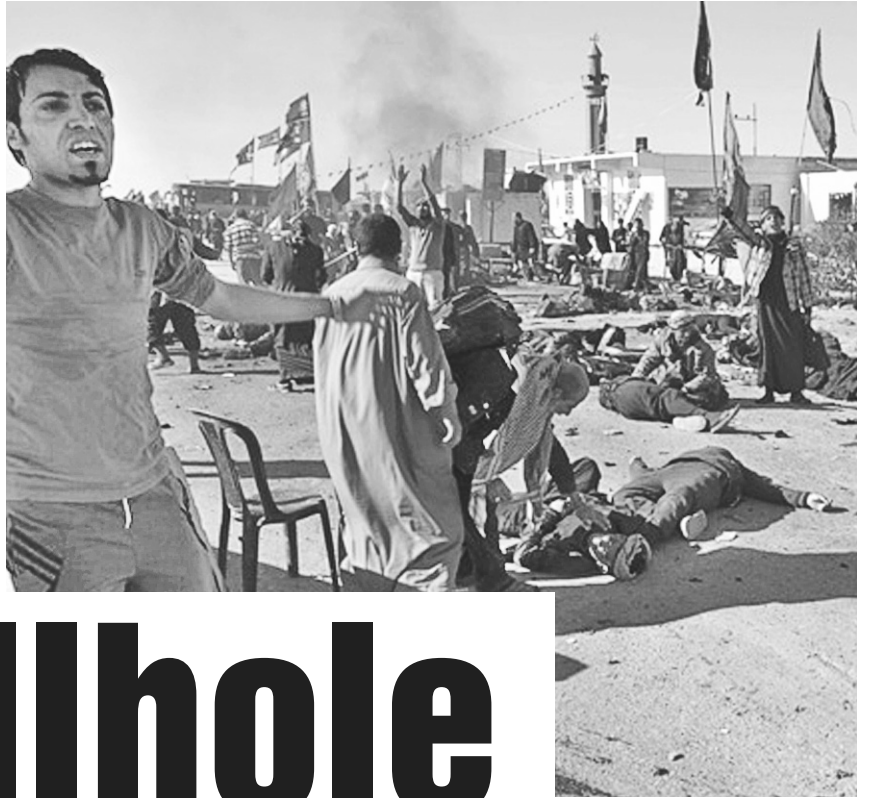


## Imperialists Shift Military Forces



AFP



Reuters

# Iraq Hellhole Made in U.S.A.

On December 18, the U.S. rulers withdrew virtually all uniformed soldiers from Iraq, after having subjected that country to over a decade of starvation sanctions, two devastating wars and brutal military occupation. In announcing the withdrawal, which frees up the U.S. military to focus its firepower elsewhere and in no way marks the end of U.S. intervention in Iraq, President Barack Obama hailed the country as a “model for the entire region.” But the reality is that Iraq, once one of the more advanced countries in the Near East and a regional cultural center, lies in ruins, a testament to the nature of capitalism in its imperialist stage of decay.

By some estimates, more than 1.2 million people have been killed in Iraq since the 2003 U.S. invasion, in addition to some 1.5 million killed earlier through starvation sanctions under the aegis of the UN. Repeated U.S. military attacks on civilian neighborhoods and the communal warfare, especially between Sunni and Shi’ite Arabs, unleashed by the occupation have driven roughly five million people from their homes. With the country’s infrastructure demolished, electrical shortages are the norm, 40 percent of the population lacks access to potable water and many families live in desperate poverty without sufficient food. According to the UN, almost one-third of Iraqi children between the ages of six months and five years suffer from acute or chronic malnutrition.

An estimated 30,000 detainees, a third of whom were turned over to Iraqi forces by the departing U.S. troops, rot in pris-

## All U.S. Troops, Mercenaries Out of the Near East, Afghanistan Now!

**Left: Falluja flattened, depopulated in 2004 by U.S. military. Right: Sectarian bomb attack in Nassiriya, January 5. Imperialist occupation unleashed communal warfare in Iraq.**

ons with no hope of a trial or even, in many cases, contact with their families. According to Amnesty International and the Red Cross, the hideous tortures commonly used to extract “confessions”—which in hundreds of cases have served as the basis for death sentences—include electric shocks, suffocation, breaking limbs, ripping out fingernails, piercing the body with drills and rape using sticks or bottles. Such sadistic acts closely parallel those that were routinely carried out by U.S. forces at detention centers throughout Iraq, such as the notorious Camp Nama on the outskirts of Baghdad, where the torture inflicted on detainees was far more gruesome than that documented in photos from Abu Ghraib prison.

Exemplifying the impunity with which U.S. troops have indiscriminately killed Iraqi civilians, the Marine who in 2005 led the coldblooded massacre of 24 men, women and children in Haditha was recently let off with a simple reduction in rank. Even Washington’s puppet regime in Baghdad considered it impolitic last fall to extend the agreement granting U.S. troops immunity from Iraqi prosecution. The Obama administration chose not to leave regular troops in Iraq but instead to maintain a small army of 5,500 mercenaries under the jurisdiction of the State Department, which is running an 11,000-person embassy. The U.S. also is operating a fleet of surveillance drones in Baghdad. By this arrangement, the mercenaries will report-

edly be granted diplomatic immunity.

Throughout the occupation, the U.S. imperialists manipulated and reinforced sectarian divisions, including by mobilizing Shi’ite militias and the Kurdish *pesh merga* to crush Sunni insurgents in Falluja in 2004 as U.S. forces leveled that city. Bombings of residential neighborhoods, assassinations of religious pilgrims and other forms of interethnic bloodletting, while not reaching the gory levels of five years ago, have escalated in recent weeks. Throughout the occupation, Christians and other smaller minorities have been victims of violence.

Helping to touch off the renewed wave of communalist slaughter, in October the Shi’ite-dominated government of Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki launched a roundup of hundreds of mainly Sunni Muslims accused of being former members of Saddam Hussein’s Ba’ath Party and issued an arrest warrant for Vice President Tariq al-Hashimi, the country’s highest-ranking Sunni official. With the Shi’ite dominance of the government in Baghdad, Iran has gained significant influence in Iraq while itself being a target of increased imperialist economic sanctions and U.S./Israeli military threats. The deepening sectarian bloodshed underlines the fact that Iraq is not a nation but rather a patchwork of different peoples and ethnicities—primarily Shi’ite Arabs, Sunni Arabs and Kurds—carved out of the collapsing Turkish Ottoman Empire

by the British imperialists at the end of the First World War.

The nightmare that has been inflicted upon the Iraqi peoples by both Democratic and Republican administrations in Washington reflects the

normal workings of imperialism—from the massacres by U.S. troops in the Philippines following the Spanish-American War to the slaughter of millions of workers and peasants by American and other imperialists during counterrevolutionary wars against Korea and Vietnam. The scramble among the capitalist-imperialist powers for markets, natural resources and sources of cheap labor necessarily produces a drive toward war—colonial-style wars as well as interimperialist conflicts (e.g., World Wars I and II). Along with exploiting the working class at home, the capitalist classes of North America, Europe and Japan exploit and oppress the downtrodden masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America, imposing inhuman conditions on billions of people.

### Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

As with the 2001 attack on Afghanistan, when the U.S. launched the invasion of Iraq, it was asserting its right to run roughshod over the planet. The Spartacist League/U.S. declared (WV No. 800, 28 March 2003):

“It is in the class interest of the international proletariat to clearly take a side in defense of Iraq without giving any political support to the bloody Saddam Hussein regime. Every victory for the U.S. imperialists can only encourage further military adventures. In turn, every humiliation, every setback, every defeat they suffer will serve to assist the struggles of working people and the oppressed around the globe.”

We continue to demand the immediate and  
*continued on page 2*



# Oakland Cops Attack Occupy Protesters, Again

JANUARY 30—Two days ago, the Oakland Police Department (OPD)—aided by 14 other police agencies—turned downtown streets into a virtual war zone, firing tear gas, smoke bombs, flash-bang grenades and “less lethal” beanbag and rubber bullets at Occupy Oakland demonstrators. The protesters had assembled to take over an abandoned building and turn it into a neighborhood community center. By the end of the night, the cops, with batons swinging, had trapped hundreds of protesters outside a downtown YMCA. In total, some 400 people were arrested, many for “failure to disperse,” even as the trapped demonstrators were chanting, “Let us leave!” A 19-year-old woman was hospitalized with internal

bleeding after being beaten by the cops. *Free the protesters! Drop all the charges!* At a press conference the next day, Democratic mayor Jean Quan denounced the protesters as “violent” while City Council member Ignacio De La Fuente accused them of engaging in “domestic terrorism.” Coming in the wake of Obama’s National Defense Authorization Act, which enshrines into law the indefinite detention of American citizens, this is a deadly serious charge. It is the OPD that terrorizes the streets of Oakland, attacking protesters, occupying the ghettos and gunning down blacks and other minorities with impunity. The brutality of the OPD is so notorious that it is being threatened with federal receiver-

ship. This stems from the nearly decade-old settlement of the infamous Oakland “Riders” case, where a murderous gang of cops (named after the KKK nightriders) was unleashed on the West Oakland ghetto as part of the racist “war on drugs.” Such federal interventions are not about “justice”; they are a con game designed to clean up the image of the police. As a Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club comrade underlined at an October 29 Occupy Oakland rally held to protest the police attack that left Iraq war veteran Scott Olsen fighting for his life (see WV No. 990, 11 November 2011): “Along with the courts, prisons and military, the cops make up the armed fist of the state, which defends the property and profits of the capitalist

ruling class. Cops are not workers, they are strikebreakers. They shot Oscar Grant down in cold blood. Cops are not potential allies, they are our enemy.” Addressing the populist politics of the Occupy movement, our comrade continued: “The slogan ‘We are the 99 percent’ actually blurs the class line and disguises the class nature of the capitalist state and all its political parties....” “The current economic crisis has sparked the mass protests. But to actually end exploitation and oppression, you have to do something fundamentally different. We are fighting to build a multi-racial revolutionary workers party that will lead the workers in smashing the capitalist state, expropriating the banks and corporations and building a socialist world in which those who labor rule.” ■

## Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops and mercenaries from Iraq, Afghanistan and the Near East.

Above all, we stressed that the chief means of defending neocolonial Iraq against the overwhelming military might of American imperialism was through international class struggle, particularly in the U.S. The U.S. rulers’ devastation

of Iraq—carried out in the name of the “war on terror”—went hand in hand with their onslaught against working people at home, from gutting union rights and slashing health care to driving down wages. This open-ended, concocted “war” has also served as the pretext for shredding democratic rights at home and massively increasing the state’s repressive powers, targeting not only Muslim immigrants but also black people and the multiracial working class as a whole. Centrally, we have sought to promote the understanding

that the historic task of the working class is to sweep away the imperialist order through socialist revolution.

Our revolutionary perspective stands in stark contrast to that of reformist “socialists” like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), Workers World Party and Party for Socialism and Liberation. These groups built a liberal-pacifist “antiwar movement” designed to mobilize masses of people in the streets to pressure the imperialist rulers to “stop the war” in Iraq. Seeking to forge a political alliance with sections of the bourgeoisie that saw the Iraq quagmire as a losing proposition for U.S. imperialism, the various antiwar coalitions set up by the reformists never raised the basic demand to defend Iraq and Afghanistan against imperialist attack.

