder for the racist, and, in the long term, suicidal war of the Zionist rulers against the Palestinians. Of course the “anti-Germans” have no objection to the anti-Semitic act of halting immigration by East European Jews to Germany.

In our article “Holocaust, ‘Collective Guilt’ and German Imperialism” [WV No. 697, 25 September 1998] we wrote: “Only Leninist internationalists, fighting to reforge Leon Trotsky’s Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution, can draw the lessons of Hitler’s rise to power and advance a strategy to defeat the growing fascist danger today. This is the task of the International Communist League and its German section, the Spartakist Workers Party.” ■

## Heroic Trotskyists in Brest, France built cell in German army, distributed *Arbeiter und Soldat*.

the Dresden firestorm [on 13 February]. They wanted to remember their loved ones and the tens of thousands of other innocent people who were murdered, and to send a message that such a thing should never happen again. Like workers

# Hiroshima...

(continued from page 5)

of Japan was carried out to hasten the end of the war, echoing Truman’s justification years after the war that it “saved millions of lives.” In fact, by the summer of 1945, the U.S. had full control of the air and sea surrounding Japan, and as early as May 1945, Japan’s rulers had indicated their willingness to negotiate terms of surrender. Japan was already defeated.

The truth is that 200,000 human beings were incinerated in a ruthless display of American military might intended to intimidate the Soviet Union and proclaim to all the hegemony of U.S. imperialism in the postwar order. According to A-bomb scientist Leo Szilard, U.S. Secretary of State James F. Byrnes argued for use of the newly developed atomic bomb because “our possessing and demonstrating the bomb would make Russia more manageable.” The Truman administration sought to diminish the need for concessions to the Soviet Union, which had defeated Nazi Germany and liberated much of East Europe.

At the end of World War II, U.S. imperialist propagandists hailed the beginning of an “American Century”—a century of U.S. imperial domination. U.S. nuclear superiority was to be a cornerstone of that policy. Truman exulted after the incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: “With this bomb we have now added a new and revolutionary increase in destruction to supplement the growing power of our armed forces.... We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely.” In 1946, the U.S. threatened to use atomic bombs against the Soviet Union if it did not withdraw its troops from Iran; it made some 25 additional threats to use nuclear weapons between 1946 and 1980.

It was fortunate for humanity that the Soviet Union developed nuclear weapons capability by the end of the 1940s, and that they ultimately attained a measure of

nuclear parity with the United States. The USSR, with its powerful nuclear arsenal and conventional military, acted as a counterweight to U.S. imperialism. The counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism in the USSR in 1991-92 has created a “one superpower” world where the U.S. imperialists feel they can ride roughshod over anyone they declare to be an “enemy.” In early 1992, as the USSR collapsed, a leaked memorandum by the Defense Department and Pentagon declared that the goal of U.S. military strategy was to enforce a “new order” in which the “first objective” was to “prevent the emergence of a new rival” to the military hegemony of the U.S.

Today, America’s rulers bellow about “rogue states” possessing “weapons of mass destruction.” But it is the U.S. that has the largest stockpile of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons in the world. From the firebombing of Dresden and Tokyo during World War II, to the blood-soaked fields of Vietnam, to the “shock and awe” bombings in Iraq, U.S. imperialism is responsible for the deaths of countless millions of civilians around the world. The U.S. is the only country to have ever used nuclear weapons in war. We call on the international proletariat to defend the right of the North Korean and



Leaders of Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters jailed for revolutionary opposition to U.S. imperialism during World War II.

other deformed workers states to possess nuclear arms as a deterrent against the U.S. imperialist madmen.

We in the Spartacist League/U.S. stand in the tradition of the Socialist Workers Party at the time, which, as the U.S. Trotskyist organization, stood in revolutionary opposition to U.S. imperialism during World War II. The Pacific War between the U.S. and Japan was part

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# Mexico...

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the day the postage stamps with the *Memín Pinguín* illustration were put on sale, crowds of people lined up to buy them despite, or rather because of, the scandal over the racist illustrations (the edition of 750,000 stamps has sold out!). Obscenely, a new edition of the comic strip was just launched.

The capitalist rulers push the hypocritical ideology of nationalism—that we are all Mexicans and our interests are common—as a smokescreen that covers class distinctions and the counterposed interests of workers to the bosses, glorifying the most backward and openly racist aspects of “Mexicanity” and “popular culture.” Thus, racist stereotypes of indigenous people as lazy and ignorant are also everyday occurrences. Anti-Semitism is so widespread that *Mein Kampf* is one of the most “popular” and easily obtainable books, available at nearly every book kiosk in downtown Mexico City. In a particularly grotesque example of blindness to racist oppression, the cartoonist Rogelio Naranjo said: “In the U.S. displays of racism are different from those in Mexico. Here, poor people, not races, are discriminated against. Here, indigenous people are discriminated against not for belonging to another race, but for being poor” (*La Jornada*, 1 July). Tell that to the Zapatistas and the ten million indigenous people in the country! The Zapatista uprising in 1994 called the attention of people around the world to the reality of racist Mexican capitalism, which *adds* racial oppression to capitalist exploitation.

The denunciations of racism in *Memín Pinguín* by the imperialist Bush government—that a large part of the Mexican population rightly views as the most racist and immoral murderer of peoples in the world—are thoroughly hypocritical. The imperialists condemn the black population to the ghettos, prisons, unemployment, misery and police brutality. They also terrorize Mexican and Central American immigrants, unleashing the brutal *migra* and, as in the case of “governator” Schwarzenegger, supporting the fascist, paramilitary “Minutemen.” At the same time, they whip up racism through derogatory stereotypes of these immigrants. Racism occupies a privileged place among the points of ideological

## Down With Anti-Black Racism

# U.S. Imperialist Hypocrisy Over Mexico’s Racist Stamp

*The following leaflet was issued jointly by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the newly founded Los Angeles Labor Black League for Social Defense on 30 July.*

Images borrowed from the U.S. legacy of slavery and Jim Crow segregation are featured in the Mexican Post Office’s recently issued series of stamps with racist depictions of Sambo-like cartoon character *Memín Pinguín*. Jesse Jackson has called on President Bush to pressure Mexico to withdraw the stamps from the market, saying they “insult people around the world.” The White House, the chief purveyor of violence against non-white people globally, responded: “Racial stereotypes are offensive no matter what their origin.”

