

“War on Terror” Targets Everyone’s Rights

Feds Hands Off Our Phones!

Waving the bloody shirt of “terrorism,” the capitalist state has stepped up its campaign to snoop into everyone’s private information, this time targeting Apple’s iPhone encryption. The Feds are seeking to compel the technology company to by-pass the security built into the phone of Syed Rizwan Farook, one of the killers in last December’s mass shooting in San Bernardino, California. This sinister move by the FBI signals that it will tolerate no constraints on its surveillance activities and now demands backdoor access to *your* phone. As one former FBI agent put it, “When you listen to the tone of the argument, it’s as if they think that if data exists, they have a right to it.” Make no mistake: the government is out to create a precedent that imperils everyone’s rights.

The stage for this confrontation was set in 2013 by the revelations of whistle-blower Edward Snowden, who was driven into exile in Russia. His leaks documented massive illegal government spying on electronic communications, with and without the cooperation of telecom and tech companies. Worried about market share and reputation, some of the tech giants moved to shut backdoors into the information of their users. In 2014, both Apple and Google announced plans for default phone encryption. Consumers and privacy advocates were delighted, but the FBI launched a hysterical campaign claiming that the companies were aiding criminals. FBI director James Comey has tried to whip up hysteria over encryption preventing police from accessing “evidence,” which he calls “going dark.”

Whatever Apple’s reasons for standing up to the Feds, we are glad, while it lasts,



Fight for the Future

February 23: Protesters at FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C. Feds’ attempt to break Apple’s iPhone encryption threatens the privacy of all smartphone users.

that there is some obstacle to the nefarious aims of the capitalist state and its secret police. But Apple is hardly a consistent champion of privacy. Prior to this case, Apple happily complied with at least 70 court orders to access data on phones using earlier versions of its operating sys-

tem. It even instructed law enforcement agencies on how to correctly request such orders from judges. In the first half of last year, Apple handed over iCloud content in response to nearly 300 law enforcement requests.

In the wake of the Snowden revelations,

Apple and other tech heavyweights, including Microsoft, Facebook and Google, formed Reform Government Surveillance (RGS), ostensibly to lobby for privacy and against mass spying. RGS has issued a statement defending Apple against the government’s order. But its real purpose has been to help companies clean up their images while continuing to aid government snooping. RGS campaigned for the USA Freedom Act—a reauthorization of the Patriot Act with a little window-dressing that was passed last year. The group continued to support the act even as its “reform” clauses were stripped away and the Director of National Intelligence endorsed the measure.

In case Obama’s FBI loses to Apple in the courts, Democratic Senate battle-ax Dianne Feinstein of California is preparing legislation to force the Silicon Valley company to give the FBI what they want, beating the drums about the “terrorist attack in my state.” At the same time, some ruling-class representatives adamantly oppose restrictions on encryption, which they depend on to secure their financial transactions and military secrets. Encryption is fundamental to Internet commerce: without it, credit card transactions would be open to any thief. As every information security professional and hacker knows, it is impossible to provide a backdoor for the government without weakening security in general. In that vein, a lead editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* (2 March) headlined “Apple Is Right on Encryption” warned, “The FBI doesn’t want merely one phone, and its warrant is legally suspect.”

If the FBI can strong-arm the world’s
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Defend Anti-Fascist Protesters!

Klan Provocation Stopped

Anaheim

An integrated crowd of dozens of anti-fascists, including anarchists and supporters of Progressive Labor Party (PLP), stopped the Ku Klux Klan’s “White Lives Matter” anti-immigrant provocation in Anaheim, California’s Pearson Park on February 27. From the start, the race terrorists were out for blood. A protester explained in a February 27 interview on YouTube that when protesters approached the Klansmen, the KKK pulled out weapons. One Klansman stabbed at anti-fascists with a pointed flagpole flying an American flag. Protesters defended

themselves and drove off the Klan, but not before the KKKers had stabbed three protesters, sending them to the hospital.

The police, who had been “observing” from the far side of the park, came to escort Klansmen away and crack down on the protesters. Six Klansmen and seven protesters were arrested. The lawyer for three arrested protesters later reported that the cops broke the arm of one of his clients, noting that, in contrast, the police “are very polite and civil to these KKK guys, who have stabbed three people” (*Los Angeles Times*, 29 February). The arrested KKKers were quickly released on the pretense that they had acted in self-defense. Not so the anti-fascists, who were jailed for three days and threatened with bogus felony charges of assault with a deadly weapon—and elder abuse, because one of the Klan thugs was over 65 years old! One protester remains in jail on what police claim is an unrelated matter.

The Orange County District Attorney’s Office is pursuing an investigation to determine what charges to file against the

anti-fascists. The Anaheim Police Department put a wanted poster on its Facebook page of a black man alleged to have kicked one of the fascists. The poster evokes the antebellum notices used in hunting down runaway slaves and is an incitement to racist vigilantism, listing the names and cities of residence of the arrested anti-KKK activists. It’s clear whose side the cops and the D.A. are on. The labor movement, the left and all the KKK’s intended victims must demand: *Hands off the anti-fascist protesters!*

In what might as well be a brief for the prosecution, Brian Levin, an ex-cop who runs the Center for the Study of Hate and

Extremism at California State University, San Bernardino, has been widely quoted vilifying the protesters. Levin, who says he attended the Klan rally to do research, boasts of single-handedly rescuing the “Grand Dragon” and grotesquely paints the race terrorists as victims. Just one day after the Klan attempted to rally in Anaheim, white supremacists in the L.A. County backwater of Lake Los Angeles attacked a group of Latinos with knives while screaming “Heil Hitler” and waving the Confederate flag. Nonetheless, the press has seized on Levin’s statements to smear the Anaheim *anti-fascist*

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FROM THE ARCHIVES OF SPARTACIST

BLACK AND RED

PART 2

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Lutte Ouvrière and Prostitution Socialist Priests of LO and the Holy Family

We reprint below an article translated from Le Bolchévik No. 215 (March 2016), newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Last fall, the Orsay Museum in Paris presented an interesting exhibition titled “Splendor and Misery: Images of Prostitution 1850-1910.” Through paintings and photographs—and even some of the earliest pornographic films—it gave a picture of the prevalence of prostitution at that time in all layers of society, specifically in

Paris. This ranged from women workers, who in order to survive were forced to sell their bodies after a long day at the factory (not to mention during working hours to satisfy their foreman or boss), to high-end prostitutes like La Belle Otero in the highest circles of the bourgeoisie. (There was even a section—closed to minors!—which discretely mentioned homosexual male prostitution.)

It is not surprising that the Orsay Museum, one of the main cultural showcases of French imperialism, has “forgotten” what is at the heart of prostitution,



December 2013: Sex workers in Paris protest law imposing fines of 1,500 euros on clients of prostitutes. Reuters

its necessary corollary, namely the institution of the family and bourgeois marriage. At this exhibition, marriage was the elephant in the room.

The institution of the family is the main source of women’s oppression. The family is crucial to the propertied class, giving it the ability to transmit its property to “legitimate” heirs and teaching working-class children to know their place. The family is the arena for and instrument of oppression of youth, both girls and boys, particularly in terms of sexual repression.

Women’s liberation will only become a reality when the entire human species is freed from exploitation and class oppression. Marx and Engels explained that the perspective of building a communist society—that is, a classless society based on material abundance—first requires a series of socialist revolutions internationally. That would lay the material basis to begin *replacing the family* by socializing housework and truly collectivizing children’s education.

That is the perspective that the Bolsheviks sought to implement after the 1917 October Revolution despite conditions of extreme scarcity in a backward society devastated by years of imperialist war followed by civil war. They took steps to establish full social and political equality for women: legalizing divorce, abortion and homosexuality. But they did not stop there. They began to develop the necessary infrastructure (day-care centers, cafeterias, laundries, etc.) to socialize housework and childcare, and thus enable women to participate fully in social, political and cultural life.

The difference between this Marxist understanding and that of Lutte Ouvrière (LO) [who are linked to the U.S. group Spark] was starkly apparent at their January 8 “Cercle Léon Trotsky” educational in Paris devoted to the question of women’s liberation. The main speaker spoke at length about the oppression of women throughout history. Of course, she did emphasize the role that women played in working-class struggles, and she described some aspects of the measures taken by Lenin’s Bolsheviks after the Russian Revolution. However, she avoided addressing the bourgeois family head-on. Basically, the presentation remained within the framework of feminism. She actually claimed to be a feminist, concluding that “to be a consistent feminist..you have to be a communist.” But feminism is *incompatible* with Marxism because it uses the

division between sexes to obscure the division between social classes.

One of our comrades spoke during the brief discussion period at this meeting to reassert basic Marxism on the question of the family. She concluded:

“Prostitution is the flip side of the institution of the family. As Engels wrote, ‘Monogamy and prostitution in the modern world, although opposites, are nevertheless inseparable opposites, poles of the same social conditions.’ He added that in bourgeois marriage a woman ‘does not hire out her body, like a wage worker, on piecework, but sells it into slavery once and for all.’ Thus, the liberation of prostitutes cannot be separated from the liberation of women as a whole, and prostitution will die only as the institution of the family is replaced. “But LO, far from explaining this, believes that one can and must fight against prostitution using the bourgeois cops. Indeed, LO supported [President François] Hollande’s anti-prostitution law. This prettifies not only the capitalist police but also the institution of the family itself, as if there could be a bourgeois family free from its outgrowth, prostitution. In this, LO is no different from the slimiest priests and other hypocrites. “We are for the decriminalization of prostitution—to pay or get paid for having sex is not a crime! We are against all government interference in people’s sex lives. More fundamentally, we are for women’s liberation through socialist revolution!”