The reformists and their antiwar coalitions promoted such slogans as “money for jobs and health care, not war”—as if it is possible to convince the capitalist rulers to reorder their priorities to serve human needs. Contrary to the bourgeois-democratic myth of government “by and for the people,” the policies of U.S. imperialism are determined not by the electorate or by pressure from mass demonstrations but by the interests of the capitalist ruling class, as overseen by the Republicans and Democrats alike. By sowing the illusion that the Democrats in office could be pressured to carry out a humanitarian foreign policy and to meet the needs of working people at home, the reformists act to retard the political consciousness of workers and radical-minded youth, opposing the perspective of proletarian revolution as the only way out of imperialist war, racist oppression and poverty.

### Pentagon Changes Focus

The “Anybody but Bush” sentiment pushed by the ISO and other reformists at the antiwar protests came to full flower with their enthusiasm for Obama in 2008, who will undoubtedly enjoy at least their backhanded support this November as a “lesser evil.” During the election campaign, Obama promised that as president he would draw down troop levels in Iraq and escalate the war in Afghanistan. As president, Obama has stepped up military incursions in Pakistan, joined in launching a war against Muammar Qaddafi’s Libya and carried out murderous drone strikes in half a dozen countries. Today, the withdrawal of forces in Iraq has coincided with a sharp buildup of U.S. combat troops and warships in the Persian Gulf as the U.S. and European powers ratchet up

military and economic pressure aimed at forcing Iran to abandon its nuclear program. Stationed within 85 miles of the Iranian border, the U.S. contingent in Kuwait has been transformed into a major “quick reaction” force of 15,000 troops.

On January 23, the European Union imposed a total ban on oil purchases from Iran that is to start on July 1, adding to the sanctions imposed in November by Washington. When Iran threatened to respond by closing the Strait of Hormuz, through which nearly 35 percent of globally traded oil passes, U.S. officials threatened to “take action” and sent an aircraft carrier, accompanied by British and French warships, through the strait as a warning. Meanwhile, Israeli officials continue to threaten the possibility of air strikes against nuclear research sites in Iran.

The stated purpose of these belligerent moves is to stop Iran’s purported attempts to develop nuclear weapons. Workers must oppose any economic sanctions against Iran, which are an act of war. Iran has repeatedly stated that its nuclear program is intended solely for peaceful purposes. In fact, in the face of imperialist nuclear blackmail and continuing military threats, it would be entirely rational and necessary for Iran to pursue developing nuclear weapons and adequate delivery systems to deter attack.

In the event of any military attack by the U.S. or Israel on Iran, working people and the oppressed internationally must not be neutral but must take a clear side with Iran. As Marxists, we do not give an iota of political support to the reactionary Islamic regime in Iran. But it is the nuclear-armed U.S. imperialists who are the main enemy of the world’s working people and oppressed.

The unrivaled military dominance of the U.S. today is the result of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, which removed a vital counterweight to American imperialism. The rape of Iraq is one of the grim consequences of that world-historic defeat for the international working class. Currently, the U.S. is stepping up its years-long drive toward military encirclement of China, the largest of the remaining countries that have overthrown capitalist rule and as such the chief strategic target of U.S. imperialism. Although bureaucratically deformed from its inception in the 1949 Revolution, the Chinese workers state is based on a collectivized economy and represents a historic gain for the world proletariat.

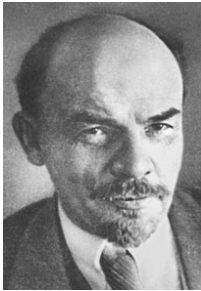
With the U.S. redirecting its forces from

### Soviet Defensism and World Revolution

*Seventy-five years ago, Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the 1917 October Revolution, made a statement denouncing the ongoing Moscow Trials and bloody purges of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which usurped political power from the Soviet proletariat beginning in 1923-24. That address, excerpted below, was read out to a mass meeting in New York City and spurred the formation of the Dewey Commission, which*



TROTSKY



LENIN

*investigated and refuted Stalin’s sinister frame-up charges that Trotsky had conspired with Hitler to destroy the Soviet Union. As Trotsky stressed, it was Stalinist bureaucratic rule that fatally undermined the Soviet workers state. In Trotsky’s footsteps, the ICL fought to the end against capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and carries forward the fight for new October Revolutions worldwide.*

The fundamental acquisitions of the October Revolution, the new forms of property which permit the development of the productive forces, are not yet destroyed, but they have already come into irreconcilable conflict with the political despotism. Socialism is impossible without the independent activity of the masses and the flourishing of the human personality. Stalinism tramples on both. An open revolutionary conflict between the people and the new despotism is inevitable. Stalin’s regime is doomed. Will the capitalist counterrevolution or workers’ democracy replace it? History has not yet decided this question. The decision depends also upon the activity of the world proletariat....

If our generation happens to be too weak to establish socialism over the earth, we will hand the spotless banner down to our children. The struggle which is in the offing transcends by far the importance of individuals, factions, and parties. It is the struggle for the future of all mankind. It will be severe. It will be lengthy. Whoever seeks physical comfort and spiritual calm, let him step aside. In time of reaction it is more convenient to lean on the bureaucracy than on the truth. But all those for whom the word *socialism* is not a hollow sound but the content of their moral life—forward! Neither threats, nor persecutions, nor violations can stop us! Be it even over our bleaching bones, the truth will triumph! We will blaze the trail for it. It will conquer! Under all the severe blows of fate, I shall be happy, as in the best days of my youth, if together with you I can contribute to its victory! Because, my friends, the highest human happiness is not the exploitation of the present but the preparation of the future.

—Leon Trotsky, “I Stake My Life!” (1937), reprinted in *Leon Trotsky Speaks* (1972)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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3 February 2012

## Mumia Out of Solitary

On January 27, class-war prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal was finally released from solitary confinement into the general prison population at SCI Mahanoy in Frackville, Pennsylvania. In the last issue of WV, we published a letter by the Partisan Defense Committee protesting that prison authorities had vindictively kept Mumia in solitary under onerous spe-

cial restrictions following the decision by the Philadelphia district attorney to not seek a new death sentence. In a message thanking those who signed petitions on his behalf—some 5,500 people, according to [freemumia.com](http://freemumia.com)—or wrote statements of support, Mumia noted that “this is only part one” in the struggle for freedom. *Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*

Our beloved comrade Fred Zierenberg died in Berlin of brain cancer on January 19, two weeks before his 63rd birthday. Fred fought for 35 years as a communist cadre and leader of our party. At the time of his death, he was a member of the International Executive Committee of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and of the Central Committee of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD). All the sections of our international feel pain and sorrow at Fred's death. Our thoughts are with his wife and comrade, Birgit, and their best friend, Wolf.

Fred was born 3 February 1949 in West Berlin, NATO's front-line city in the Cold War. His parents were metal workers. Like thousands of students and working-class youth, he was politicized in the 1960s during a wave of radicalization spurred in large part by the May 1968 general strike in France and revulsion against the U.S. war in Vietnam. In Germany, this layer of youth began to reject the anti-communism of the Social Democratic Party (SPD). But those in search of a path to genuine Marxism in Germany were hindered by the complete break in revolutionary continuity that was precipitated by the Nazi destruction of the German workers movement. Trotskyist cadre in Europe were killed, imprisoned or driven underground by the Nazis, as well as being targets of the Stalinists. As a result, developments in the Trotskyist movement internationally from 1933 to 1945 were not accessible to those emerging from the wreckage of Nazi Germany. Nor were Trotsky's writings widely available.

Toward the end of 1968, Fred and other youth coalesced into a group that became the International Communists of Germany (IKD) and its affiliated Communist Youth Organization (KJO). In his early twenties, Fred became a leader of the KJO, which at times mobilized thousands of students and working-class youth. The IKD/KJO were formed in opposition to the policy of deep entrisism into the SPD that had been championed by the Pabloist United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel. In the course of making a complete break from liquidationist Pabloism, which rejects the necessity of building independent Trotskyist parties worldwide, Fred was won over to the Spartacist tendency's fight for the rebirth of the Fourth International. Fred also had to break from the idea, shared by much of the left, that the SPD was a capitalist party, becoming convinced of Lenin's analysis that it is a bourgeois workers party. He came to understand that the strategic task of revolutionaries in Germany is to split the proletarian base of the SPD, a historic mass party of the working class, from its pro-capitalist leadership.

In 1975 Fred became a sympathizer of the Trotskyist League of Germany (TLD), a predecessor of the SpAD. After joining in 1977, he made decisive contributions

# Fred Zierenberg



Spartakist



## 1949–2012

to building the German section and forging our international tendency, helping to restore revolutionary continuity in Germany by bridging the gap in knowledge about the Marxists of the 19th century and those of the early 20th. In 1979, he became a full member of the TLD's Central Committee. Later, as an International Executive Committee member, he also intervened into key political fights in other sections, especially in France, where he lived and worked in the mid 1980s. Fred also worked closely with the Spartacist Group of Poland, playing a central role in advancing the Marxist education of our comrades in Warsaw.

At a January 1980 student government teach-in on Afghanistan at Frankfurt University, Fred suffered a near-fatal knife wound to his back when Mao-

ists and reactionary Islamists staged a deadly attack on TLD comrades and sympathizers. The prior month, the Soviet Army had intervened into Afghanistan at the invitation of the left-nationalist Afghani government to prevent a CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalist takeover of the country. Uniquely on the left, our party forthrightly declared, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" During Fred's months-long recovery, there was a huge outpouring of protest internationally against the cowardly attack, including from dozens of trade unionists.

A key to becoming a Marxist revolutionary in Germany is breaking free of the pervasive view that the entire German people—regardless of class—were responsible for the Nazis, World War II and the Holocaust. Fred, along with other comrades in the SpAD and ICL, fought for years to arm our German section against this lie of "collective guilt." In a 2005 educational, he explained that "collective guilt" is a central ideological means used by the German bourgeoisie, the SPD and the Greens to "let those who are really guilty off the hook: the German bourgeoisie, the ruling class at that time and today."

At the ICL's Second International Conference in 1992, Fred gave a presentation on the fight for the continuity of the Fourth International, in which he emphasized the destructive role of Pabloism in Germany. He dedicated his last two years to deepening his study of the history of German Trotskyism, especially that of our tendency. Fred sought to make comprehensible, particularly to younger comrades, the debates within post-war German Trotskyism and how and why he came to Spartacist politics.

In November 2009, shortly before he was diagnosed with cancer, Fred was the main reporter at an SpAD day school in Berlin focusing on our fight in 1989-90 against capitalist counterrevolution in the East German deformed workers state. This struggle for the revolutionary reunification of Germany represented the largest-ever deployment of our forces internationally, and Fred was part of its leadership. Printed in *Spartakist* No. 181 (January 2010), his talk concludes, "Our banner is unsullied. We say that we are the party of the Russian Revolution, which means: We have maintained the continuity of the Bolshevik program of Lenin and we strive to apply it in class struggles. Our task is to reforge the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution."

Fred was loved and respected for his breadth of knowledge as well as his humor, warm humanity and integrity. There can be no better tribute to Fred than to continue the struggle to which he devoted his life: the building of an internationalist revolutionary workers party.

Iraq, Commander-in-Chief Obama on January 5 unveiled a new Pentagon strategy document that calls for a "rebalance" of the U.S. military "toward the Asia-Pacific region" to counter China. In recent years, Washington has strengthened military ties with the Japanese imperialists and has continued to buttress capitalist Taiwan. Adding to the U.S. military bases encircling China, from South Korea and Japan to Afghanistan and Kyrgyzstan, Obama announced plans in November to deploy 2,500 Marines to Darwin in northern Australia (see "U.S., Australia Reinforce Alliance Against China," WV No. 994, 20 January).