The hypocrisy of the racist American ruling class and its government, Republican and Democrat alike, is boundless. When Mexican president Vicente Fox made his comment in May, that super-exploited Mexican migrants would do jobs that “not even blacks want to do in the United States,” he was describing the U.S. rulers’ own social policy. The Bush administration wagged a finger

at Fox while Jackson and Al Sharpton grandstanded as “black leaders,” demanding Fox’s apology for the benefit of the media. Not so long ago Attorney General John Ashcroft, an admirer of the slaveholding Confederacy, guided efforts in drafting repressive legislation against workers and minorities like the “Patriot Act” recently extended by a bipartisan vote in Congress.

In America, the exploitation of labor is wrapped in the envelope of raw racism. Today the desperate conditions of life for blacks, a race-color caste segregated at the bottom of capitalist society, and non-white immigrants are increasingly the reality for all American workers. U.S. imperialism has historically exported the practice of racial segregation along with its ideological props to the exploited semicolonial world. Mexico’s anti-black racism shares this common origin which finds resonance with its native and pervasive anti-Indigenous racism.

But black workers in the U.S. are a powerful component of the trade-union movement; while Latino workers are a dynamic sector forming a human bridge

to the toiling masses of Central and South America. The social power of organized labor must be mobilized against our common foe, U.S. imperialism, to champion the cause of all the oppressed around key demands such as full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

There will be no effective resistance to the exploitation of working people on both sides of the border without the unity in struggle between the trade unions and the black and Mexican poor. This united struggle would be the goal of a revolutionary, multiracial workers party fighting for working-class interest independent of and in opposition to the capitalist parties, Republican and Democrat. The Labor Black League for Social Defense, in fraternal alliance with the Marxist Spartacist League, seeks to build such a party. We are joined in this effort by our Mexican comrades, Grupo Espartaquista de México, who wrote in a July 15 protest statement, “We call on workers to repudiate racist propaganda like *Memín Pinguín* and its official endorsement by the Fox government. For socialist revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán!”

affinity between the Mexican and American rulers.

Capitalism, in Mexico as well as in the U.S., is inherently racist. Capitalist parasites, who live by exploiting the work of the population, see a danger to their regime in the joint struggle of workers that overcomes national and racial divides, and for that reason they foment racism every day as a means of keeping the workers divided by stupid prejudices. Those who want to take part in the struggle for workers’ interests must declare a battle to the end against these stupid prejudices. Our comrades in the Spartacist League/U.S. fight to break down the divisions between black people and Mexican immigrants pushed by the imperialist rulers; they fight to mobilize the entire working class to demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants, and

simultaneously for immigrants and workers to take up the struggle for black emancipation as their own.

As a legacy of slavery, black people in the U.S. suffer from *special oppression*, as a race-color caste relegated to the bottom of society. This oppression has historically been the cornerstone of American capitalism. At the same time, blacks are integrated into key sectors of the working class. Due to their position as the most oppressed, but also the most conscious and experienced sector of the proletariat, revolutionary black workers are called on to play a *leading* role in the coming American socialist revolution. That’s why for Marxists the struggle for black emancipation in the U.S. is absolutely central. The Mexican exploited and oppressed will find no better ally in the struggle for their emancipation than the powerful,

multiracial American proletariat, especially its black component. Unlike what nationalist ideologues assert, it is not with their exploiting “fellow countrymen,” but with their class brothers and sisters, the exploited of the world, that workers share a fundamental interest: to put an end to this system of exploitation and oppression and replace it with the international rule of the workers.

The communists of the Grupo Espartaquista de México are proud to share with our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. the Marxist struggle against imperialism and racism, for the world workers commune. We call on workers to repudiate racist propaganda like *Memín Pinguín* and its official endorsement by the Fox government. For socialist revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán! Workers of the world, unite!■

# Deep Throat...

(continued from page 3)

powers to suppress domestic dissent.

After the June 1972 break-in of the Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Watergate complex in Washington was linked to Nixon’s Committee to Re-elect the President (CRP, appropriately pronounced Creep), the Senate convened public hearings in 1973 as an exercise in damage control. Under mounting pressure to leave office, Nixon acted in characteristic fashion, like a cornered rat, firing subordinates left and right and suppressing evidence including tapes of his efforts to get the CIA to stop the investigation. On 8 August 1974, with the House of Representatives clearly moving toward impeachment, he resigned.

Nixon’s violation of bourgeois democracy disturbed his masters mainly because it was aimed against one of their own political institutions, the Democratic Party, and not representatives of the class enemy—the left, labor movement and

oppressed. Nixon’s second crime in their eyes was to get caught. The “law and order” presidency was exposed as a gang of petty crooks. This brought discredit on the Republican Party as well as the “Washington Establishment,” something the rulers seek to prevent.

The working class is certainly not indifferent to questions of political democracy. While exposing the corruption, machinations and state violence of the capitalist rulers, we demand the fullest possible democratic rights to allow the working class to organize itself around its own class interests and program. While it was necessary for the working class to support Nixon’s impeachment, we proclaimed: “Impeachment Is Not Enough!” (WV No. 31, 26 October 1973). Water-

gate—i.e., Nixon’s crimes against his own class—pales before his crimes against the world’s working class. We stated at the time that his saturation bombing of the workers and peasants of Indochina earned him a place beside the worst Nazi war criminals at the Nuremberg trials.

Impeachment, like Nixon’s resignation, only provided for the orderly transfer of power to the equally reactionary Vice President Gerald Ford. And the Senate hearings on Watergate in no way curtailed U.S. sabotage and subversion abroad, demonstrated by its all-sided support, at the same time, to Pinochet’s bloody 1973 military coup in Chile. The worst excesses of domestic covert and COINTELPRO subversion may have been reined in, but those already ensnared or targeted by COIN-

TELPRO continued to rot in American dungeons. For example, Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) was imprisoned for almost three decades with full government knowledge of his innocence.

By 1983, the FBI had adopted the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines, which equated left-wing political activity with terrorism and organized crime. We called this “McCarthyism with a drawn gun.” What the FBI had done in secret and “illegally” in the ’60s and ’70s, Reagan’s anti-terror red-hunt could carry out openly with the full sanction of the law. We responded with a lawsuit, as a result of which the government conceded the central aim of our legal challenge—that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or terrorism. However, as we wrote at the time:

“We have no illusions that the government’s secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration and disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government.”