In her reply, the LO speaker, Anne Lhommier, displayed remarkable duplicity. After baselessly implying that the LTF regards “commercial sex as the ultimate freedom,” she claimed that LO has “no confidence in the bourgeois state to legislate on this question” and that LO “never supported Hollande’s law, as you claimed.”

However, the relevant article in *Lutte Ouvrière* (6 December 2013) is still available on LO’s website. In that article, LO declared, in regard to the criminalization of prostitutes’ clients under the Hollande law, “It is the least one can expect in terms of legal action!” LO added: “Nevertheless, it is not enough to take steps to discourage clients; the law must clearly address how prostitutes will then be able to continue to live.... That going to prostitutes should be considered a crime and that the crime of soliciting by prostitutes should be abolished is the least one can expect from the law of a country that calls itself civilized[!].”

If that does not mean that LO supports the repressive measures against clients of prostitutes that the law specifies (including a fine of 3,750 euros for repeat offenses), how else can one characterize



TROTSKY

Soviet Power and Women’s Emancipation

In honor of International Women’s Day, March 8, which originated in the struggles of women garment workers in New York City in 1908, we print an excerpt from a work by leading Bolshevik Alexandra Kollontai. In this 1921 lecture at Sverdlov University, Kollontai explains the measures taken by the young Soviet workers state, although limited by material scarcity, to begin to free working women from the burdens of child-rearing and

the institution of the family, the central source of women’s oppression. With the Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union beginning in 1923-24, many of these liberating aims were eventually abandoned and the nuclear family was rehabilitated.

The labour republic does not take children away from their mothers by force as the bourgeois countries have made out in tales about the horrors of the “Bolshevik régime”; on the contrary, the labour republic tries to create institutions which would give all women, and not just the rich, the opportunity to have their children brought up in a healthy, joyful atmosphere. Instead of the mother anxiously thrusting her child into the care of a hired nanny, Soviet Russia wants the working or peasant woman to be able to go to work, calm in the knowledge that her child is safe in the expert hands of a creche, a kindergarten or a children’s home....

The task of Soviet power is thus to provide conditions for the woman where her labour will not be spent on non-productive work about the home and looking after children but on the creation of new wealth for the state, for the labour collective. At the same time, it is important to preserve not only the interests of the woman but also the life of the child, and this is to be done by giving the woman the opportunity to combine labour and maternity. Soviet power tries to create a situation where a woman does not have to cling to a man she has grown to loathe only because she has nowhere else to go with her children, and where a woman alone does not have to fear her life and the life of her child. In the labour republic it is not the philanthropists with their humiliating charity but the workers and peasants, fellow-creators of the new society, who hasten to help the working woman and strive to lighten the burden of motherhood. The woman who bears the trials and tribulations of reconstructing the economy on an equal footing with the man, and who participated in the civil war, has a right to demand that in this most important hour of her life, at the moment when she presents society with a new member, the labour republic, the collective, should take upon itself the job of caring for the future of the new citizen....

In bourgeois society, where housework complements the system of capitalist economy and private property creates a stable basis for the isolated form of the family, there is no way out for the working woman. The emancipation of women can only be completed when a fundamental transformation of living is effected; and life-styles will change only with the fundamental transformation of all production and the establishment of a communist economy. The revolution in everyday life is unfolding before our very eyes, and in this process the liberation of women is being introduced in practice.

—Alexandra Kollontai, “The Labour of Women in the Evolution of the Economy” (1921) from *Selected Writings* (Lawrence Hill and Co., 1977)

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Anaheim...

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protesters for supposedly promoting hate and violence.

In the same spirit, Anaheim’s Republican mayor Tom Tait, Democratic Party politicians, community groups and churches held a “peace walk” and candle-light vigil in Pearson Park on February 29. Condemning violence (by the protesters) and preaching tolerance (for the Klan), the rally represented an attempt to promote passivity in the face of Klan terror. A fascist watching the vigil clearly understood the message as he flaunted his “white power” and swastika tattoos. The same day, a Los Angeles Times editorial insisted that the fascists have a right to police protection and intoned, “We all have the right to ignore the antics of a fringe hate group.”

For working people and the oppressed to ignore white supremacist terror will allow the fascist threat to fester and grow, with more deadly consequences. The fascist vermin are race terrorists committed to exterminating blacks, Latinos, Jews, Muslims, homosexuals and other minorities. The true face of racist terror was shown in the massacre of nine black people in Charleston’s Emanuel AME Church last June. Following that slaughter, the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the gang that tried to rally in Anaheim is associated with, spearheaded a campaign against the removal of the Confederate flag from the South Carolina Capitol.



Heather Boucher Davini Photography

Klansman wields flagpole against anti-fascist protesters, Anaheim, February 27.

Today, the forces of the capitalist state are the main agents of violent repression against working people and the oppressed, though of course, the police have always been deeply intertwined with white supremacists. The Klan is waiting in the wings to be deployed as shock troops of capitalist reaction against the unions and oppressed when struggle breaks out. Klan and neo-Nazi groups have grown rapidly in the last year, emboldened by daily cop terror, massive deportations of immigrants and the anti-Muslim tirades of demagogues like Donald Trump.

Anaheim used to be overwhelmingly white with a population that included

many from the South. Known as “Klan-aheim,” the city retained many of the white-supremacist practices of the Jim Crow South. In the early 1920s, four of five City Council members and nine of ten police officers were Klan members. Klansmen patrolled the streets in robes and masks. Die-hard anti-Catholics, the Klan burned a large cross in front of St. Boniface Roman Catholic Church. In 1924, 30,000 people attended a KKK rally at what is now Pearson Park.

The population of Anaheim today is more than half Latino, including many unionized hotel and food workers. But race terror remains. Last year, the KKK

flooded nearby communities with inflammatory fliers on Martin Luther King Day, and in 2003, an eight-foot cross was burned outside the home of a black man in Anaheim Hills. In November of that year, the fascists’ hatred for the organized working class was demonstrated when Nazi skin-heads wielding baseball bats attacked a United Food and Commercial Workers union picket line in Laguna Niguel, Orange County. This attack underscores the common interests between the labor movement and oppressed minorities.

It’s good that the Anaheim protesters stopped the KKK rally on February 27. But, however courageous, small groups of protesters do not have the social weight to crush the fascist menace and often become targets of police and state repression. In contrast to the perspective of PLP and anti-fascist activists who reject mobilizing the organized labor movement, what is desperately needed are mass united-front actions centered on the power of the unions. In past years, the Spartacist League and our affiliated legal and social defense organization, the Partisan Defense Committee, have initiated united-front labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists—in Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Atlanta, New York City and other cities. In addition to beating back the race terrorists, in the course of such mobilizations we strive to make the working class conscious of its own power and its historic mission to eradicate the capitalist system. Capitalist misery breeds fascism; only socialist revolution, under the leadership of a revolutionary workers party, can ultimately rid humanity of this scourge.■

KKK: 150 Years of Racist Terror

The article reprinted below originally appeared in WV No. 318 (26 November 1982), when it was used to help build the mass united-front labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., on 27 November 1982.

* * *

They came in the dead of night, white-robed, with burning cross. They came on horseback to the home of a black family on an isolated rural Southern road. The inhabitants, in sheer terror, knew it was the Ku Klux Klan. And they knew the KKK had come to flog, to cripple, to lynch.

For more than a century the white robes of the nightriders have meant terror for black Americans. But today there is much talk of a “new Klan.” Most of this talk comes from Klan leaders who have been given a forum by the media. But how “new” is this Klan?

Historians of the Ku Klux Klan distinguish three periods of KKK activity: the original Klan which rode against Reconstruction after the Civil War; a born-again Klan of the 1920s based in the industrial cities; and the contemporary Klan. But there is a thread of white terror which ties together the long history of KKK violence. Each “new” Klan rekindles the fiery cross of race-terror and ini-



UPI

August 1925: 40,000 Klansmen march in Washington, D.C.

tiates the bizarre rituals of the post-Civil War Klan. From the genteel Southern planter with horse and lash to the three-piece suited Kleagles and Wizards of TV talkshows, the Klan has always been

an organization of race-terror for white supremacy and counterrevolution.

The Klan has been the most influential, effective and dangerous of all the fascist groups in America. But if Klan terror has continued for more than a century, so has the struggle against it. In order to better organize that fight, it is important to understand the Klan’s origins and history, to know what it is that the modern day Wizards emulate. For the history of the Ku Klux Klan is written in rivers of blood of black Americans waiting to be avenged.

The Reconstruction War (1866-1877)

The Klan was born out of the heat of bloody counterrevolution in the South after the Civil War. The Second American Revolution, which was begun to prevent secession, ended by crushing the Southern slave system and placing the industrial-based Northern capitalists (represented by the Republican Party) in command. To consolidate its victory the revolutionary

bourgeoisie granted formal political rights to the freed slaves, and during Reconstruction black and white radical Republicans, protected by the Union army, sought to overturn the political and social structure of the antebellum South. To fight the Reconstruction governments, Southern reactionaries turned to a secret war of terror and intimidation. Their armed fist in this war was the Ku Klux Klan.

Formed in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1866 by a group of ex-Confederate officers, the KKK spread quickly across the South as the terrorist arm of the Democratic Party. The Grand Wizard was an ex-slave trader, General Nathan Bedford Forrest, who commanded the Confederate troops at the massacre of Fort Pillow where in 1864 more than 300 black troops were taken prisoner and savagely murdered along with their families.