Ultimately, the aim of the U.S. and other imperialists is to destroy the Chinese workers state and restore bourgeois rule in order to turn the mainland into one gigantic sweatshop for the generation of capitalist profits. It is in the direct interest of the international proletariat to defend China against the imperialists and internal forces of capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, as Trotskyists we fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucrats and to establish a regime based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

The imperialist fervor against China and Iran will continue to heat up as the November elections draw nearer. Adding fuel to the fire is the trade-union officialdom, which wallows in chauvinist anti-China trade protectionism and pro-imperialist

flag-waving. Avid supporters of the capitalist Democratic Party, this bureaucracy is the central obstacle to winning the U.S. working class to the understanding that it has the

social power to eradicate capitalist imperialism and the wars this system breeds. It is through political struggle against the program of class-collaborationism put forward

by the leaders of the working class and the reformist left that the revolutionary workers party necessary to lead the working class to power will be forged. ■

## Honoring Three Women Leaders of the ICL

*Prometheus Research Series* No. 6 is a tribute to the lives and work of three top women cadres of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). This month marks the 20th anniversary of the death of one of these exceptional comrades, Martha Phillips.

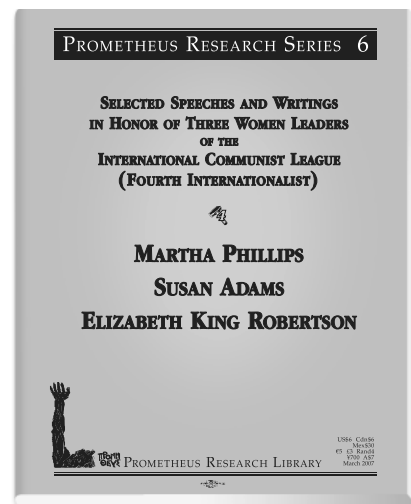
### Martha Phillips



WV Photo

## 1948–1992

Martha was murdered in February 1992 at her post in Moscow, where she was a prominent leader of the ICL's struggle to reimplant the revolutionary program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Union, then in the throes of capitalist counterrevolution. We honor Martha Phillips, Susan Adams and Elizabeth King Robertson, whose lifelong commitment to reforging the Fourth International remains an inspiration.



March 2007, 96 pages  
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# Young Spartacus



Salon

Left: Student protester denounces Zionist butcher Michael Oren at UC Irvine, 8 February 2010. Right: Aftermath of bloody Israeli assault on Gaza, 2008.



UPPA

## Victimized for Protesting Israeli War Criminal

# Overturn the Convictions of the Irvine 11!

LOS ANGELES—On 23 September 2011, an Orange County, California, court convicted ten of eleven Muslim students charged with “conspiracy to disrupt a public meeting” and “disruption of a public meeting” for protesting Michael Oren, Israel’s Ambassador to the U.S., during his speech on 8 February 2010 at University of California Irvine (UCI). For the crime of exposing this Zionist butcher, who the students decried as an “accomplice to genocide,” they were each sentenced to *three* years of informal probation, 56 hours of community service and \$270 in fines! The ten defendants have filed to appeal their convictions. We in the Spartacus Youth Clubs demand: *Overt* *turn the convictions!*

The students are fully justified in denouncing the likes of Michael Oren. A former paratrooper and Israel Defense Forces (IDF) spokesman, Oren coordinates Israeli and U.S. bloody interests in the Near East and shares responsibility for the relentless oppression of the Palestinian people. This war criminal praises the IDF massacre of some 1,400 Palestinians during its heinous assault on the Gaza Strip in 2008 and lauds Israeli commandos who slaughtered nine people aboard the Turkish aid ship *Mavi Marmara* in May 2010. Among the many victims of the 2008 attack on the Gaza Strip were cousins of one of the Irvine protesters.

The legal offensive against the Irvine 11 followed in the wake of discipline by the UCI administration. Based on big-brother surveillance of e-mail traffic, UCI accused the Muslim Student Union (MSU) of organizing the protest against Oren. The administration suspended the group for a quarter, placed it on probation for another two years and ordered its members to collectively perform 100 hours of community service. The UCI administration, the D.A. and the courts are making it clear that they will tolerate no protest against Washington’s alliance with Israel, U.S. imperialism’s staunchest ally in the Near East. As the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle legal and social defense organization

associated with the Spartacist League, stated in a 14 February 2011 letter sent to the D.A., “These prosecutions serve as well to engender an atmosphere of paranoia and hysteria, especially targeting Muslims, and to intimidate into silence anyone who speaks out against the brutal colonial occupation of Iraq or Afghanistan, or who defends the Palestinians against murderous assault by the Zionist state.” *Down with the UCI administration’s disciplinary measures against the MSU! Reinstate the MSU!*

To manufacture a case against the Irvine 11, the D.A. issued five search warrants for the private e-mails of the defendants and other UC Irvine students without their or their lawyers’ knowledge. Among the thousands of e-mails read by the D.A. and turned over to the court were those supposedly protected by attorney-client privilege. Since the case was based entirely on this illegally obtained communication, prosecutors dropped the charges against one of the students in exchange for community service. The D.A. also attempted to

intimidate students to testify against their peers, in at least one case sending the D.A.’s Special Prosecutions Unit to bang on a student’s windows at 7 a.m. yelling, “Police, open up!” In another instance, they went to the house of a student’s grandmother and accused her of hiding her granddaughter.

The MSU is a religious organization that has sponsored public events at UCI in defense of the Palestinians. These events have featured speakers espousing generally liberal politics, including anti-Zionist rabbis and capitalist politicians like Cynthia McKinney. Religion and nationalism are bourgeois ideologies, and in the Near East they are the main obstacles to the workers achieving class consciousness. But regardless of political differences, students and workers must defend everyone who is targeted by the capitalist state and reactionary forces for protesting U.S. imperialism and its bloody allies and for expressing solidarity with the oppressed.

The outrageous criminal conviction of the Irvine 11 for “disrupting” Michael Oren occurs in the context of the decade-long “war on terror,” which began under Republican George W. Bush and has been continued with a vengeance by Democrat Barack Obama. Designed to justify wars abroad, at home the “war on terror” has provided a new justification for government repression against its perceived opponents. For example, the recently passed National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) gives the state nearly unlimited powers to abduct and imprison anyone it deems as a threat, including U.S. citizens (see “Obama Ramps Up ‘War on Terror’ at Home,” WV No. 993, 6 January).

Zionist groups on campuses across the country have for years smeared anyone who dares even suggest the Palestinian people have a right to exist as an “anti-Semite” or “terrorist.” At UCI, groups like the Zionist Organization of America

(ZOA) and StandWithUs have undertaken a years-long campaign against the MSU. In 2004, when a few dozen Muslim UCI students wore green stoles with Arabic writing at graduation, the ZOA complained that the stoles incited terrorism against Jews and Israel. That year, the ZOA also filed complaints against the university with the U.S. Education Department’s Office for Civil Rights, alleging that talks given by speakers invited by the MSU were anti-Semitic. And when the MSU invited George Galloway (then a British Member of Parliament) to come to UCI and raise money for medical aid to the people of Gaza, the ZOA wrote to the Chief Campus Counsel claiming that the MSU was using the university as a fund-raising base for Hamas! In today’s climate, being accused of supporting a “terrorist” group has led to imprisonment, or even disappearance into the torture chambers of a military brig.

### Defend the Palestinians and Their Supporters!

As revolutionary Trotskyists, we seek to win students and youth to a Marxist worldview, to *taking a side* with the exploited and oppressed against capitalist imperialism. Against Zionism as well as all variants of Arab nationalism, we understand that the only solution to the problem of Israel/Palestine, where two peoples have valid, conflicting claims to a small territory, lies through the joint struggle of Jewish and Palestinian Arab workers, connected to class struggle throughout the region. A just solution is not possible under capitalism. The only road to peace in the Near East is socialist revolution. This requires a revolutionary struggle not only against the Zionist butchers and the various dictators, mullahs and monarchs who rule the rest of the region, but also against the paymaster of oppression in the Near East—the American bourgeoisie. *Defend the Palestinians! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories! Down with U.S. imperialism! ■*



Jason Bello/Columbia Spectator

Pro-Palestinian Columbia University professor, Joseph Massad, targeted in 2005 Zionist campus witchhunt.

# Only Workers Revolution Can End Capitalist Immiseration

We print below a speech, edited for publication, by Rosie Gonzalez of the New York Spartacus Youth Club. The speech was given on January 6 at the Partisan Defense Committee's Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners in New York.

Welcome! My name is Rosie and this is my third Holiday Appeal. I joined the Spartacus Youth Club a little over a year ago, after I broke from radical-liberal activism. I came to understand the class nature of the capitalist state, the social power of the labor movement, and based on this I learned that it is simply not enough to just have good intentions and to put your body on the street. One must have a party based on a Marxist program, developed through the study of victories and defeats of the past. Now I can stand here and say: We Trotskyists of the Spartacus Youth Clubs demand the immediate freedom of all class-war prisoners and all fighters against capitalist oppression! We say they should not have spent one second in jail.

We do not rely on the capitalist injustice system to free these brave men and women. The SYCs fight against any illusions in the bourgeois state on the campuses, in demonstrations, and in the streets. We fight to win youth to the side of the working class—this is where the social power lies in the struggle for the liberation of blacks, women and all of the oppressed. We of the SYC understand that only through workers revolution will the racist horrors of American capitalism be tossed into the dustbin of history—all the fighters against oppression, the women and men that are behind bars today, tomorrow will be free.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth groups of the Trotskyist Spartacist League, the U.S. section of the International Com-

## SYC Speaker at NY Holiday Appeal



Young Spartacus

27th annual PDC Holiday Appeal at union hall in lower Manhattan, January 6.

munist League (Fourth Internationalist). We intervene into social struggles armed with a revolutionary-internationalist program. At Zuccotti Park we intervened into different demonstrations surrounding the “Occupy” movement. We did sales, gave a presentation about Marxism to a left-wing group called “Class War Camp” and we protested the police repression of the Occupiers.

We also took students and other youth with us to the Verizon strike pickets to show them some class struggle and why the defense of unions is so central. The working class has been on the defensive for years now, particularly since the capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. At

the same time, every strike is an opening for the Spartacist League to show the need to fight for class-struggle leadership.

The politics of the protesters whom we met at Occupy Wall Street ranged anywhere from open patriotism to anarchoid idealism. We found that the best way to show them the power of the revolutionary working class was to study the Russian Revolution. We encountered real interest at our class series on the Russian Revolution at City College (CCNY). We presented the lessons of this world-historic working-class victory as a counterposition to the stupefying, populist, anti-Marxist slogan of “We are the 99 percent,” which does not recognize the sharp class divi-

sions in society and instead disguises the class nature of the capitalist state and all of its political parties. It lumps the working class together with the petty bourgeoisie and even parts of the capitalist class as well. The truth is that the problem is not the “greed” of the bankers (although there is plenty of that); the problem is the whole capitalist system itself. What is really necessary is the mobilization of the working class against the property-owning capitalist class. The working class has the social power and the historic interest to overthrow the whole capitalist profit system and lay the basis for a socialist society free from exploitation and oppression.

The Russian Revolution showed us how the Bolsheviks led the workers, organized in soviets, to power and threw off the chains of oppressive imperial Russia. The working class took state power and got rid of the capitalist profit system altogether. This is our model—for new October Revolutions worldwide!