—WV No. 368, 7 December 1984

What we stated during the Watergate crisis resounds even more profoundly today as the bipartisan “war on terror” moves to shred everyone’s rights. The democratic rights of the working class can be defended and extended only through the class-struggle means by which they were won. Exposures of the machinations and naked violence of the bourgeois state must lead to the inescapable conclusion that those who labor must rule.■

Chicago Tribune



**1969: Chicago police and FBI brutally killed Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton (inset) and Mark Clark. Bloodsoaked mattress on which Hampton was sleeping.**

**NOTICE**  
**Workers Vanguard skips**  
**alternate issues in June,**  
**July and August.**  
**Our next issue will**  
**be dated September 2.**



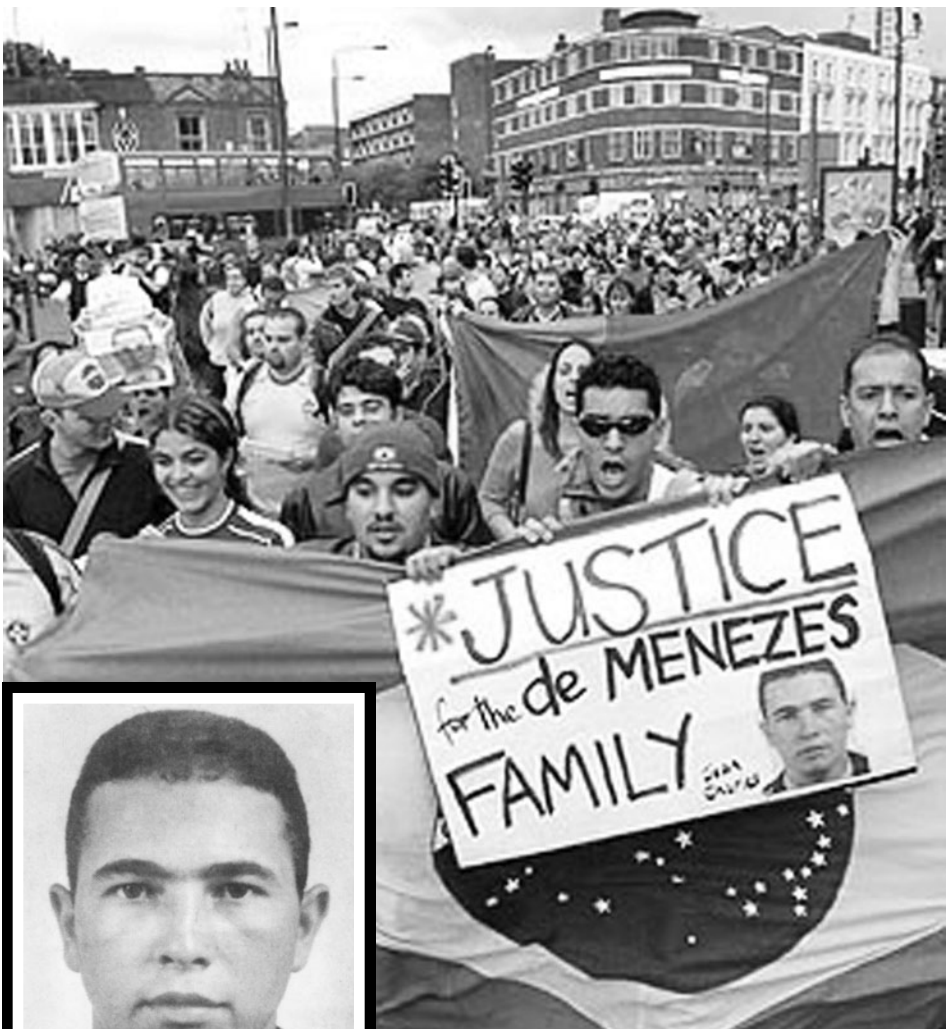
# London...

(continued from page 1)

The Bush and Blair administrations are using the London terror attacks to grease the skids for even more repressive laws, many of which have been in the works for some time. In the U.S., the September 11 attack led to the authoritarian, anti-immigrant, deeply sinister USA-Patriot Act. It was supposed to be “temporary,” but just a few days ago the U.S. Congress, including by a unanimous vote in the Senate, re-authorized and made permanent nearly all the provisions in the Patriot Act. Congress also recently passed the anti-immigrant “Real ID” Act, a step toward a national identification system. The American Civil Liberties Union recently discovered, as the result of a suit it brought under the Freedom of Information Act, that in the last several years the FBI has collected over a thousand pages of documents about the ACLU itself, and thousands more on antiwar groups such as United for Peace and Justice, as well as civil rights and environmental groups. The frame-up conviction of leftist attorney Lynne Stewart for vigorously defending her client is also an attempt to crush political dissent.

As detainees in the U.S. torture chamber at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba went on hunger strike to expose their desperate plight, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in July upheld the Bush administration’s “military commissions,” again denying the detainees any right to due process of law (something the Center for Constitutional Rights had fought for and got the U.S. Supreme Court to uphold last year). Now, Vice President Richard Cheney is leading a White House charge to stop legislation barring torture by American forces.

In Britain, which already has some of the most draconian “anti-terror” legislation, the Blair regime is discussing a bill to criminalize *speech* that could supposedly “indirectly incite” terrorism. Since the London bombings, heavily armed cops



London, 25 July: Hundreds protest killing of Brazilian immigrant Jean Charles de Menezes (inset) by British cops.

Reuters

portunities”! The Bush gang, supported by the Democrats, capitalized all right—launching an assault on democratic rights at home, invading Afghanistan and then devastating Iraq, which has been turned into a hellhole where terror attacks claiming dozens of lives have become the daily norm. Working people and all defenders of democratic rights must mobilize in opposition to the government’s brutal and racist crackdown at home and imperialist adventures abroad.

imperialist rulers, identifying the working class and the whole population with the policies of the capitalist exploiters and oppressors. The bombs were aimed not at Bush or Blair, who were in Scotland for the G8 summit, but at the multiethnic working people of London: areas such as Edgware Road, which is overwhelmingly Arab; Aldgate, the heart of the Bangladeshi community; Kings Cross and Russell Square, through which hundreds of thousands of ordinary people of every race and ethnicity travel every day.