The precedent and model for the Klan terror was the pre-war slave patrol. This common practice involved groups of men who patrolled the roads at night looking for slaves to “interrogate” and whip. They would also make midnight raids on the slave quarters. When there was fear of slave revolts (and this was often), the slave patrols would be stepped up in their frequency and violence.

In the name of protecting civilization and “Southern womanhood” against the “carpetbagger,” the Klan created a reign of terror meant to restore and maintain white supremacy in every sphere of life. Their main target was the black Union Leagues which were the political and fraternal organizations of the Republican Party. The Union Leagues and the few armed black militias were all that made the Reconstruction governments possible. For the “crime” of being in the Union League, or even voting Republican, blacks could well expect a visit from the nightriders. Another favorite Klan target was teachers, white and black, in the newly established black schools.

But any sign of manhood could mark a black for a murderous night visit. Whippings with hickories were the common means of intimidation. And the usual dose of several hundred lashes was enough to permanently scar, often cripp-

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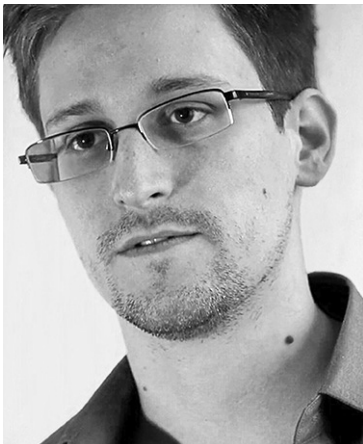
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Feds...

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most valuable company, then where does that leave the rest of us? Like the National Security Agency, whose snooping was at the heart of the Snowden revelations, the FBI is one of many tentacles of the capitalist state—a body that is not neutral, but which exists to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie. The purpose of such state



Laura Poitras

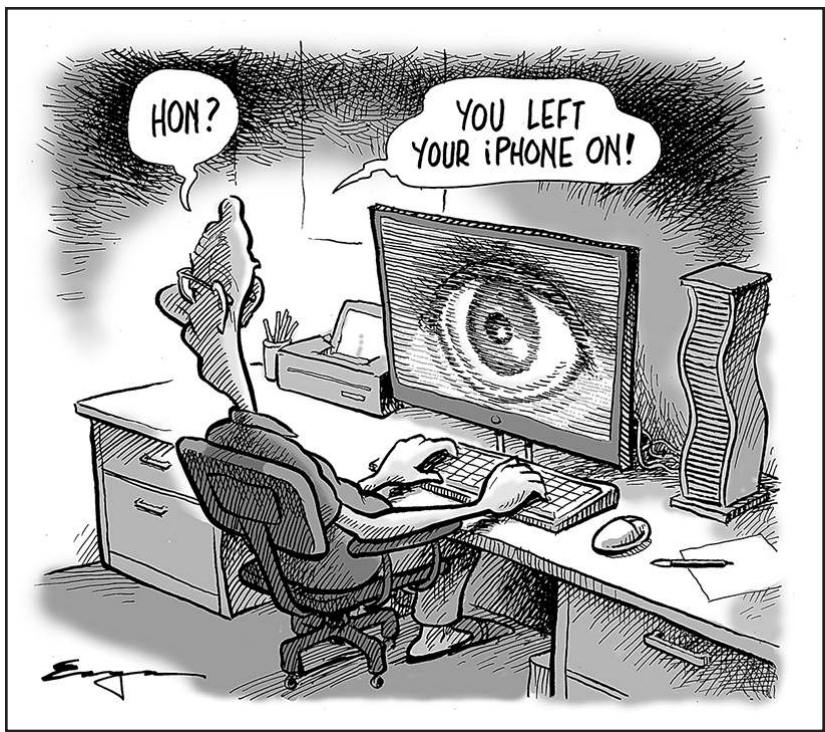
Heroic whistle-blower Edward Snowden.

organs is to suppress workers and the oppressed when they pose a challenge to the bosses. We oppose any strengthening of the repressive powers of the state. Any leftist, opponent of imperialism, advocate of black freedom, or trade unionist should know that the FBI is precisely who should *not* have your data.

The perils of FBI snooping on opponents of racial oppression were highlighted in a March 3 letter to the judge in the San Bernardino FBI-Apple case from a number of black activist groups. The letter, signed by groups including Beats, Rhymes & Relief and the Justice League NYC, noted: “Many of us, as civil rights advocates, have become targets of government surveillance for no reason beyond our advocacy or provision of social services for the underrepresented.” As Malkia Cyril, director for the Center for Media Justice, which also signed the letter, aptly put it in a February 24 tweet: “In the context of white supremacy and police violence, Black people need encryption.”

The crimes of the FBI are legion. During WWII, the bureau compiled lists of “suspicious” Japanese Americans who were rounded up for internment camps. In 1956, the FBI launched COINTELPRO, a program of disruption, infiltration, intimidation and dirty tricks aimed initially at the Communist Party, and later expanded to include everyone from Puerto Rican nationalists and civil rights activists to protesters against the Vietnam War. The COINTELPRO campaign against the Black Panthers took the lives of 38 Panthers, including Fred Hampton, chairman of the Illinois chapter, who was murdered in his bed in 1969.

The bloody dirty tricks didn’t cease when COINTELPRO was disbanded after its exposure in the early 1970s. A “former” FBI informant rode shotgun in the Nazi/KKK caravan that gunned down five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979. Since the inception of the “war on



Tim Eagan

terror” in 2001, the FBI has particularly spied on American Muslim groups, anti-war activists and advocates for Palestinian freedom. The bureau employs over 15,000 informants and provocateurs for infiltration and entrapment, instigating bogus “terror plots” and then rounding up innocent people caught up in the webs it has spun. In 2010, the FBI targeted 23 Midwestern leftists, antiwar organizers and union activists because of their political activities in solidarity with oppressed people in the Near East and Latin America (see “Protest FBI Raids on Leftists,

Union Activists!” WV No. 966, 8 October 2010).

Whatever transpires in its case against Apple, the FBI’s history is not one of abiding by the limits of the law. Indeed, its purpose is precisely to carry out dirty deeds, largely under the cover of secrecy, regardless of bourgeois legality. The tiny wealthy minority that lords it over this society ultimately depends on force of arms to maintain its rule. What is necessary is a workers revolution to sweep the capitalist state and its apparatus of spies and thugs into the dustbin of history. ■

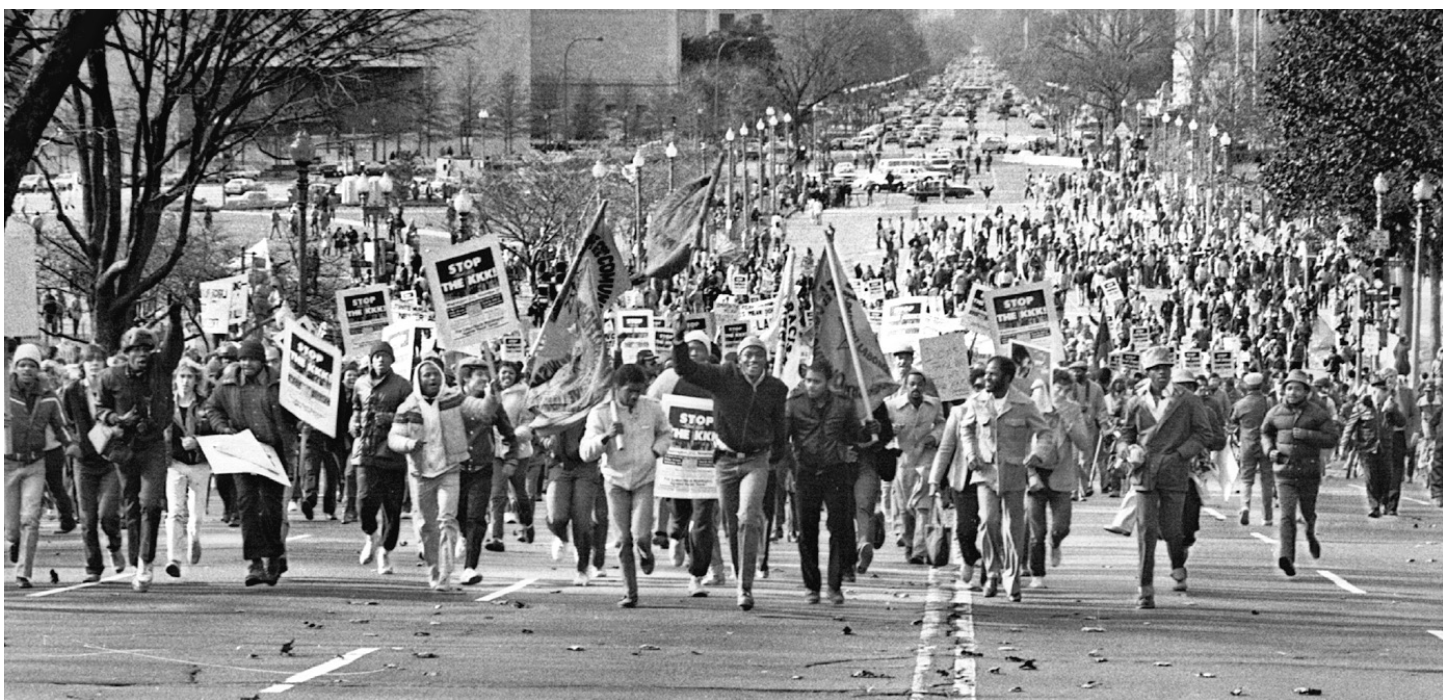
ple or kill the victims. W.E.B. DuBois describes in *Black Reconstruction* how the terrorists “rode through the country at night, marking their course by whipping, shooting, wounding, maiming, mutilation, and the murder of women, children and defenseless men, whose houses were forcibly entered while they slept, and, as their inmates fled, the pistol, the rifle, the knife, and the rope were employed to do their horrid work.” Before the 1874 city elections in Vicksburg, Mississippi, for instance, 200 blacks were massacred in a single week.