This sets us apart from so-called socialists like Workers World Party and the International Socialist Organization (ISO) who are lapping up the liberal politics of the Occupy movement. Workers World called the Occupy protests a “fledgling revolution” and the ISO recently stated that they had “fundamentally shifted the political landscape in the U.S.” Tell that to workers like the militant ILWU pickets in Longview, Washington, who were attacked by the cops last year. That’s the political landscape! So the question is why would these self-proclaimed socialist organizations be uncritically hailing a movement that has no intention of dismantling capitalism? Because *they* have no interest in dismantling capitalism. In

*continued on page 10*

# Cops Shoot Down Students in Guerrero Mexico

We print below a translation of a 17 December 2011 leaflet issued by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, and its youth group, Juventud Espartaquista. The leaflet denounces the brutal state repression against student protesters in the southwestern Mexican state of Guerrero. The murderous cop attack was ordered by Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) state governor Ángel Aguirre and by the federal government of the right-wing clericalist National Action Party (PAN). As opposed to much of the left, which capitulates to the bourgeois-populist PRD, we Marxists fight for the political independence of the Mexican proletariat. As the statement explains, the PAN, PRD and Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)—which ran the country for seven decades until its 2000 electoral defeat—are all bourgeois parties whose differences “can be reduced to how best to administer the capitalist system of exploitation.”

\* \* \*

17 DECEMBER 2011—At least since last November, students at the Rural Teachers College in Ayotzinapa, Guerrero, have



December 12: Victim of cop assault lies dead on highway in Guerrero.

kept up a movement to demand an increase in admissions, higher food stipends, job assignments upon graduating, and a guarantee that their school will not be shut down. PRD governor Ángel Aguirre, together with the PAN federal government, responded to these basic demands on December 12 by unleashing police terror against a student protest on the Autopista del Sol [Mexico City-Acapulco highway]. The repressive forces of the state—federal, municipal and judicial police—opened fire on the students, killing two of them; four more were wounded, 22

arrested, and 20 have been reported disappeared (*La Jornada*, 14 December). Although 21 of the arrested are now free, one of them, Gerardo Pérez Torres, is still in jail—accused of firing at the students! Active and massive solidarity with the students of Guerrero is needed, in particular mobilizing the support of the working class. *An injury to one is an injury to all! Free Gerardo Pérez Torres now!*

The demands of rural teachers college students have changed very little in the last 50 years, and in all this time the response of the ruling capitalists/land-

owners—especially but not only in Guerrero—has varied from class disdain to more abject police/military brutality. It is no accident that none other than [former PRI governor] Rubén Figueroa, member of a long line of brutal Guerrero *caciques* [local political bosses] who is responsible for the 1995 massacre in the town of Aguas Blancas, has come out in defense of Governor Aguirre. The bourgeoisie allocates resources for education in proportion to what its own priorities require for the training of capitalist society’s future administrative, technical and ideological personnel. Aside from that, they couldn’t care less about the general education of the masses of exploited and oppressed—especially poor peasants and indigenous people. We communists fight for free, quality education for *all*—in the city and in the countryside—with open admissions and student stipends. Placing education at the service of the workers and peasants requires putting an end to the system of capitalist exploitation, which is dedicated to producing profits for the numerically small bourgeoisie, through a socialist revolution that expropriates the bourgeoisie and establishes a collectivized, planned economy to satisfy the needs of the population.

The calls for “punishment for the guilty” and against impunity only sow illusions in the capitalist state, which

*continued on page 11*

# State, Media Cover Up Murders of Immigrants

# The Fourth Reich and Its Nazis

## Germany

The following article is translated from *Spartakist No. 191* (January 2012), newspaper of our comrades of the *Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands*.

In early November, it was revealed that a Nazi terror group, calling itself the “National Socialist Underground” (NSU), had murdered eight immigrants of Turkish and Kurdish descent and one of Greek origin between 2000 and 2006. A single pistol was used in all the murders. Enver Simsek, Abdurrahim Özüdogru, Süleyman Tasköprü, Habil Kilic, Mehmet Turgut, Ismail Yasar, Theodoros Boulgarides, Mehmet Kubasik and Halit Yozgat were executed outright in plain view of the bourgeois state. The same Nazi kill-

**SPARTAKIST** 

ers are also responsible for a 2004 bomb attack on Cologne’s Keupstrasse, a street with mostly immigrant residents, which left 22 people injured, some of them severely.

Now there are reports of links between the NSU and the Nazi milieu both in Ludwigshafen, where an arson attack in 2008 killed eight residents of Turkish origin, and in the Saarland town of Völklingen, where over the last five years there have been countless arson attacks on immigrants’ homes that have injured 20 people. Ties between the Verfassungsschutz [VS, domestic intelligence service] and the Nazi murder gangs have come to light, and there is enormous anger—not only among ethnic minorities—over the deep involvement of the bourgeois state in the murderous Nazi terror.

Only last summer, the mass murder of social-democratic youth and others in Norway by the fascist Anders Breivik was dismissed as “the deed of an individual,” and Breivik was declared “insane.” In the Italian city of Florence, a fascist recently murdered two Senegalese street vendors and injured three other immigrants. Here too, the mayor of Florence, Matteo Renzi, spoke of the “insane act of an individual,” although the murderer was at least associated with the fascist Ezra Pound group. Back in 1980, the state presented a fascist attack on Oktoberfest that killed 13 people and injured 211 as the act of an “insane individual” while dismissing any link to the Nazi “Hoffmann gun club.” We wrote in *Spartakist* No. 33 (November 1980), “The top priority was to return to business as usual in the election campaign: the fascist German past has been ‘dealt with,’ the ‘real’ terror comes from the left—against the state.”

In the context of the ongoing and deepening financial crisis, rightist populist and fascist parties have been growing throughout Europe. Using anti-Muslim demagoguery and racist terror, these parties are attempting to redirect the anger over the capitalist crisis toward minorities. On the other hand, there has been massive resistance by the working class in a number of countries to the attacks of the capitalists, who are shifting the costs of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working people. The capitalist state protects the fascists as shock troops should the normal mechanisms of bourgeois democracy—deception, bribery and police terror—no longer suffice to contain the working class and guarantee bourgeois order.

In the last few decades, the bourgeois-

sie has mainly used the fascists’ murderous terror to push and orchestrate racist campaigns. The brazen announcement by the NPD [the fascist National Democratic Party of Germany] that it intends to mobilize on May Day this year in Dortmund, where these Nazi thugs attacked a DGB [Confederation of German Trade Unions] demonstration two years ago, underlines the fact that the fascists are the mortal enemies of the entire workers movement. The fascists must be stopped by mobiliza-

sion between “high-level representatives of the Interior Ministry” and the cops. In the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* (12 November 2011), the Christian Democratic (CDU) interior minister for Thuringia, Jörg Geibert, reported that there was a 2001 note in a case file by an LKA investigator stating that one of the three Nazis was protected by a government agency and was a VS asset.

When the 21-year-old Halit Yozgat was murdered in Kassel on 6 April 2006, a

2003 proceedings to ban the NPD, *Der Spiegel* (11 December 2011) reported that 130 are still active today. The system of informants funnels funds to the Nazis estimated at millions of euros (not to mention official state subsidies that in 2005 amounted to 1.2 million euros for the NPD and 1.3 million euros for the [fascist] Republikaner Party). According to the Federal Office for Political Education, “no more than 15 percent of the leadership of the NPD are informants, about 30 out of 200” (*Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 2005). With unusual candor, the Federal Constitutional Court cited the NPD’s “lack of *Staatsfreiheit*” [i.e., its lack of independence from the state] to justify discontinuing the proceedings to ban it.

### Bourgeois State Uses Nazi Murders for Racist Campaign

But it is not only at this level that the bourgeois state is responsible for Nazi terror. For many years, the police investigations into the series of murders and the press campaigns accompanying them covered up their racist character and blamed the victims for the crimes. Indeed, the Nazi murders were used to incite racial hatred and embolden the genocidal scum. The description of the murders in the bourgeois press as “Döner murders” [referring to a common Turkish dish] itself speaks volumes about the racist contempt of this capitalist society for ethnic minorities. Just a year ago, *Der Spiegel* (21 February 2011) was fulminating against “an alliance of Turkish nationalists, gangsters and secret service agents” who were supposedly behind the murders. The very title of this article, “Murky Parallel Worlds,” was an anti-Muslim battle cry.

Although the only connection between the victims was their non-German descent, politics dictated that there was never any search for Nazis. In contrast, after the bomb attack on Keupstrasse, the *Kölner Stadtanzeiger* (9 June 2004) reported: “At least one person thinks he’s got the answer. ‘I presume it was the right-wing extremists—because of the European elections on Sunday,’ speculates a guest in the ‘Paradise Café,’ which is directly adjacent to the scene of the incident. Amazingly, this café was completely undamaged. ‘It certainly can’t have been Al-Qaida,’ says another guest. ‘Only Muslims live on Keupstrasse.’” The racist names of the special police commissions, “Bosporus” and “Ali Baba,” were an expression of their program. The victims of the Nazis were slanderously treated as possible drug dealers, and the Kurdish PKK [Kurdistan Workers Party] and the “Turkish mafia” were race-baited and investigated as suspects. When the police-woman was murdered by Nazis in 2007, suspicion was directed at the “Sinti-Roma [gypsy] milieu.”

All this served to sow hatred and distrust between immigrants of different nationalities and origins while vilifying them all as potential criminals. Racism is also being fueled by the “war on terror,” which places the whole Muslim population in the crosshairs of the state as potential terrorists. The capitalists and their state fan racism not just to create scapegoats for the social misery of capitalism but centrally to divide the multi-ethnic proletariat. Thus, workers of German descent are pitted against workers from Turkey, while the ban of the PKK and dozens of Kurdish associations also pits Turkish against Kurdish workers.

It is essential that the working class and its unions mobilize against every form of racist discrimination. This starts with the struggle for full citizenship rights for all



Alexander Wittke

**10 December 2011: Demonstration in Kassel, Germany, against Nazi murders and years of cover-up by bourgeois state.**

tions of the working class at the head of all their potential victims, mobilizations that are independent of the bourgeoisie and its state. This struggle must be an integral part of the fight to smash capitalism, which breeds fascism.

### Nazi State Informants

The Nazis Beate Zschäpe, Uwe Mundlos and Uwe Böhnhardt, who supposedly formed the core of the NSU (which now is said to have some 20 supporters), were part of the Jena section of the fascist “Thuringia Home Defense.” This group, in turn, was built by Tino Brandt, a V-Mann [informant] for the Verfassungsschutz and NPD vice chairman for the state of Thuringia. Through this VS informant alone, 200,000 deutschmarks in state funds had been funneled to the Nazi milieu by 2001.

In January 1998, a bomb factory was found during a police raid in a garage Zschäpe had rented. Shortly thereafter an arrest warrant was issued, and the three fascists went underground. Between 1998 and 1999, they were tracked down by Thuringia police investigators, but as the radio station MDR reported (18 November 2011), the work of a special task force of the State Office of Criminal Investigation (LKA) was stopped and the investigators were withdrawn. When the LKA officers involved objected, there was a discus-

VS employee who had regularly visited Yozgat’s Internet café was at the scene. This VS agent, Andreas Temme, disappeared furtively from the crime scene but was tracked down on the basis of DNA evidence. A well-known Nazi who went by the nickname of “little Adolf” in his hometown of Hofgeismar, Temme was promptly released. The lie was then spread that he had left the café a minute before the murder. The public prosecutor dropped the investigations in 2007, and Temme is now working for a municipal government in Hesse. The series of murders supposedly stopped after that—or in any case, the Nazi killers didn’t use the same pistol any more. Now the March 2006 murder of a 68-year-old Turkish immigrant, who was shot directly in the head in front of a mosque in Rheda-Wiedenbrück, is being examined.