Bush and Blair, whose savage occupation of Iraq has cost the lives of an estimated 100,000 people, self-righteously condemned the terrorists for taking innocent lives. Behind their crocodile tears for those killed and wounded in the London bombings they seek to deflect the justified outrage and sympathy of the population for the victims and their families in order to reinforce their rule at home and abroad. As *Guardian* journalist Seumas Milne noted, even to link the bombings to Britain’s role in Iraq or Afghanistan, which is obvious to millions, can get you denounced as a “traitor”; to question Blair’s assertion that the bombings were an attack “on our way of life” is to be branded “an apologist for terror.”

For millions around the globe, British imperialism’s “way of life” has meant untold terror. Kurds in what is now Iraq, a country manufactured by British imperialism, were bombed from the air while Arabs were shelled by the British colonial overlords in 1919-20. The 1917 Balfour Declaration set the scene for carving the state of Israel out of the homeland of the Palestinians. The bloody partition of India under the Labour government of Clement Attlee ushered in communalist slaughter on an unprecedented scale. This laid the basis for murderous religious and ethnic conflicts that persist to this day, as well as the poverty, destitution and desperation of countless people from the Indian subcontinent to the Near East to Africa.

Millions in this country took to the streets in protest against the impending imperialist slaughter of Iraq in 2003 and Britain’s role in the brutal occupation of Iraq cost Blair in the last elections. In that context, London Mayor Ken Livingstone’s prominence in the demonstrations protesting the war on Iraq made him an ideal candidate to lead a patriotic “unity” crusade against “terrorism.” Addressing the crowd at a 14 July vigil for the victims, flanked by leaders of all the main

religions, Livingstone intoned “you see the world gathered in one city, living in harmony, as an example to all.” Livingstone’s speech could have been written by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who was in the vanguard of this “unity” chorus. Their 7 July statement on the bombings proclaimed: “London is a centre of peace, the most multiracial city in Europe and a global centre of opposition to the war and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan.”

This is a shameless and grotesque denial of the reality of life for London’s working class and poor, especially immigrants and minorities whose daily grind means long hours and pitiful pay while being routinely vilified by the racist press, the government and police. Since September 11, police dragnets have rounded up more than 600 foreign nationals under “anti-terrorism” legislation, the overwhelming majority of whom were later released. The handful detained, on no charges other than being “terrorist suspects,” are confined in Britain’s own Guantánamo—Belmarsh prison—or else electronically monitored under “house arrest.”

To be Muslim is to be suspect. No sooner had bombs ripped through the Underground than a further wave of racist attacks was unleashed. Muslim organisations received 30,000 hate-filled e-mails; mosques had windows smashed and one was firebombed. In Nottingham a Muslim man, Kamal Raza Butt, was murdered by a gang who shouted “Taliban” before beating him to death. In London, the putative “city of peace,” the fascist BNP put out a leaflet with a picture of the bombed bus, declaring that people should now “start listening to the BNP.” Muslims fear an even more severe racist backlash now that the police say the bombings were supposedly carried out by British Muslims.

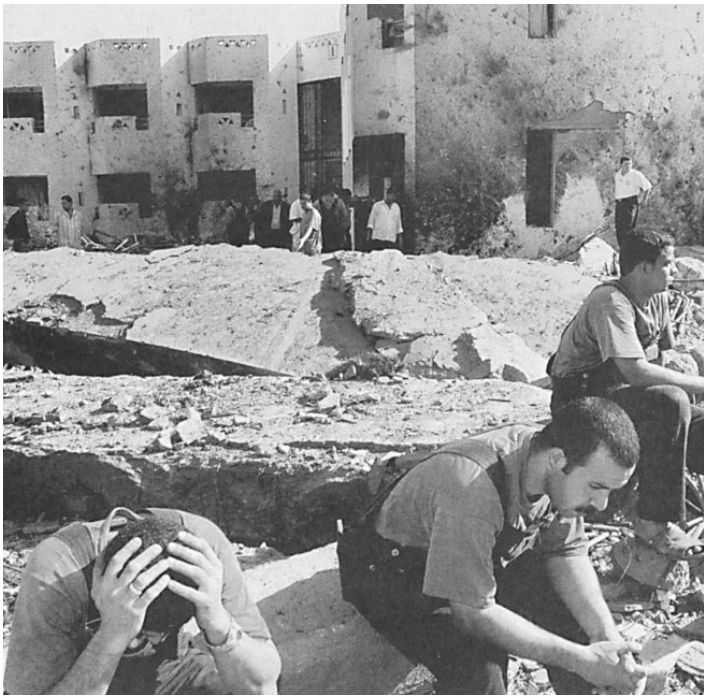
The government is planning more round-ups, more deportations and more sweeping police-state measures. A range of new offences will be created for what are essentially “thought crimes,” such as “acts preparatory to terrorism,” which might mean visiting “terrorist” Web sites; “indirect incitement,” which includes “glorifying the acts of suicide bombers” as well as “attacking the values of the West”! While aimed most immediately at Muslims, the “war on terror” is designed to strengthen the capitalist state’s machinery of repression, to be imposed with a vengeance against anyone the government perceives as an opponent as most recently demonstrated by the mass arrests outside the G8 summit. But the ultimate target is the multiethnic working class.

Today, Blair and Livingstone have the audacity to salute the heroism of the Tube workers, firefighters, ambulance drivers and others who put their bodies on the line to help the victims of the bombings. But, for years the government has savaged the living, working and safety conditions for these and other workers. And when the unions have fought back, like the firefighters did on the eve of the Iraq war, they were branded the “enemy within” and threatened with the full force of capitalist state repression. Last summer, Livingstone—the boss of transport workers in the capital—called on London Underground workers to scab on their own strike. And greed for profit and the policies of the government pose the biggest threat to the lives of passengers. The 1987 Kings Cross fire, the 1999 Paddington rail crash and other rail disasters have claimed far more lives than any terrorists. Now, the government is trying to scrap the legislation—introduced after the inferno in Kings Cross took 31 lives—which mandated stricter fire regulations!