Blacks fought the nightriders bitterly, but were out-organized, out-gunned and in the surprise attacks out-numbered. By the early 1870s the Klan had driven off the Union Leagues. It would have taken a massive military effort to finish the Civil War by crushing the counterrevolution in the South. Particularly it would have meant the arming and training of a Southern black militia. But whereas Confederate soldiers were allowed to keep their arms after the war, blacks discharged from the Union army were forced to give up theirs. Negro troops had been withdrawn from the South as early as 1866.

In general there was insufficient military power to enforce the Reconstruction laws and suppress the Klan. When the Union army did arrest the KKK killers, it did little good because they were then turned over to local authorities who released them. Despite cries by radical Republicans for more troops to combat lawless terror, the number of Union troops in the South was steadily drawn down. By 1876 there were only 6,000, mainly on frontier duty in Texas.

As the Northern bourgeoisie became convinced that the South would not rise again, they had less interest in black rights. They had accomplished what they set out to do economically: break the challenge of the Southern slaveowners to the American capitalist state. Ten years after the war ended, with class struggle heating up in the industrial North, the bourgeoisie was willing to give up its democratic ideals for an alliance with its former enemies.

With the Compromise of 1877, Reconstruction was over. The Democrats promised to support Rutherford Hayes for president in exchange for a promise that the last few remaining federal troops would be pulled out of the South. This was a sign that white supremacy had won in the



WV Photo

Spartacist League-initiated labor/black mobilization on 27 November 1982 drove race-terrorist KKK off Washington, D.C., streets. More than 5,000 union members, black youth and anti-racist militants turned out and stopped the Klan.

South, gaining the support or acquiescence of the Northern bourgeoisie. With Klan terror the Southern planter-capitalist enforced sharecropping on the former black slaves. Jim Crow, sanctioned by the Supreme Court as “separate but equal,” was established in every sphere of life. The Klan declined in growth because they had *become* the state with the Democrats in power. There was little need for masks as “kluxing” became a permanent feature of Southern rural and town life. Lynching in the last decades of the 19th century became a grotesque commonplace.

Terror in the Cities (1915-1930)

The white supremacists won the Reconstruction War, and for generations history books told the story their way. Most still do. In 1915 the “redeemers” version of Reconstruction was made into a powerful film, *Birth of a Nation*, viewed by 50 million Americans who cheered as the hooded nightriders “saved” the South from corrupt whites and evil black rapists. One of those who saw it many times in the year of its release was Joseph Simmons, who took a small band up to Stone Mountain, Georgia to revive the Klan.

This incarnation of the KKK, promoted as a “fraternal order,” became a mass movement in the early 1920s. It had an estimated three to five million members

and achieved considerable political clout within the Democratic Party. The Klan was able to elect many of its number to local, state and federal office. The Klan had so much influence that it split the 1924 Democratic convention. A motion to condemn the Klan failed by one vote.

The Klan is often thought of as an exclusively Southern and rural phenomenon, but the early 1920s saw the rise of urban Klansmen. Chicago, for example, had 50,000 members organized in 20 “klaverns.” The Midwest cities were ripe for the Klan’s brand of race-terror. Since 1910 blacks had been coming North for industrial jobs and had been subjected to murderous riots (e.g., East St. Louis in 1917).

But the major spur to the revived Klan in the North was the influx of Southern and East European immigration which had been temporarily stopped during the war. These immigrants, who were mainly Catholic and to a lesser extent Jewish, would become the KKK’s targets along with blacks in its campaign for “100 percent Americanism.” When Al Smith ran for president in 1928, one Oregon Klan leader declared: “We will float our horses in blood to their bridles before we see a Roman Catholic sitting in our presidential chair.”

The Klan in the 1920s was no “frater-

nal order” or electoral caucus. “Tar and featherings” were all too common a part of KKK night-time parades and cross-burnings, held in cooperation with the local police. Their victims—who now included, besides blacks, Catholics, Jews, union organizers, socialists and “n---r lovers”—were beaten, flogged and their wounds stuffed with hot tar and feathers. Thus, it was a particular provocation against all black Americans and immigrants when the KKK held their giant march in Washington, D.C., in August 1925. Forty thousand hooded and robed Klansmen marched down Pennsylvania Avenue while another 200,000 watched.

The Klan of the 1920s faded due to internal corruption at the top and the fact that the bourgeoisie took up most of its nativist program, passing more restrictive immigration laws. However, the KKK remained a potent force in the Jim Crow South, and racist terror was key to preventing the establishment of strong integrated industrial unions in the South with the rise of the CIO in the 1930s.

Jim Crow Terror (1946-1965)

After World War II blacks began powerful organizing efforts to demand their political rights. Thousands of black GIs came home trained in the use of arms

continued on page 11

FROM THE ARCHIVES OF SPARTACIST

“BLACK AND RED— Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom”

Spartacist No. 10, May-June 1967

We reprint below the concluding part of the document on black oppression that was adopted at the Spartacist League's founding conference in September 1966. The first part appeared in WV No. 1084 (26 February).

PART TWO

IV. THE SOUTH

The Southern economy is today controlled entirely by Northern capital and is an *integral* and *essential* part of American capitalism. The contradictions of capitalism culminating in the tendency of the rate of profit to fall necessitate the maintenance of this vast area of low wage, non-unionized labor as a source of superprofits, and prohibit either any fundamental improvement in living standards for Southern workers whatever their color or any real change in the Southern political system of terror against Negroes. The problem of the South is more than merely one problem among many in the capitalist system. U.S. capitalism can oftentimes remove some problems through reforms in the system, always of course at the expense of exacerbating problems elsewhere. *But the Southern system lies at the very heart of American capitalism; its essentials cannot be removed without destroying capitalism itself.* Yet capitalism in the course of its own development has now created in the South a Negro proletariat larger than the rural Negro population and brought together black and white workers in the social process of production. Thereby the objective basis is laid by capitalism itself for a future revolutionary struggle against the inhuman Southern system.

Because only a direct anti-capitalist struggle can eradicate the Southern system, any struggle short of that must soon either turn against capitalism or else fall into a swamp of hopeless reformism and soul searching. Perhaps the most critical problem of the Southern Negro struggle has been its lack of revolutionary theory. Much energy and much blood have been sacrificed, but the gains have been few. The struggle has gone slowly as the movement has painstakingly groped its way along, hammering out by trial-and-error

a program and method of struggle which is still in flux.

Without any theoretical weapons, the movement first struck out blindly but boldly at the most immediate signs of oppression—segregation in public transportation, eating places, educational institutions, etc. The basic demand was equality *within the system*, while the method of

be learned. The emphasis was on registration of Negroes for the vote. Once again, though, the bourgeoisie adopted this basically reformist demand, this time calling it the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

But the bourgeoisie in the era of imperialism is so decadent, so dependent upon reactionaries, that it can no longer extend even simple bourgeois democratic rights.



Reuters

UPS Teamsters strike, 1997: Militant, integrated strike aroused broad sympathy among working people, poor across country.

struggle was dominated by non-violence. This struggle reached its height in the early 1960's with the sit-ins, Freedom rides, Old Miss confrontation [desegregation of the University of Mississippi], etc. A good deal of publicity was achieved, but the system was basically untouched. As if to indicate the reformist nature of the demands, the bourgeoisie adopted the entire Civil Rights program and called it the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

But the civil rights movement was beginning to learn several important lessons. It was learning that one cannot merely make demands—one must have *political* power. *What kind* of political power was still to

At this point, then, the Southern civil rights movement was pushed outside the traditional two party system by the bourgeoisie itself. At the 1964 Democratic Party Convention where the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party tried to enter the regular Democratic Party, the bourgeoisie rejected this chance to absorb the Southern leadership and so pushed the leadership into its more militant phase.

Rise of the Black Power Movement

The Negro movement in the South has been confronted with two roads: reform vs. revolution, liberalism vs. communism. In recent years, through trial-and-error, the movement has seen the bankruptcy of traditional liberalism. The well-hated “white liberal” who dominated the earlier movement insisted on confining the movement within the system, for a real social overturn would threaten his class position. This attitude was held not only by the white liberals, but also by the petty-bourgeois Negro leaders like Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King.

The most militant section of the civil rights movement has sensed the inadequacy of traditional reformism, and its suspicions were empirically confirmed by the experience of the MFDP. This healthy though empirical reaction has its center in SNCC and the “black power” movement.

The adherents of “black power” are usually the most militant elements who have adopted the term partly because of its militant sound and partly because of its repugnance to white liberals. Thus the “black power” movement contains a number of radical points and methods which have caused the bourgeois press to shower

vicious abuse on it. Some “black power” advocates profess to reject middle-class values and desire to serve “human” values; they generally favor independent political action such as the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County; they see the connection between the Negro struggle at home and anti-imperialist struggles abroad, as in SNCC's recent statement on Viet Nam; and they discuss the use of armed self-defense against racist terror. In short, the “black power” movement is raising questions whose answers lie *outside* the framework set up by the capitalist class.

