

Germany: For Mass Working-Class Protest Against State Repression!

The following statement was issued by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

BERLIN, June 3—The Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands strongly condemns the brutal police attacks on the leftist demonstrators who protested against the robbers of the imperialist G8 [Group of 8] yesterday. This brutal

police terror was foreshadowed three weeks ago with nationwide raids against leftist opponents of the G8. Five thousand cops along with more than a dozen water cannons and armored vehicles were mobilized in Rostock to intimidate and terrorize the leftist demonstrators. Many

hundreds of demonstrators (officially over 500) were injured, some so badly that they had to be admitted to the hospital. The cops particularly targeted the leftist Autonomes of the “Black Block” and immigrant organizations. Well over 100 were arrested and are threatened

with charges. They are talking about summary trials. We say: **Down with police terror against anti-G8 demonstrators! Free all those arrested! Drop all charges!**

We are outraged that the reformist and liberal organizers of the anti-G8 demonstration are denouncing the *victims* of the police attack! Thus, Manfred Stenner (Netzwerk Friedenskooperative *continued on page 13*

**Down With Police Terror Against Anti-G8 Demonstrators!
Down With the Witchhunt Against the “Black Block”!**

Public Services Strike Shakes South Africa

June 4—In one of the biggest strikes in South African history, at least 700,000 hospital workers, teachers and other workers in 17 public service unions went out on June 1. Led by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), strikers are fighting for a desperately needed 12 percent raise in wages and improvements in medical and other benefits. Most schools were shut down, particularly in the townships, and picket lines went up at the largest hospitals in the country, from Durban to Johannesburg to Cape Town. Workers rallied in every major city, with 10,000 marching through downtown Johannesburg, shutting down the city center. Victory to the public workers strike!

The strike is just one indicator of the broad anger among the impoverished South African masses. For the past several years, waves of protests have swept South Africa’s townships and shantytowns protesting lack of water, electricity and decent housing. Unemployment stands at a staggering 40 percent, at least. School classes in rural areas are still held under trees. With more than 10 percent of the population infected with HIV, Minister of Health Tshabalala-Msimang still offers garlic, lemon and beetroot as treatment options while hospital workers struggle every day in vastly understaffed public hospitals and clinics, fetid hellholes for patients and staff alike. It is no surprise that on the first day of the strike, patients at Johannesburg General Hospital who were waiting hours to see doctors expressed support for the strikers.

President Thabo Mbeki of the African National Congress (ANC) and the capitalists he serves crow that the South African economy is “booming.” Thirteen years after the election of the bourgeois-nationalist ANC and the end of the hated apartheid system, the fundamental basis



AFP

June 1: Thousands take to streets of Johannesburg on first day of COSATU public workers strike.

Workers Fight Neo-Apartheid Misery

of South African capitalism is still the superexploitation of black labor by the white capitalist class and its senior partners in the City of London and Wall Street. The white bourgeois rulers have subcontracted out the task of administering neo-apartheid capitalism to the nationalist ANC-led government—the popular-front Tripartite Alliance that includes the South African Communist Party (SACP) and COSATU.

While a thin layer of black businessmen and politicians reaps the rewards, the conditions of the working class, rural toilers and township and shantytown masses

continue to be miserable. As key components of the ANC-led regime, the leadership of the COSATU federation, whose unions are striking against government-enforced austerity, provides the labor face for bourgeois rule.

As the public service strike began, cops fired stun grenades at strikers picketing Tygerberg Hospital in Cape Town. Today, police in Durban fired rubber bullets to disperse a crowd of striking nurses, arresting 20. According to the National Education Health & Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU), the cops in Cape Town threw tear gas into the crowd, injuring workers,

including one who had to be hospitalized in intensive care. COSATU spokesman Patrick Craven issued a June 1 press release condemning the cop attacks that stated: “It is all the more shocking that the attacks were allegedly perpetrated by police officers whose unions are fully involved in the strike.”

There should be no “shock.” The cops were merely doing their dirty job for the bosses. It runs directly against the interests of the working class that the COSATU union federation includes the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU), *continued on page 14*



Death on the Tracks: Toronto

May 28, 2007

Dear WV,

I am writing in solidarity with the article in WV 892 “NY Transit: Murder by Speedup.” On April 23, one day before NYC Transit worker Daniel Boggs was killed on the tracks, Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) maintenance worker Anthony (Tony) Almeida died. He was crushed to death when scaffolding on a flatbed car caught on a cable dangling from a tunnel wall and careened on top of the subway work car Almeida was operating. An eleven-member maintenance crew had just finished its shift removing asbestos in an underground

tunnel. This job is known as one of the most dangerous at TTC. Two other workers were treated for severe but non-life threatening injuries as well.

Tony, 38 years old, had worked for TTC for the past five years. He was known by his co-workers as a model employee and leaves behind his wife and two children—an eight-year-old son and a five-year-old daughter. About 1,000 family, friends and co-workers gathered at his funeral to pay tribute. Hundreds of TTC workers walked out of the Hillcrest maintenance complex, lining both sides of the street for several city blocks as the funeral procession passed by.

With vastly insufficient government funding and increased cutbacks, the number of TTC workers injured on the job has jumped significantly in the past four years. In February of 2006, a carbon-monoxide poisoning incident in a tunnel made eight workers and four firefighters seriously ill and served as one of the sparks for the wildcat strike in May of last year.

Like in NYC, Toronto Transit bosses are blaming the victims. Hypocritically talking about a “culture of safety,” the TTC plans to hire an external company to assist in a total overhaul of the TTC’s “safety programs.” But it is the bosses’ speedups and cuts that have created these unsafe conditions. At least two maintenance crews have refused to work since Almeida’s death, citing safety issues.

Grotesquely, one of the companies expected to bid on the safety contract is DuPont, the number one producer of toxic dioxins in the U.S. To cover

its crimes, it has a division that specializes in “safety.” DuPont’s program blames the worker for on-the-job hazards and its goal of zero accidents encourages a system of non-reporting (i.e., covering up). The United Steel Workers (USW)—which represents 1,800 workers at six DuPont facilities—has protested unsafe conditions and brought to light DuPont’s failure to report industrial accidents. In contrast, the USW research has shown that multiple root causes related to hazards and unsafe conditions, not unsafe behavior by workers, cause accidents.

It is only through the mobilization of union power that safety can be enforced on the job. Local 113 of the Amalgamated Transit Union, representing over 8,000 transit workers in Toronto, gave a taste of their social power when they defied their contract and walked out on strike last year. This is why labour needs a leadership based on class struggle, not the sell-outs who work with the bosses and capitalist politicians to sow class peace.

Yours in Struggle,
A Toronto transit worker



TROTSKY

Trotskyist Opposition to World War II

Writing shortly after U.S. imperialism’s entry into World War II following the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, James P. Cannon, leader of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, issued a 22 December 1941 statement, which we excerpt below.

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....

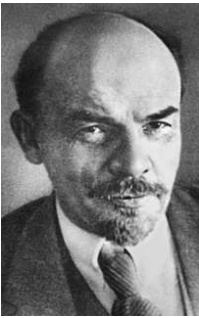
This characterization of the war does not apply to the war of the Soviet Union against German imperialism. We make a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and its “democratic” allies. We defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers’ state, although degenerated under the totalitarian-political 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 the nationalized property established by the October revolution. That is a *progressive war*....

We are the most irreconcilable enemies of the fascist dictatorships of Germany and Italy and the military dictatorship of Japan. Our co-thinkers of the Fourth International in the Axis nations and the conquered countries are fighting and dying in the struggle to organize the coming revolutions against Hitler and Mussolini.

We are doing all in our power to speed those revolutions. But those ex-socialists, intellectuals and labor leaders, who in the name of “democracy” support the war of United States imperialism against its imperialist foes and rivals, far from aiding the German and Italian anti-fascists, only hamper their work and betray their struggle. The Allied imperialists, as every German worker knows, aim to impose a second and worse Versailles; the fear of that is Hitler’s greatest asset in keeping the masses of Germany in subjection. The fear of the foreign yoke holds back the development of the German revolution against Hitler....

Our aim is to convince the majority that our program is the only one which can put an end to war, fascism and economic convulsions. In this process of education the terrible facts speak loudly for our contention. Twice in twenty-five years world wars have wrought destruction. The instigators and leaders of those wars do not offer, and cannot offer, a plausible promise that a third, fourth and fifth world war will not follow if they and their social system remain dominant. Capitalism can offer no prospect but the slaughter of millions and the destruction of civilization. Only socialism can save humanity from this abyss.

—James P. Cannon, “A Statement on the War,” *Fourth International*, January 1942



LENIN



Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Britain

Defend Róisín McAliskey!

An Phoblacht



**May 24:
Róisín McAliskey
(far right) leaving
courthouse
with her mother,
Bernadette
Devlin McAliskey,
and sister.**

The following protest letter, addressed to British Labour government Home Secretary John Reid, was issued by the Partisan Defence Committee in Britain on May 26.

We are writing to protest the outrageous arrest on 21 May of Róisín McAliskey, on the basis of a European arrest warrant, which has all the signs of a frame-up, for alleged involvement in the 1996 IRA mortar attack on a British Army base at Osnabrück in Germany. The German prosecutors have revived their demand, first raised in 1996, for her extradition “for attempted murder in conjunction with the initiation of explosives,” according to their lawyer Stephen Ritchie (*Irish Times*, 22 May) although no-one was even injured at Osnabrück.

Pregnant and ill, McAliskey was dragged through the British prison system and brutally treated in both Holloway and Belmarsh prisons during 1996-98, even though there never was a shred of evidence linking her to the Osnabrück events. In January 1998 then Home Secretary Jack Straw ruled that she was too ill to be extradited and in July 2000 the Crown Prosecution Service admitted there was not enough

evidence to justify trying her.

The McAliskey family have not only been targeted over the years by the British state as part of its continuing repression of the Catholic community in Northern Ireland but former MP [Member of Parliament] Bernadette McAliskey (Róisín’s mother) has also been the target of a murderous attack by Loyalist paramilitaries. As the *Irish Post* reported in 1996: “Many believe that the charges against Róisín McAliskey are a politically motivated bid to silence her mother’s criticism of the peace process” (14 December 1996).

The renewed persecution of Róisín McAliskey, a mother of two children, based on an eight-month-old arrest warrant, illustrates the brutal oppression of Catholics that is inherent in the Orange statelet, including under Tony Blair’s imperialist “peace process” that is premised on the British Army’s presence. It is indicative of the British system of capitalist *injustice* that it systematically colludes with Loyalist paramilitaries and frames up Irish people, as it does Muslims under the racist “war on terror.”

We demand: *No extradition of Róisín McAliskey! Drop the charges!* ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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8 June 2007

Again on Why China Is Not Capitalist

Dear Workers Vanguard

Responding to my letter arguing that China has become a capitalist state, you say that: “The 1949 Revolution smashed bourgeois rule in China, and that remains the case today. At some point, likely when bourgeois elements in and around the bureaucracy move to eliminate Communist Party (CCP) political power, the explosive social tensions of Chinese society will shatter the political structure of the ruling bureaucracy. And when that happens, the question will be starkly posed: either proletarian political revolution to open the road to socialism or a return to capitalist enslavement and imperialist subjugation”. (WV no. 890)

But why do you assume that “bourgeois elements” will need to “eliminate Communist Party political power”, rather than using the CCP to implement a policy of restoring capitalism? The CCP is the party of the bureaucracy: but the bureaucracy is not a reliable defender of the workers state.

Discussing the future of the Soviet Union, Trotsky wrote: “Let us assume—to take a third variant—that neither a revolutionary nor a counter-revolutionary party seizes power. The bureaucracy continues at the head of the state. Even under these conditions social relations will not jell.... [The bureaucracy] must inevitably in future stages seek supports for itself in property relations. One may argue that the big bureaucrat cares little what are the prevailing forms of property, provided only they guarantee him the necessary income. This argument ignores not only the instability of the bureaucrat’s own rights, but also the question of his descendants.... Privileges have only half their worth, if they cannot be transmitted to one’s children. But the right of testament is inseparable from the right of property. It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder. The victory of the bureaucracy in this decisive sphere would mean its conversion into a new possessing class”. (“The Revolution Betrayed”, Pathfinder Press 1972, page 253-4)

In China the transformation of the bureaucracy into “a new possessing class” is proceeding apace, despite the continued rule of the CCP.

You point out that state-owned enterprises remain dominant in certain strategic industrial sectors and in the banking sector. But historically it has not been unusual for a capitalist state to have a strong state-owned sector of the economy. The British Labor Party nationalised the coal mines and railways in the 1940s. Iraq’s Baath Party nationalised the oil industry.

Today, with the dominance of neoliberal ideology, the privatisation of formerly state-owned industries is occurring in nearly all capitalist countries. China too has been privatising rapidly. But it has so far refrained from privatising certain key sectors. The imperialists are not satisfied: they want more rapid and complete privatisation, and unfettered access to all areas of China’s economy.

This conflict may indicate that the Chinese regime wishes to maintain a certain degree of independence from imperialism, like past bourgeois-nationalist regimes such as those of Nasser, Saddam Hussein, etc, or like Iran today.

You point out that “during the incipient proletarian political revolution in China in 1989, the People’s Liberation Army initially refused to move against the workers of Beijing and the military leadership itself began to split, before new units were brought in to crush the rebellion. Such splits are hardly characteristic of the armed forces of capitalist class

rule. But they do reflect the contradictions inherent in a workers state under bureaucratic rule”.

I would argue that the crushing of the incipient political revolution in 1989 (and the ensuing purge of the state apparatus) prepared the way for the restoration of capitalism. By early 1992, less than three years after the Beijing massacre, Deng Xiaoping was urging the whole of China to imitate Guangdong province, where capitalist economic relations were the most highly developed.

You point out that the Chinese economy has been growing rapidly, unlike the former Soviet Union whose economy col-



Shenzhen, October 2004: Workers at Computime, a Hong Kong-mainland joint venture company, protest low wages, harsh working conditions.

lapsed after the restoration of capitalism. This rapid growth is partly due to the huge influx of foreign capital which has selected China as a key location for production of commodities for the world market, and partly because China still retains a strong state sector, and has not so far implemented the neoliberal model in full.

(Incidentally, I should correct an error in my original letter. I said that China had become “the world’s biggest recipient of foreign investment”. This should read “third biggest”. In 2005, the flow of foreign direct investment into China was \$US 72 billion, which was exceeded only by Britain and the United States, according to the OECD).

You argue that: “Should China succumb to counterrevolution, the results would be catastrophic”. The results have already been “catastrophic” for the millions of workers sacked from state-owned enterprises, and the millions being ruthlessly exploited in capitalist sweatshops. But it is true that things could get even worse if the neoliberal agenda is implemented in full.

Workers are fighting back against the attacks on their job security, living standards and working conditions. This is not only a deterrent to the full implementation of the neoliberal program; it indicates the potential for a new socialist revolution.

Chris Slee
Melbourne
Australia

WV replies: In replying to Chris Slee’s previous letter (WV No. 890, 13 April), we noted that he abuses revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky’s writings on the Stalinist bureaucracy in the former Soviet Union to prop up the anti-Marxist notion that capitalist rule has been restored in China through an accumulation of “market reforms” implemented by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime. Now Slee cites a passage in *The Revolution Betrayed* in which Trotsky discussed the inherent tendency of the Stalinist bureaucracy to generate capitalist-restorationist elements from within its own ranks. This, Slee writes, supports his assertion that “in China the transformation of the bureaucracy into ‘a new possessing class’ is proceeding apace, despite the continued rule

of the CCP.” Here, again, is a fundamental distortion.

We noted in our earlier reply that in *The Revolution Betrayed* and other works, “Trotsky explained that the Stalinist bureaucracy was a parasitic caste that simultaneously is dependent on the collectivized property forms of the workers state and acts as the transmitting mechanism for the pressures of imperialism in undermining the workers state.” Summing up the section from which Slee (selectively) quotes, Trotsky laid out what was historically posed in the Soviet Union: “on the road to capitalism the counterrevolution would have to break

the resistance of the workers”; “on the road to socialism the workers would have to overthrow the bureaucracy. In the last analysis, the question will be decided by a struggle of living social forces, both on the national and the world arena.”