When two of the NSU Nazi killers were threatened with arrest following a bank robbery on November 4, they allegedly committed suicide. Besides the guns used to kill the nine immigrants and a police-woman, illegal “genuine” identification was also found in their possession. This ID could only have been issued by state authorities. Zschäpe turned herself in on November 8.

Although the VS claims that the number of informants in the NPD was significantly reduced after the failure of



who have made it here. Down with all “foreigner laws”! Down with the anti-terror laws, down with [anti-terrorist] paragraphs 129a and 129b! It’s also necessary to fight the ban of the PKK and of all Kurdish associations along with the ban on leftist Turkish organizations, such as the DHKP-C [Revolutionary People’s Liberation Party-Front] and the THKP-C [Turkish People’s Liberation Party-Front].

**Social Democracy Whitewashes Capitalist State**

This cover-up of Nazi murders is not an isolated case. We recall the 1996 arson attack against a hostel in Lübeck housing asylum seekers, which killed seven children and three adults. It took protest campaigns to halt the deportation of the survivors. Instead of going after the four German Nazis who were high-profile suspects, the state dragged Safwan Eid, a Lebanese man who survived the attack, through the courts for years before he finally attained his freedom.

Then there was a fire in Ludwigshafen on 3 February 2008, in which four women and five children of Turkish origin perished. Although many indications pointed to a Nazi arson attack, the minister-president of Rhineland-Westfalia, Kurt Beck of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), was able to establish immediately that there was no racist motive. Six months later, the investigation was discontinued. Further arson attacks on the homes of ethnic minorities followed.

Nazis have been murdering immigrants, leftists and others for decades in this country. In most of these murders, the state has covered up the Nazi links. According to the Amadeu Antonio Foundation, named after the Angolan contract worker beaten to death by Nazis in Eberswalde on 25 November 1990, there were 182 known victims of Nazi violence between 1990 and 2009, yet the official statistics speak of 47. The true figure is certainly even higher.

In view of the state’s involvement, the bourgeois parties—with the crucial support of the bourgeois workers parties, the SPD and Left Party—are at pains to re-establish the national unity of “all democrats” and the country’s reputation abroad. At a special session, the Bundestag [German parliament] passed a hypocritical resolution in which it wept crocodile tears for the murder victims, promised an “analysis of the mistakes” and demanded that consideration be given to banning the



MÄZ

**Dortmund, Germany:** After attacking a May Day 2009 trade-union mobilization, Nazi mob watches cops beat up immigrant protester.

that can be corrected. This lie is intended to whitewash the bourgeois state and their own role as its administrators. Thus, neither the SPD nor the Left Party and their hangers-on mentions that as interior minister between 1998 and 2005, Otto Schily from the SPD was top boss of the Verfassungsschutz, the Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA) and the police when these agencies were supplying an official passport to one of the NSU murderers, covering the Nazis’ bloody tracks with “false inquiries” and who knows what else. And in 2001 the SPD/Green government launched the “war on terror,” intensifying the anti-Muslim racism that nurtures the Nazis.

Thus, it’s simply sickening to witness the immense hypocrisy shown by SPD spokesman Frank-Walter Steinmeier when he stated: “It is the task of the state—this is beyond debate—to ensure that citizens can live in safety. Our state has failed shamefully in key functions, and that must have consequences.” As head of the chancellor’s office, Steinmeier was responsible for keeping Murat Kurnaz, a German citizen, locked up in the U.S. torture hell of Guantánamo from 2002 to 2006. Steinmeier chaired a “high-level discussion” involving the heads of the VS, BND [foreign intelligence service], BKA and others that rejected the U.S. government’s 2002 offer to extradite Kurnaz to Germany. In 2007, Steinmeier stated to *Der Spiegel*: “I would not decide differently today.”

When the Left Party was a part of the Berlin government, the police were deployed to brutally clear a path for NPD marches. These efforts often failed because of the courageous resistance of leftist demonstrators, who blocked the Nazi mobilizations and were then subjected to trumped-up charges. Last spring, Berlin’s interior ministry and the police conspired with the NPD to conceal the fascists’ planned march through the heart of Kreuzberg, a Berlin district where many immigrants and leftists live. When some information leaked to the public, the Berlin cops violently wielded batons and pepper spray to protect some 100 Nazis from the 500 or so leftists who stood in their way and stopped them. Thirty-eight leftists were arrested. This provocation was intended to terrorize and intimidate immigrant workers and the whole working population of the city, who are suffering under the Berlin government’s assaults on social services.

**No to Suicidal Appeals to Ban the Nazis!**

In lockstep with the SPD and Left Party, the reformist DKP [German Communist Party] is also beating the drums to ban the NPD. It demands “implementation of the ban on fascism anchored in the Constitution and penal code” and calls for “banning the NPD” (*Junge Welt*, 1 December 2011). The aim of the constitution of this capitalist state is to defend private ownership of the means of production by the capitalist class. Appeals to the bourgeois state to ban the Nazis merely serve to strengthen the state and give it even more powers. In view of the all-round involvement of state authorities in Nazi terror, such appeals are not just a mockery but

also represent a deadly threat to leftists, since it is against them that laws against “extremism” will be used. Meanwhile, the chummy relations between the state and the fascists will remain unchanged.

Thus, a Kurdish demonstration planned for November 26 in Berlin was banned because it was supposedly “a propaganda event on the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the Kurdish separatist organization PKK.” The PKK has now been banned in Germany for 18 years, as a result of which countless Kurds have been dragged before the courts and



Reuters

**Florence, Italy: Immigrants demonstrate after fascist murdered two Senegalese street vendors, 13 December 2011.**

numerous cultural associations have also been banned. At the time, the ban on the PKK was introduced under the cover of a ban on the fascist FAP outfit, whose members were able to reorganize unhindered in the NPD, etc.

The example of Dortmund shows how appeals for bans demobilize and politically disarm the workers. Before the May Day demo in 2009, the DGB district chairman, Eberhard Weber, had appealed to the police to protect the demo from the Nazis. When it became known on May Day that 300 Nazi thugs were on their way, the DGB leadership had the demo of 2,500 people simply march away, criminally leaving the contingents of Turkish and Kurdish workers at the back of the demo pretty much on their own to fend off the Nazis. Cops brutally attacked those workers who were trying to defend the DGB demo. TV footage showed a worker being pinned to the ground and kicked in the head by a cop in riot gear. The NPD’s threat to once again march in Dortmund this May Day confirms the warning in our article, “Nazi Thugs Attack DGB May Day Demos” (*Spartakist* No. 178, July 2009): “The workers are chained to the state of the class enemy, thereby encouraging the Nazis to carry out new, more audacious provocations.”

The pseudo-Trotskyist SAV [Sozialistische Alternative, associated with Socialist Alternative in the U.S.] appeals to the bourgeois police by pointing out that Nazis also killed a cop: “Every civil servant in uniform must ask himself why he follows commands to protect Nazis who resort to such terror but attacks anti-fascists” (*sozialismus.info*, 14 November

2011). The illusions in the possible anti-fascism of the police being sown today by the SAV resemble those of the SPD at the time of the Weimar Republic. In his groundbreaking 1932 work, “What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat,” Trotsky explained:

“In case of actual danger, the Social Democracy banks not on the ‘Iron Front’ but on the Prussian police. It is reckoning without its host! The fact that the police was originally recruited in large numbers from among Social Democratic workers is absolutely meaningless. Consciousness is determined by environment even in this instance. The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker. Of late years these policemen have had to do much more fighting with revolutionary workers than with Nazi students. Such training does not fail to leave its effects. And above all: every policeman knows that though governments may change, the police remain.”

**RSB Calls for Dissolution of the Secret Services**

In *Avanti* (1 December 2011), the Revolutionär Sozialistischer Bund (RSB) pays lip service to opposing illusions in the bourgeois state, only to promote them in the same breath: “It is useless to hope that the state organs of repression should fight fascism. What we need is not a ban of the NPD but the dissolution of the Verfassungsschutz. If one in seven NPD functionaries is an agent of the Verfassungsschutz—which is also probably true



**German newspaper of the Trotskyist Left Opposition in January 1933 called on workers to defend Communist Party against Nazi stormtroopers.**

NPD. In his speech, [Left Party leader] Gregor Gysi hailed the resolution (the first time that the Left Party has been allowed to join in submitting a motion), stating “that in spite of our diverse opinions on many questions, we say to the rightist terrorists in Germany: You will fail with all of us working together from the CSU to the left.” This demonstrates the role of the social democracy—i.e., the SPD and the Left Party, which as bourgeois workers parties are based in the working class but have an entirely bourgeois program. These parties chain workers, immigrants and youth to this capitalist system, which breeds the Nazis, and subordinate them politically to the bourgeois state, which protects and supports the Nazis.

The Left Party and the SPD are now calling for an investigation, with the Left Party even demanding the dissolution of the Verfassungsschutz. But they act as if the bourgeois state has made a “mistake”

of other Nazi structures—then its dissolution would plunge the NPD into a deep existential crisis.” Of course, the Verfassungsschutz is a rightly hated organization of informants whose filthy business is directed against leftists and the workers movement, to which end it collaborates with the Nazis. But wanting to weaken the NPD by dissolving the Verfassungsschutz is only another variant of deceiving the workers into believing that the Nazis can be stopped short of the independent mobilization of labor.

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South Sudan...

(continued from page 12)

to the reactionary Khartoum regime of Omar Hassan al-Bashir.

Sudan’s Multiple Conflicts: A Legacy of Colonial Rule

Southern and northern Sudan were first drawn into a single political economy in the 1820s when joint Turkish and Egyptian forces, in search of gold and slaves, invaded the country, defeated the Sudanese kingdoms of the central Nile valley and established Turko-Egyptian rule. Before the Turkish-Egyptian invasion, southern Sudan had been largely unaffected by the succession of kingdoms that ruled the North, whose southward expansion was effectively halted by the Dinka and the Shilluk kingdoms. As Douglas Johnson wrote in *The Root Causes of Sudan’s Civil Wars* (2007):

“It was only Egyptian power which was able to penetrate beyond these into the Upper Nile basin, bringing in its wake European, Egyptian and northern Sudanese merchants and adventurers for the commercial exploitation of the South.... The incorporation of the whole of the South as the state’s exploitable hinterland, the intensification of racial stratification and the widespread identification of people from the South with low status were thus consequences of the economic and political system of Turco-Egyptian colonialism.”

All Sudanese peoples have their primary roots in black African tribes. In physical appearance, the black population in the North, which has intermixed for many centuries with Arab settlers and traders, is very similar to the black Africans of the Sudanic belt that cuts across the continent from the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. However, the elite of the central Nile valley, including Sudan’s

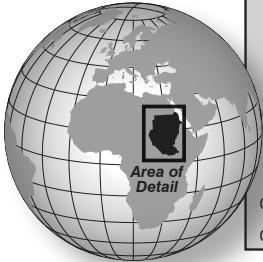


Soldier guards oil processing facility in South Sudan, November 2010.

The Mahdi established a brutal theocratic state based on *sharia* law, a precursor to today’s reactionary Islamist regime.