However, as yet the movement has not become consciously anti-capitalist. It has rejected what it knows as liberalism but is unsure of how to go further. Lacking a conscious orientation towards the working class, and constantly surrounded by bourgeois propaganda, the movement may yet fall prey to bourgeois politicians with radical phrases or else become hopelessly isolated and demoralized.

Another facet of the “black power” movement is the proposition that black militants should organize Black people and forget about whites for now, since most whites are racist, and that it's a white man's job to organize whites. But the achievement of Negro liberation *depends* on the radicalization of white workers, and every class-conscious white worker means a new ally for the Negro struggle. The lessons that black militants have gained through bitter struggle can best be transmitted to white workers by these militants making clear that their aim is to build an integrated anti-capitalist movement, North and South. This means that the slogan “black power” must be clearly defined in *class*, not racial terms, for otherwise the “black power” movement may become the black wing of the Democratic Party in the South. The possibility of this is indicated by Stokely Carmichael's endorsement of the so-called “National Conference for New Politics,” a Social-Democratic front group which is leaning towards Robert Kennedy for “peace” candidate for President in 1968.

At this stage of the Southern struggle where the most militant elements are groping for new solutions to the problems reformism is demonstrably not able to overcome, the Spartacist League, as the only professed revolutionary organization with any sort of base in the South, is in a unique position to intervene in the movement to advance the development of consciously anti-capitalist struggle.

Advancing the Southern Struggle

In addition to the programmatic points discussed earlier [in Part One] under “Broad Tasks,” additional demands are pertinent to the Southern struggle.

(1) *For a Southern Organizing Drive Backed by Organized Labor.* Organized labor is being hurt as many companies move South to tap the vast source of cheap, unorganized Southern labor. Black workers meanwhile suffer from low wages and little job security due to lack of unions. A labor-backed Southern organizing drive would thus help both black and white workers. The demand for a Southern drive is complementary to the demand for a Freedom Labor Party, and, if achieved, would lay the material basis for such a party by creating an organized Southern base.



Doug Harris

Lowndes County, Alabama, Black Panther Party, 1966. Radical wing of civil rights movement rejected liberal pacifism, advocated armed self-defense against KKK terrorists, racist police.

(2) **Armed Self-Defense.** While this slogan is also applicable in the North, the demand has a more immediate urgency in the South and is already being acted upon. The Deacons for Defense and Justice is a tremendous step forward for the Negro struggle, not only because it saves lives, but because it raises the level of consciousness of the civil rights movement by discouraging reliance upon the institutions of the bourgeois state. However, the Deacons exhibit a curious duality: highly militant, paramilitary tactics are used to protect the struggle; however, their political perspectives are characterized by comparatively mild, anti-discrimination politics. This contradictory character will eventually result in a crisis which will reveal the urgent need for revolutionary theory and program along with self-defense if the social liberation of the Black people is to be achieved. The demand for organized self-defense must be counterposed to Federal intervention which preserves Southern “law and order” and the racial status quo.

(3) **For a Workers United Front Against Federal Intervention.** As the bourgeoisie loses *political* control of the working class, it must rely more and more on direct Government controls, sometimes thinly disguised as “arbitration panels,” “wage guideposts,” etc. In the recent Machinists’ strike a naked anti-strike bill was almost passed. In 1963 Federal troops were deployed to prevent a threatened uprising by black workers in Birmingham during a campaign of racist bombings. All workers have a vital interest in opposing Federal intervention.

V. BLACK WORKERS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

There is one state power in this country, and its destruction will be accomplished only by a united working class under the leadership of a single revolutionary vanguard party. The SWP’s [Socialist Workers Party] concept of the continued division of the working class along color lines with two separate vanguards which would coordinate their activities in a revolutionary period would be like having two command centers during a war, issuing separate orders and disorganization and confusion in the face of the wealthiest and most powerful ruling class in history. The struggle against this concept of a federated vanguard is similar to the struggle carried on by Lenin at the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party against the Jewish Bund’s demand for autonomy within the party and for their sole right to work among Jewish workers. Trotsky argued that to grant such autonomy to one group would in effect be granting autonomy to any particular section of the working class, i.e., would be the institution of a federated party and the destruction of a centralized organization, in addition to



Above: January 1964 meeting between Democratic president Lyndon Johnson and Martin Luther King Jr., with other civil rights leaders. Right: Cartoon captures King’s hypocritical pacifism.



Muhammad Speaks

an explicit challenge to an internationalist outlook. As it is the goal of socialism to sweep away national and racial barriers, a socialist organization struggles to overcome such barriers. Furthermore, the perpetuation of a “dual vanguard” concept within the United States would actually prevent the struggle from reaching a revolutionary level. Only *common* struggle for *common* aims can unite the working class and overcome the lifelong racial prejudices of American workers.

Our immediate goal is to develop a black Trotskyist cadre. We aim not only

League itself, and elsewhere. As Trotsky said:

“We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class.... If it happens that we...are not able to find the road to this stratum, then we are not worthy at all. The permanent revolution and all the rest would be only a lie.”

In recruiting and holding a Negro cadre there are several problems:

(1) **Color hostility.** Only the demonstrated determination of the Spartacist League to carry through its revolutionary

reflected in our organization, may create a certain social gulf between black and white members. This gulf will only be overcome through conscious, common struggle, and the education of all our members in Marxist theory and practice.

(3) **Daily oppression and the problems of life.** The struggle for livelihood and the immediate problems of daily life create additional pressures on our black members which draw them away from full participation in the revolutionary movement. Our black comrades should be aided in gaining job skills that will make the immediate day-to-day problems of living less pressing and free them for revolutionary activity and concentration.

(4) **Over-Activism.** Because the Negro struggle has been the most active struggle in the country, our Negro members have been intensely active party members. The demands of the mass organizations in which they participate tend to occupy so much time that little is left for the study of Marxist theory and the lessons of past class struggle. Unless there is a balance between these two forms of activity our goal of creating a black Trotskyist cadre to intervene in the mass struggle and lift it to a higher consciousness of its anti-capitalist goals will not be realized. The Spartacist League is confident that it will be able to overcome these problems and create an integrated revolutionary vanguard capable of reaching and eventually uniting in struggle the entire class.

Final Victory

The victory of the socialist revolution in this country will be achieved through the united struggle of black and white workers under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard party. In the course of this struggle unbreakable bonds will be forged between the two sections of the working class. The success of the struggle will place the Negro people in a position to insure at last the end of slavery, racism and super-exploitation.

—General line unanimously adopted and Editorial Commission appointed by Founding Conference, 4 September 1966.

—Report of Negro Commission on revisions accepted by Political Bureau, 27 March 1967. ■



Spartacist banner at rally in Chicago, 1968.

to recruit Negro members—a short-cut to the working class in this period—but to develop these black workers into Trotskyist cadres who will carry a leadership role in organizing the black masses, within the

tasks will convince black militants to join and remain in our ranks. To avoid disappointment and demoralization, we must make clear to our black recruits that only the patient construction and theoretical preparation of a revolutionary vanguard party will produce significant results.

(2) **Class and educational differences.** At present a predominant number of recruits to any radical organization are from the middle class. In addition whites in the U.S. as a whole have access to more and better formal education than Negroes. These factors, to the extent that they are

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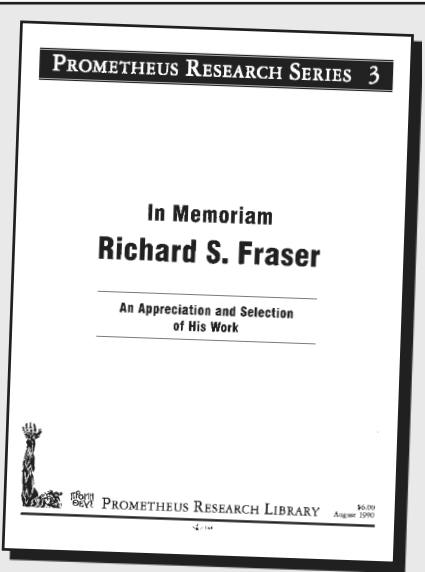
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Remember Japanese-American Concentration Camps

Old Lyme, CT
2 March 2016

Dear WV:

Donald Trump’s call to totally ban all Muslims from entering the U.S. is not just mad raving from this bad clown in the horror show of American bourgeois politics. Such xenophobic, racist hysteria can and did happen here, when liberal icon Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 9066 on 19 February 1942, consigning some 120,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry—two-thirds of them citizens—to concentration camps during World War II.

After protests in the 1970s, followed by books and exposés, and finally some token government apologies, it has been mainly accepted that this was a bad thing, as liberal bourgeois commentators have opined well after the fact. There was even a recent Broadway play, *Allegiance*, inspired by

beloved *Star Trek* actor George Takei’s boyhood experiences in an American concentration camp. But the current liberal attitude that this was an unfortunate “mistake” can easily shift to whatever the prevailing winds of bourgeois opinion and self-interest dictate. So it’s important to remember what really happened: a gigantic atrocity perpetrated and supported by all levels of government and virtually all capitalist politicians, judges and newspapers at the time. Imperialist war—politics by other means—reveals the true nature of the beast.

A new book, *Infamy* by Richard Reeves (Henry Holt and Company, 2015), is a useful history. Besides documenting damning quotes from “liberals” of the time, it also provides many new details of inmates’ lives, of protests and work stoppages, hunger strikes and draft resistance inside the camps. At Tule Lake especially,

where “disloyal” internees were segregated, there were many protests against U.S. policies. At Heart Mountain, some camp inmates formed a “Fair Play Committee” protesting their being stripped of citizenship and therefore refusing induction into the U.S. military.