There is no question that elements in the bureaucracy and especially among their offspring have enriched themselves through China’s economic “reforms.” But as was true in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, for the “right of testament” and the “right of property” to become dominant in China would require a *counterrevolution* that *destroys* the (bureaucratically deformed) workers state. Trotsky *categorically rejected* the notion that the Stalinist bureaucracy could transform itself into a capitalist class through the gradual privatization of the collectivized economy. As he wrote in “The Class Nature of the Soviet State” (October 1933):

“The Marxist thesis relating to the catastrophic character of the transfer of power from the hands of one class into the hands of another applies not only to revolutionary periods, when history sweeps madly ahead, but also to the periods of counterrevolution, when society rolls backwards. He who asserts that the Soviet government has been *gradually* changed from proletarian to bourgeois is only, so to speak, running backwards the film of reformism.” (emphasis in original)

Trotsky projected that the “inevitable collapse of Stalinist bonapartism” would pose directly and immediately the historical alternatives of proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution. And that is what *actually happened* first in East Europe and then the Soviet Union between 1989 and 1992. In every case, the restoration of capitalism required ousting the Stalinist governments and replacing them with imperialist-backed, anti-Communist regimes. The militaries were reconstituted, their officer corps purged of pro-socialist individuals; Boris Yeltsin banned the Communist Party; anti-Communist witchhunts raged through those societies (and still do). Contrary to Slee’s assertions, nothing remotely similar transpired in China following the brutal suppression of the 1989 Tiananmen protests. While that incipient political revolution was crushed, the working class was not smashed. In fact, the power it has shown in massive defensive struggles indicates the potential “to overthrow the bureaucracy” through proletarian political revolution.

Here we would note that Slee does not deign to mention his longtime affiliation with the Australian Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP), whose forerunners during Cold War II *enthusiastically supported* imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary forces in the former Soviet sphere, from Lech Walesa’s Solidarność in Poland to Boris Yeltsin’s “democrats” in Russia. It is simply cowardly for Slee to evade answering the polemics in our first reply against the DSP’s track record of support to capitalist counterrevolution.

These are not abstract historical disputes. The counterrevolutions that swept across the Soviet sphere following the collapse of Stalinist bonapartism were not historically inevitable. The fall of the “hardline” Stalinist regime of Erich Honecker in the German Democratic Republic (DDR) in October 1989 precipitated an *incipient proletarian political revolution*. At this critical moment in history, our international tendency mobilized all its available resources to intervene in the DDR in order to provide revolutionary leadership for the striving of East German workers for a genuinely socialist society.

Opposing the drive for reunification with the capitalist-imperialist West German state, we fought for the replacement of the disintegrating Stalinist regime in the DDR by a government based on democratically elected workers and soldiers councils. Such a workers government would have been a decisive step toward the revolutionary reunification of Germany, opening the road for proletarian

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Just Out in Chinese!

Chinese-Language Pamphlet No. 8

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**The Russian Revolution
and the Emancipation
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斯巴达克斯 SPARTACIST 2007年5月

托洛茨基主义关于中国“市场改革”的分析

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为无产阶级政治革命而斗争!

妇女革命 俄国革命与妇女解放

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Young Spartacus

We print below a translation of an April 23 leaflet issued by the Trotskyist Group of Greece, sympathizing section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Since May-June 2006 student protests have shaken Greek society. Big demonstrations have taken place all over Greece, and around 400 campuses were occupied by angry students. Thousands have marched in weekly demonstrations, and the university teachers union supported their students with strikes. After the Easter break, two more demonstrations took place in Athens and Thessaloniki. Students have been protesting a broad range of changes in higher education which would amount to the privatization of the universities and increased social discrimination. The aim of these changes is to deny working-class and plebeian youth the right to higher education. We, the Trotskyist Group of Greece, protest these attacks. *For free, quality education with decent living stipends for all!*

These “reforms” are a direct attack on the working class and poor who simply cannot afford to pay for their kids to get a proper education. According to the bourgeois newspaper *Eleftherotypia* (14 March), Greek households spent over 4.3 billion euros on education in 2006; this is equivalent to 2.2 percent of the gross national product. Almost every family pays for after-school lessons to help their children pass the university entrance exams. At the same time, the Greek state budget for education was just over 7 billion euros, equivalent to 3.5 percent of the GNP. “Free education” actually does not exist in Greek reality. With the decay of capitalism, there are increasingly fewer skilled jobs available, so the bourgeoisie sees less and less reason to spend money on higher education for working-class youth. Now the government obscenely plans to draft all youth into the army at age 18, keeping them out of the universities! We say: *Down with conscription! Not a penny, not a man for the bourgeois army!* However, so long as conscription exists, we also oppose any special privileges or exemptions, such as deferments, which are available mainly for petty-bourgeois students but not for working-class youth.

Attacks on Education and the Destruction of the “Welfare State”

The attacks on education in Greece are paralleled everywhere in Europe. They



Riot police attack March 8 student protest in Athens.

EPA

Trotskyists Say: Down With Government Attacks on Higher Education!

are accompanied by massive hikes in tuition, increased social discrimination and accelerated exclusion of working-class youth who have made it into the lower grades of university education, as well as the closure of departments teaching subjects which offer no increase in profits for the bourgeoisie. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union 15 years ago, the bourgeoisies of Europe consider that the costly concessions previously granted to the working class and oppressed, including in education, are no longer necessary to placate the working class and dissuade it from fighting to overthrow capitalist rule. Everywhere, the capitalist rulers have been slashing pension rights, health care, unemployment benefits. The so-called “welfare state” was a response to the threat to the bourgeoisie posed by the

existence of the Soviet Union, which inspired class-conscious workers who saw in it a viable alternative to capitalist exploitation and misery.

Just as we fought to defend the Soviet Union against capitalist counterrevolution, we fight tooth and nail to defend the gains of the working class that are on the chopping block today. But our program is not to return to the status quo ante of the “welfare state.” Our program is to fight for new October Revolutions! The capitalist system in its death agony is simply incapable of providing a decent education, a decent living and a decent future for mankind. It must be overthrown. Only the working class has the social power and historic interest to accomplish this because, through its labor, it creates the profits that are the motor force of the capitalist system. We fight to build the revolutionary, internationalist workers party, like Lenin’s Bolshevik Party, that the workers need to carry out a successful proletarian revolution. *For a workers republic of Greece as part of a socialist federation of the Balkans! For the Socialist United States of Europe! Down with the capitalist European Union!*

The government’s “reform” package includes a draft law and a proposed change to Article 16 of the Constitution, which stipulates the public character of higher education. The conservative New Democracy government, led by Kostas Karamanlis, aims to change this clause. It intends to turn universities into privately sponsored, competing institutions, limiting the number of study years [to complete a degree] and restricting government funding.

The Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), a bourgeois party that from its birth in 1974 has been fully committed

to defending the capitalist order in Greece, initially supported the change to the Constitution as well as the other attacks on higher education. As a result of the massive student and teacher mobilizations over the past year, PASOK has momentarily changed tack and abstained from the vote in parliament. However, PASOK is just as committed as New Democracy to streamlining public education to the detriment of the working class. The EU’s “Bologna process,” which coordinates attacks on higher education at the European level, was initiated at the end of the 1990s when all the major European countries were governed by social democrats—and the supposedly “left-wing” bourgeois PASOK governed in Greece.

The universities are capitalist institutions. As the Russian revolutionaries Bukharin and Preobrazhensky wrote in *The ABC of Communism*:

“In bourgeois society the school has three principal tasks to fulfill. First, it inspires the coming generation of workers with devotion and respect for the capitalist regime. Secondly, it creates from the young of the ruling classes ‘cultured’ controllers of the working population. Thirdly, it assists capitalist production in the application of sciences to technique, thus increasing capitalist profits.”

And also:

“Similarly, the capitalist State maintains specialists to stupefy and subdue the proletariat; it maintains bourgeois teachers and professors, the clergy, bourgeois authors and journalists. In the State schools these specialists teach children from their earliest years to obey capital and to despise and hate ‘rebels.’... In the churches, the priests, who are salaried by the State, preach that all authority comes from God.”

And the Greek priests do this in schools, as in tsarist Russia. The current Article 16 of the Greek Constitution further stipulates:

“Education constitutes a basic mission for the state and shall aim at the moral, intellectual, professional and physical training of *Greeks*, the development of *national and religious consciousness*, and at their formation as free and responsible citizens.” (emphasis added)

—Greek Constitution, point 2 of Article 16

For the separation of church and state! Priests out of the universities! Close the theology departments! For free, scientific and secular education!

Capitalist exploitation entails oppressing and dividing the working class along ethnic and religious lines. The same state oppresses women, youth, gays, national minorities, immigrants and others. The working class in Greece today is multi-ethnic. There are workers from many nationalities, including a strong component of Albanian workers particularly in the building trades. As elsewhere in the world, the bourgeoisie uses racism to divide the working class and weaken it in the face of capitalist attacks. We fight to organize the unorganized, including immigrant and minority workers, into the unions. We put forward a program for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their children*. This would include bilingual education as appropriate.

For the Class Independence of the Proletariat Against the Bourgeoisie! Down With the “Popular Front”!

The struggles over education in Greece started a year ago, in part inspired by the victory of French students that forced the Chirac government to back down on its CPE (First Employment Contract) scheme to generalize job insecurity for all



Athens Indymedia

Workers demonstration in Athens during general strike in May 2005.

SYC Campus Protests Demand: Free Mumia Now!

Los Angeles

On May 17, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in the case of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, the object of a vicious racist frame-up. The day before, the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club held a speakout at UCLA under the slogans: “Mumia’s Life Is in Danger—Mobilize Now! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Mumia Is an Innocent Man!” The speakout coincided with Black Wednesday, a weekly gathering of black students in response to the drastic decline in black enrollment at University of California campuses that was caused by skyrocketing tuition costs and the gutting of affirmative action. We drew attention from these black students, and other students stopped to hear about Mumia’s case.

Our speakers described Mumia’s history as a lifelong fighter against racial oppression, which is the background for his political frame-up by the cops and courts. We explained that the cops and courts are part of the bourgeois state, an instrument for the violent repression of the working class and the oppressed. The SYC emphasized the need to forge a revolutionary workers party, independent of the Democrats and all capitalist parties, that would fight for black liberation through socialist revolution. Students got a sense of why Mumia was known as “the voice of the voiceless” when we played the recorded greetings Mumia sent to the 2005 rallies that the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Leagues initiated in his defense and in defense of Lynne Stewart and Assata Shakur.

A representative of the African Student Union addressed the speakout, saying, “We stand in solidarity with the Partisan Defense Committee to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. It is critical that we look at political struggles and we understand that there are still political prisoners in this country.” A supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) also spoke. Although the RCYB spokesman said, “We can’t let the system kill this brother,” the RCYB and its affiliate, the Revolutionary Communist Party, have actually helped to demobilize what was once a powerful international movement.

The Partisan Defense Committee’s speaker, Valerie West, explained: “In January 1999 representatives of various reformist groups, including Workers World Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party’s Refuse & Resist...along with the International [Concerned] Family and Friends of Mumia and others, joined to reject the call to free Mumia and to oppose the racist death penalty in favor of calling for a new trial.” This was done as an appeal to bourgeois liberals who view Mumia’s case as an aberration in an otherwise “fair and impartial” justice system. It meant rejecting the reason so many were drawn to Mumia’s case—revulsion against the injustices inherent in capitalism: poverty, racial oppression, war.

West further explained that the mountains of evidence of Mumia’s innocence make clear “that Mumia was the victim not of a rogue cop, not a bad prosecutor or a racist judge, but of an entire so-called ‘justice system’ in which the cops, prosecutors and courts act to uphold the class interests of the capitalist rulers.” The SYC seeks to mobilize students behind the social power of labor to fight to free Mumia as part of the fight to get rid of this racist capitalist system.

Chicago

On May 3, the Chicago SYC organized a speakout on the Main Quad of the University of Chicago demanding, “Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!” Chants including “Labor has the power to make the courts bow! Mumia is innocent—Free him now!” and “Execution is the legacy of chattel slavery—Abolish the racist death penalty!” drew students and campus workers to find out more about the case. The MC encouraged all those outraged by Mumia’s frame-up to join the campaign: “Mumia is

an innocent man, and every hour he sits in jail is an outrage.... We look to the power of the working class to bring its fist down on the capitalist court benches and demand his freedom.”



Peach Indravudh/Daily Bruin



Young Spartacus

SYC-initiated speakouts: May 16 at UCLA (top) and May 3 at University of Chicago.

youth. The lessons of that struggle are particularly important to understand. Students can spark broader social struggles, but by themselves they don’t have much social power. The French students won because the working class—including rail workers, energy workers and even contingents from private industry—struck and took to the streets in increasing numbers and determination. The mobilizations vividly showed the social power of the proletariat. [See “France: Workers, Students Beat Back Government Attack,” WV No. 868, 14 April 2006.]

However, the victory in France was squandered by the union bureaucrats who, as soon as the CPE was dropped, immediately ordered the workers to abandon the protests and strikes. This was despite the fact that the other clauses of the same law that included the CPE—clauses that intensify the racist segregation of youth from

the *banlieues* [suburban ghettos]—were maintained. The aim of the union bureaucrats and reformist parties was to channel the struggle against the CPE toward promoting a new popular front in the current French elections. A popular front is a capitalist alliance between capitalist parties and reformist parties of the working class—what we call bourgeois workers parties, such as the Greek Communist Party (KKE). We are for the independence of the working class from its class enemy, the bourgeoisie. We unconditionally oppose any support to any popular front. Now [the French Socialist Party’s] Ségolène Royal, the chief candidate of the popular front, is proposing, among other attacks, the “CPC,” which is a watered-down version of the CPE!

In Greece, too, the popular front has been the vehicle through which the KKE has tied the working class to its “own”

bourgeoisie, whether with the Venizelists in the 1930s, when the popular front paved the way for the Metaxas coup; or in 1989-90 with the “great coalitions” between the KKE and the bourgeois parties, New Democracy and PASOK; or in recent years through the KKE alliance with the Democratic Social Movement (DIKKY), a nationalist split from PASOK. Leon Trotsky aptly described the popular-front policy of the treacherous workers parties as the biggest crime against the working class.

In Greece the little social-democratic tails of PASOK that have been active in the student movement (SEK—affiliates of the SWP [British Socialist Workers Party], Xekinima—affiliates of the CWI [Committee for a Workers’ International] and others) have been agitating for a general strike. They complain that unlike in France, the unions have barely lifted a finger to defend the students when the right of working-class youth to a decent education is at stake. The leadership of the trade unions is based on a relatively privileged layer of Greek workers. They get a few crumbs thrown to them by the bourgeoisie. Based on this, they spread the illusion that workers have common interests with their “own” capitalists and thus should join them in partnership against foreign competitors.

Thus the union bureaucrats in Greece mostly support PASOK or the KKE, *both of which initially opposed the students’ mobilizations*. While the General Federation of Greek Workers (GSEE), the All-Workers Fighting Front (PAME [affiliated with the KKE]) and the Highest Administration of Unions of Public Servants (ADEDY) did participate in some mobilizations, they didn’t mobilize the

organized working class in defense of the students’ struggle. At bottom, the union leadership shares the view of the bourgeoisie that Greek universities must be “modernized.” GSEE even applied to open its own private university as soon as privatization goes into effect!

Down With Police Repression Against Student Demonstrators!

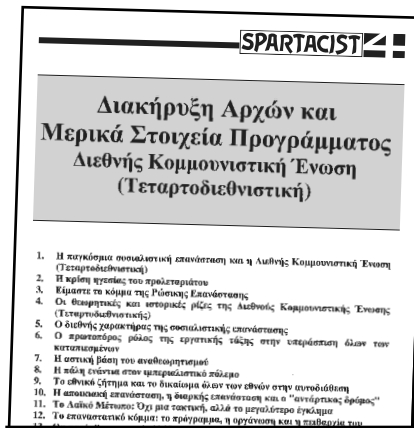
The most recent wave of student demonstrations has faced the most vicious cop *continued on page 9*



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Tank patrols Athens street following crushing of 17 November 1973 student uprising at Polytechnic School.

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German Trotskyists on World War II

GERMAN IMPERIALISM AND THE LIE OF “COLLECTIVE GUILT”

This part concludes this article, which was translated from Spartakist No. 163 (Summer 2006), published by our comrades of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands. Part One appeared in WV No. 893 (25 May).