## For Class Unity of the Multiethnic Working Class!

It is a sign of the times that we have to point out today that London is a class-divided city, not to mention the seat of power of the blood-soaked British ruling class. Despite Britain’s industrial decline,

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Ayer/World Picture News

Rescue workers at Ghazala Gardens hotel in Egyptian resort town of Sharm el Sheik. July 23 terrorist bombings killed 64, including many Egyptian workers.

have been patrolling the streets and subways, an unusual sight for the city where cops historically did not carry guns. And the racist backlash against Muslims has been growing daily. There have been terrifying and relentless police raids on people’s homes, targeting especially Muslims from Somalia and Ethiopia. One home that was raided by the cops was later fire-bombed after the address was printed in the press, and the fascist British National Front staged a rally in front of a mosque in London’s Regents Park. In this atmosphere of racist hysteria, Anthony Walker, a black teenager in Liverpool, was murdered on July 29, an ax embedded in his skull, after being subjected to torrents of racist abuse as he waited at a bus stop with his white girlfriend.

The vicious mindset of the capitalist rulers was captured by Condoleezza Rice, who, following the September 11 attacks, told the National Security Council to think about “how do you capitalize on these op-

We reprint below a July 21 statement issued by the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League, following the London attacks.

\* \* \*

## Following Criminal London Terror Bombings: Down With U.S./British Imperialist Occupation of Iraq! Defend Muslims Against Labour’s Racist Witchhunt!

Within hours of the horrific London bombings that killed over 50 people and injured hundreds, Tony Blair seized on this atrocity as a pretext to escalate the “war on terror.” Let’s be clear: these bombings were a criminal act of indefensible terror. Like the attack on the World Trade Center and the bombing of commuter trains in Madrid last year, the perpetrators share the same mindset as the

# London...

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the City is still a hub for international capital. Share prices tumbled the day of the bombs, which in its own way shows that the workforce in the Underground and buses has tremendous social power—the City banks and stock exchange are dependent on the transport system. It is this social power that must be brought to bear in a class-struggle fight in defence of immigrants, minorities and the unions themselves against the racist “war on terror.” As revolutionary internationalists we took a side in the war, calling for defence of Iraq, without giving any political support to the Saddam Hussein regime. So too must the proletariat be mobilised in defence of the Iraqi peoples against the savage British and U.S. occupation forces through class struggle against the British imperialist rulers at home! *All U.S./British troops out of Iraq now! Down with the racist “war on terror”! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations! For trade union/minority mobilisations against fascist terror!*

We vehemently oppose the appeals for the “unity” of all classes, which only serves to strengthen the hand of the imperialist rulers by binding the working class and oppressed to their very exploiters and oppressors. Not so the Socialist Party which blatantly appeals to mobilise the proletariat behind the so-called “war on terror,” calling on the unions and the Stop the War Coalition to organise a mass protest on the slogan “no to terrorism, no to war.” This dovetails with the politics of “antiwar” Labour MPs [Members of Par-

clearly did not. Substituting individual acts against the symbols of imperialist exploitation and oppression is directly counterposed to the task of mobilising the working class for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system. But the Socialist Party’s declared opposition to “terrorism” is nothing more than an appeal to mobilise the proletariat behind the government’s “war on terror.” Placing an equals sign between the imperialist powers and the Islamic terrorists, the Socialist Party is in fact capitulating to British and U.S. imperialism, who constitute the mightiest and most dangerous terrorist forces on this planet. This is not particularly surprising coming from an organisation which prides itself on *not* calling for British troops out of Northern Ireland now—a call which is the most elementary act of opposition to British imperialism.

Class independence of the working class is the precondition for any genuine socialist opposition to imperialism—both against imperialist war and attacks on the working class and minorities at home. But the whole premise of the SWP-built antiwar protests is based on peddling another version of “national unity”—between the working class and oppressed who oppose the occupation of Iraq, and a more “rational” wing of the ruling class that believes British imperialism’s interests are being damaged by acting simply as a “pillion passenger” behind the Bush White House. For the reformist SWP, the solution lies not in the overthrow of capitalism but in persuading the British government to break with Bush. An SWP statement (13 July) argues: “There has to be a dramatic reverse in policy, at home and abroad. Pulling the troops out of Iraq

Savage occupation of Iraq: U.S. troops in Mosul brutalize man accused of supporting insurgents, January 2005.



Zaklin/EPA

talist class. It is downright grotesque to blame the alliance with the U.S. for British imperialism’s brutality. Although today reduced to a decrepit junior partner of the U.S., when they did have the economic and military clout the British imperialists wrote the book on racist divide-and-rule and ruthless exploitation of their colonial “subjects.” The “spirit of the Blitz” in World War II that has been invoked almost daily since the terrorist bombings in London is a persistent Labourite myth that all classes were united behind King and country in a common defence of British “democracy.” Far from a war for “democracy,” for the British imperialists this was a scramble to protect their imperialist “interests”—among which India was a prized possession. Thus they denied India its right to independence and even caused a famine in Bengal, while the Labour Party played a vital role in whipping up patriotic “unity” at home. And contrary to the main myth propagated about the “democratic” allies, it was the Soviet Red Army that smashed Hitler’s fascism, at a cost of well over 20 million Soviet citizens’ lives.

Moreover, the British imperialists hardly need any lessons from the Americans on police-state repression, having inflicted it for many years on the oppressed Catholics in Northern Ireland. Similar to today’s anti-Muslim hysteria, “anti-terrorism” campaigns of the 1970s led to outrageous frame-ups of innocent people such as the Birmingham Six, the Maguire Seven and the Guildford Four, who were wrongly convicted in a wave of anti-Irish hysteria following civilian bombing atrocities in British city centres.

## Imperialist Hypocrisy and Islamic Fundamentalism

The British press is in a lather about the fact that this “democratic” country could produce “home grown” Islamic terrorists. Ken Livingstone stated the obvious when he said: “I suspect the real problem was that we funded these people as long as they were killing Russians. We gave no thought to the fact that when they stopped killing Russians they might start killing us” (*Daily Telegraph*, 20 July). For “we,” read the British imperialists who, together with the U.S. and the Pakistan authorities, pulled off the largest covert operation in the CIA’s history throughout the 1980s to boost the most extreme Islamic reactionaries, including Bin Laden, for a *jihad* in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union. The SWP, the Socialist Party and most of the so-called socialist left were in the camp of the imperialists against the USSR. We hailed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, noting that this was a progressive act by the Stalinist bureaucracy that offered the possibility of extending the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution to the Afghan peoples, particularly to the hideously oppressed women. Following counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, when imperialist funding to the Islamists dried up, the latter turned on their erstwhile backers, most dramatically in the criminal attack on the World Trade Center. Counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union gave an enormous boost to the forces of religious reaction around the globe, while also leading to a “one super-

power world” in which U.S. imperialism and its allies feel they have free rein to ravage the semicolonial world.