Especially powerful was the exhibition by Yale University’s Sterling Memorial Library (which closed on February 26): “*Out of the Desert*”: *Resilience and Memory in Japanese American Internment*. It was a collage of letters, leaflets, photos, drawings and watercolors, diaries and stories by the internees: a portrait of deprivation, harsh slave-labor and heartbreaking “ordinary” life including yearbooks and high school proms surrounded by barbed wire and soldiers with machine guns. In World War II America, many of the camp administrators had already overseen reserva-

tions, the barren wasteland concentration camps for Native Americans, while black Americans, everywhere they lived, were socially and often legally segregated, as in the Jim Crow South. Heart Mountain, Minidoka, Tule Lake, Topaz, Manzanar, Poston, Gila River, Granada, Jerome, Rohwer: these are the names of America’s concentration camps for Japanese Americans. For each one, the Yale exhibit provided an online map with details and documents of the site.

We first wrote about this in “The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps” (WV No. 139, 7 January 1977). The Trotskyists then, themselves persecuted for opposing the U.S. imperialist war, were among the few to defend Japanese Americans, as that article documents.

CGs,
HC

North Korea...

(continued from page 12)

obscure the real danger to the world’s masses: the U.S. imperialists. Not only is the U.S. the only country to have ever used atomic weapons, incinerating 200,000 Japanese civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, but it also came close several times to using nuclear weapons in the 1950-53 Korean War; it was hindered mainly because the Soviet Union also had nukes. Under UN auspices, U.S. forces obliterated cities and towns up and down the Korean Peninsula during the war. More than three million people were slaughtered in the imperialists’ attempt to crush insurgent workers and peasants in the South and to overturn the social revolution in the North, seen as a stepping-stone to overturning the 1949 Chinese Revolution. It was due to the heroic struggle of Korea’s workers and peasants and the intervention of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army (PLA) that the imperialists did not succeed.

The war ended in an armistice, sealing Korea’s division along class lines at the 38th parallel. Washington went on to prop up a series of military regimes in the South that ruled through sheer terror. Having donned a thin “democratic” veil in the late 1980s, the South Korean bourgeoisie continues to viciously repress militant trade-union struggles and to quash expressions of support to the North. Feeding off the manufactured hysteria over Pyongyang’s bomb test and satellite launch, the Park government has pushed through “anti-terrorism” legislation that drastically increases the reach of the noto-



North Korean leader Kim Jong Un watches satellite launch, February.

rious secret police. This throwback to the days of military rule goes hand in hand with a series of new labor “reforms” that take direct aim at South Korea’s combative trade unions (see “South Korea: Down With Anti-Labor Offensive,” WV No. 1084, 26 February).

These new repressive measures demonstrate that defense of North Korea is completely intertwined with the pursuit of class struggle against the South’s capitalist rulers. That link is further highlighted by the presence in South Korea of 28,000 U.S. troops—a daily threat to not only North Korea and China but also to the South Korean proletariat. As part of our unconditional military defense of the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution, we demand: *All U.S. forces and bases out of South Korea!*

With its repeated efforts to pressure Pyongyang to give up its nukes, the Chinese Stalinist regime spits on the memory of the hundreds of thousands of PLA troops who died fighting imperialism in the Korean War. We have long warned that Beijing’s collaboration with Washington against Pyongyang—an expression of the nationalist Stalinist dogma of “socialism in one country” and its corollary, “peaceful coexistence” with imperialism—undermines defense of both China and North Korea. The U.S. has now made this danger more concrete with its threat to install an advanced missile shield known as Terminal High Altitude Area Defense, or Thaad, in South Korea. Ostensibly aimed against an attack from North Korea, the system uses missile-tracking radar that can cover a broad swath of China. An article by Peter Lee in *Asia Times* (15 February) noted that this would give the U.S. the potential to degrade “the viability of the PRC’s [People’s Republic of China] land-based strategic nuclear deterrent.”

The bureaucracy that sits atop the Chinese workers state, mindful of its self-interest above anything else, has kept up a delicate balancing act as it comes under increased pressure from the U.S. Even as it collaborates with Washington, Beijing has resisted demands to crack down further on North Korea by, for example, canceling mineral imports and terminating food shipments to the country. Three-quarters of North Korea’s imports come from China, a crucial lifeline given the North’s bleak economic condition.

North Korea was not always in such a state. For two decades following the Korean War, its industry and infrastructure were far more developed than South Korea’s, with Soviet aid buttressing the collectivized economy. The capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the USSR in 1991-92 threw North Korea into a tailspin. Isolated and faced with a con-

tinuing imperialist embargo, its industrial base shriveled and severe malnutrition stalked its population. Today, Beijing is well aware that if it acceded to imperialist demands to cut off shipments of food and other necessities to its neighbor, it would likely spell the end of the Pyongyang regime. Along with that would come the threat of social chaos spilling across the Chinese border and further imperialist aggression toward Beijing.

As Trotskyists, our defense of the Chinese and North Korean workers states against the capitalist enemy is the necessary precondition for the fight for political revolutions to oust the parasitic bureaucracies and replace them with regimes based on workers democracy and proletarian internationalism. The nationalist, nepotistic Stalinist regime in Pyongyang is an opponent of the struggle for socialist revolution in South Korea, and everywhere else. Each generation of the Kim dynasty has called for “peaceful reunification” of Korea—a formula that does not challenge capitalist rule in the South. We call for *revolutionary reunification*, through workers political revolution in the North and socialist revolution in the South.

Defense of North Korea and the other remaining deformed workers states is integral to the fight for socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist societies, including Japan, the imperialist powerhouse of Asia, and the U.S., the planet’s most dominant power. The International Communist League dedicates itself to forging the proletarian vanguard parties that, as sections of a reformed Fourth International, can lead the proletariat in sweeping away the capitalist-imperialist order and building a world socialist society of material abundance. ■

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8

WORKERS VANGUARD

China...

(continued from page 12)

Chinese deformed workers state against internal capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack.

As for ChAFTA, we recognise that the Chinese and other deformed workers states—Laos, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—have both the right and often the necessity to formalise economic relations with the capitalist world through trade pacts and joint ventures with Western and Japanese corporations and governments. Greater integration into the world capitalist market not only creates opportunities to build up their economies but also brings counterrevolutionary dangers. A key question is the terms and the method of implementation of such trade deals and the extent to which the workers states are prepared to protect their economies against the influence, penetration and fluctuations of the world capitalist market.

It is possible for the Chinese bureaucracy to make agreements with capitalist powers that can benefit the deformed workers state (e.g., by increasing the supply of iron ore and other minerals, or by helping to neutralise U.S. attempts to economically isolate China). But, opposed to a revolutionary internationalist perspective,

Canberra, June 2015: Chinese commerce minister Gao Hucheng and Australian trade minister Andrew Robb sign China-Australia Free Trade Agreement.



Office of the Prime Minister

Over China’s Role in Africa,” *Workers Vanguard* No. 987, 30 September 2011).

Why China Is Not Capitalist

In 1949 China experienced a profound social revolution as the peasant-based People’s Liberation Army (PLA) led by Mao Zedong’s Communist Party overthrew the imperialist-backed bourgeois-nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek’s Guomindang (GMD). The PLA’s victory

ance of classes—can be built in a single country. This is completely counterposed to the Marxist program of world proletarian revolution—the prerequisite to creating an internationally planned economy that would eliminate scarcity.

From the beginning, the development of a collectivised economy in China was immensely distorted by bureaucratic mismanagement. In 1978 when Deng Xiaoping came to power he introduced “market reforms” which he called building “socialism with Chinese characteristics.” These reforms were an attempt, within the framework of Stalinist bonapartism, to use the whip of the market to spur modernisation and overcome stagnating productivity engendered by bureaucratic commandism. In addressing “market socialism” in Eastern Europe in the 1980s, we wrote:

“Within the framework of Stalinism, there is thus an inherent tendency to replace centralized planning and management with market mechanisms. Since managers and workers cannot be subject to the discipline of soviet democracy (workers councils), increasingly the bureaucracy sees subjecting the economic actors to the discipline of market competition as the only answer to economic inefficiency.” —“For Central Planning Through Soviet Democracy,” *Workers Vanguard* No. 454, 3 June 1988

Over time, the Chinese regime has invited imperialist investment into the country, given up the state monopoly of foreign trade and instituted market mechanisms. However, despite major capitalist inroads, the economy as a whole is not organised on the basis of capitalist production for profit. The core of the Chinese economy remains collectivised; state-owned enterprises dominate strategic industrial sectors and much of the surplus they create is channeled into the banks and treasury of the workers state. Testifying to the superiority of a collectivised economy over capitalist production for profit, China’s economy continued to grow rapidly during the 2007-08 capitalist world economic meltdown.

Since the 1949 Revolution, China has gone from being a backward peasant country to a majority urban one, lifting some 600 million people out of poverty and creating a powerful industrial proletariat. China nonetheless remains a

country of extreme contradictions, with great backwardness and a widening disparity in wealth between the richest and poorest. On mainland China there is a nascent capitalist class. Although they have no cohered political leadership and do not hold state power, this bourgeois layer poses a threat of internal capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, hundreds of millions of workers as well as poor peasants wage countless strikes, protests and riots every day against the consequences of bureaucratic misrule. The social contradictions in China are growing and, when they blow, either capitalist counterrevolution or workers political revolution will be posed.