PART TWO

The Trotskyists put up resistance under Nazi occupation during World War II (see *Prometheus Research Series* No. 2, “Documents on the ‘Proletarian Military Policy’,” February 1989). There are a few examples of resistance in Oskar Hippe’s book [*And Red Is the Colour of Our Flag*]. Political questions arose in this context and frequently caused problems for the Trotskyists. Some capitulated politically to the bourgeois national resistance, others broke with the Trotskyist program in the opposite direction by denying that any aspect of the national question existed in Nazi-occupied Europe. Others, like the Dutch Trotskyists of the Committee of Revolutionary Marxists (CRM), avoided these mistakes, and their struggle is exemplary.

The CRM recognized that there was an aspect of national oppression but firmly and correctly rejected any political cooperation with the organizations that wanted an Allied victory. They explained that the task of the proletariat in an occupied country is to struggle, together with the proletariat of the oppressor country, against every kind of social and national oppression and for the right of national self-determination. The CRM condemned the politics of the CPN (Communist Party of the Netherlands) as nationalist:

“They carry the basest nationalist propaganda and try to pretend that their infamous traitorous policy is ‘Leninist.’ These shameless agents of Allied imperialism carry on a propaganda which openly supports British imperialism. They make propaganda for an English ‘liberation’ and intervention. All that Lenin wrote about American and English imperialism is ignored.... Together with the national bourgeoisie they try to obscure class antagonisms.”

Against illusions in the nationalist resistance movements, the CRM stood for proletarian internationalism:

“Always it was a joint and common conviction that only the working class through struggle with its own strength can reach victory, the Socialist society. That is why we did not, and will not, take an anti-German, but an anti-fascist stand. Not as fighters for the National Liberation of the Netherlands, but as fighters for the International Liberation of the World Proletariat through Socialist Revolution did our comrades fall. From that they take their great significance. It is in this spirit that our new paper *De Rode October* will write and the proletariat will gain the victory.”

—*De Rode October* [Red October] No. 1, June 1942; quoted in Wim Bot, “Generals Without Troops,” *Revolutionary History* (Winter 1988-89)

And the CRM always saw the rebirth of the German workers movement as central:

“A sound spirit of resistance is alive in the Dutch proletariat. The coming events will decide whether the German revolution or the Allied counterrevolution will utilise this spirit.”

—Political Declaration of August 1943, *De Rode October* No. 14

Another model for this revolutionary internationalism was the work of the French Trotskyists among the Wehrmacht soldiers in Brest. With their German-

The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime!



Yevgeni Khaldei

Soviet soldiers raise red flag over Berlin’s Reichstag, 2 May 1945.

language newspaper *Arbeiter und Soldat* [Worker and Soldier], they fought for the fraternization of French workers and the German workers who had to serve in Hitler’s armies. There is an enormous difference between the proletarian internationalism of the Trotskyists and what the French Stalinists did. The Stalinists’ propaganda can only be translated as “The only good German is a dead German,” or “Everyone gets his Kraut.” This ugly nationalism could only serve to strengthen the control of the German ruling class and the Nazis over the German proletariat. The chauvinist policies of the Stalinists, who supported their own bourgeoisie in the name of democracy, were an obstacle to breaking German workers and soldiers from nationalism and an obstacle to the

revolutionary Socialist United States of Europe, for which the Trotskyists fought.

The Wehrmacht: An Imperialist Army

In discussing the question of the Wehrmacht, the decisive thing is that in the course of the war 18 million Germans were drafted into it. This means that at any point during the war, every second German man was in the Wehrmacht. Five million German soldiers died. The Wehrmacht was a compulsory army, an imperialist army that carried out bloody massacres from the very start. But in this it was *not* different from the other imperialist armies.

Ulrich von Hassel, who took part in the 20 July 1944 officers’ plot against Hitler,

described some of it. This resistance was made up mainly of some of Hitler’s officers who were disappointed that they could not win the war with him. But some of them—the best known being von Treskow and von Stauffenberg—were also motivated by human outrage at the crimes in the East. On 18 August 1941, two months after the invasion of the Soviet Union began, Ulrich von Hassel wrote:

“The whole war in the East was dreadful, general savage destruction. A young officer received the order to mow down 350 civilians who had been led into a barn, and among whom were women and children. At first he refused. He was then notified of what would happen if he refused to obey orders. He requested ten minutes to think it over. Finally he did it together with some others, opening machine-gun fire on the crowd through the open barn door.”

—Exhibition catalogue, *Der Krieg gegen die Sowjetunion 1941-1945* [The War Against the Soviet Union 1941-1945]

This officer then incurred a light injury to ensure that he would never again return to the front. There is also an army mail services letter from a noncommissioned officer who wrote:

“They say that an order was given by the Führer that prisoners and anyone who surrenders can no longer be executed. This makes me happy. At last!”

—Ibid.

And then he described the horror that all this had meant for him. The letters by soldiers that are quoted show that many also shared Nazi ideology. This is not at all surprising, as the Nazis were a petty-bourgeois mass movement; and it would be simply illusory to expect that opponents of the Nazi regime would express their opposition openly in letters from the front, which were subjected to military censorship. The soldier Kurt Vogeler was horrified by the brutal war: “What a disastrous war it is, this massacre of people in eastern Europe! A heinous crime against humanity!” And this is how Helmut Altner described the alternative for soldiers: “There were only two possibilities. Death by a bullet from the enemy or by the ‘thugs’ of the SS” (quoted in Stephen G. Fritz, *Frontsoldaten: The German Soldier in World War II*).

But the Wehrmacht leadership fully shared the whole policy of genocide and was completely interwoven with the Nazis. Even before the attack on the Soviet Union, there was a “Commissar Order” issued by Wilhelm Keitel [head of the German Armed Forces High Command] on 6 June 1941 that said:

“The troops must be aware that:

- 1) In this battle, mercy and considerations of international law are wrong with regard to these elements....
 - 2) The political commissars are the instigators of barbarous Asian methods of combat. Measures against them must therefore be taken immediately, summarily and with utmost severity.
- They are therefore, when caught in combat or resistance, always to be executed immediately.”

—*The War Against the Soviet Union 1941-1945*

The duty of revolutionaries was to win the soldiers of the Wehrmacht to a revolutionary program. It was a draft army, and in World War II there was no chance of escaping the draft. At first the Wehrmacht did not draft politically unreliable people, but later it did. Political prisoners from the concentration camps were also sent to the front in so-called punishment battalions. They were given only light weapons and usually had to search for



During Nazi occupation of France, Trotskyists fought to organize among Wehrmacht soldiers. Martin Monat (top) initiated *Arbeiter und Soldat* (Worker and Soldier) and was shot by Gestapo in 1944. Robert Cruau (above) organized cells in Brest and was shot by Nazis in 1943. Above left: Mimeographed *Journal for the Soldier and Worker in the West* put out by German soldiers recruited to Fourth International.

mines in front of the German lines, which was a deadly job. The historian Omer Bartov illustrated these contradictions in his impressive book, *Hitler's Army*:

“While the Kaiser’s armies in World War I only executed 48 soldiers from their own ranks, in World War II between 13,000 and 15,000 soldiers were executed by their own army.... Leaving aside the many thousands transferred to punishment battalions between the end of August 1939 and mid 1944, no fewer than 23,124 soldiers had been sentenced to long prison terms, 83,346 for over a year and another 320,042 for under one year.”

Others report that 20,000 Wehrmacht soldiers were executed for desertion or refusal to obey orders.

In light of these huge numbers, also bear in mind that the pressure on the soldiers was increased further by the fact that, as Bartov notes, those who had been executed lost their citizenship, so that their dependents could not claim a pension. Many rightly feared that their families would suffer repression. This powerfully illustrates that the contradictions of a society are always found in concentrated form in the army. The class line between soldiers, who were workers in uniform, and officers, who carry out the interests of the bourgeoisie, could not be clearer. This does not, however, prevent Bartov from arguing for collective guilt at the end of the book. But to do this he has to rely mainly on statements made by the Nazi brass and on pure moralism. He does not succeed in proving his claim that all the soldiers stood behind the Nazi regime.

One of the most important collective-guilt campaigns in recent years, at least with regard to the Wehrmacht, was the exhibition, “War of Extermination. Crimes of the Wehrmacht, 1941-1944.” In his 2004 book *Vom Verschwinden der Täter* [The Disappearance of the Culprits], Hannes Heer, who directed the first exhibition, supports the statement by Jan Philipp Reemtsma:

“And the director of the Institute underlined this notion of the Wehrmacht being the quintessence of the *Volksgemeinschaft* [one united people] and *the* point of intersection between the population and Nazi crimes. He explained at the opening of the exhibition on 5 March 1995 that its explosive nature came from the fact that it does not show the criminal role of the elites in the Nazi period, as has become common, but rather the ‘potential crimes of ordinary people, of everybody’s husband, father, brother, uncle, grandfather.’ The exhibit therefore provided an answer to the question of how ‘perfectly normal people’ (usually men, but not only) could do ‘something like that’.”

—*Krieg ist ein Gesellschaftszustand* [War Is a State of Society], edited by the Hamburg Institute for Social Research, Hamburg 1998

The purpose of the Wehrmacht exhibit was the same as that of Daniel Goldhagen’s 1996 book *Hitler’s Willing Executioners—Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*: to put the blame for the Nazi crimes on the so-called “ordinary people,” the “perfectly normal people.” That’s collective guilt. But unlike Goldhagen, the exhibit did not try to torment people with a boring, thousand-page-long pseudo-academic paper. Instead it displayed appalling photos of crimes, in which soldiers were sometimes shown. It reached a wide public, not just a few scholarly historians. From its opening on 5 March 1995 until it was finally closed down on 31 March 2004, it was shown in 34 German and Austrian cities. Almost a million people visited it, and even more read and argued about it. The exhibit deeply polarized the whole country, much more so than did Goldhagen’s book (see also “The Holocaust, ‘Collective Guilt’ and German Imperialism,” *Spartacist* [German edition] No. 20, Summer 1998 [WV Nos. 697, 698 and 699, 25 September, 9 October and 23 October 1998]).

The exhibition basically tries to prove collective guilt by saying that the Wehrmacht participated in the Holocaust and therefore there was no difference between the ordinary soldier and the Wehrmacht officers or the SS. One section of the



FSU Holocaust Institute

1941 Nazi mass murder of Jews at Babi Yar in Ukraine. Only workers revolution can eradicate the fascist menace once and for all!

exhibition showed pictures of mass shootings of more than 30,000 Jewish women, children, old people and men in 1941 at Babi Yar. In this case it was the Security Service (SD) of the SS which carried out the massacre and not Wehrmacht soldiers. The Wehrmacht did carry out massacres against civilians and took part in the “combat against partisans” whether in the Soviet Union or in Greece, Serbia and other places. But the real question is what was the unique character of the Holocaust—because it was indeed unique.

Of course, in a certain sense Babi Yar marked the beginning of the Holocaust,

its power, even if it means the end of all mankind.

The conservatives, up to and including the fascists, were up in arms against the Wehrmacht exhibition; there was hardly a city in which the exhibition was not met by a Nazi march. This peaked in Munich in 1997, when 5,000 people, mobilized by the respectable CSU [Christian Social Union] together with the Nazis, marched against the exhibition. Fifteen thousand protested against the Nazis in spite of an enormous police presence protecting the Nazis. It was clear that leftists defended the Wehrmacht exhibition against the



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Left: Dresden one year after Allies’ 1945 firebombing. Right: Hiroshima following U.S. A-bomb blast, August 1945.



Japan Peace Museum

because the Jewish minority of the Kiev population was singled out to be murdered. On the other hand there have been massacres of innocent civilians in many imperialist wars—for example, the massacre of Filipinos by U.S. troops at the beginning of the 20th century. One of the most horrible examples, where the numbers were even larger than at Babi Yar, was the Nanjing massacre by the Japanese in 1937. Three hundred thousand Chinese civilians were butchered, 80,000 women were raped. There have been other horrible crimes, such as the massacres in India by the British army, or the war by the U.S. in the Pacific, which was waged in a racist fashion against the Japanese (the “yellow peril” in World War II).

But what is specific and unique about the Holocaust is that the extermination of *whole peoples*, Jews, Roma and Sinti [gypsies], *was organized on an industrial scale*. In the course of World War II, German imperialism under Nazi leadership killed eleven million people. And many of those were killed with industrial methods. They could not have achieved this any other way. Scientists, administrators, technical specialists and civil engineers, in sum a huge administrative apparatus, was used to organize the death factories. That is a crime which to date is unique—to date, because it is basically an expression of capitalism in its death agony. And the Nazi ideology about the *Götterdämmerung* [twilight of the gods] and *Weltuntergang* [end of the world] was just an expression of the fact that the bourgeoisie will not voluntarily give up

provocations of the Nazis, who were denying that there was a Holocaust (or approved of it) and who mobilized for new genocide with banners such as “Victory and Honor to the Waffen SS!”

Left anti-fascist groups organized demos against the Nazi scum, but the political program of the anti-fascists, which is popular-frontist, is entirely bourgeois. And just like every bourgeois anti-fascist, they reject the working class. In this way, the anti-fascists objectively sow illusions in bourgeois democracy. Instead of looking to class-struggle worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the Nazis, they rely on individual resistance. This also leads them to blame every German individual for the Holocaust. And that is precisely why the anti-communist, pro-Zionist forces known as

“anti-Germans” can recruit from the anti-fascist milieu. It is not such a big step to go from rejecting a class-struggle perspective against fascism—and against the capitalist system that gives birth to fascism—to supporting an imperialist butcher like Bomber Harris [British Air Marshal during World War II who oversaw the firebombing of Dresden and other German cities]. And it is not a big leap either between spreading the lie of collective guilt and supporting Zionist terror against the Palestinian people by the Israeli state.

With its propaganda for “collective guilt,” the left not only exonerates the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz but also prepares the ground for the Nazis. The Nazis attacked the Wehrmacht exhibition because it showed SS and Wehrmacht crimes in particular against the Soviet Union. To mobilize support for this in the population, the Nazis countered collective guilt with slogans such as “Grandpa was no criminal!” Because of its rejection of the proletariat, leftists like the Hamburg autonome group AVANTI could only counter that “our grandfathers were criminals!” (speech by AVANTI, 27 March 2004).

To claim that the drafted soldiers were counterrevolutionary scum and Nazis because they were forced to carry out massacres disappears the class line that runs through *every* imperialist draft army between the bourgeois officer corps and the ordinary soldiers, who mainly come from the working class. And it disap-

pears the difference between the Wehrmacht, a compulsory army, and the voluntary elite units of Hitler’s regime, such as the SS, SD and Gestapo. The German bourgeoisie counted on the Nazis to save their class rule. In an interview in the *tageszeitung* newspaper on 6 June 2006, the historian Ulrich Herbert welcomes the left’s ideological rollback to collective guilt and has nothing but contempt for its criticism of capitalism in the ’60s: “After 1968 the West German left no longer addressed the question of the Nazi past. Instead, they pursued an ‘analysis of fascism’ in the tradition of the communist left. The Nazi regime was made a variant of ‘bourgeois rule.’ You can call this a phase of secondary repression—this time by the left.”

continued on page 8

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German Imperialism...

(continued from page 7)

Why does the bourgeoisie like collective guilt today? In order to cover up for its own real crimes: If everybody is guilty, then the bourgeoisie no longer is. And the German army was already terrible in World War I, as Karl Liebknecht had noted about the Prussian military. That was an imperialist war. The war against the Soviet Union 25 years later was a counterrevolutionary war, not qualitatively different from the imperialists’ colonial wars. Just look at what imperialist Belgium did in the Congo. In the first few years of Belgian colonial rule, an estimated ten million people—about 50 percent of the original population—were murdered. In the fight against Algerian independence at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, the French imperialists killed a million people, a tenth of the whole population. And in 1945, British and American imperialism reduced Dresden to ashes and the U.S. dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, slaughtering hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians in cold blood. All these are the crimes of the imperialist bourgeoisies and not of the working class of the respective countries.

Postwar Revolutionary Wave in Europe

As the bourgeoisies had feared, there was a revolutionary wave following World War II. In Italy, the PCI [Communist Party of Italy]-led partisan movement overthrew the Mussolini fascists and the working class was armed. But in line with its popular-front policy, the PCI cheered the Americans as their allies, disarmed the partisans and allowed a bourgeois state to be re-established. The revolution was prevented only thanks to the Stalinists’ betrayal. In Greece, British imperialism bloodily suppressed the armed partisan movement.