The perpetrators of acts such as the London bombing, whoever they may be, demonstrate the mindset typical of religious zealots who believe they have a God-given right to exterminate all non-believers. Islam has no monopoly on this outlook: it parallels that of Christian fundamentalists who bomb abortion clinics in the U.S.; the Protestant bigots who justify “ethnic cleansing” against Catholics in Northern Ireland; and the Zionists who seek to “cleanse” the Palestinians from what they deem to be the Jewish “holy land.” Terrorist attacks in the name of nationalist or religious forces tend to be aimed at the indiscriminate slaughter of as many of the ordinary, multiethnic working-class people as possible. It is unlikely you would find the remotest representative of the upper classes of this country on the London Underground or buses. Moreover, two of the bombings were in heavily Muslim areas. So whoever perpetrated these attacks, the message can only be that Muslims should go back to their “own” countries.

In Britain Islamic fundamentalism has grown, nurtured by international factors as well as the prevalence of Islamophobia and economic decline. In 2001, Asian youth in Oldham, Bradford and Leeds had to fight pitched battles to defend their homes from fascists who, backed by the police, laid siege to neighbourhoods. In these former textile towns, the factories once provided a degree of racial integration, but economic decline and factory closures has increased the polarisation between rich and poor and led to a level of racial segregation which has been compared to the American South before the civil rights movement.

For the imperialist rulers “Islamic terrorism” has become the surrogate for the war against “Godless communism,” the new enemy against which they seek to rally the population in support of imperialist terror abroad and increased state repression at home. Our purpose is to fight to infuse the working class with the consciousness that it has the class interests and the social power to eradicate the system of capitalist imperialism. The 1984-85 British miners strike, among whose most stalwart supporters were blacks and Asians, gave a palpable sense of how class struggle can unite all of the oppressed behind the power of the proletariat. We seek to forge a multiethnic revolutionary workers party which can take this power forward to victory through proletarian socialist revolution which alone can lay the material basis for ending racism, oppression, exploitation and war. ■

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**Soviet forces at Kabul airport, December 1979. Trotskyists hailed Red Army intervention in Afghanistan against Islamic reactionaries backed by U.S. and British imperialism.**

liament] like Alice Mahon who opposes Blair’s invasion of Iraq, from the standpoint that it is not in the best interests of British imperialism at present, while arguing that it’s a diversion from the “war on terror” at home.

As Marxists we oppose terrorism as a strategy, even when it derives from real, if misguided, anti-imperialist impulses and targets genuine institutions of state repression—which the London bombing

will begin to drain the swamp of bitterness that nurtures terrorism,” adding that “the majority of people in the US have turned against Bush’s war—we must intensify the pressure on the British government to break from him as well.”

It is ludicrous to suggest that Britain can somehow “opt out” of the world system of imperialism, short of workers revolution and the establishment of a workers state that expropriates the capi-

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# AFL-CIO...

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system and are tied to the capitalist state. This is exemplified by the fact that one of the most unionized workforces in the U.S. today is one that does not belong in the labor movement—cops. Both the Teamsters and SEIU as well as AFSCME in the AFL-CIO have made a point of organizing cops, as well as prison and security guards. These forces are not part of the labor movement; it is the job of the police—with security guards as their auxiliaries—to defend the interests of the capitalists over the workers, including through strikebreaking violence. The cops and prison guards, along with the courts, are part of the same capitalist state that is today threatening to take over the International Longshoremen’s Association through a federal civil racketeering suit against “union corruption,” which, if successful, would seriously weaken the union. By organizing such forces, the union tops are committing class treason, taking a stand for more “law and order,” more jails and more racist repression. Cops, prison and security guards out of the unions!

Stressing as primary the call for “complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state,” Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky noted in “Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay”:

“The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.”

The trade unions are mass organizations to defend the economic interests of the working class against the capitalists and their state. To consistently carry out that role, they must be independent of the capitalists and their state. The labor tops promote collaboration and class peace with the capitalists. But the class struggle also has its own logic, and struggles that the labor misleaders may want to rein in could just as well erupt—through the workers’ determination and militancy—into something that the bureaucrats can no longer control. A new leadership in the labor movement must be forged through class struggle, a leadership that begins with the understanding that the interests of labor and capital are irreconcilably counterposed.

The working class needs its own party, not the sham “independence” of tacking between the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties, but a party that will mobilize all of the oppressed behind the social power of the working class. It needs a revolutionary workers party that fights for a workers government and the abolition of the system of capitalist exploitation.

The backdrop to the AFL-CIO split is the sharp decline in union membership in the U.S. and corresponding declines in union economic and political power. Union membership rose to a high-water mark of 35 percent in 1953 when there were few government, white collar or service unions. Today, union membership accounts for about 13 percent of the workforce, but even that figure masks an underlying shift—a great decline in manufacturing workers and a shift to government, white-collar and service industries unions. From the 1970s on, manufacturing jobs started to move from the Midwest (once the industrial center of the U.S.) to the South and offshore—to places such as Mexico, Asia and, most lately and massively, China.

The decline of the organized labor movement goes hand in hand with the increasing immiseration of the workers and further curtailment of labor rights. The smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981, conceived by Democrat Jimmy Carter and implemented by Ronald Reagan, was the model for what the bourgeoisie had in store for the

labor movement. In turn, the supine surrender of the labor tops to Reagan’s busting of PATCO has become a sad model for union response to the capitalists’ drive to gut the labor movement.

With the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, the American ruling class was emboldened to drive back social gains which had been won through decades of social struggle by workers and all the oppressed. Now, with George W. Bush occupying the White House, the smug, complacent and brittle union bureaucracy has realized that



UAW  
**Detroit auto sit-down strike of 1937: Industrial trade unions were built through militant class struggle, including factory occupations.**

it has a problem. The decline in membership and dues combined with waning influence in an increasingly weak Democratic Party is driving both wings of the labor bureaucracy to “reform.”

Unions still provide their members considerable benefits compared to non-unionized workers. That is why the capitalists spend around \$1 billion per year to fight unionization. The union-busters have been very successful. Strikes have been few, victories fewer. In 1974 there were 424 major strikes; last year there were 17. The wages, pensions, benefits and jobs of unionized workers have been under attack by employers who receive the full backing of the courts and government. Yet the union tops have done next to nothing to defend their members.