After a three-month siege of what is now Khartoum, the Mahdi’s forces stormed the city and executed British governor-general Charles Gordon. In revenge, British imperialist forces under Herbert Kitchener slaughtered tens of thousands of Sudanese. Britain finally seized Sudan in 1898. It was the imperialist “scramble for Africa” in the latter part of the 19th century that shaped the current borders of Sudan and other countries, as rival European powers tore the tribal structures and agrarian societies of the continent apart. Setting the stage for decades of ethnic and religious bloodletting, Sudan was artificially carved out of a myriad of peoples, with more than 400 ethnic and linguistic groups lumped together within its borders.

Through their colonial policy of divide to better rule, the British exacerbated



WV map adapted from Cambridge University Press

in blocking the social and political integration of the undeveloped regions. Thus northern and southern Sudan remained ethnically, economically and culturally distinct, with hardly anything in common.

The deep racism against the peoples of the South is itself a heritage of ancient social conflicts, reinforced by British colonial rule. Racism is deeply embedded in northern Sudanese elite culture and is pervasive through the use of the pejorative epithet *abd* (Arabic for “slave”) for a southerner. It has its roots in the centuries-old practice of slavery, which continued until modern times. The pagan and Christian kingdoms of northern and central Sudan were active in raiding their southern hinterland for slaves. The Muslim kingdoms established along the Blue Nile and the central Nile valley in the 16th century raided the Ethiopian foothills, the Nuba Mountains and the White Nile plains, incorporating slaves into their armies. Under Turko-Egyptian rule, the whole of southern Sudan was opened up for slave raids and for the exploitation of resources.

By 1860, an estimated 12,000 to 15,000 slaves were sent north every year. Slave-raiding and trade continued during the Mahdist regime. And while the British rulers gave lip service to the abolition of slavery, the colonial authorities in Sudan allowed slave-raiding to continue. While the practice of slavery mainly died out at the time of Sudan’s independence, slave-raiding was revived in the civil war against the SPLM and others in the late 1980s-early ’90s, when militias backed by Khartoum kidnapped and enslaved more than 15,000 women and children from the South.

**Sudan’s Independence and the Outbreak of Civil War**

Western bourgeois media portrayed the civil war in Sudan as “Arabs against Africans” or “Muslims against Christians.” While neatly fitting into the anti-Arab and

anti-Muslim racism of the imperialists’ global “war on terror,” those scenarios covered up the actual roots of the conflict. These included, not least, the legacies of Turko-Egyptian and British rule and the historic enslavement of southern peoples, imperialist machinations in the anti-Soviet Cold War and conflicts over resources, especially oil. Far from being the product of a “clash of civilizations,” the southern struggle has been driven by resistance to economic domination and cultural and political oppression. The fact that southern independence fighters were joined in the 1980s and ’90s by non-Arab Muslims in the North—e.g., the Nuba of South Kordofan, the Ingassana of Blue Nile state and the Bega in the Eastern Region—refutes the claim that the war has been a conflict of Muslims against Christians.

The seeds of the southern struggle were sown as the departing British imperialists began to hand over administrative posts to northerners in 1954. The proposal for a federalist government was scrapped, and southerners were excluded even from administration of the South itself. In the eyes of southerners, northern rule was a transfer of colonial control from the British to the South’s traditional enemies.

Rumbles of discontent began soon after northerners assumed administrative posts in the South, triggering an armed rebellion in the city of Torit in 1955. In the aftermath, the central government unleashed a campaign of terror and bloody repression, summarily executing mutineers, arresting and torturing civilians and burning down villages. In brutally retaining the South within Sudan’s borders, Khartoum pursued ruthless methods of Arabization and Islamization that included forced conversions. The government expelled all foreign Christian missionaries in 1964 and took over their schools. Arabic was imposed as the only official language of administration and increasingly introduced as a medium



Nineteenth-century slave market in eastern Sudan.

bourgeois rulers, identify themselves as Arabs and seek to impose that identity throughout the country, holding sway over the myriad of ethnic minorities.

About 70 percent of the population in Sudan are Muslims. In South Sudan, the majority of the cattle herders, fishermen and poor farmers follow various indigenous African religious beliefs, while most of the small number of professionals were educated in missionary schools and belong to Christian denominations. Arabization and Islamization of the kind that transformed the North did not extend to the South. Contact between the two parts of the country was largely characterized by hostilities, ranging from centuries-old invasions by slave-hunters from the North to attempts by successive governments to expand their domain southward.

Islam was first brought into the country by itinerant Arab traders during the seventh century but did not spread widely until the 15th century, when the indigenous ruling classes of the Sudanic kingdoms adopted Islam to avert an Arab invasion from Egypt. It was Turko-Egyptian rule that dragged Sudan into the larger Islamic world of the Ottoman Empire. In 1885, when British-ruled Egypt still held Sudan, a revolt led by the Mahdi, an Islamic religious leader, achieved independence.

regional, religious and racial divisions among the population. In 1922, in what became known as the “Southern Policy,” the British administration declared that the South would be considered “Closed Districts,” thereby segregating the area into what some commentators, dripping with racist contempt, called an “anthropological zoo.” Islamic proselytizers were banned while Christian missionaries were welcomed to convert southerners and teach them English. Use of the Arabic language was discouraged, as was the wearing of Arab clothing. Arab merchants were repatriated to the North, and all Egyptian and Sudanese Muslim officers were withdrawn and replaced with British officers. Interaction between the peoples of the North and the South was not allowed.

The “Southern Policy” kept the South hideously backward economically, as the British concentrated resources, roads and schools in the North. The trend was continued after Sudan achieved independence in 1956. Successive regimes in Khartoum neglected the South as well as Darfur, Blue Nile, South Kordofan and other provinces, while focusing investment in the economy, infrastructure and social services in the central Nile valley, the so-called Golden Triangle. The pattern of unequal development had a marked effect

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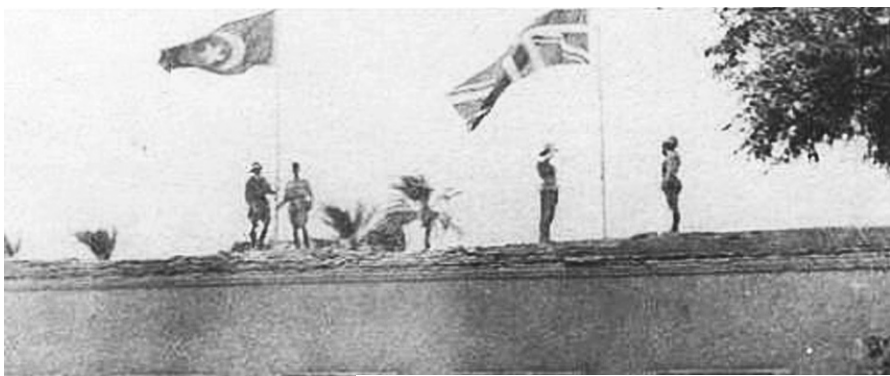


In the face of bloody repression, a guerrilla struggle broke out in the South in the late 1950s, developing into a full-blown civil war. Southern fighters were able to widen their military activity and inflict heavy casualties on the Sudanese army, largely through the supply of weapons and military training by Israel. In 1972, the central government agreed to negotiate with the guerrilla fighters. The two parties signed what became known as the Addis Ababa agreement, which provided for regional autonomy of the South, and hostilities ceased for the next eleven years.

While the first civil war was confined to the South, the second extended to several northern territories. Exploiting the grievances of oppressed ethnic minorities in the North, many of them Muslim, the SPLM/A claimed in its 1983 Manifesto that it was fighting not for secession but, as one historian describes, for “liberation of the whole country from the tyranny of the minority elite of riverine Arabs” (Jok Madut Jok, *Sudan: Race, Religion and Violence* [2007]). Dropping references to southern independence was at bottom a tactical ploy designed to win support from not only oppressed northern minorities but also African bourgeois regimes that opposed the breakup of Sudan. Those regimes were well aware that they ruled countries carved out by the imperialists without regard to ethnic and national makeup, creating an unending source of internal conflicts.

## UN/AU “Peacekeepers”: Cops for Imperialism

For all but eleven of the 56 years since independence from Britain, Sudan has been ruled by a series of ruthless military regimes. The bourgeois ruling class has needed military rule to subdue the cauldron of myriad restive ethnic groups that took up arms against the central government at different times. The conflict in Darfur set groups of Muslim nomadic peoples, backed by the central government in Khartoum, against a largely farming Muslim population, resulting in mass slaughter and displacement. Last year, an offensive by the Sudanese army against rebel groups in the Nuba Mountains, South Kordofan and the Blue Nile provided the “save Darfur” crowd, which is



Cameron Collection photos



**British, Egyptian flags raised after 1898 conquest of Khartoum. Inset: Former Sudanese rulers slaughtered in 1899 battle.**



Throughout its history, the UN has served as a fig leaf for the U.S. and other imperialist powers. To list but a few examples: the 1950-53 Korean War, which took the lives of upwards of three million Koreans; the 1960 military intervention in the Congo, under the cover of which the CIA and Belgian imperialists assassinated nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba; the 1990s starvation sanctions against Saddam Hussein's Iraq. The AU as well marches to the beat of its imperialist overlords. As we wrote in polemicalizing against the pro-imperialist "save Darfur" campaign ("No to UN/Imperialist Intervention in Sudan!" WV No. 877, 29 September 2006):

“The dominant members of the UN besides the U.S. are those very European nations—Britain, Germany, France—that along with Belgium historically bled, enslaved and exploited Africa, carving it up to suit their imperialist interests. Britain itself conquered Sudan through the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of people. Calling on the imperialists to bring peace and freedom to Darfur is like expecting the fox not only to protect the henhouse but to deliver the feed.”

The U.S. labels the Khartoum regime as a supporter of “terrorism” and has enforced economic sanctions against it for the past 15 years. But today’s “terrorists” were yesterday’s CIA assets. In the 1980s, the blood-soaked military regime of Gaafar Nimeiri was the third-largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid, mainly in the form of modern weaponry and other military assistance, as the Reagan administration cultivated Sudan as a regional counterweight to Qaddafi’s Libya and Soviet-backed Ethiopia. For the U.S. at the time, the southern rebels were a “communist” organization set up by the Soviet Union to destabilize a pro-Western regime. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, U.S. attentions shifted southward. After giving substantial aid to southern fighters, Washington played a major role in bringing about and enforcing the 2005 peace agreement.

Behind the imperialists' support for South Sudan is their eagerness to improve their position in the heart of the continent and tap into oil, minerals and other resources. After the peace deal, the U.S. began pouring millions of dollars into southern Sudan to bolster the regional government and to "build and transform the Sudan People's Liberation Army in Southern Sudan from a guerilla army to a professional military force" (*Foreign Policy in Focus*, 17 May 2010). General Carter Ham, head of the U.S. African Command (AFRICOM), visited South Sudan twice in the six weeks that followed its declaration of independence.

In no small part, U.S. interests in Sudan and the broader region are determined by the imperialists' drive to counter the growing influence of the Chinese deformed workers state. Beijing has struck numerous agreements with Sudan and other African countries, through which China's state-

The International Communist League calls for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and internal capitalist counterrevolution. From that standpoint, as we explained in “Hue and Cry over China’s Role in Africa” (WV No. 987, 30 September 2011), we support China’s right to trade in order to procure what it needs to further its development. We recognize, however, that the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy’s trade programs are driven not by proletarian internationalism but by its own narrow nationalist interests. Our article pointed out, “Opposed to the perspective of international proletarian revolution, the CCP regime has accommodated imperialism...while militarily and politically supporting ‘friendly’ bourgeois rulers in Africa and elsewhere who brutally repress workers and the rural and urban poor.” We call for proletarian political revolution to oust the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with a government of workers and peasants councils committed to the struggle for world socialism.