In France, as in Germany, the bourgeoisie had lost all credibility in the eyes of the workers because it had thrown itself into Hitler’s arms so that he would solve its problem with the working class. The great majority of the bourgeoisie had embraced the Vichy regime, which was put in place after the occupation of France and collaborated with the Nazis in the extermination of the French Jews, for example. Incidentally, in France as well as in Italy the Allies’ attitude that fascism was something purely German was not very convincing. In these countries, the Stalinist CPs, strengthened by the authority of the Soviet victory, were instrumental in saving the rule of the bourgeoisie.

With regard to the postwar revolutionary wave, Germany was no exception. The key is to understand that the soldiers who committed the crimes were forced to do so. These weren’t *their* crimes, as the collective-guilt moralists claim. Of course some of them had become insensitive butchers. But there was also another conclusion one could draw, namely rage—to come back with rage and smash this German bour-



May Day, 1945: 15,000 prisoners celebrate liberation from Buchenwald concentration camp. At right from top to bottom: Marcel Beaufrère, Ernst Federn and Karl Fischer, prisoners who organized Trotskyist cell in Buchenwald.

geoisie and its capitalist system. History is written by the victors, and the history told today about World War II came into being *after* the defeat of the postwar revolutionary wave in Europe, which also shook Germany; *after* the collective-guilt brainwash took place; and *after* the workers had been told by the SPD [Social Democratic Party] and PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] following the [1990] capitalist reunification that they could not change anything, they could not do anything and capitalism will exist forever. But the workers who came back from the war, and the workers who had lived through it, wanted socialism. After 1945, every party spoke of socialism, even the CDU [Christian Democratic Union]. Only the KPD [German Communist Party] spoke out against it.

There are a lot of reports about what was going on in Germany directly after the war, which you will not find in the official version of history. The historian Wolfram Wette, who mainly tends toward collective guilt, wrote a book about the Wehrmacht. This book is pretty useful because it also gives examples that contradict Wette’s own collective-guilt line. On the one hand, he writes that millions identified with the Wehrmacht, even after the war, that the Wehrmacht really wasn’t so bad and that it was all just Hitler and the SS. But then he writes, in complete contradiction to this:

“The Wehrmacht was the force which embodied the war, so to speak. Those who welcomed the end of the terrible war did not shed any tears for the Wehrmacht, which had in any case been forced to disband. The millions of ordinary soldiers certainly were pleased that the officers who, by enacting military orders, had for years been the masters of life and death had this power taken away from them. Unlike World War I, when millions of people united under the slogan ‘Never Again War!’, many Germans now articulated a much more radical and concrete slogan. It was: Never Again the Military!”

—Wolfram Wette, *Die Wehrmacht*



no credit



Cahiers Léon Trotsky



Cahiers Léon Trotsky

In 1949 there was an opinion poll in which people were asked if they were for a new Wehrmacht, for rearmament. Six percent were for, *71 percent were against*. But this pacifist opposition could in no way prevent the rearmament of German imperialism. To defeat German militarism, it is necessary to overthrow the German bourgeoisie through socialist revolution. Collective-guilt ideology, not least thanks to the SPD/Green government, ensured that the Bundeswehr could once again be sent to the Balkans [in 1999] and elsewhere.

In his contribution to the 8 May 2005 commemoration of the liberation of Germany from Nazism [mentioned in Part One of this article], Peter Gingold gave a further argument for collective guilt and the support that Hitler supposedly enjoyed until the end: “Not even once, when all of Germany except Berlin was liberated, not even then was there an uprising, or a call to stop the fighting! Thirty thousand Soviet soldiers still had to die to liberate this city.” The December 1945 resolution of the European Executive Committee of the Fourth International gives a good answer, in a direct way:

“The German workers, despite the betrayal of their leadership, heroically defended themselves. The thousands of martyrs alone make the thesis of ‘collective guilt’ an insult to these heroes of the German proletariat. Even up to the end, when the Allied armies were laying carpets of bombs over the workers’ sections and seriously paralyzing any full scale resistance against Hitler, the German revolutionary workers engaged in strikes and demonstrations against fascism. Deserters from the German army together with foreign workers rose against the SS. In some towns the workers in daring insurrections even seized power before the Allied armies arrived.”

There is a whole series of examples of fighting between the Wehrmacht and the SS at the end of the war. In his autobiography, Oskar Hippe describes how he argued in his group that, together with other workers parties, it should “build up resistance groups of a military nature which, when the Allied troops had reached German soil, would be able to intervene in the fight against the German army.” The intention was that the German proletariat would not passively wait for liberation—which was the policy of the Stalinists.

In 1945-46, there was a debate about the German working class in the Fourth International. Ernest Mandel [Germain], who was a genuine Trotskyist at the time, wrote a useful polemic. In 1953 he would become one of the leaders of the Pabloite tendency that broke with authentic Trotskyism. This tendency was characterized by political impressionism and the search for non-proletarian forces as substitutes for the working class; Mandel then denied the need for building revolutionary workers parties. But in a December 1945 article, in a section subtitled “The Legend of the Complete Passivity of the

German Proletariat,” he argued correctly: “We know that with the approach of the Red Army, the agricultural workers of Mecklenburg seized the land they had wanted for centuries. We know that at the same time the workers of Saxony hoisted red flags over their factories and elected genuine Soviets. (One of our Belgian Trotskyists took part in one of the factory committees created when the Russian troops entered Dresden. Included on this committee were several Left Communists opposed to Stalinism.) We know that local civil wars broke out almost everywhere, between the SS on one side and the Volkssturm [militia] or the Wehrmacht on the other. We know that as early as 1943, an attempted uprising was crushed at Hamburg. And finally, and most important of all, we know that the moment the Nazi apparatus collapsed, the imperialist armies and the army of the Soviet bureaucracy installed a far more stable and no less harsh police apparatus in all the sections of the country. Under these conditions, it would be truly shameful to label the courageous attitude of the German proletariat as ‘universal passivity’.”

—published in English as “The First Phase of the European Revolution,” *Fourth International* (August 1946)

Other examples are given, for instance, in the book by Richard Pritchard, *The Making of the GDR—From Antifascism to Stalinism*, which is worth reading. And in *Spartakist* No. 59 (November/December 1988) there is another example, of the Hamburg harbor workers who in 1938 helped Jews and organized collections for them. The article quotes from the book *Alltag der Entrechteten* [Everyday Life of the Voiceless] by Harald Focke and Uwe Reimer: “In Eimsbüttel, the workers took back the goods which the National Socialists had stolen and gave them back to their owners.”

The very important Declaration of the Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald of 20 April 1945, which was reprinted in both *Spartakist* and *Spartacist* [English edition No. 26, Winter 1979], put forward a program for workers revolution in Germany. It had, however, the important programmatic weakness of not explaining the necessity for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and left open the class character of the Soviet Union. Their slogans included:

“Dissolution of the Wehrmacht and its replacement by workers militias!

Immediate free election of workers and peasants councils throughout all of Germany and a convocation of a general congress of these councils!

Not one man, not one penny for the war debts and the war reparations of the bourgeoisie!

The bourgeoisie must pay!

For pan-German socialist revolution! Against a dismemberment of Germany! Revolutionary fraternization with the proletarians of the occupying armies!

For a Germany of workers councils in a Europe of workers councils!

For world proletarian revolution!”

In the tradition of the heroic internationalist struggle of the Trotskyists in World War II, we Spartakists want to build a revolutionary, multiethnic workers party that fights to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz through workers revolution.■



Keystone

Striking Renault auto workers in Boulogne-Billancourt, France, 1947. Class battles raged in Europe following WWII.

Greece...

(continued from page 5)

attacks. On March 8, one of the largest demonstrations in the last decade drew around 35,000 students and teachers from all over Greece. The protest was brutally attacked by the police, who filled the center of Athens with tear gas for hours and the hospitals with the injured. The police arrested 61 people. Eight of them face misdemeanor charges and are out of jail on bail. Of those remaining, 49 appeared in court on April 16 where the charges were dropped. One of the protesters arrested, Vassily Stergiou, a 37-year-old construction worker, has been imprisoned since March 13. He is threatened with felony charges, including possession and fabrication of explosives, attempted homicide, forming a mob and resistance to authorities. We say: **Free Vassily Stergiou! Release all leftist prisoners now! Drop the charges against all those arrested at the March 8 demonstration and at the other protests in defense of education!**

What sparked the outcry from the government, the media and the left after the March 8 demonstration? A sentry box at the memorial for the Unknown Soldier—a national monument in front of the parliament—was burnt down by a group of anarchists during the demonstration. The same night, a Greek flag was burnt at a spontaneous protest in Thessaloniki in defense of those arrested. The TGG defends the anarchists against the witch-hunt by the Greek capitalist state and its police forces. **An injury to one is an injury to all! Free Yotopoulos and the other detainees allegedly in “17 November”!** [“17 November” is a group that grew out of opposition to the rule of the military junta in Greece from 1967-74, was formed after the junta’s fall and has generally targeted representatives of the bourgeois state and imperialism.]

For all their spectacular actions against symbols of the Greek capitalist state, the anarchists are not at all radical enemies of the bourgeois state. Their petty-bourgeois outlook is alien to the perspective of international proletarian revolution:

“Class collaboration, indeed, lies concealed in the heart of anarchist philosophy. It is hidden, during periods of reaction, by anarchist hatred of capitalist oppression. But, in a revolutionary period of dual power, it must come to the surface. For then the capitalist smilingly offers to share in building the new world. And the anarchist, being opposed to ‘all dictatorships,’ including dictatorship of the proletariat, will require of the capitalist merely that he throw off the capitalist outlook, to which he agrees, naturally, the better to prepare the crushing of the workers.”

—Felix Morrow, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain* (1938)

In the Spanish Civil War, the political outlook of the anarchists led them to enter the bourgeois popular-front government, along with the Stalinists, strangling the proletarian revolution and saving the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What anarchists

really hate is the dictatorship of the proletariat—past, present and future. Thus they hailed the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, which brought misery to the toiling masses in the former USSR and East Europe and emboldened the bourgeoisies of the world to increase their attacks on the working class, launch new wars and intensify their drive against the remaining deformed workers states. **We unconditionally defend the deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba against imperialist attack and counterrevolution from within. We fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and replace them with regimes based on proletarian democracy and revolutionary internationalism.**



Above: Communist-led ELAS anti-Nazi partisans in Piraeus, December 1944. Right: ELAS general Sarafis (at left) with British commander and anti-Communist Greek guerrilla leader in 1945. Stalinists disarmed working class, entered capitalist government.



Hulton-Deutsch

The resurgence of anarchism in recent years is the product of the retrogression of working-class consciousness as a result of the catastrophic defeat in the Soviet Union and the relentless “death of communism” campaign by the bourgeoisie. Many workers and youth today don’t identify their struggles with the emancipatory ideals of communism.

However anti-communist they are, the anarchists may appear radical to some youth, given the wretched prostration of the rest of the Greek left before the bourgeois state. Most of the so-called left, starting with the KKE, takes a side *with* the Greek capitalist state by not defending the anarchists, calling them “hooded” and “bachala” (chaotic), and accusing them of provoking violent cop attacks by throwing Molotov cocktails and stones. As if without the stones, the cops would put away their clubs and cease being the

armed fist to defend the private property of the bourgeoisie.

For example, Xekinima, sister organization of the CWI in Greece, wrote in its March newspaper:

“What the student movement should deal with is how much is being damaged by these methods [of the anarchists].... We also have to prove that we are in the position of defending [academic] asylum as much against the forces of repression as against those who offer the best argument to the government for demolishing it. The slogan ‘[Academic] asylum belongs to all the people’ cannot mean tolerance toward every bunch of anarchists that hides behind it.”

This is no surprise from the likes of Xekinima, whose official line on cops is that they are “workers in uniform”

Bettmann

about violating such laws if it sees the need. No scrap of paper will make it hesitate for a split second to defend its fundamental class interests by whatever means it finds necessary. The drive to scrap academic asylum is directed against radical students, particularly those from the anarchist milieu who have taken to fleeing into the Polytechnic in Athens when pursued by the police. It is in fact the capitulation by the left to the anti-anarchist witchhunt that has paved the way for the conservative government to limit academic asylum under the pretext of cleaning out anarchist “hoodlums” from Greek campuses. It is a measure of the underlying reformism of fake-socialist groups like SEK and Xekinima that they do not challenge the students’ widespread illusions that the academic asylum law will really protect them from the organized violence of the bourgeois state.

The little social democrats à la SEK and Xekinima as well as the KKE are now busy trying to channel the movement into...student elections! Subsequently, after the Easter break, the turnout at protests and the number of occupied universities decreased. To carry out student elections you need to...stop occupying the campuses! One Nectarios Dargakis from the SEK-controlled “Genoa initiative” said bluntly in *Ergatiki Allilenghi* [Workers Solidarity] (28 March):

“The basic objective is to isolate the DAP [New Democracy’s student wing]. As we have done this through the movement let us do the same in the elections, which is much more difficult.... We are making this proposal to the whole occupation bloc [those who were in favor of occupying the campuses], and this means from the left PASP [PASOK’s student wing] to the autonomes and the independent groups.”

Whatever their meek criticisms of PASOK, at bottom the Cliffites of the SEK are working to restore its credibility in the name of “fighting the right.”

We warn against illusions that the university was ever a safe haven free from encroachments by the bourgeois state. The administrative council, which is elected by the students and teachers, is a body dedicated to administering the university on behalf of the bourgeoisie. It follows a budget granted and controlled by the government, and its majority is firmly in the hands of senior professors. We are for worker, student, teacher control of the universities, not for the unions and students doing the dirty work of the capitalists. To fight to wrest the universities from the capitalists means a struggle to overthrow the whole system through a workers revolution.

The Trotskyist Group of Greece, sympathizing section of the ICL, stands on the side of the students in their fight against the attacks by the Greek bourgeoisie. We fight to build a multiethnic revolutionary workers party that will fight for the interests of all the oppressed and exploited. Such a party would mobilize the power of labor to defend students, teachers and education for working-class, immigrant and minority youth. **Defend the students’ fight! Mobilize the social power of the multiethnic working class!**

To come to the understanding of the need for socialist revolution—smashing the capitalist system and replacing the repressive machinery of the capitalist state with a workers state—the working class needs a revolutionary vanguard party. Such a party would consistently fight against the venom of bourgeois ideology and lead the proletariat to political power. **For new October Revolutions worldwide! For a revolutionary workers party, section of a reformed Fourth International! ■**

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

CHICAGO

The ICL’s Fight Against Counterrevolution in East Germany and the Soviet Union
Saturday, June 16, 4 p.m.

The Struggle for Black Liberation: The Key to Socialist Revolution in the U.S.

Saturday, June 30, 4 p.m.

222 S. Morgan Street (buzzer 23)
(near CTA Blue Line UIC-Halsted station)

Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK CITY

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man! Free Mumia Now!

Wednesday, June 13, 7 p.m.

The Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power
Saturday, June 30, 3 p.m.

299 Broadway, Suite 318, Manhattan
(take 4, 5 or 6 train to Brooklyn Bridge or R or W to City Hall)

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl_syc@yahoo.com

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

(see the Spartacist pamphlet *Militant Labour’s Touching Faith in the Capitalist State*, 1994). But the recent repression has once again shown that the cops, as well as the army and prison guards, are an apparatus of violence designed to protect capitalist profits and rule against the exploited and oppressed. This apparatus of violence will be destroyed in a workers revolution and replaced by proletarian organs of power.

“Academic Asylum” and the Bourgeois State

Among other changes proposed by the bourgeois parliament is limiting “academic asylum.” Academic asylum means that the armed forces (e.g., the army and police) can supposedly enter the campus only if duly authorized by the administrative council. Academic asylum originates from 1973, when a student uprising took place at Polytechnic School during the dictatorship of the colonels. The students were smashed when the army drove their tanks into the university. More than 34 students were killed. This event played an important role in the fall of the junta in 1974. Academic asylum was a concession granted by the Greek bourgeoisie at a time when they were thoroughly discredited by their support to the bloody colonels’ regime. They sought to give a “democratic” mask to their murderous rule and to ensure a peaceful transition to the first Karamanlis government. Rolling back this asylum inevitably reminds people of the dark days of the colonels’ police dictatorship.