One does not have to be a Marxist to see how remote the AFL-CIO convention was from the needs and concerns of most union members, who were likely not even aware of the gathering or impending split until they were informed by the union-hating capitalist press. Far from reflecting a union membership that is at least 42 percent women, 15 percent black and 11 percent Latino, the roughly 900 delegates, representing millions of members, were overwhelmingly white and male.

The decline in manufacturing has particularly impacted black jobs, especially in industrial centers like Detroit, Chicago and Flint. More than 50 percent of union jobs lost in 2004 had been held by black workers. In one of the most ambitious organizing drives currently targeting the South, Stern’s SEIU recently announced a campaign to unionize the 8,000 janitors in the Houston operations of ABM, the nation’s largest cleaning contractor. Unionizing the notoriously anti-union South poses the need for the labor movement to wage a determined fight against the deep racial oppression and pervasive anti-black racism that exist in this country. Yet the union tops have largely disdained the kind of labor battles it will take to organize the viciously racist, “right to work” South. The failure of the AFL-CIO to organize the South has meant that fanatically anti-union corporations like Arkansas-based Wal-Mart, the world’s largest retailer, are now driving down wages and living standards throughout the country.

Organizing Wal-Mart, the largest private employer in both the U.S. and Mexico, will also require the active defense of immigrant rights. Immigrant workers, often bringing with them traditions of militant labor struggle from their countries of origin, have played an important role in helping to revitalize the U.S. labor movement. Yet by and large the labor tops have signed on to the bosses’ anti-immigrant “war on terror”—a war on the democratic rights of the American populace whose ultimate target is black people and the labor movement itself.

How can the unions fight for immigrant rights when their leaders promote protectionist poison, which amounts to blaming the loss of jobs in the U.S. on workers abroad rather than the American capitalists? While most of the Change to Win union leaders are in service industries, where many of the workers are black or immigrant and where the pressures toward protectionism are not so strong, they stand shoulder to shoulder with the Teamsters’ Hoffa, who has sought to keep Mexican truckers off the roads in the U.S., appealing to gross national chauvinism. Meanwhile, as the first day of the AFL-CIO convention ended, the union leaders handed out signs denouncing CAFTA, the equivalent of the NAFTA “free trade” rape of Mexico for Central America and the Dominican Republic, which was then awaiting a vote in the U.S. Congress. But despite occasional rhetoric about “global justice,” the union tops’ opposition to CAFTA is not based on international solidarity but protectionism and chauvinism.

Sweeney came to office in 1995 promising to turn things around through a massive organizing effort. Yet the unions continued to decline. Ten years later, Stern is now claiming that the split by the Change to Win Coalition is “a dramatic step that we hope will open up opportunities similar to the surge in worker unity and organization when the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was created in the 1930s” (*Los Angeles Times*, 26 July). This is simply cynical. The struggles to organize the mass industrial unions of the CIO were born out of the three citywide general strikes of 1934 (Minneapolis, San Francisco and Toledo)—all led by “reds”—and were built through militant class-struggle tactics like the sit-down strike. The right to organize was not won by lobbying Washington, but through pitched battles with scabs, cops and National Guard troops. But the reformists, the social democrats and the Stalinized Communist Party channeled the turbulent class battles of the ’30s into support for Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Democratic Party and its “New Deal” coalition (which included the die-hard Dixiecrat segregationists of the Deep South). The current impasse of labor goes back to that betrayal and the McCarthyite purge of reds and other militants from the

unions beginning in the late 1940s.

One of Stern’s organizational gimmicks is to merge most of the AFL-CIO’s unions into about 15 “mega unions.” This has nothing to do with industrial unionism, the principle that workers in an industry should be organized into a single union regardless of their particular skill or craft. A case in point is last year’s merger of UNITE, representing apparel workers, with HERE, representing hotel and restaurant workers. When formerly UNITE laundry workers at the Wilshire Grand Hotel in Los Angeles were locked out last September, formerly HERE workers continued to work in that hotel, scabbing on their UNITE HERE union brothers and sisters.

Stern’s program is one of business unionism based on a model that the union is simply a service organization for workers, something like a welfare agency rooted in a mythical alliance between workers and their employers. Stern himself said that the unions “should be elastic and expandable to meet different employers’ needs. Unions created barriers to change as the world changed. We became a drag on change. Now the question is how do we become strong voices for workers. We need a new set of ideas that aren’t going back 70 years” (*Chicago Tribune*, 31 July).

What the workers need is a militant labor movement that can challenge the bosses’ continual assaults. The reality is that most of the unions on both sides of the split are “general unions,” like the Teamsters or Communication Workers, seeking to encompass groups of workers from various unrelated industries. The AFL-CIO still includes craft unions that are organized on the basis of a particular skill and are likewise inimical to industrial unionism. Change to Win has trumpeted the necessity for organizing in a union’s “core industry” in order to increase the power of the union. Yet the Teamsters organize everyone from printers to pharmacists while FedEx remains non-union. In Sweeney’s camp, the United Auto Workers have been busy organizing graduate students while tens of thousands of jobs in auto remain non-union.

Rather than striking for union recognition, the union tops push “neutrality” agreements with the employers, as though companies are going to stand by and let the unions organize without interference. Unions seeking recognition through “neutrality” agreements often forswear such fundamental rights as the right to strike, their most effective weapon against the employers. Rather than mobilizing in struggle, they petition the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to authorize an election while pro-union workers suffer harassment and firings. Both wings of the bureaucracy are busy lobbying for an “Employee Free Choice Act” to allow employees to get union recognition without employer interference. Each Democrat at the AFL-CIO convention solemnly pledged his support for this measure, which will pass the capitalist Congress just after hell freezes over.