A stark demonstration of the Chinese Stalinists' conciliation of imperialism is China's role in UN "peacekeeping"—i.e.,

## For Permanent Revolution!

South Sudan is one of the poorest and least developed places on earth. The degree of social misery defies description. Most of the population ekes out a living on less than 75 cents a day. One in ten children die before their first birthday. An estimated 80 percent of adults, including 92 percent of women, cannot read or write. The billions of dollars expected from oil revenue are not about to trickle down to the desperately impoverished masses, while the corrupt ruling elite will be gorging itself on the spoils. The weight of backwardness is enormous, modern industry scarcely exists, and there is no working class to speak of.

Key to the fate of the masses of South Sudan is the struggle for proletarian revolution in Sudan and beyond. There is a small but combative Sudanese proletariat consisting chiefly of oil, textile, dock and rail workers. With only scant manufacturing industries, the bourgeoisie consists mainly of generals, government ministers, contractors and merchants. While lord-ing over an impoverished population, the Sudanese bourgeoisie is utterly subordi-nated to imperialism. The Bashir regime is currently on the outs with Washington. But less than five years ago it was hailed by the U.S. State Department as a “strong partner in the war on terror” as it secretly worked with the CIA, assembled a net-work of informants to spy on insurgents in Iraq and detained suspects as they passed through Khartoum for interrogation by U.S. agents (*Los Angeles Times*, 11 June 2007). Bashir, who took power in a 1989 coup, has murdered, imprisoned and tor-tured thousands of Communists, workers and secular nationalists.

Yet the reformist Workers World Party (WWP) in the U.S. acts as apologists for the Bashir regime, constantly promoting its supposed “independence” from Washington. In a 9 January 2011 article on its [workers.org](http://workers.org) Web site titled “U.S. Seeks to Influence Sudan Referendum,” the WWP opined, “The division of Sudan and the intensification of military conflict can only enhance the capacity of the imperialist states to set the terms for the future of the region.” The WWP’s backhanded support to Sudan’s oppressive

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- **Contradictions of the Civil Rights Movement: A Marxist Analysis**
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## For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

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Take A, C or E train to 42nd St.)

For info: (212) 267-1025, [nysl@tiac.net](mailto:nysl@tiac.net)

South Sudan...

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retention of the South was a real measure of its political support to Bashir’s blood-drenched rule. In the age of imperialism, the colonial and semicolonial bourgeoisies can exist only as middlemen and brokers for imperialism, and Bashir is just that.

In a world economy dominated by the imperialist powers, the economically backward, neocolonial African countries have no chance of achieving significant economic and social development. The key to achieving social equality and qualitative economic progress in backward countries is provided by the perspective of permanent revolution developed by Leon Trotsky. As shown by the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, in countries of belated capitalist development only the seizure of power by the proletariat, supported by the mass of poor peasants, can achieve key democratic tasks such as agrarian revolution on the way to beginning the socialist reconstruction of society. To lay the basis for achieving socialism—a society of material abundance—requires the extension of proletarian revolution to the major advanced capitalist countries, which possess the technological and other material wealth necessary for all-around development.

Short of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there can be no liberation for the Sudanese masses, North and South, from the yoke of imperialist domination and mass poverty. At the same time, any perspective for socialist development in Sudan is crucially dependent on the fight for workers revolution in neighboring Egypt, with which Sudan shares a long and tortured history, and South Africa, which along with Egypt has the greatest proletarian concentration in Africa. Above all, the struggle for the socialist transformation of Africa must be linked

to the fight for proletarian power in the imperialist heartlands.

Bitter Lessons of History

To peel the Sudanese proletariat away from poisonous bourgeois nationalism and religious reaction requires the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party. This can only be done by drawing the lessons of history, including the crushing defeat suffered by the proletariat under the leadership of the Stalinist Sudanese Communist Party (SCP) in 1971.

Founded in the mid 1940s as an offshoot of the Egyptian communist movement, the Sudanese Movement for National Liberation, later the SCP, rapidly established itself as a mass party, becoming one of the largest Communist parties on the continent. Historically, it was second in size and influence only to the South African Communist Party. The hegemonic party of the proletariat, the SCP also had a broad following among the intelligentsia and urban petty bourgeoisie as well as peasants, enabling the election of several party members to parliament. In Sudan’s patchwork of myriad national, ethnic and religious minorities, the SCP was about the only political organization with a base that cut across national and religious lines, with supporters in both the North and the South. It is also credited with electing the first woman to parliament in Sudan. However, following the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of “two-stage revolution,” the SCP subordinated the militant proletariat to an allegedly “progressive,” “anti-imperialist” national bourgeoisie.

The SCP broke with the Egyptian communists over their support to the bourgeois-nationalist regime headed first by Mohammed Naguib and then Colonel Abdel Nasser. The SCP called Nasser & Co. “running dogs of American imperialism” while indulging in class collaboration on its own terrain, either supporting or participating in several bourgeois

governments. Due to its role in leading a general strike that brought down the military regime of General Ibrahim Abboud in 1964, the SCP and its supporters were awarded a majority of ministerial positions in a transitional bourgeois government. As it became increasingly mired in class collaboration, the SCP accommodated to the northern rulers’ insistence on enforced unification. The SCP dropped its earlier call for self-determination for the South in favor of the demand for regional autonomy—i.e., keeping the South oppressed within a unified Sudan.

After general elections were held in 1965, one of the new parliament’s first acts was to dissolve the SCP and expel its parliamentary deputies. The demise of the SCP came at the hands of Colonel Nimeiri, who took power in 1969 with the support of SCP military officers. Nimeiri soon turned to the right, throwing SCP officers out of the military regime and jailing key party leaders. After the SCP staged a failed coup in 1971, the majority of the party leadership was executed and thousands of SCP cadres were imprisoned. In 1985, the underground SCP was a leading force in a general strike against Nimeiri. But the SCP never broke from the treacherous “two-stage” program. The SCP’s criminal betrayals in disarming the working class and tying it to its exploiters fostered an atmosphere of despair and a sense of defeat that paved the way for the ascendance of the Islamic fundamentalists who now rule the country.

Today the SCP is a shadow of its former self. The party has been reduced to the status of a junior partner in the National Democratic Alliance, an umbrella of all the parties opposed to the current regime, including an Islamic fundamentalist faction that split from the ruling National Congress Party. As shown by bitter experience in Sudan and elsewhere, “two-stage revolution” ends with the bourgeoisie murderously repressing the Communists



Al Hourriah

Abdel Khaliq Mahjub, secretary general of Sudanese Communist Party, executed in 1971 by Nimeiri regime.

and their working-class base, while the second “stage”—socialist revolution—never comes.

In almost all of sub-Saharan Africa there are only marginal pockets of industrialization. Nevertheless, there are oil workers in Nigeria, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Sudan; dock and rail workers in Kenya; miners in Zambia and the Congo. Such isolated but potentially powerful sections of the international proletariat must become a human link to the industrial proletariat of South Africa and Egypt, which are key to a revolutionary perspective on the continent. For that to happen, revolutionary workers parties must be forged throughout the region that break the proletariat from the bourgeois-nationalist regimes, opposition parties and reactionary religious forces to which it is presently politically subordinated. The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is dedicated to building such parties as sections of a reformed Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

SYC Speaker...

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essence, these groups lend ardent support to bourgeois democracy. Just take, for example, the enthusiastic support the ISO gave to the Libyan “rebels” last year. These “rebel” forces were supported by U.S. imperialism and its Commander-in-Chief, Obama, who bombed Tripoli in the name of “democracy.” At home, the reformist left’s support to the Occupy movement is just another expression of its “fight the right” agenda, which amounts to nothing more than building illusions in and support for the Democrats.

The Occupy protesters constantly talk about “reclaiming our democracy.” This country was founded on the enslavement of blacks and the genocide of Native Americans. Its history is riddled with the

bodies of working-class fighters killed at the hands of the police or the courts. The purpose of this government has always been to defend the property and profits of the ruling class.

We, as communist revolutionaries, always ask the question—democracy for which class? The facade of democracy serves to obscure the fact that the capitalist state is an instrument of organized violence—at its core the police, military, courts and prisons—for maintaining capitalist rule. From CCNY to Zuccotti Park, we are constantly arguing against illusions in the cops. Cops are not workers—they are strikebreakers who act in the interest of the fundamentally racist ruling class, the bourgeoisie. And that’s why we read and teach Lenin’s *The State and Revolution*.

In November, at a demonstration at City College, students protested a planned tuition hike and we led the chants, “Cops

off campus! Free quality education! Abolish the administration!” We raised the call for worker/teacher/student control of the schools. The student protesters, many of whom were black and Latino, had picked up some of our slogans. These chants were counterposed to the politics of the liberal leadership of the demonstration, Students United for a Free CUNY, who accept the framework of capitalism by begging for a few crumbs.

Our starting point is to have a clear class opposition to capitalist politicians like Obama and the Democratic Party. The Democrats were once the party in defense of slavery and later the party of Jim Crow. They aim, as does the bourgeoisie as a whole, to “divide and conquer” so their profits will rise. Racism is all part and parcel of the maintenance of the capitalist order. The “war on terror,” the “war on drugs,” the war against abortion rights—*these are wars on blacks, women and the working class as a whole!* Just look at Obama’s outrageous ban on over-the-counter access to morning-after pills for teenagers. These

are young women under 17 years old who will not have easy access to a simple pill, making it harder for them to avoid having children. This is criminal! It serves to tighten the grip of social control and enforce the sexual repression of young women. Again and again you can see that the Democrats are really just the other party of capitalism and war. This is why we have always and consistently raised the slogan “Break with the Democrats!” and why we call to build a multiracial workers party that fights for a workers government.

The only way out of this hell is through workers revolution. The victory of the socialist revolution in this country will be achieved only through the struggle of the multiracial working class, under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard party. In the course of the struggle, unbreakable bonds will be forged between these different sections of the working class. Then, we will ensure at last the end of wage slavery, racism, and exploitation. *Join this fight! Join the Spartacus Youth Club!* ■

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“According to Marx, the state is an organ of class **rule**, an organ for the **oppression** of one class by another; it is the creation of ‘order,’ which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the conflict between the classes. In the opinion of the petty-bourgeois politicians, however, order means the reconciliation of classes, and not the oppression of one class by another; to alleviate the conflict means reconciling classes and not depriving the oppressed classes of definite means and methods of struggle to overthrow the oppressors.”

## The Class Continuity of the Fourth Reich

When the Nazis seized power in 1933, they were also largely able to take over the existing capitalist state of the Weimar Republic—police, army, civil service. This continuity is a *class* continuity, i.e., from the Second Kaiserreich [empire] through the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich to today's Fourth Reich, the bourgeoisie has ruled continuously through its state. The exception was East Germany, where the bourgeoisie was expropriated after the Second World War and the DDR bureaucratically deformed workers state established.



**Berlin, January 15: Spartakist contingent at Lenin-Luxemburg-Liebkecht commemoration. Sign in front reads: "Mobilize Workers and Ethnic Minorities to Stop the Nazis!"**

Two additional important points refute the notion that this is a question merely of aftereffects. First, the collaboration between the secret services and the fascists, the state cover-ups of fascist terror and state protection of fascist mobilizations are not purely German phenomena. Rather, these practices were and are features of all modern capitalist states, including the World War II-era Axis powers, the countries they victimized and the bourgeois-democratic Allies. Whether in Britain or the U.S., Germany or Italy: Everywhere the fascists terrorize leftists and ethnic minorities, and everywhere the cops protect fascist mobilizations and bludgeon their opponents.