We oppose the scrapping of academic asylum because we oppose any measure that reinforces the repressive powers of the bourgeois state. But the bourgeoisie, which preaches that its laws are sacrosanct as a way of keeping the workers and oppressed in line, will have no scruples

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August. Our next issue will be dated July 6.

We print below an edited presentation by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, a member of Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal team from 1995 to 1999, at a rally in Berlin on May 12. Held in the lead-up to Mumia's May 17 federal appeals court hearing, the rally was called by the Committee for Social Defense, the PDC's fraternal defense organization in Germany, as part of an international campaign to revitalize mass, labor-centered protest on Mumia's behalf. (For a report on the Berlin rally and a similar event in London on May 5, see "International Rallies Demand: Free Mumia!" WV No. 893, 25 May.)

In the U.S. last month, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 308 in Chicago reaffirmed its support for Mumia's freedom, and dozens of members of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and the ATU Black Caucus added their names to the PDC's call to free Mumia based on his innocence.

It's been 25 years since Mumia's conviction for the murder of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner, a crime the police, prosecution and courts know Mumia did not commit. Mumia has been on death row all this time, isolated in a cell that he describes as living in a toilet. He was framed up for his political beliefs and activism, for having been a Black Panther Party (BPP) member, a MOVE supporter and a journalist who fought with passion and conviction against racial, ethnic and class bias, against cop terror, for social justice.

As Mumia said some 17 years ago in the interview in the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*, he is "fighting to create revolution in America. Revolution means total change." Since then Mumia has not changed his political views. He has not been intimidated into silence.

To the capitalist rulers, Mumia represents the spectre of black revolt, of defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression. For them, Mumia is a dead man on leave. All elements of the "criminal justice system" supported by both parties of American capitalism, Democrats as well as Republicans, have colluded to kill this innocent man.

Why is Mumia's cause one that needs to be fought for internationally? The PDC took up Mumia's case in 1987, some 20 years ago, because Mumia's case is the fight against the ultimate weapon of state terror, the death penalty. We are opposed to the death penalty as a matter of principle. We do not accord to the state the right to determine who shall live and who shall die. In the U.S., the death penalty is the legacy of slavery, racist legal lynching.

We also took up Mumia's case as part of the fight against the state deeming per-



WV Photo

Philadelphia, May 17: PDC contingent at rally for Mumia combatted illusions in capitalist courts sown by WWP's International Action Center and other reformists.

Speech at Berlin Rally

Mumia Abu-Jamal: The Frame-Up of an Innocent Man



Spartakist

May 12: Werner Brand of Committee for Social Defense addressing Berlin rally calling for Mumia's freedom.

ceived political opponents to be terrorists. The Black Panther Party and the MOVE organization were considered the terrorists of that time. And that meant it was legitimate for the state to blow them away in the dead of night, to frame them up on vague conspiracy charges. Mumia was targeted by the FBI's Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), placed under daily surveillance at the age of 15 and put on the list of those to be rounded up and put in concentration camps. Mumia's conviction and death sentence were the continuation of the government vendetta against the Black Panther Party that led to the murder of 38 Panthers and the frame-up convictions of hundreds, and part of the crescendo of legal frame-ups and outright terror tactics directed at the MOVE organization.

The fight for Mumia Abu-Jamal has everything to do with the fight against the post-September 11 "war on terror," which has led to witchhunts against immigrants, primarily Muslims, and provided justification for the evisceration of democratic rights and a massive increase in state surveillance and repressive measures, including the open use of torture. Mumia's fight is the fight for every immigrant, such as Oury Jalloh, a 21-year-old African refugee who on 7 January 2005 burned to death in his Dessau, Germany, prison cell with his hands and feet tied; for leftists such as Red Army Faction (RAF) member Wolfgang Grams, who was executed in 1993 by a shot to the head by the GSG-9 "anti-terrorist" cops, and for his RAF comrades imprisoned for decades in an anti-Communist witch-hunt; for leftists rounded up and arrested across Germany earlier this week to preclude protest against next month's G8 meeting in Heiligendamm; for workers who face increased attacks on wages, benefits, rights.

Mumia's fight is against racist state terror, reflected in the video showing a Bundeswehr (German Army) instructor

telling a soldier to envision machine-gunning blacks. The ultimate target of this state repression is the multiracial workers movement. The fight to free Mumia is part of the fight for black liberation, and the broader fight for socialist revolution and therefore for the liberation of us all.

Mumia's Trial: A Kangaroo Court

We are here on the eve of Mumia's appeal arguments in the federal court on May 17. In a matter of a few months, the court will decide what is next for Mumia—death, life in prison or possibly more legal proceedings. The U.S. federal appeals court is not required to consider all the issues that Mumia has raised—and virtually every democratic right, from freedom of speech and association to a trial based on due process, was violated in Mumia's case. The appeals court is deciding whether or not to uphold Mumia's death sentence. The court is *not* considering *any* evidence of Mumia's innocence or the state frame-up. The state and federal courts have refused to even consider the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner.

The federal court of appeals is "allowing" only three of Mumia's more than 20 legal issues. These are the racially biased jury selection and the D.A.'s prejudicial summary argument undermining the jury's role by stating that Mumia would have "appeal after appeal." Lastly, the court is hearing a challenge to the kangaroo-court, lynch mob post-conviction hearings from 1995 to 1997 before the notorious judge Albert Sabo, popularly known as the King of Death Row. Sabo outright stated at the time of the 1982 trial that "I'm going to help them fry the n----r."

In fact, the legal arguments before the appeals court are issues researched, developed and formulated in the lower courts

by myself and Jon Piper, another lawyer associated with the PDC who was part of Mumia's legal team. In the abstract, considering the questions of law and fact applied to Mumia's case, there is no reason that Mumia should not win on appeal. But the reality is that the capitalist courts do not mete out impartial justice—and Mumia is a man the state wants dead.

To impact on that upcoming appeals court decision, a mass mobilization based on the international working class and its allies is necessary and urgent, now more than ever. The mobilization must be on the basis that Mumia is an innocent man, the "voice of the voiceless," a man on death row because of a political, racist frame-up. Mumia should never have been arrested, convicted, sentenced to death or spent one day in jail! Our fight—and demand—is to free Mumia, now!

But instead the fight for Mumia has been and continues to be demobilized by a policy pursued by liberals and the reformist left of impotent appeals to the justice and fairness of the capitalist courts, represented by the call for a new trial, a fairer process. To understand the politics behind this demobilization—and to turn this around—let's first examine the legal and factual issues in Mumia's case.

The Frame-Up

The prosecution's story is that in the early morning hours of 9 December 1981, two people were on the street corner of Locust and 13th in Philadelphia—Billy Cook, who is Mumia's brother, and Daniel Faulkner. Mumia, then 27 years old, known for his mild manner and for being levelheaded, supposedly saw his brother being beaten by the cop and ran across the parking lot, shooting the cop in the back. As the cop was falling down, he supposedly shot Mumia in the chest. Then Mumia supposedly stood over the cop, then lying prone on his back, and shot directly down several times at his head, "execution style." This is all lies, a fantastical frame-up by the police and prosecution.

In the post-conviction court hearings in Mumia's case in 1995, '96 and '97, over ten years ago, the prosecution's evidence was exposed over and over as false—based on witnesses who were threatened or bought, nonexistent ballistics evidence and a totally fabricated confession invented by the police two months after the shooting.

As I will further explain, on a factual level, there is not a scintilla of evidence against Mumia. What is there for a jury to hear and consider?

Regarding witnesses: The prosecution produced at trial one supposed eyewitness, the prostitute Cynthia White, who, according to the police, is now dead. No witness, including Cynthia White, testified that Mumia shot Faulkner. At the 1982 trial, Cynthia White said she saw Mumia with a gun in his hand as he ran across the parking lot. But two prostitutes and one other woman who knew White have since sworn that White admitted this was false testimony under threats from

the cops. Two of these women stood up to vicious cross-examination in the post-conviction hearings. Two eyewitnesses, William Singletary and Dessie Hightower, testified that White wasn't on the corner during the shooting.

The other supposed key eyewitness, a cab driver named Robert Chobert, admitted at the post-conviction hearing to receiving favors from the prosecutors. And he admitted to a defense investigator that his cab was not parked where the prosecution asserted it was and that he was not in a position to see anything. This is confirmed in photos of the scene recently brought to light by Michael Schiffmann.

Regarding Mumia's supposed confession: The hospital confession supposedly made by Mumia the night of the shooting was decisively exposed in the 1995 post-conviction hearing to be a prosecution and police fabrication, invented at a D.A. roundtable meeting some two months after the shooting to prepare cops for their trial testimony. No police report from that night mentions Mumia's confession, and in fact a cop who was with Mumia all night directly said that Mumia "made no comments."

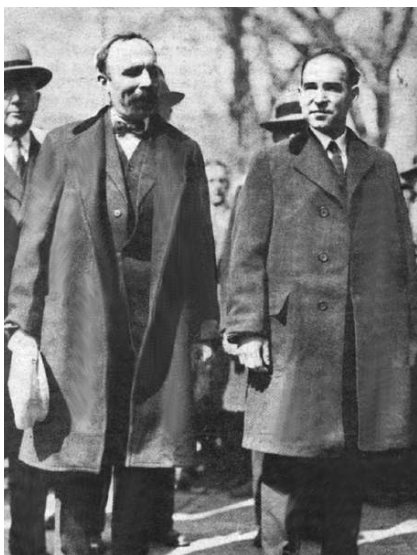
Regarding ballistics: The utter nonexistence of ballistics and other physical evidence is crystal clear. There is no evidence that Mumia's gun was even fired that night, let alone that the bullet in Faulkner's head wound matched Mumia's gun. There are recently uncovered photos showing the cop at the scene walking around with his fingers all over a gun. There are discrepancies in police reports regarding the type of bullets in Mumia's gun. There is a missing bullet fragment from Faulkner's wound and a missing medical examiner's X-ray of Faulkner's body. There is no physical evidence of Faulkner being shot as described by police—straight down at his head while lying on the sidewalk. There are no divots (marks) on the sidewalk. The bullets found at the scene do not support trajectories of Mumia shooting the cop, but rather that there was more than one shooter and that one came from a totally different direction than Mumia.

Moreover, there is evidence directly in support of Mumia's innocence already testified to in court hearings in '95, '96 and '97. Vietnam vet William Singletary was an eyewitness to the shooting and testified in '95 that Mumia arrived after Faulkner was shot and that the shooter, wearing a green army jacket, came from the parked VW and then ran from the scene. Singletary told this to police the night of the shooting, and he was repeatedly threatened, his gas station was vandalized, and he was driven from town during the 1982 trial. Other witnesses, including Dessie Hightower, who testified at the trial, said they saw someone run from the scene. At the post-conviction hearing in '95, Hightower told how he was singled out for a lie detector test and other coercion in an attempt to stop him from testifying at trial.

Veronica Jones testified in 1996 that she had seen someone run from the scene and that police threatened her with long jail time on robbery charges unless she testified differently at trial. In 1997, prostitute Pamela Jenkins testified that other cops were there during the shooting, including one Larry Boston. She also testified that prostitute Cynthia White was a police informant and performed sexual favors for cops. Another witness came forward who testified that he saw undercover cops on the scene at the time of the shooting.

The Beverly Confession

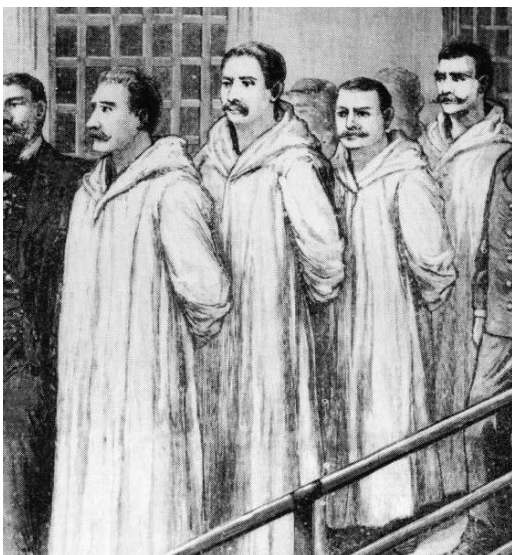
Even under the constraints of Sabo's totally biased court, the D.A.'s evidence was smashed to smithereens over ten years ago. It would be reasonable to expect that as more and more evidence of the conscious police frame-up was brought out in court proceedings, a movement defending Mumia Abu-Jamal would embrace these legal developments. The new evidence from the court proceedings could only support a mobilization in defense of Mumia—on the basis of Mumia's innocence and the fact that a black political activist was framed up



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Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

Martyrs of class war: Massachusetts anarchist workers Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco (above left), executed in 1927; Chicago Haymarket anarchists and workers leaders on way to gallows, 1887 (above right); German Communist leader Eugen Leviné (left), executed in 1919.

by a state determined to see him dead. But in effect this legal evidence was rejected! The so-called left in the U.S. that belatedly took up Mumia's defense in 1995 and afterward did not take up the call to free Mumia now, which the PDC mobilized around, but *rejected* that demand as the basis for mass protests, centering their demands instead on the call for a new trial.

In early 1999, in preparation for a likely denial of the Pennsylvania court appeals and in preparation for federal *habeas corpus* proceedings, Jon Piper and I, with some other lawyers, intensely again combed over the records of the prior proceedings and the state's evidence and also renewed investigation efforts. In 1999, Mumia's brother admitted that the passenger in his VW, Ken Freeman, said that he was involved in the shooting of Faulkner and he ran from the scene after the shooting.

Arnold Beverly confessed that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner. Moreover, Beverly stated that he was hired, along with someone else, to do so by cops and the mob because Faulkner was a problem for corrupt cops, interfering with rackets, bribery, drug dealing, etc. Beverly states that he was wearing a green army jacket and that he himself was shot that night. The police connection for the hit, according to Beverly, was Larry Boston, who Pamela Jenkins stated in the '97 hearing had been on the scene at the time of the shooting.

At the time of Faulkner's murder in 1981, there were at least three ongoing federal investigations into police corruption in Philadelphia, including *police-mob* connections. I recently learned that the Justice Department had evidence against some 400 Philly cops from those investigations and wanted to bring indictments. But the federal judge overseeing the investigation said to pick only the top 20 or so. Of the police involved in Mumia's case, at least one-third were indicted sometime over the next few years on corruption charges.

An FBI informant who was key to those federal prosecutions confirmed that at the time of Faulkner's shooting, the word was out that the Feds had a police informant. A former federal prosecutor acknowledged that they had a police informant whose brother was also a cop, like Faulkner's. The commanding officer of the Central Police Division, where the murder of Faulkner took place, the chief of the homicide division and one Inspector Alfonzo Giordano were all under investigation on federal corruption charges. These cops were the *chain of command* in the frame-up of Mumia.

Inspector Giordano was the ranking officer on the scene—and the central wit-

ness against Mumia at the preliminary hearing after the arrest. He not only was one of the cops under investigation for corruption but had been the right-hand man for Frank Rizzo, the former Philadelphia police chief and mayor. Giordano was involved in the daily surveillance of Black Panther Party members, and he led the police Stakeout team in the 1970 attacks on the Philly Panthers. Giordano was the police supervisor of the yearlong 1977-78 siege of the MOVE Powelton Village house. He knew just who Mumia was.

It is with these facts in mind that the confession of Arnold Beverly must be considered. Remember the prosecution's lying evidence. Beverly states that there was more than one shooter and that they ran from the scene. This explains witnesses seeing a passenger in the VW and seeing the shooter running away. Beverly's confession explains the absence of ballistics evidence supporting the prosecution's scenario—how the shooting happened, the direction of the shots, the conflicts regarding the calibre of the weapon. Beverly states that Mumia was shot not by Faulkner but by another police officer on the scene. That fits with the trajectory of the shot to Mumia and the statement of a homicide cop at the scene who reported that Mumia was shot by an arriving police officer. It is also supported by a witness

who said that Faulkner's gun was in its holster when he was taken away from the scene. The gun that was allegedly Faulkner's was likely a "throwaway"—it was inoperable and dirty.

Moreover, some five witnesses including *two cops* have said that *the shooter wore a green army jacket*. Both Beverly and Freeman were wearing green army jackets that night. But Mumia was wearing a red quilted ski jacket with wide vertical blue stripes on the front, and Billy Cook wore a blue Nehru-style jacket with brass buttons. This is incontrovertible evidence that there was at least one person there at the shooting who was not Billy Cook or Mumia. This fact, along with the bullet trajectories and the absence of ballistics evidence supporting either the shooting of Faulkner or the shooting of Mumia, is absolute refutation of the police and prosecution version.