The Chinese workers need a leadership whose perspective is to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace them with the rule of workers, peasants and soldiers councils (soviets). A government based on soviets and led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party would expropriate the new class of domestic capitalists. It would seek to utilise the world market to accelerate economic development. Based on defence of the collectivised economy, it would re-establish a central plan and restore the state monopoly of foreign trade, while renegotiating the terms of foreign investment in the interests of the working people.

However, even the most farsighted communist leadership would not be able to overcome the limits facing China in a world dominated by powerful imperialist states. The establishment of a revolutionary internationalist government in China would spark revolutionary upsurges from Korea to Japan through to the oppressed masses of Southeast Asia. Ultimately, only the overthrow of capitalist class rule internationally, particularly in the advanced imperialist centres of North America, West Europe, Japan and Australia, can lay the material basis for the all-round modernisation of China as part of a socialist Asia.

Imperialists’ Anti-China Crusade

Far from peacefully co-existing with the Chinese deformed workers state, the imperialists are committed to returning the Chinese masses to the unfettered imperialist exploitation that existed prior to the 1949 Revolution. The Chinese deformed workers state is a strategic target for the imperialists. This can be seen with the growing U.S.-led military aggression against China, which occurs in tandem with the strengthening of military alliances with imperialist Japan and Australia, and the impoverished neocolonial Philippines. Hardly a week goes by without some new imperialist military provocation directed at Chinese land reclamation and construction projects in the islands of the South China Sea. These islands are of strategic importance to China’s military defence and its ability to defend critical shipping lanes. Behind the imperialist gunboat diplomacy is the threat of embargo and war.

U.S. sabre-rattling against China has been met with some disquiet by sections of the Australian capitalist class. With

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Getty

Barack Obama with then prime minister of Australia Julia Gillard at air force base in Darwin, Australia, 2011, where U.S. Marines have been stationed.

the bureaucracy pursues such benefits in its own narrow, nationalist way. Thus the Chinese Stalinists help prop up the global bourgeois order. This ultimately undermines and endangers the gains of the revolution. However, while the Chinese bureaucracy is not motivated by proletarian internationalism, neither are its international investments driven by the relentless pursuit of profit as is the case with the imperialist powers (see “Hue and Cry

destroyed the Chinese capitalist state and smashed the rule of the Chinese bourgeoisie and landlords. It freed China from imperialist subjugation and further ignited anti-colonial and revolutionary struggles in Asia. The subsequent creation of a collectivised, planned economy laid the basis for an acceleration of industrial development and brought enormous social gains to China’s worker and peasant masses, particularly women.

However, unlike the 1917 Russian Revolution, which was made by a class-conscious proletariat guided by the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolshevik Party, the Chinese Revolution, based on the peasant masses, was shaped by the *absence* of the Chinese workers struggling for power in their own right. Thus, from its inception, the People’s Republic of China (PRC) was bureaucratically deformed by the rule of a nationalist petty-bourgeois caste resting atop the collectivised property forms issuing from the revolution. The CCP patterned their regime on the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, which had usurped political power from the Soviet proletariat in a *political* counter-revolution beginning in 1923-24.

Like their Kremlin counterparts before them, the Chinese bureaucrats promulgate the fantasy that there can be “peaceful co-existence” with imperialism. From Mao’s time to now, the CCP’s policies have expressed the nationalist Stalinist dogma that socialism—a society of material abundance marked by the disappear-

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Woody Island (Yongxing Dao) in South China Sea, under Chinese control since 1956. Reports that China recently deployed defensive surface-to-air missiles on the island sparked indignation from Washington.

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ues a years-long campaign against the employment of overseas guest workers on temporary 457 visas. To be sure, some unions, under pressure from their multiracial base and more class-conscious members, have on occasion defended and organised such workers. However, as is the case with their anti-ChAFTA campaign, the union tops’ overall “Australia-first” approach to immigrant labour has not been about securing more jobs or any gains for the working class as a whole but about distributing jobs according to the nationality of the workers. Such chauvinism towards overseas workers reprises the worst traditions of the Australian labour movement. It recalls the very roots of Laborism, which lie in explicit rejection of class struggle and the adoption of “White Australia” racism. The exclusion of “cheap Asian labour” was the basis of the ALP’s class-collaborationist chimera of bringing prosperity to its white Australian working-class base through domestic capital ownership and the exploitation of Australia’s natural resources.

The pro-capitalist economic nationalism that underpins the Laborite worldview means protecting the Australian bosses’ profits while lining workers up behind the capitalist rulers against “foreign” rivals and against workers overseas. What’s desperately necessary is a concerted fight to organise overseas workers into the unions with full union wages and conditions. A class-struggle leadership of the unions would oppose deportations and champion full citizenship rights for all who have made it here. This would include access to social services, healthcare and education.

As we stated a few years ago:

“In opposition to the chauvinism promoted by the union bureaucracy it is necessary to make clear that it is not overseas workers that cause unemployment but the bosses and their irrational capitalist system. A class-struggle leadership of the unions would fight layoffs through using the weapons of the class struggle, such as occupations and mass pickets, while demanding a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to spread the available work around. It would adopt special measures to recruit the most oppressed (including 457 visa workers), recognising that this



Topical Press

Soviet delegation en route to 1922 Genoa Conference where they concluded Treaty of Rapallo with Germany, which included extensive trade agreements.

would strengthen the organised working class as a whole. Bringing new layers of immigrant workers into the unions would crucially forge a living bridge to proletarian struggles overseas.”

—“Unions Must Defend ‘Guest Workers!’” *ASp* No. 220, Winter 2013

The presence of Chinese workers on Chinese development projects in Australia, so vehemently opposed by the union tops, could potentially provide a vital point of contact between the Australian and Chinese proletariat. This would be especially important should proletarian political revolution in China (or socialist revolution in Australia) be posed.

Reformist Left: Lawyers for Laborite Chauvinism

Tailing the union tops, and opposed to the necessary political struggle against Laborism, reformist groups such as the Communist Party (CPA), Socialist Alliance (SA) and Socialist Alternative (SAlt) backed the union campaign against ChAFTA. The CPA and SA enthusiastically built the anti-ChAFTA union rallies. SA long ago wrote off the PRC as capitalist, while the anti-communists of

SAlt deny that a social revolution ever took place. Both make common cause with imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary elements against China.

As for the CPA, their Australian nationalism wins out against any tilt they have towards China. In Stalinist tradition, they always stand ready to push class-collaborationist nationalism. While cynically decrying “xenophobic responses...being used to attack China,” the CPA nevertheless align themselves with the campaign in support of “the just demands of workers in Australia for the protection of local jobs, rates of pay and conditions and action in support of those rights” (*Guardian*, 22 July 2015). Meanwhile, SA claimed that these rallies were “being promoted by the unions as anti-racist” and that the unions were “also calling for any foreign workers on temporary visas to be employed under Australian conditions,” completely disappearing the union tops’ chauvinism (*Green Left Weekly*, 25 July 2015).

While backing the union campaign, SAlt offer some mild rebukes of the union leadership’s slogans on ChAFTA without offering any proletarian program of struggle or analysis of the wretched

role that Laborism plays in the workers movement. To the contrary, covering for the union bureaucracy, they claim that the trade unions “have been a great force against racism in this country” (*Red Flag*, 17 September 2015). While some of the prouder traditions of unionism in Australia—too few and far between—have involved anti-racist struggle, the bitter truth is that from its “White Australia” beginnings until now, the pro-capitalist union misleadership, in thrall to the ALP, have relentlessly peddled nationalism and protectionist poison to their working-class base. In covering for the role of the union bureaucracy, outfits like SAlt, SA and the CPA play their own small role in the syphilitic chain that binds workers to the capitalist system. These reformists cover for the “left” union tops, who in turn cover for the ALP, whose role when in government is to administer racist Australian imperialism on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

Against the chauvinism of the union tops and the ALP to which they are connected, it is necessary to forge a new class-struggle leadership in the unions. Such a leadership would begin with the understanding that the interests of labour and capital are irreconcilably counterposed. The ALP is a bourgeois workers party—thoroughly pro-capitalist in its program and leadership but based on the trade unions. A revolutionary workers party must be built through splitting the proletarian base away from this pro-capitalist leadership.

In contrast to the reformist left, our model is the Russian Revolution of October 1917. The young Soviet workers state led by Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolshevik Party was based on the principle that workers of the world should unite against their capitalist oppressors. In opposition to Laborism we seek to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party like the Bolsheviks. This party would be a tribune of the people, ready to take up the struggle against all manifestations of capitalist oppression as part of the fight to overthrow racist capitalist rule and establish a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia. ■

Racist Terror...

(continued from page 5)

and determined to stand up for their rights. With legal segregation in the South an economic anachronism and an international embarrassment for U.S. imperialism, Jim Crow faced the first serious challenge since Reconstruction. And the Klan once again began riding at night. While George Wallace was standing in the schoolhouse door swearing “segregation forever,” and Bull Connor was unleashing his dogs and hoses on civil rights demonstrators, the KKK was the cutting edge of the same racist reaction with bombs, bullets and beatings.

The Justice Department reported that from 1954 to 1965 the KKK was responsible for 70 bombings in Georgia and Mississippi, 50 of them in Montgomery, Alabama, alone. And what black American will forget what happened on that Sunday morning in 1963, when a KKK bomb shattered a Baptist church in Birmingham, Alabama. Four young girls lay dying in their Sunday school class; 22 of the congregation were seriously injured.