To go forward, the trade unionists must break with any illusions in the Democratic Party as a “friend” of workers and be won to the understanding that a fight for their class interests requires complete independence from the bosses’ parties and the capitalist state. The labor movement must stand for international working-class solidarity, fight for black rights, women’s rights, full citizenship rights for immigrants. As we wrote in “Labor: Organize Wal-Mart!” (WV No. 851, 8 July):

“Working-class struggle must be consciously waged as an *international* fight. And it must be based on the understanding that the interests of labor and capital can never be reconciled. The only way to guarantee good living conditions for everyone, jobs for all and an end to capitalist exploitation and racist oppression is through the expropriation of the capitalist class through socialist revolution. As Trotskyist internationalists, our watchword is not the deadly dangerous trap of ‘defending American jobs’ against foreign competition, but the words which Marx and Engels inscribed on their banner: ‘Workers of the world, unite!’” ■

# WORKERS VANGUARD



AP

Both sides in AFL-CIO split tie labor movement to capitalist politicians. Left: AFL-CIO president John Sweeney with Ted Kennedy. Right: SEIU head Andrew Stern with John Kerry.

## AFL-CIO Split: Sellouts Fall Out



Randy Santos

# No Support to Capitalist Parties! For a Fighting Labor Movement!

CHICAGO—One day prior to the AFL-CIO's convention in Chicago, four of the country's largest unions announced a boycott of the proceedings. The following day, July 25, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) with 1.8 million members and the Teamsters with 1.4 million members disaffiliated from the AFL-CIO; four days later, the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW), which has 1.3 million members, followed suit. The three breakaways have reduced the AFL-CIO membership by more than one-third. It appears that other unions—UNITE HERE, the United Farm Workers and the Laborers' Union—all belonging to the Change to Win Coalition led by SEIU head Andrew Stern may also break with the federation. AFL-CIO president John Sweeney retaliated by declaring that AFL-CIO state federations

and central labor councils were prohibited from working with union locals and councils belonging to the dissident coalition.

The stated reason for the split by Stern & Co. is the continuing decline of union membership in the U.S. But neither wing of the labor bureaucracy is capable of turning the labor movement around. On the one hand, Sweeney says the unions need to spend more to elect "labor friendly" Democrats. Thus, the AFL-CIO convention featured an endless lineup of Democratic Party politicians from Senators Dick Durbin and Barack Obama to John Edwards, Nancy Pelosi, Harry Reid and Ted Kennedy—and that was just the first day!

On the other hand, Stern calls for spending more on organizing efforts in order to increase the political clout of labor with the capitalist politicians,

including Republicans as demonstrated by the fact that his allies include Doug McCarron, the pro-Bush president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. SEIU gave \$65 million to the Democrats' 2004 presidential election efforts and \$500,000 to the Republican Governors Association in the last election. Teamsters head James Hoffa Jr. told the *New York Times* (24 July): "We lost the election between Kerry and Bush because we didn't have enough members. We delivered the union vote very well, but we just didn't have enough members in the unions." Democratic National Committee chairman Howard Dean agreed: "If they get more people organized, that's more votes for us" (*New York Times*, 24 July).

The basic strategy of all wings of the labor bureaucracy is not class struggle, but to put pressure on the capitalist gov-

ernment, the executive committee of the ruling class, for concessions. The AFL-CIO split is an intra-bureaucratic squabble between Sweeney and Stern over tactics of class collaboration. It does not serve to advance the interests of the U.S. working class.

Everything of value that the workers movement has won has been achieved by mobilizing labor in class struggle, on the picket lines and in plant occupations, in defiance of the bosses' laws. There is a crying need to organize the millions of unorganized workers in this country. In fact, organizing the anti-union giant Wal-Mart symbolizes the tasks facing the American labor movement today. But neither side in the split proposes the all-out struggle necessary to organize Wal-Mart.

Both wings support the capitalist profit

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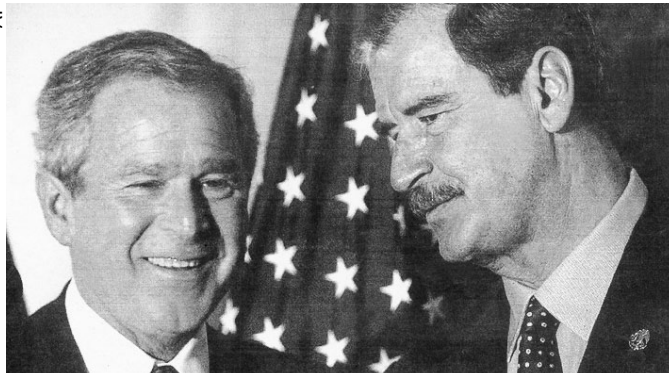
## Fox Endorses *Memín Pinguín*, Disgusting Racist Stereotype

# Down With Anti-Black Racism! For Joint Class Struggle in Mexico and the U.S.!

We print below a translation of a leaflet issued by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, Mexican section of the International Communist League, on July 15.

After Fox's racist statement in May that "not even blacks" want to do the work done by Mexican immigrants in the U.S., on June 28 the government decided, as an example of "Mexican popular culture," to dedicate an official postage stamp to *Memín Pinguín*, a comic strip which has *grotesquely racist* illustrations against blacks, who are portrayed as sub-human creatures with crazed, ape-like features. This horrendous, stereotyped drawing comes directly from the epoch of slavery, which survived in the American South until 1865, when justification was sought for the brutal institution by portraying blacks as beings content with the state of things, and/or savages incapable of living in freedom. This stereotype con-

U.S. president George W. Bush with Mexican president Vicente Fox.



tinued to exist during the 20th century, especially under the brutal system of racial segregation (called "Jim Crow"), which dominated the American South. The Mexican *Memín* character is nothing other than an ignorant, lazy buffoon lacking self-respect. Today in the U.S., anyone who used that image of black people

openly would be considered a likely supporter of the Ku Klux Klan. In Mexico, the authors of *Memín Pinguín* copied the same image, as well as that of *Memín's* mother—known in the U.S. as "Mammy," a docile house slave—and its spirit of condescending paternalism (reflected here also in the constant use of

the diminutive "*negrito*").

Scandalously, the disgusting caricature has found support among many personalities of the "progressive" Mexican intellectual milieu (from the cartoonists of *La Jornada* to the writer Elena Poniatowska), who rushed to defend the indefensible *Memín Pinguín* as a matter of patriotic honor, resorting to completely paternalistic (and racist) apologies for the cartoon's "charming *negrito*." The attitude of these cartoon "progressives" is the reflection of a society in which racist stereotypes are viewed as something natural and are recurrent in the Mexican press, TV and movies. After all, in the territory that today makes up Mexico there were also three centuries of slavery, with their corresponding racist ideological justifications, which necessarily left a mark on society's dominant mentality. Thus,

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