Mumia's arrival on the scene gave the cops a two-for-one. Mumia was well known. It had been a short span of time, less than ten years, between Mumia's prominence as a Black Panther and his becoming a prominent MOVE supporter and journalist. And prosecutions of MOVE members, including trials following the Powelton Village police siege, had taken place just a couple of months before the Faulkner shooting.

At the scene after Faulkner was killed, the cops tried to kill Mumia. He was critically wounded from a gunshot in the chest, through his lungs and to his liver. He was rammed into a lamppost and thrown into a police van. Giordano himself beat Mumia in the police van and later said Mumia had confessed to shooting Faulkner and that he threw his gun on the ground. The other cop who was in the van said there was no such confession. Giordano arranged the supposed identification of Mumia by the cab driver, Robert Chobert, who was promised favors and protected by the police. Giordano was the cop who first reported that Mumia's gun was found on the street (according to the police radio records, some 14 minutes after hordes of cops arrived in the area). This contradicts the official police story that Mumia's gun was found within a minute. Giordano's intention was to finish Mumia off by taking him to police headquarters for further questioning. Mumia's crime that night was that he survived the cops' attempt to kill him, too.

To complete the picture: Despite Giordano being the senior officer at the scene who allegedly heard Mumia confess and found the murder weapon, he never testified at Mumia's trial. He resigned from the police force the day after the trial was over. In 1986 he copped a plea on federal charges based on his receiving tens of

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Join the Campaign to Free Mumia!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for \$1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—\$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—\$10 for DVD, \$15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—\$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

Partisan Defense Committee

e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net • Web site: www.partisandefense.org
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680 • (312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 29574, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029 • (213) 380-8897
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107 • (510) 839-0852

Berlin Rally...

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thousands of dollars in illegal payoffs during 1979-80. He didn't spend any time in jail.

Reformists Demobilize the Fight for Mumia

Thus, the proof of Mumia's innocence and the state frame-up is overwhelming. But Mumia's former lawyers suppressed the Beverly confession and the totality of the supporting evidence. Longtime "movement lawyer" Len Weinglass rejected this evidence as too hot, unbelievable, and co-counsel Dan Williams said it would lead to arguing that the police knowingly framed up an innocent man! But this is not unbelievable, and to claim so denies the reality of the cops and the courts.

In fact, there is no limit to examples of the conscious frame-up of innocent people in the bourgeois courts. Before their convictions were exposed as complete government fabrications, the Guildford Four spent 15 years in prison, and the Birmingham Six were incarcerated for 16 years after being sentenced in the 1970s as part of British imperialism's war of terror against Irish nationalists. Before his release in 1997, former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) spent 27 years in prison for a killing the FBI's own wiretap logs showed he could not have committed, while New York Panther leader Dhoruba bin Wahad was imprisoned for 19 years on frame-up charges before his release in 1990. "War on terror" repression has also taken many innocent victims.

Moreover, Mumia's case has been presented in court after court—each has denied the evidence of his frame-up and innocence. That includes three evidentiary hearings, plus three motions and two appeals to the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court, a federal *habeas corpus* petition filed in the U.S. District Court, a revised federal petition and yet another state court petition as well as three applications for hearing to the U.S. Supreme Court. A federal judge's reversal of Mumia's death sentence in December 2001 was immediately appealed by the prosecution, and Mumia has never been off death row since his conviction in 1982.

As a lawyer for Mumia, I had fought in the defense team to bring forward the evidence of the police frame-up and his innocence. When it was decisively clear with the rejection of the Beverly confession, Billy Cook's statement and all the other supporting evidence that Mumia's lead counsel, Len Weinglass, would not allow this, Jon Piper and I resigned from the legal team in July 1999. It was a betrayal of Mumia's legal defense to preclude bringing evidence of his innocence into the courts. And this betrayal is paralleled by so-called leftists who are be-

hind the coalitions acting under the name "Free Mumia" but who mobilize on the basis of reliance on the justice and fairness of the courts and the call for a new, fair trial for Mumia.

To what end and for what purpose would leftists demand that this clearly innocent man be subjected to a new trial? As you can see, there is no evidence to be considered. Mumia himself submitted his own affidavit declaring his innocence when the Beverly confession and other evidence were finally submitted to court in 2001, with a new legal team. Mumia states: "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent."

The bogus argument has been raised that the Beverly evidence is "divisive." But since 1995, long before the Beverly confession, the so-called left rejected the evidence of the extent of the state frame-up and the political lessons to be drawn

the reformist left attempted to limit the political mobilization in defense of Mumia to an appeal for fairness in the courts. They appeal to bourgeois liberal forces who see Mumia's case not as the political and racist frame-up of an innocent man but as an isolated "miscarriage of justice," an aberration that threatens to stain the democratic process.

Even the legal papers that I filed in 1995-97, and agreed to by Mumia's lead counsel at the time, Leonard Weinglass, did not focus on the call for a new trial! We called for dismissing the charges because of the magnitude of the frame-up. Because if you want to deal solely on the plane of what the law in the United States says, the suppression of evidence and the falsification of evidence are such that the whole case should be thrown out. This is part of the reason that I say that calling for people to mobilize around the demand for a new trial is not guided by



WV Photo

Witnesses Pamela Jenkins and Veronica Jones, flanked by attorneys Rachel Wolkenstein and Leonard Weinglass, at press conference during Mumia's March 1997 PCRA hearings.

from that. This became explicit at a January 1999 "leadership meeting" of some 100 groups and individuals—including the Workers World Party, Socialist Action, Solidarity, Refuse & Resist (associated with the Revolutionary Communist Party)—who debated the question. The decision pushed by the reformist left, represented as well by the International Socialist Organization, was to "broaden" the movement and go to the "mainstream." They renounced the demands to free Mumia and to abolish the racist death penalty in favor of the slogan: New trial for Mumia.

At all stages of the case, the reformists' political line is that the next court will be the just one. When the state courts ruled against Mumia, illusions were spread that the U.S. federal court would fairly rule on his petition. Now illusions are being spread in the fairness of the U.S. appeals courts since the U.S. federal court upheld Mumia's conviction. And in between court proceedings, the reformists undertook no significant mobilization.

These were political decisions, pure and simple. They were not based on fact—on Mumia's innocence and the enormity of the proven frame-up. Rather,

legal precepts, as is often claimed, but by a *political program*.

The System of Capitalist Injustice

Mumia's case is a real-life case of police frame-up, an object lesson in the class nature of the capitalist state, which is not neutral. The state, with its cops and supported by the courts, is a machine of organized violence on behalf of one class, the capitalist class, defending the profit system against the working people, against minorities. The job of the courts is to mete out capitalist injustice. That is the lesson of the Haymarket martyrs, anarchists executed in 1887 in Chicago for leading struggles for the eight-hour day; of the anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, framed up in Massachusetts on murder charges and executed in 1927; of the Scottsboro Boys, nine black youths arrested in 1931 who spent nearly two decades in Alabama prison hellholes on bogus rape charges, eight of them sentenced to death; of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, executed in 1953 on espionage charges as part of the anti-Soviet Cold War.

In German history you have Eugen Leviné, a leader of the Spartakist uprising in Bavaria, executed in 1919 by the counterrevolutionary Social Democratic government. There is the case of Max Hoelz, a self-taught worker who organized a Red Army in the Vogtland area during the right-wing 1920 Kapp putsch and established a force of 2,500 partisans in Central Germany during the March Action in 1921, for which he was sentenced to life in prison. He was amnestied after seven years as the result of a mass movement on his behalf.

The slogan for a "new trial" represents a program of reliance on the racist capitalist courts that at every level have upheld Mumia's frame-up conviction. In the infamous 1857 Dred Scott case that sanctified slavery in the U.S., the Supreme Court said that a black man has no rights that the white man is bound to respect. The capitalist state and its courts have made clear that *Mumia has no rights the courts are bound to respect*.

Thus the significance of the Beverly evidence and why it has been suppressed in the legal battles as well as on the political plane has a simple answer. The Bev-

erly evidence exposes the fraud that the American bourgeois legal system can provide justice. It demonstrates the unity of purpose of the cops, prosecution and courts in upholding the capitalist rulers' interest. It makes it clear that the injustice to Mumia was not the action of one rogue cop, prosecutor or judge *but the entire functioning of the capitalist system of injustice*. The role of the reformist left is to act as an obstacle to the development of that understanding. They promote the same illusions in the "justice of the courts" as liberal journalists David Lindorff and Michael Schiffmann, whose writings ostensibly on Mumia's behalf actually *undermine* the fight for his freedom (see "Class-Struggle Defense vs. Faith in Capitalist 'Justice,'" WV No. 892, 11 May).

Their purpose is to promote the notion of the inviolability of the bourgeois state. This means denying Mumia's innocence. It means denying the extent of the state frame-up and why. This all serves to politically disarm and demobilize those who are drawn to Mumia's cause. This political policy served to demobilize a mass international movement. It has meant rejecting the very reasons that millions around the globe took up Mumia's cause: revulsion with the injustices inherent in capitalism—poverty, racial oppression and ethnic bias, war; identification with Mumia's fight against "the system" and for justice for all of humanity.

To free Mumia now, to save him from execution or the slow death of a lifetime in prison, it is necessary to organize on the basis of a class-struggle defense. While that means utilizing all possible legal proceedings, class-struggle defense is based on an understanding of the nature of the capitalist state, and that there can be no reliance on its courts but all reliance on the power of the working class and its allies.

The courts do not sit in judgment and rule in isolation. There is a pressure that can be brought to bear. But it will take an international mobilization of the masses, centrally labor and its allies—youth, minorities, immigrants—to turn the tide and obtain Mumia's freedom. It was an international mobilization crucially including trade unionists, from South Africa to Europe to the U.S., that stayed the executioner's hand when Mumia was ten days from execution in 1995. It took that mobilization to get the stay of execution, to push the courts to abide by their legal obligation to allow Mumia to pursue his legal appeals. Now, with the possibility that the courts could reverse the overturning of Mumia's death sentence, the issue is Mumia's very life—whether execution or the slow death of life imprisonment.

The work undertaken by the PDC, our fraternal defense organizations and the International Communist League over the past months to revive the struggle for Mumia's freedom on the basis that he is an innocent man is a step forward. Hundreds of individuals and organizations, including unions representing tens of thousands of workers, have signed our statement emphasizing Mumia's innocence and demanding his freedom. But we need a mass movement based on the power of the working class, the power seen in its ability to withhold labor through strike action. Imagine, for example, what it would mean if Philadelphia and New York transit workers struck, not only to secure a decent wage, health care and job conditions but to demand Mumia's freedom! What it would mean for labor to withhold its power in other capitalist centers, stopping communications, transport and industry, demanding: Free Mumia now!

Mumia is up against the vast resources of the capitalist state. But there is a road for victory for Mumia—for his freedom. That begins with the understanding that the class enemy will stop at nothing—from lies to terror—on the street and in the courts. Freedom for Mumia lies in understanding that the power to fight and win lies in the class struggle—in the mobilization of the multiracial, multiethnic proletariat. Free Mumia Now! ■

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

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National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, (212) 732-7860

Chicago Box 6441, Main PO, Chicago, IL 60680, (312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m., 222 S. Morgan (Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, (213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
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China...

(continued from page 3)

revolutions to establish a Socialist United States of Europe. And when in August 1991 Boris Yeltsin and the pro-imperialist “democrats” seized power in Russia, our comrades in Moscow called upon the multinational Soviet working class to oppose and resist the ascendant forces of capitalist restoration.

The critical battles that will determine the fate of the People’s Republic of China remain to be fought out. As in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, the decisive arena in which a capitalist counterrevolution would have to triumph is at the political level—the conquest of *state power*—not simply through the quantitative extension of the private sector, whether domestic or foreign-owned. A few years ago there was an interesting article (“The Ownership Reform in China: What Direction and How Far?”) by Sujian Guo, an émigré anti-Communist Chinese academic in the U.S., challenging the widespread notion that China has already become or is fast becoming capitalist:

“How to privatize such a huge estate of state ownership *within the framework of the existing political system and structure* is really problematic and technically unworkable. The experience of other former communist countries has shown that there is no single case of making privatization successful with the communist party remaining in power and its political system intact.” (emphasis in original)

—*Journal of Contemporary China*, August 2003

If, as Chris Slee contends, the Beijing bureaucracy has restored capitalism in China under the economic domination of Western and Japanese imperialism, one would expect the U.S. and Japanese rulers to be strongly supportive of the CCP regime, just as Washington backed Yeltsin. The reality is that the U.S. imperialists, their West European and Japanese allies and their Australian junior partners remain *fundamentally hostile* to the People’s Republic of China and its government, a hostility actively pursued at both the military and political levels.

Right after the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the Bush Sr. administration announced plans to build an anti-missile “shield,” the main purpose of which is to achieve effective nuclear first-strike capability by intercepting a counter-strike by China’s small arsenal of long-range missiles. As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of China and also North Korea, recognizing their need to develop effective nuclear weaponry to counter the imperialist threat.

At the political level, the imperialists aim to replay in China the strategy used during Cold War II in East Europe and the former Soviet Union: promoting domestic anti-Communist oppositional forces. In fact, while a fledgling capitalist class exists on the mainland, it is not a politically conscious class with its own political party or the equivalent.

The counterrevolutionary machinations of U.S. imperialism are clearly in evidence in Hong Kong, the former British colony and capitalist enclave where (unlike the mainland) the CCP does not exercise a monopoly of political organization. Washington, abetted by London, has actively

championed the Democratic Party and other right-wing oppositional groups there. On the mainland, the U.S. ruling class is encouraging such anti-Communist “dissidents” as Li Jianqiang, a lawyer and convert to Christianity who is involved in the self-styled “rights defense” movement. While visiting Washington last November to meet with the Bush administration’s China “specialists,” Li was interviewed by the CIA’s Radio Free Asia. Shortly after that, he described China as a “super jail”

set up under Beijing’s “market reforms.” But Slee’s complaints are but an echo of the anti-Communist protectionism of the pro-imperialist union bureaucracy and Australian Labor Party. The DSP is such a fervent advocate for “democratic” imperialism that it openly called for Australian troops to invade East Timor in 1999 and to this day refuses to call for their withdrawal!

The role of Solidarność in Poland demonstrates that the imperialists, utilizing the services of their labor lieutenants, are

or closed down in the mid-late 1990s have suffered real economic hardship. However, the large majority of China’s urban workers and also peasants have experienced a considerable improvement in their living standards since the end of the Mao era.

When Mao died in 1976, over three-quarters of the labor force was engaged in farming and over 80 percent of the population lived in the countryside. Today, over 50 percent of the labor force is employed in manufacturing, construction, transport and the service sector, and 40 percent of the population is urbanized. From a Marxist standpoint, this is a *progressive* development of historic import. So, too, is the corresponding quantitative and qualitative expansion of China’s industrial capacity. Over a hundred million peasants, especially young men and women, have escaped from the squalid poverty and cultural barrenness of rural life and become an integral part of an urban industrializing society. Even those working under sweatshop conditions in the Pearl River and Yangzi River deltas are materially much better off than their parents and siblings who have remained on the family farm.

All of these facts demolish Slee’s false equation of today’s China with Russia following the collapse of the Soviet Union, where capitalist counterrevolution has inflicted massive economic devastation and social degradation. At the same time, “market reforms” have bred ever-sharpening contradictions, setting the stage for a social explosion. A proletarian political revolution that ousts the Stalinist bureaucracy and establishes a government based on workers and peasants councils would radically restructure and reorganize China’s economy in the interests of the workers and rural toilers. It would reintroduce centralized planning on a rational basis and reinstitute a state monopoly of foreign trade while working toward an egalitarian redistribution of income and wealth.