Second, with the expropriation of the bourgeoisie in the DDR, the root cause of fascism—capitalism—was removed. Unlike in West Germany, the state there wasn't erected by the Nazi criminals. Historically progressive, the DDR's planned

economy made it possible to achieve enormous social gains, such as the eradication of homelessness and joblessness; universal access to health care, care for the elderly and kindergartens; virtually full employment for women, etc. However, political power in the DDR, as in the Soviet Union on which it was modeled, was in the hands of a bureaucratic caste, which spread the lie that socialism can be built separately in each individual country.

## Capitalist Reunification Fueled Nazi Terror

At the time of the incipient proletarian political revolution in the DDR in the fall of 1989, we fought with all our forces to mobilize the workers against capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, the Nazis crawled out of their rat holes. They were *against* the workers state and its social foundations, whereas in the “democratic” capitalist West they were protected by the state because they defended its social foundations: private ownership of the means of production. At the rally that we initiated to protest the Nazi desecration of the Treptow monument honoring the Red Army soldiers who fell liberating Berlin, a united front with the [DDR’s ruling Stalinist party] SED-PDS, we warned: “Resurgent fascism is still an extremist fringe phenomenon. It would again threaten all mankind as soon as the first crises in a reunified *Grossdeutschland*. Today, however, the SPD/SDP is the chief instrument to bring about such a Greater Germany. Throttling the hydra-headed fascist monster now is to blunt this Social Democratic penetration.”

—*Spartakist* No. 66, 3 January 1990 [reprinted in Special Supplement to *Workers Vanguard*, 12 January 1990]

In fact, in the south of the DDR, the SPD was demonstrating with counterrevolution-

Today, the Nazis have the weight of a fly in comparison with the trade unions, which include millions of German, ex-Yugoslav, Kurdish and Turkish workers, along with their children and grandchildren. In the highly indebted EU countries, such as Greece, Ireland, etc., the German bourgeoisie in collaboration with the local bourgeoisies is forcing brutal austerity measures down the throats of working people. It is only a matter of time before the crisis reaches Germany again, and the attacks intensify. While this will call forth defensive struggles by the working class, it will also put wind in the sails of racist demagogues and the Nazis. The Nazi spawn must be crushed while they are still relatively small!

The unions must mobilize their members at the head of all the potential victims of the fascists to smash Nazi provocations in disciplined united-front actions, independent of the capitalists and their state. Ethnically integrated workers defense groups are needed to defend the trade unions and their rallies, strikes and facilities, as well as to defend heavily immigrant districts. Because capitalist misery spawns this scum, the struggle against Nazi terror must be inextricably linked to the struggle to smash capitalism through socialist revolution. This requires breaking with the social-democratic politics of appeals to the state and forging a multi-ethnic revolutionary workers party as part of a reformed Fourth International. ■

## BAY AREA

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**A Revolutionary Perspective**  
**Part II**  
 MSU Student Union, 3rd Floor  
 Lake Erie Room  
 Information and readings:  
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(continued from page 5)

cannot grant “justice” to the exploited and oppressed masses. The state consists fundamentally of armed bodies of men at the service of the bourgeoisie to repress the workers and the poor. What this attack shows—once again—is that the PRD, like the PAN and the PRI, is a party of capital that has no qualms about unleashing repressive force against the workers and poor. As we Spartacists have always insisted, the PRD, including AMLO [Andrés Manuel López Obrador], is a *bourgeois* party, whose differences with the PRI and PAN can be reduced to how best to administer the capitalist system of exploitation. The bourgeois state cannot be reformed and its nature will not change because it is headed by one or another capitalist politician. To end once and for all the murderous state violence directed against workers, poor peasants and other oppressed sectors, the working class—the only class with the social power and the interest to bring down capitalism—must destroy the bourgeois state and replace it with its own rule: a workers and peasants government, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry. To achieve the above it is necessary for

the proletariat to break with *all* bourgeois parties and politicians and forge a revolutionary workers party that can lead the struggle to end capitalism. This is the aim of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, a section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). ■



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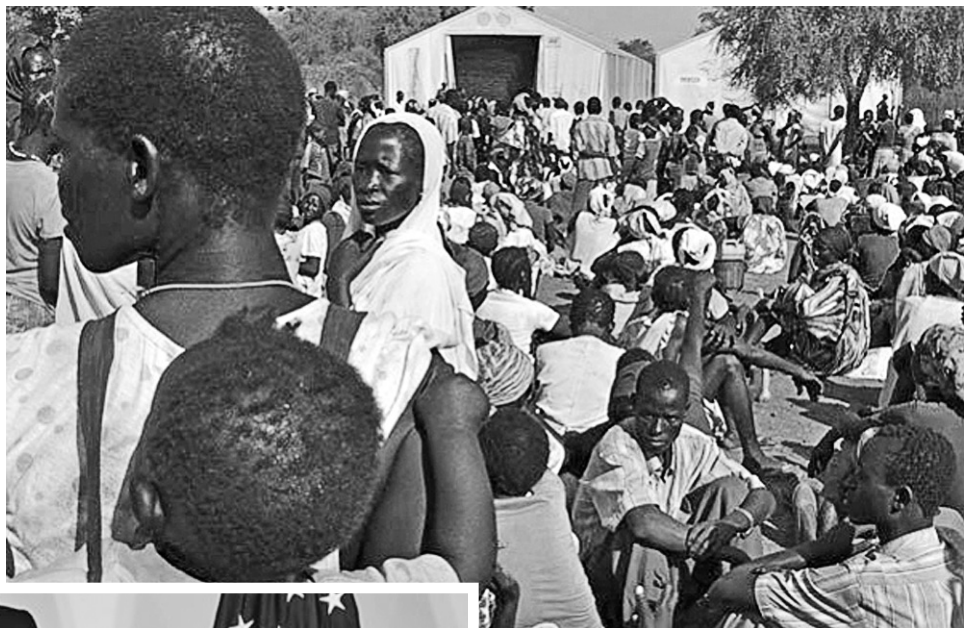
# WORKERS VANGUARD

**All UN, African Union Troops Out of Sudan, North and South!**

## South Sudan: Independence and the Bloody Legacy of Imperialism



Reuters



Getty

JANUARY 25—Barely six months after attaining independence, South Sudan is being torn by renewed warfare between the cattle-herding Murle and Nuer tribes. Estimates of those killed range as high as 3,000. The newly formed government of South Sudan, whose secession from Sudan capped a multi-decade armed struggle against northern oppression, is itself a mélange of officeholders from the Nuer, Zande, Shilluk Dinka and other peoples. There is also a continuing threat of military conflict with Sudan. As independence approached, armed groups were battling Sudanese government forces in the South Kordofan and Blue Nile border states, which remain part of Sudan. Those groups had formerly fought with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM)—the main force in the struggle for southern independence. Fighting along the border had become so severe by last month that the South Sudan government, based in the capital Juba, warned that it was on the brink of war.

The border region is a complex mosaic of ethnic groups with loyalties divided between North and South. Sudan's northern rulers in Khartoum have not been shy about their intention to annex whole chunks of this territory, which is particularly rich in oil and fertile soil. Currently oil from South Sudan and border areas like the Abyei region is piped to the North, refined there and exported. With Khartoum and Juba yet to reach agreement on sharing oil revenues, the landlocked South has struck a deal with Kenya to build a pipeline to its Lamu port. On January 23, South Sudan started shutting down oil production, some 350,000 barrels per day, accusing Sudan of seizing \$815 million worth of crude.

The existence of South Sudan's government is based mainly on aid from the U.S. and other imperialist powers, which see in this deeply impoverished country—one that lacks the most basic modern infrastructure—the potential for fabulous profits through looting its oil reserves. The U.S. also aims to counter the influence

**Clockwise from top left: Independence celebration in South Sudan capital, Juba, 9 July 2011. Refugee camp near Bunj, South Sudan, December 2011. South Sudan president Salva Kiir Mayardit with Obama in New York, September 2011.**



AFP

of the Chinese deformed workers state in South Sudan and the broader region. Already the imperialists are administering state affairs in Juba through so-called “non-governmental organizations” and aid agencies while policing the border area through United Nations and African Union (AU) troops, part of a 30,000-strong UN/AU force in Sudan and South Sudan. In addition to beefing up the American diplomatic presence in Juba, the Obama administration announced in October that small contingents of U.S. special forces would be deployed in South Sudan as well as Uganda, the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The U.S. Air Force has also been flying drones based in southern Ethiopia and Djibouti as part of a proxy war against the al-Shabab militia in Somalia and to attack targets in Yemen.

In a January 2011 referendum, the people of southern Sudan voted overwhelmingly for independence. The referendum was stipulated by an imperialist-brokered 2005 peace agreement between Khartoum and southern rebel forces, ending a civil war that had raged intermittently for more than 50 years. Given the overwhelming popular support for independence, as proletarian internationalists we support secession and the establishment of a separate state for the South Sudanese.

At the same time, we do not give the least political support to the SPLM, now

the bourgeois ruling party. Nor do we pretend that the Dinka, the Nuer and other tribes are anything more than, perhaps, an embryo of a nation at the very earliest stages of formation. There must be no illusions that the rulers of the South will be fundamentally different from the bourgeois regimes in Sudan, Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia, which have brutally repressed trade unions, subjugated minority tribes and fattened their purses with the spoils of the state bureaucracy.

Championing the equality of all nations, Marxists understand that upholding the democratic right to self-determination is particularly important in enabling the working class of oppressor states to mobilize for the overthrow of its own bourgeois rulers. As V.I. Lenin, the principal leader of the proletarian 1917 October Revolution in Russia, pointed out in *Critical Remarks on the National Question* (1913): “To throw off the feudal yoke, all national oppression, and all privileges enjoyed by any particular nation or language, is the imperative duty of the proletariat as a democratic force, and is certainly in the interests of the proletarian class struggle, which is obscured and retarded by bickering on the national question.”

This applies with full force in regard to Sudan's historic oppression of the South Sudanese, a pre-national group of disparate peoples who largely were brought together through the many years of armed

struggle against the North. It is of vital importance that the proletariat in Sudan oppose any attempts by its bourgeois rulers to strangle South Sudan and put it back under the northern yoke. Unlike in South Sudan, there is a small but historically militant proletariat in the North that has the potential to be mobilized in revolutionary struggle as part of the fight for a world socialist order. One particular demand that workers organizations in Sudan must champion is that the hundreds of thousands of southerners living there have the same citizenship rights as northerners. By the same token, workers in Egypt—the country with by far the largest proletariat in North Africa—should defend the Sudanese minority there, who suffer systematic discrimination and such murderous violence as the 2005 massacre of at least 23 refugees by security forces in Cairo.

As revolutionary Marxists, we demand the withdrawal of all UN and AU troops from Sudan and South Sudan and an end to imperialist sanctions against Khartoum. It is particularly important for the American working class to demand: All U.S. special forces out of Africa! At present, there is no military conflict between the UN/AU troops and the Sudanese government. However, this could change. For example, Bloomberg.com (18 January) reports that with the conflict in the states of South Kordofan and Blue Nile exacerbating the threat of famine, the White House is considering launching an “aid” operation in the border region without Khartoum's approval, posing a possible military conflict between Sudan and U.S. imperialism.

In any military conflict over South Sudan between imperialist forces—e.g., the U.S., UN and its AU adjuncts—and Sudan, the question of the independence of the South Sudanese would be subordinated to the struggle against imperialism. In that case, the workers of the world must stand with Sudan against the imperialists without giving any political support

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