The Klan was no isolated group of fanatics. Many of the die-hard white racists were “law enforcement officials” during the day, White Citizens’ Council members after dinner and Klansmen at night. When busloads of freedom riders arrived in Birmingham in May 1961, they were met by over 1,000 armed Klansmen, who’d been tipped off by the local police—and they left the bus terminal strewn with broken bodies in pools of blood. And 600 civil rights marchers on the bloody Selma to Montgomery voter rights march of 1965 were met on March 7 by a joint assault of Alabama state troopers and the KKK.

While Martin Luther King’s SCLC and the NAACP were appealing to the



Greensboro News & Record

Victims of 1979 Greensboro Massacre: five unarmed leftists were killed by the KKK and Nazis.

federal government and FBI against the Klan, it was these very agencies which worked directly *with* the murderous KKK to terrorize the oppressed. But many blacks did not buy King’s liberal pacifism. For example, in 1957 blacks led by local NAACP head Robert F. Williams armed to defend themselves in Monroe County, North Carolina, and drive the Klan off in historic gun battles. The practice of armed self-defense was taken up in the mid-1960s by the Deacons for Defense in Louisiana.

Remember Greensboro!

The so-called “new Klan” has grown rapidly as the terrorist fringe of the anti-Soviet war drive and the racist backlash that has dominated American politics for

the last decade. Divided into four competing groups, the KKK is estimated to have 10,000 members as of 1980 (up from 4,000 in 1971), with ten times that number of active supporters. Recruiting out of the most backward and desperate white layers of society, the Klan has appealed to the anti-busing racism that erupted on the streets of Boston and Louisville, and which was confirmed in the halls of Congress.

The “new” Klan is playing a double game. On the one hand it is pushing for renewed bourgeois respectability, while it simultaneously pursues a rising line of terror on the streets. The bourgeoisie, perhaps with intimations that these white-sheeted fascists may soon prove useful once again, are giving them the

platform they desire. The Klansmen in pinstriped suits and the preppy fascist David Duke have become media fixtures. The results have been electoral gains. KKKer Tom Metzger won the Democratic nomination for Congress in San Diego; another former Klansman (and Nazi) got the Republican nomination for Congress in Michigan, and won 32 percent of the vote in 1981.

But the suit-and-tie Klansmen still don the white sheets, and they are surrounded by their machine-gun-toting killers. Shootings in Chattanooga; military training camps for race war in Texas and Alabama; cross-burnings across the country. The most spectacular example of racist Klan terror in recent years was the massacre of five leftists, union organizers and civil rights activists—shot to death in full view of TV cameras—in Greensboro, North Carolina. The liberal press labeled this a “shootout” between equally violent “extremists”—equating the murderers with their victims. And a year later the KKK/Nazi killers were acquitted by an all-white jury. Once again a green light for cold-blooded racist murder from the state.

The liberals accept the myth of a “new Klan” of respectable racism. But the KKK today is at bottom the same vicious animal as always: fundamentally the terrorist arm of the racist, counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie, with strong links to the police agencies of the capitalist state. Unlike the Kluxers of the 1920s, today’s Klan is small...but dangerous. They have a symbiotic relationship with the ultra-Reaganite “New Right” that bellows in the halls of Congress. The KKK waits in the wings of economically depressed America to be used as shock troops against the unions and blacks. And it will take the revolutionary mobilization of labor and all the oppressed to get rid of the Ku Klux Klan for all time. ■

Australian Union Tops Push Chauvinism Against Trade Pact

Defend China!

The following article is reprinted from *Australasian Spartacist No. 228* (Autumn 2016), newspaper of the *Spartacist League of Australia*.

Following over ten years of negotiations, in June last year government officials from capitalist Australia and the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state signed off on a China-Australia Free Trade Agreement (ChAFTA). The agreement was approved by the Australian Senate in November. Under ChAFTA, Beijing has agreed to slash tariffs for Australian coal, mineral resources, seafood, wine, pork, sheep, dairy and other commodities over the next two to nine years. If implemented, the agreement will also allow for the expansion of Australian

banks, insurance operators, tourism and private education, aged care and health-care providers in China.

For its part, the Australian government has agreed to increased Chinese investment in Australian agriculture, resource projects and a greater role in infrastructure development. Chinese projects in excess of \$150 million [US\$110 million] will be able to import labour into Australia under Investment Facilitation Agreements (IFAs). IFAs are similar to Enterprise Migration Agreements that allow companies to employ overseas guest workers on large resource projects. While the Australian capitalist rulers are celebrating ChAFTA and salivating at the prospect of greater economic penetration of China, the deal precipitated

an ugly chauvinist backlash from within the union movement. A cornerstone of the xenophobic union tops' campaign has been opposition to the clause allowing overseas workers into Australia on special visas to work on Chinese projects. Counterposed to the nationalist outlook of the pro-capitalist union leaders, the future for workers in Australia lies in common class struggle with the Asian working masses as part of the fight for a socialist Asia.

The signing of ChAFTA takes place in the context of a growing U.S.-led imperialist campaign to promote capitalist counterrevolution in China, the largest remaining country where capitalism has been overthrown, a workers state albeit deformed from its inception by the

rule of the parasitic Chinese Communist Party (CCP) bureaucracy. Against China, the imperialists are pursuing a combined strategy of economic pressure and military encirclement. Under the Obama administration's "pivot" to Asia, repeated U.S. military provocations in the South China Sea have been accompanied by a push to conclude the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). If ratified, the TPP would be the largest trade agreement in history. Encompassing one third of all global trade and deliberately excluding China, the TPP is an economic bloc against that country. It is designed to undercut China's influence in the Asia-Pacific and beyond. In a clear indication that the TPP is the economic analogue to the U.S.'s flagrant military provocations, last year U.S. defence secretary, Ashton Carter, declared "Passing TPP is as important to me as another aircraft carrier."

Dominated by U.S. imperialism, and consisting of nine other capitalist states, including Japan and Australia, and the Vietnamese deformed workers state, the TPP aims to drive up exploitation of labour across the board while increasing imperialist domination of dependent countries. There is an urgent need for common class struggle against the TPP by the working masses around the globe. Key to our proletarian internationalist opposition to the TPP is unconditional military defence of the

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Down With Imperialist Sanctions Against North Korea!

MARCH 7—Seizing on North Korea's announcement of a successful hydrogen bomb test in January and its launching of a satellite in February, the United Nations Security Council last week approved the toughest sanctions on the country in two decades. For nearly 70 years, the imperialists, led by the U.S., have tried through various means—war, nuclear brinkmanship, a starvation embargo—to overturn the social revolution that freed North Korea from imperialist domination and established collectivized property forms. Now, with the criminal complicity of the Chinese Stalinist regime, which helped draw up the sanctions, the U.S. has once again used its UN tool to try to squeeze North Korea into submission.

The unanimous Security Council resolution mandates inspections of all cargo headed for and coming from North Korea and bans sales or transfers to Pyongyang of small arms, light weapons and aviation fuel. A few days after the UN vote, the Philippine government impounded a North Korean freighter, intending to deport its crew. The resolution also bans those exports of coal, iron and iron ore that are deemed to fund the North's nuclear and ballistic missile programs as well as all exports of gold, rare earth and other minerals. Among a raft of financial strictures, other countries are required to freeze the assets of any entity linked to those programs and to terminate all banking relationships with North Korea within 90 days. Other measures specifically target individuals associated with the Kim



Newsis

March 7: U.S.-South Korean joint military exercises near North Korean border.

Jong Un regime. Meanwhile, the U.S. and South Korea are also moving ahead on their own sanctions.

It is the duty of the working class internationally to defend the workers state in North Korea, despite the deforming rule of the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, and every other country where capitalist rule was overthrown. That means opposing all sanctions and defending North Korea's development of nuclear weapons and associated delivery systems, which would give the country a measure of deterrence against the rapacious U.S. rul-

ers, their Japanese imperialist allies and their South Korean underlings.

The new round of sanctions, itself an act of war, comes on top of a series of brazen U.S. military provocations. Days after the nuke test, a nuclear-capable B-52 bomber flew over South Korea. On February 17, the U.S. deployed four F-22 stealth planes, its most advanced fighter jets, to Osan base near Seoul. In a nationally televised parliamentary address the day before, South Korea's right-wing president Park Geun-hye had threatened the North with "regime collapse" if it did not abandon its nuclear

program. The U.S. is also dispatching the aircraft carrier *John C. Stennis* to the region for a seven-month deployment. As we go to press, the U.S. and South Korean militaries are conducting the largest-ever installment of the annual Key Resolve and Foal Eagle military exercises, which include rehearsals of attacks on North Korean nuclear and missile facilities and special forces "decapitation raids" against the North's leaders.

Warmonger Samantha Power, U.S. ambassador to the UN, declared that the sanctions are aimed at countering the "reckless and relentless pursuit of weapons of mass destruction" by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). What would be truly reckless would be to *abandon* the pursuit of a nuclear deterrent. Writing in *CounterPunch* (17 February), Gregory Elich described an operational war plan adopted by the U.S. and South Korea last year: "Dubbed Oplan 5015, it covers limited war scenarios and includes a preemptive strike on the DPRK's strategic targets and 'decapitation raids' to kill North Korean leaders. The more North Korea's nuclear weapons program advances, however, the less likely Oplan 5015 can ever be implemented." As a North Korean government statement put it, giving up nuclear weapons would be "as foolish as for a hunter to lay down his rifle while a ferocious wolf is charging at him."

The North Korean nuclear nightmare conjured up by the American capitalist media and the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates serves to

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