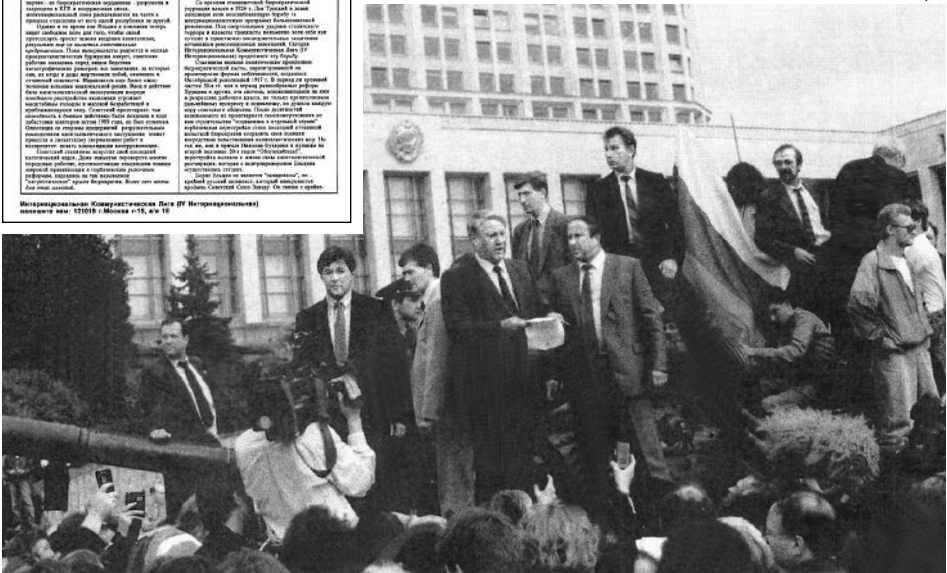
Undoubtedly, such a regime would face bitter opposition from the imperialists, from economic blackmail to military belligerence. But no less certainly, proletarian political revolution in China would serve as a base for the struggle for workers revolution against the capitalist-imperialist system internationally, smashing through the lie of the “death of communism” fostered by the imperialists and their “leftist” tails following the destruction of the Soviet Union.

China remains a relatively poor country, a condition aggravated by hostile imperialist pressures. To raise China’s populace to the socioeconomic level of the First World and then above that level is possible only through proletarian socialist revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries (Australia being a junior member of the First World club). In order to build Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties capable of leading such revolutions, it is necessary to politically defeat the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, the agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers movement. The pernicious role of groups like the Australian DSP lies in providing a left cover for the anti-Communism and imperialist chauvinism of the labor lieutenants of capital in their respective countries.■



Boris Yeltsin and fellow capitalist-restorationists outside Moscow “White House,” August 1991. ICL distributed tens of thousands of leaflets headlined, “Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!”

Sipa



and its leaders as “ruthless dictators” (*New York Times*, 25 February).

And where do Chris Slee and the DSP stand in this battle? The DSP first publicly declared that China had become “a capitalist state” in 1999, backdating this historically momentous event (which they somehow failed to notice at the time) to 1992. “A qualitative turn was made in 1992 by the Chinese regime,” we are informed, “*toward* an orientation of *replacing* the statised, planned economy with a capitalist economy throughout *the whole of China*” (“The Class Nature of the Chinese State,” January 1999; emphasis in original). This position is a threadbare “theoretical” rationale by which Slee and his colleagues justify their longstanding support for counter-revolutionary forces directed at China in the name of “anti-Stalinism.”

As we previously noted, even *before* the DSP formally claimed that China had become capitalist, these anti-Communist social democrats were supporting all manner of counterrevolutionary forces directed against the Chinese deformed workers state. The DSP raised the call for self-determination (i.e., independence) for Taiwan, the island statelet ruled by the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie under the military protection of U.S. imperialism. It lauded the pro-imperialist “trade-union activist” Han Dongfang, director of the Hong Kong-based *China Labour Bulletin* and darling of anti-Communist circles in Washington.

Chinese workers are indeed being “ruthlessly exploited in capitalist sweatshops”

capable of cynically manipulating the discontents and legitimate grievances of the working class against a Stalinist regime for their own reactionary ends. When Stalinist bonapartist rule in China collapses—and it will—Trotskyists will have to continue, under changed circumstances, the political combat against elements fomenting anti-Communism and preaching the virtues of Western-style “democracy” in the reawakened Chinese workers movement.

Slee maintains that the significant socioeconomic development of China during the post-Mao “reform” era, which saw the highest rate of economic growth of any major country, has had “catastrophic” consequences for the Chinese working class. Contrary to his unsubstantiated assertions, China’s working class as a whole has *not* experienced absolute economic immiseration since the country was opened to large-scale industrial investment by the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie and Western and Japanese corporations. Quite the contrary.

What is true is that there has been an enormous widening of economic inequalities between a layer of capitalists and an increasingly affluent petty-bourgeois stratum made up of government functionaries and managerial/administrative/technocratic personnel on the one side and the working class and peasantry on the other. It is also true that the 20 to 30 million workers, disproportionately women, who were laid off from small and medium-sized state-owned enterprises when these were privatized, restructured

Germany...

(continued from page 1)

[Peace Cooperative Network] raged against “the rioters”: “We will find out who the assholes were.” [Rostock demonstration organizer] Monty Schädel made mild criticisms of the police, the better to turn around and attack the left: “There is no excuse and no justification for a group of Autonomes to attack a police car.” Thus they join in the witchhunt by the bourgeois media, which is calling for the blood of the “Black Block” and other leftists. This invites only more cop terror. What’s

next? Murder, like the shooting of Carlo Giuliani at the 2001 anti-G8 protests in Genoa? If such naked police terror is not combatted, it will be a precedent for further state attacks on the left, the workers movement and immigrants. We say: *An injury to one is an injury to all! Down with the witchhunt against the “Black Block”!*

Meanwhile, in Schwerin, where the NPD fascists wanted to stage a provocation, the bourgeois state banned *all* demonstrations. The Nazis shifted their demonstration from Schwerin to several cities, including Berlin, where they marched through the Brandenburg Gate for their program of genocide. In Schwerin, 150

anti-fascists were arrested and threatened with charges. State terror against the left, as in Rostock or Schwerin, fuels the Nazis’ deadly terror and strengthens them. This shows once more that state bans against the Nazis are, in the end, used against the left. What we need are mobilizations of the multiethnic working class at the head of all the fascists’ potential victims to stop the Nazis.

Rostock shows again that the capitalist state—with the police, army and courts at its core—is not neutral. Rather its purpose is to maintain the power of the capitalist class and to oppress the working class and all who stand in the way of

capitalist rule. The police are the professional thugs of the bourgeoisie. They have no business in the workers movement. *Police out of the DGB* [trade-union federation]! While the G8 leaders are behind closed doors in Heiligen-damm planning imperialist war and their next attack on the workers, the police are making clear how they will deal with anyone who resists the imperialist rulers. The attacks on the anti-G8 demonstrators are in the end directed against the entire working class! *It is necessary to have mass protests by the workers movement and its allies to oppose state terror against the opponents of the G8!*■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

which announced that it would participate in the strike by “working to rule.” Their “work” as enforcers of neo-apartheid capitalism was on display in the vicious attack at Tygerberg Hospital. In the Johannesburg area, one police unit is under investigation for torturing members of the South African Municipal Workers Union who had been on strike earlier this year. As we wrote in “Protest Apartheid-Style Police Brutality Against Union Bus Drivers!” (WV No. 893, 25 May), “The fact that the state, including the police forces and the army, contains many more black faces does not mean that it is any less an institution for capitalist oppression.” Spartacist

South Africa, section of the International Communist League, says: Police, security guards and prison guards out of the unions!

The public service strike highlights the contradictions within the SACP—what V. I. Lenin called a bourgeois workers party—which encompasses outright nationalists and government ministers, labor reformists, and workers at the base who are open to a revolutionary perspective. At the outset of the strike, SACP general secretary Blade Nzimande used the left side of his mouth to intone that it’s “better to get behind workers rather than hang on the aprons of the bourgeoisie.” The same SACP’s Ronnie Kasrils is head of the Intelligence ministry whose operatives intimidated members of the South African Democratic Teachers Union in the lead-up to the strike. As Public Service and Admin-

istration minister, former SACPer Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi got a court injunction—that nurses have defied—under which nurses could be fired for striking. Fraser-Moleketi acts as the hard cop against unions led by her “comrades,” the same role she played as an SACP leader in the government during the powerful 1999 public employees strike (see “South African Workers vs. ANC Capitalist Government,” WV No. 718, 3 September 1999).

A number of powerful unions in key industries are also threatening strike action, including the National Union of Mineworkers, the Communication Workers Union and the National Union of Metalworkers. The roiling anger in the proletariat points to the need to forge a new leadership in the unions through political struggle against the labor tops’

nationalist class collaborationism.

A revolutionary workers party must be built, not simply to defend the particular interests of the working class but to fight to eradicate *all* forms of national and social oppression—from the mass homelessness in the black townships and the hideous conditions trapping millions on “tribal homelands” to the degradation of women and the plight of immigrants. As we wrote in our article last issue, “Spartacist South Africa calls to break the Tripartite Alliance—for the class independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois parties and its state! What is necessary is the building of a revolutionary Leninist-Trotskyist party, part of a reformed Fourth International, which can lead the proletariat and all the oppressed forward to achieve workers rule, as part of world socialist revolution.” ■

Immigrants...

(continued from page 16)

of the more urbane reactionaries at *National Review*. CNN’s resident xenophobic, race-hate mouthpiece, Lou Dobbs, has gone so far as to cook up inane and lying stories about immigrants being responsible for a (nonexistent) rise in leprosy!

While the Republican Party is engulfed in factional wrangling over the bill, Democratic presidential candidates Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama chatter about sponsoring amendments to prettify it. One sticking point is the bill’s provisions against immigrant families. Contrary to the hypocritical bleats over “family values” from both parties of American capitalism, the bill would dismantle the family visa system in place since 1965, under which immigrants could sponsor family members. Replacing this with a skills “point system,” it would, according to the *New York Times* (30 May), “end preferences for the adult children and siblings of United States citizens, and eliminate a citizen’s rights to sponsor parents.” The bill would create a pool of 40,000 visas for which citizens would be forced to compete to bring their parents into the country. The *Times* article ominously pointed out that “only those admitted on points could sponsor their spouse and minor children.” If enacted, this would have an immediate and devastating effect on millions of immigrants.

For its part, labor officialdom, which has presided over the destruction of untold numbers of union jobs while pouring millions of dollars in union dues into Democratic Party campaigns, is divided. “Change to Win,” the 2005 split from the AFL-CIO, has in the past actually *backed* proposals for “guest worker” programs. In regard to the present bill, key components of the federation “are more willing to accept an amended version of the temporary-worker program” (*Los Angeles Times*, 1 June). The AFL-CIO has opposed the bill, including the vile “guest worker” provisions, but with vile, protectionist “American jobs for American workers”



I.C.E. agent searches man during raid at Swift plant in Greeley, Colorado, December 2006.

demagoguery and calls for more border “security.” In fact, among the grotesque provisions of this anti-immigrant bill are those beefing up the Border Patrol with some 18,000 more agents, adding 370 more miles of fences and increasing sinister immigrant-hunting technology.

The mass demonstrations that took place in the spring of 2006 and, to a lesser extent, this May showed the courage and determination of immigrant workers and their allies to fight in defense of their rights. However, the protests were politically dominated by the strategy of pressuring the Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism. That was best exemplified by the slogan: “Today we march, tomorrow we vote!” first used before the 2006 midterm elections and now in the run-up to the 2008 presidential contest. As opposed to reformist left groups such as the International Socialist Organization (ISO) that have uncritically hailed the politics of the demonstrations, we have warned from the beginning that a strategy based on pressuring the Democrats is *counterposed* to an internationalist, class-struggle fight for immigrant rights.

In a joint declaration of the Spartacist League/U.S. and Grupo Espartaquista de México (WV No. 867, 31 March 2006), we explained:

“In the U.S., the most powerful and dangerous of the imperialist countries, the multiracial proletariat has a particular obligation to oppose the wars and depredations of the U.S. capitalist class. Defense of immigrant rights is necessary

not only to fight the exploitation of the most vulnerable layers of the population. It is also crucial to reversing the decades-long decline of the trade unions, by enlisting immigrant workers, many of whom have a history of militant struggle, in the front ranks of the labor movement. Mexican immigrant workers can serve as a human bridge linking the struggles of the North American and Latin American proletariat.

“Opposition to anti-immigrant racism in the U.S. is directly intertwined with the struggle against black oppression. It is particularly important to combat anti-immigrant chauvinism among U.S.-born black and white workers, while immigrant workers must grasp that anti-black racism remains the touchstone of social reaction in the U.S.”

In warning against the earlier immigration “reform” proposed by Senators Kennedy and McCain (“Down With Feds’ Raids at Swift Meatpacking!” WV No. 883, 5 January), we pointed out that it will take the fighting unity of Latino, black and white workers against the bosses and their government to defeat anti-immigrant, anti-union attacks. Such a perspective requires combatting the politics of the labor misleaders—who are opposed to a program of class struggle and look to the capitalist state to defend the rights of working people and immigrants—and poses the necessity of fighting for a new, class-struggle leadership in the unions.

Such a leadership would fight for the political independence of labor from the bosses’ parties—Democrats, Republicans and Greens. There is a crying need for a revolutionary workers party—a party that fights to *organize the unorganized*, not least in the open shop South; that mobilizes labor’s social power to *bust the union-busters*; that acts as the *tribune of the people* and fights for a *workers government*, i.e., for a workers state that expropriates the bloodsucking capitalist rulers and uproots their system.

Legislative action or the lack thereof will not change the fact that under capitalism, as economic need demands, immigrant labor will be exploited—used in times of labor shortage and disposed of in times of economic contraction. As the capitalist rulers debate how best to exploit the working class while keeping it divided, last year alone saw some 190,000 people deported. On May 22, the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement seized 136 workers, mainly from Guatemala and Mexico, at the George’s Processing, Inc. poultry plant in

Missouri. In Ohio over the weekend of May 19-20, federal agents swept through the town of Painesville, arresting 24 in dawn raids. According to the *People’s Weekly World* (31 May), published by the Communist Party (CP), “Some 400 people sought refuge in St. Mary’s small basement Saturday afternoon, while others nailed their front doors shut and fled to the woods.” Perceiving a green light from the government, racist vigilantes have been emboldened. Virginia teenagers shot and killed a 32-year-old Mexican worker as he walked home to his trailer because they had decided that day to “get a Mexican” (*Washington Post*, 31 May).

However bipartisan the anti-immigrant outrages, on the street and in Congress, the CP will surely not be deterred from its habitual “fight the right” campaigning for Democrats. Nor has the largely moribund CP cornered that market. The ISO, while opposing the Senate “compromise” bill, gushes: “Nevertheless, the fact that *some* Democrats are criticizing the legislation from the left is a departure from last year” (*Socialist Worker* online, 25 May). The article goes on to state: “This year’s larger-than-expected protests on May Day are evidence that the immigrant rights movement hasn’t disappeared—and that the potential exists to mobilize at the grassroots for a just immigration policy.”

A “just” immigration policy under this wretched system? This is the antithesis of a Marxist understanding of the capitalist system and its state as historically developed in the U.S., with its legacy of the racist extermination of the native peoples, black chattel slavery and waves of anti-immigrant reaction; and with the continued pitting of different sectors of the working class and oppressed against each other by the racist rulers. It took blood and iron in the Civil War to rid this country of the scourge of slavery. It took pitched battles by union organizers to lay the basis for integrated, industrial unions. It took courageous fighters to extinguish Jim Crow segregation in the American South. But such reforms as can be wrested in hard class and social struggle are manifestly reversible as long as the capitalists hold state power.

Against the demagoguery of the capitalist rulers and the politicians of both capitalist parties—white, black, Latino and other—which is echoed by the labor tops, we reiterate the closing lines of the *Communist Manifesto*: “The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!” As we wrote in “How the Fake Left Amnesties the Democrats” (WV No. 873, 7 July 2006):

“We do not seek to tinker with the system, looking for an alternative immigration policy. We will support such reforms as are offered. But, our bottom line is that we will worry about the ebbs and flows of the world economy when the proletariat under revolutionary leadership runs it. We are not responsible for, nor do we seek to advise, the bourgeoisie on its immigration or other policies. We seek to organize the social power of the proletariat to smash this system and establish proletarian rule.” ■



4 September 2006: Workers move against anti-immigrant bigots at Labor Day picnic, Wilmington, California. Spartacist sign reads: “Down With La Migra Racist Roundups—Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!”

ILWU...

(continued from page 16)

proposition at odds with the greater interests of U.S. imperialism. In fact, a large wing of the ruling class wants out of Iraq in order to better pursue its aims and interests in Iran, Afghanistan and elsewhere and to pursue the huge prize of capitalist counterrevolution in the Chinese deformed workers state. Protesters' demands to "Bring our troops home now" made crystal clear how the Port of Oakland action was confined to the framework of patriotic appeals to that section of the bourgeoisie calling to cut U.S. losses in Iraq. But you can't deliver an effective blow to the imperialists and their predatory wars while supporting the capitalist Democrats, the other party of war and racism.

This is neither "our" government nor are these "our" troops. As our WV sales team pointed out to protesters and longshoremen on May 19, we revolutionary Marxists say that working people in the U.S. and internationally have a side—with the peoples of Iraq and Afghanistan—against the U.S. occupiers. This does not entail the least political support to any of the competing forces of Islamic fundamentalism or to the nationalist remnants of the Ba'athists in Iraq, nor to the Taliban and similar reactionary forces in Afghanistan. The communalist bloodletting in Iraq is only exacerbated by the U.S. occupation. For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq and Afghanistan!

Workers and the Capitalist State

The increased repression that is the domestic reflection of the global "war on terror" directly targets immigrants, black people and ultimately all of labor. Longshoremen themselves face the immediate threat of criminal background checks required to get a Transportation Worker Identification Card from the Department of Homeland Security, posing a racist, anti-immigrant purge of the workforce. We opposed the government's "war on terror" from the get-go. In Oakland on 9 February 2002, the Labor Black League and Partisan Defense Committee, which are politically allied with the Spartacist League, initiated the first labor-centered protest in opposition to the USA Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act. Local 10 members were a key component of that demonstration.

In contrast, ILWU officials support the implementation of a range of "homeland security" measures on the docks and have encouraged the government to screen the largely immigrant and non-union port truckers more vigorously at terminal gates. Longshoremen have to recognize that the port truckers and intermodal facility workers, whose wages and working conditions are well below those of the ILWU, are their allies in the struggle against the port bosses. For full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Fight to extend ILWU wages and conditions to all workers in the ports!

In explaining the union's decision to honor the picket on May 19, an ILWU official recalled an attack on a previous picket protesting the war outside the same SSA gates, announcing: "We don't feel comfortable being escorted by the police because last time the police beat and shot people." From dock workers gathered around him came shouts of "That's right!" and "I don't want to get shot!" On 7 April 2003, the Oakland Police Department under Democratic mayor Jerry Brown fired rubber bullets and other "non-lethal" projectiles against demonstrators and longshoremen who were standing by. Jack Heyman, the union's business agent, was arrested, and a number of ILWU members and antiwar protesters were seriously injured. Those who were hurt in the 2003 attack were dragged through the capitalist courts for months before charges against them were eventually dropped. Similarly, earlier this year, police attacked antiwar



March 18: Spartacist banner at San Francisco antiwar demonstration.

pickets at ports in Tacoma and Olympia in Washington.

The ILWU bureaucrats studiously avoided any mention of the fact that the cops menacing the May 19 demonstration were Ron Dellums' cops! As mayor, Dellums—a former chairman of the House Armed Services Committee—is an executive officer of the capitalist state. It is his role to defend the interests of the ruling class and, in particular, of the shipping bosses in Oakland, the country's fourth-largest port.

The OEA's prominent banner outside the gates at SSA read: "Use Port Money for Oakland Public Schools, Not for Wal-Mart and Charters." Other signs pleaded to "Stop War Shipments—Port Money for Community Needs." The Oakland public schools, which many children of ILWU members attend, are indeed in deep financial crisis. But the priorities of the capitalist government are set by the ruling class it serves. This ruling class is going to invest all it can to maintain its sizable military advantage over its imperialist rivals in Europe and Asia. At the same time, in this epoch of capitalist decay, it has consciously starved education and health care and allowed basic infrastructure to erode. To wrest any gains from the capitalists, what working people need is some hard class struggle, not begging capitalist politicians to throw some crumbs at them. And short of overthrowing the rule of capital altogether, such gains are reversible.

Fight U.S. Imperialism Through Class Struggle at Home!

The Bay Area chapter of United for Peace and Justice, the bourgeois Oakland Green Party and the Northern California Committees of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism endorsed PAC's May 19 action. Despite the fact that ships calling at Oakland do carry some military cargo, it's not clear that any war matériel was stopped that day. The PAC, whose major mover seems to be OEA executive board member Bob Mandel, claimed that stevedoring companies serving SSA and American President Lines also service the Concord Naval Weapons Station. What neither the Port Action Committee nor the ILWU bureaucrats wanted to point out was that *ILWU members regularly work the military ships that are loaded at Concord Naval Weapons Station.*

Longshoremen are in a position to inflict a direct setback to the imperialist war machine through political strikes and the hot-cargoing of military goods. But this tremendous power is kept in check inside the labor movement by its current leadership, which is tied by a thousand threads to the capitalist political parties and government. The union contract with the Pacific Maritime Association shippers and stevedoring companies commits ILWU members to handle essential military cargo

even on holidays or during any other shutdown (a fact also not mentioned by the PAC). This is the legacy of Harry Bridges, under whose leadership the ILWU moved military cargo for the war in Vietnam, even though the union was on record in opposition to that widely unpopular, counterrevolutionary war.

If longshoremen were to stop military cargo at Concord or other ports, it would immediately throw the ranks up against the capitalist state—the armed bodies of men that protect and defend the system of production for profit. Concord's own history is a case in point. The Naval Weapons Station is located at the site of the old Port Chicago terminal on the Sacramento River, 30 miles northeast of San Francisco. Port Chicago was the first pier in U.S. history built exclusively for loading and shipping ammunition, including dangerous explosives, overseas. In the midst of WWII in July 1944, a blast destroyed everything within a one-mile radius—including two ships, the pier and the dock—and massacred 320 workers and sailors, 202 of them black ammunition loaders. This was the worst domestic naval disaster in U.S. history. In response, black sailors at Port Chicago staged a spontaneous work stoppage, which was labeled a mutiny. Two hundred fifty-eight black men were imprisoned on a barge and threatened with mutiny charges punishable by death during wartime.

The "lieutenants of the capitalist class" running the unions understand that militant action would tear into their reactionary game of preaching reliance on the bosses' state and political agents, particularly those in the Democratic Party. For labor to take the offensive against imperialist war will require a different kind of leadership, one guided by a program of class struggle and able to instill class consciousness, educating workers in how to

defeat the bosses and their state. As this capitalist government turns the screws on working people at home, and the more it runs roughshod over peoples overseas, the fight to oust the union bureaucrats is linked to building a multiracial revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government.

In Russia in 1917 such a party led the working class to victory in the October Revolution, which overthrew capitalist rule and established a workers state based on soviets (councils). The United States, among 14 capitalist nations, invaded Soviet Russia with the intent of overthrowing the revolutionary government. Working-class actions around the world against the imperialist intervention helped preserve the world's first workers state. In 1919, a massive strike wave swept the U.S., fueled in part by sympathy for the Russian Revolution. Early that year, there was a general strike in Seattle in which a committee of union delegates ran the city for five days. Later that year, Seattle longshoremen refused to handle military goods destined for Admiral Kolchak, the leader of counterrevolutionary forces fighting the Bolshevik government in Siberia. 1919 also saw the founding of the American Communist movement.

The Bolshevik leadership understood the Russian Revolution to be simply the *first step* in the fight for a world socialist order. This revolutionary internationalist perspective was undone by the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution under Stalin beginning in 1923-24. The Stalinist bureaucracy preached the lie that socialism could be built in one country and that the USSR could peacefully coexist with imperialism. This meant repudiating the struggle for workers revolution internationally.

The fact that the Soviet Union was transformed from a backward, peasant-dominated country into an industrial and military powerhouse demonstrated the power of the planned economy, despite decades of Stalinist misrule. Counterrevolution in the USSR in 1991-92 was a huge defeat for working people all over the world and has meant a global capitalist offensive against workers and the oppressed while throwing back political consciousness among working people. The "post-Soviet" world is one of increased imperialist depredation around the world and racist, anti-immigrant and anti-labor attacks by the capitalist rulers. Today, the enslavement of Iraq is yet another price that the international working class and the oppressed peoples of the Third World are paying for the destruction of the Soviet Union.

The struggle against the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan must be a struggle against the capitalist system that breeds such wars. It requires a break with the Democratic Party and all other agencies of capitalist class rule and the forging of a new working-class leadership, like the Russian revolutionary leadership of 1917. U.S. out of Iraq, Afghanistan! Break with the Democrats—For a workers party! Down with U.S. imperialism! For class struggle at home!■

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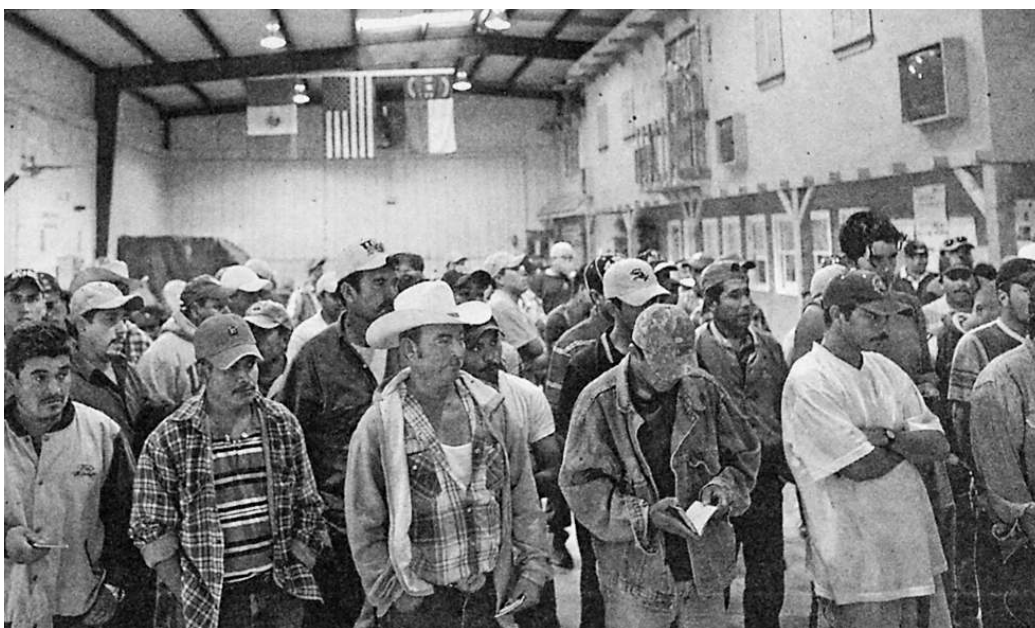
Democrats, Republicans Push Vicious Anti-Immigrant Bill

Another ominous anti-immigrant bill is now before the U.S. Senate—the bipartisan “Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007.” As Marxists who champion the interests of the international working class, we oppose this bill, just as we opposed supposedly more “liberal” versions introduced last year. We say anyone who has made it to this country has the right to stay here: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations!

Should there be any doubt as to the bill’s effects, no less an authority on how to enrich the rich while grinding down working people than the *Wall Street Journal* (31 May) approvingly states:

“Here’s what the bill does not do. It does not grant amnesty to the 12 million illegal immigrants already in the country and nor does it give a free pass to others who want to enter the country illegally.

“The bill provides real border security for the first time.... It doubles the border patrol, expands the border fence and informs law enforcement about foreign nationals in the United States. Because it requires foreign workers to carry tamper-proof identification,



Mexican “guest workers” at North Carolina Growers Association office waiting for their papers to be processed.

Jarman/NY Times

both law enforcement and employers will be able to identify and apprehend those who violate the law.”

Predictably, the *Wall Street Journal* lauds the so-called “guest worker” provi-

sions in the bill. If enacted, the bill would create a system of indentured servitude for immigrant workers, who furthermore are supposed to leave the country for one year after two years’ employment before they

can return again. Such “guest worker” schemes recall the 1942-1964 *bracero* program instituted by the liberal Democratic Party administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Up to 4.6 million Mexican workers slaved under this program for over 20 years, denied rights in the U.S. and facing the prospect of being sent back by their employers at any time. In the 1950s, over a million Mexicans and Mexican Americans were expelled from the U.S. under the racist “Operation Wetback.” In fact, the *bracero* program came about in part because of the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II by the U.S. bourgeoisie, who then discovered a severe shortage of agricultural workers.

The current anti-immigrant bill, introduced in May by liberal Democratic Senator Ted Kennedy among others, is genuinely bipartisan. The Bush White House is pushing it to cater to business interests who employ immigrants, despite screams from its nativist, white racist base as well as from the likes

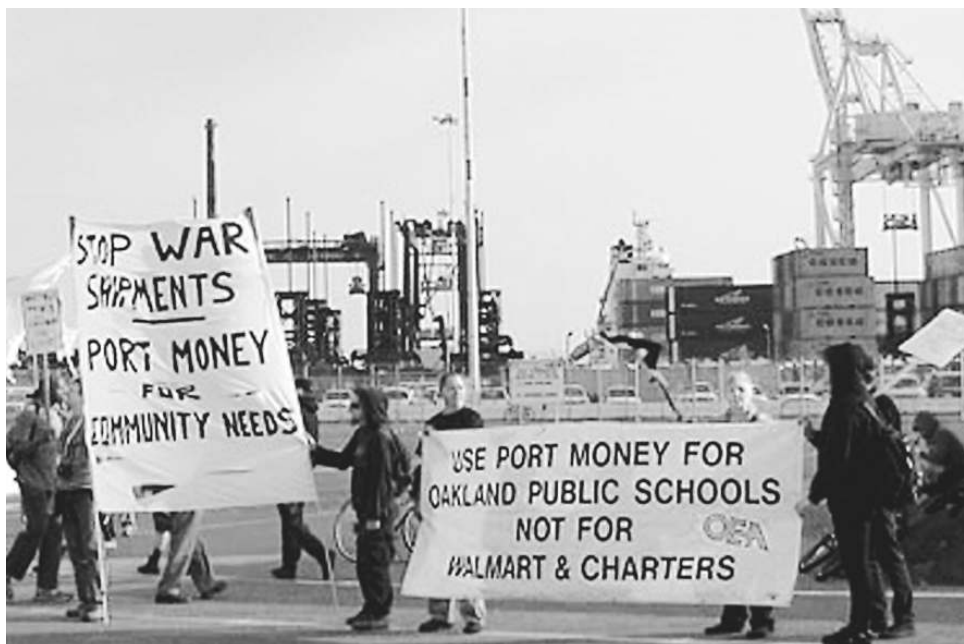
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ILWU Longshore Workers Honor Antiwar Picket Line

Oakland

OAKLAND—Three ships sat idle at the Stevedoring Services of America (SSA) terminals on May 19 as dock workers dispatched by International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10 and clerks dispatched by ILWU Local 34 honored a picket line protesting the Iraq war. In an effort to keep people away from the picket called by the Port Action Committee (PAC), the Oakland police set up checkpoints on city streets leading to the port, preventing all vehicles except those with “valid business reasons” from entering the port. The determined demonstrators had to walk about a mile to the SSA gates. Despite the checkpoints, which resulted in the protest getting little coverage in the capitalist media, the picket line drew scores of demonstrators.

Longshoremen stayed out on the day and evening shifts. Asked by a TV reporter how he felt about missing a day’s work, one black longshoreman responded, “It’s for a good cause. I don’t like it, but I never did like the war.” This action was a measure of the deepening working-class anger at U.S. imperialism’s occupation of Iraq, although it was a largely symbolic use of union power.



May 19: Stevedoring Services of America terminal in Oakland was shut down when ILWU honored Port Action Committee picket line protesting Iraq war. Reformist appeals on banners at left for more humane capitalism are counterposed to class-struggle fight against imperialist war.

Among the picketers was a union contingent from the Oakland Education Association (OEA). OEA members demanded that tax money from the port be used to fund Oakland schools. Dominating the protest were illusions that the Oakland city government under black Democratic

mayor Ron Dellums, a liberal capitalist politician supported in the last elections by the ILWU, could be made to serve the interests of working people. A number of Local 10 officials were present at the morning protest, handing out a letter from Dellums that called for “an end to this war”

and stated, “I believe that history will record that this war was the greatest foreign policy blunder in the history of America and the sooner we end it the better.”

Dellums and his fellow Democrats consider the occupation of Iraq a losing

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