

Protest Massacre of Peruvian Túpac Amaru Leftists

For Workers Revolution Against Fujimori Dictatorship!

Only minutes after his troops had turned the Japanese ambassador's mansion in Lima into a mass grave for 14 members of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) on April 22, Peruvian dictator Alberto Fujimori toured the charred, bullet-riddled compound to gloat over the corpses of the courageous leftist martyrs. Every capitalist government in the world joined in applauding the brutal massacre which ended the 126-day siege in Lima.

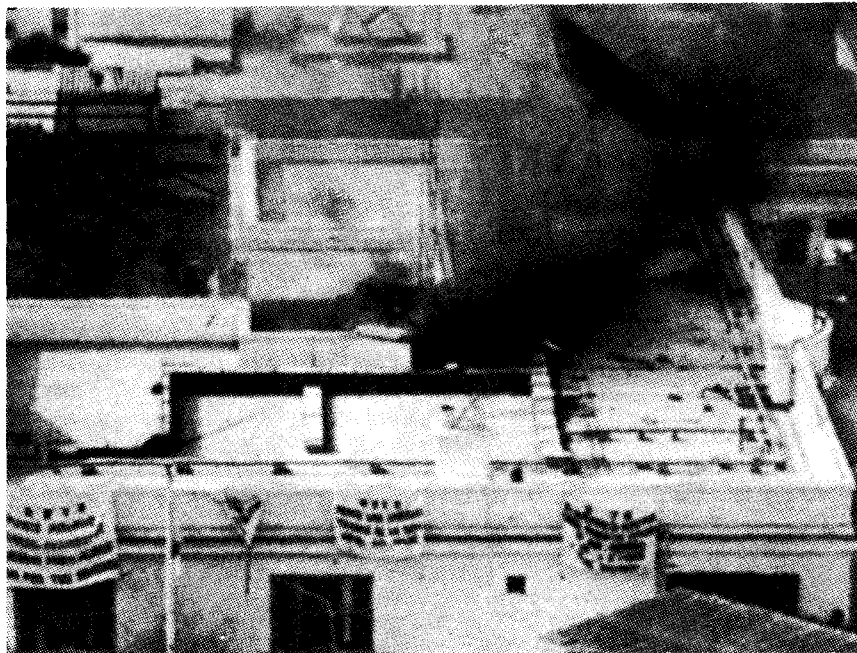
As details of the commando raid filtered out over the following days, they amply confirmed that this was, as an urgent protest statement by the International Communist League (reprinted below) had called it, a cold-blooded mass execution. While the capitalist press carried endless accounts of the "psychological ordeal" of the 72 military butchers, high-ranking businessmen and government officials who had been held as hostages—one of whom died in the military assault—the MRTA fighters left their hostages unharmed to the very end. Fujimori's death squad showed no such compunction when it came to the leftists. Two teenage women, among others, were gunned down by troops as they tried to surrender. MRTA commander Néstor Cerpa Cartolini was not only shot through the head but had his throat slashed.

As the ICL statement stressed, the Lima massacre was intended as a message to the combative worker and peasant masses throughout Latin America and the rest of the "Third World" to submit to imperialist-dictated starvation policies.



Spartacist Canada

Toronto, April 26: ICL protesters denounce Peruvian massacre.



AP

Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima following raid by Peruvian dictator Fujimori's military assassins. Mass execution of 14 MRTA leftists was hailed by Fujimori's imperialist godfathers in Washington and Tokyo.



Reuters

This will embolden Washington's Latin American front men—notably in Mexico, where peasant-based revolts rage in several provinces—to step up their murderous "counterinsurgency" efforts. Argentina's president Menem, who has faced a wave of militant strikes against union-busting and International Monetary Fund austerity measures, immediately proclaimed that he "would have acted in the same manner" as Fujimori. Most immediately, the lives of some 450 MRTA members, including Cerpa's wife, imprisoned in Fujimori's dungeons—for whose freedom the 14 MRTA militants fought and died—are in imminent danger. The international workers movement must urgently demand the immediate release of all victims of Fujimori's right-wing dictatorship.

U.S. imperialism played a direct role in orchestrating this bloodbath. Right at the outset, Clinton had offered to send a team of elite U.S. troops based in Panama to take out the MRTA. The Pentagon, along with Zionist Israel and Britain's SAS commando unit, trained Fujimori's assassins in the months leading up to the raid. The CIA provided high-tech electronic surveillance of the Lima compound. Beyond that, in the guise of its "war on drugs" Washington has been providing massive military aid to the Peruvian dictatorship for years to pursue its bloody reign of terror against

guerrilla insurgents and the impoverished peasant masses. In the U.S., it is imperative that class-conscious workers, as part of the fight against their "own" rapacious ruling class, raise the demand: *U.S. bloody hands off Latin America!*

In a statement from Hamburg, Germany, MRTA spokesman Isaac Velazco declared: "There will be justice for all those who were murdered by the Fujimori dictatorship." Yes. But it will only be achieved through the forging of Leninist-internationalist vanguard parties to lead proletarian revolutions which topple the semicolonial bourgeoisies and their imperialist paymasters.

Statement by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

The International Communist League denounces the mass execution of leftists perpetrated today by the Peruvian dictatorship of Alberto Fujimori inside the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima. The slaughter of 14 members of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) is a message to the impoverished peasants and working people of that

country to submit to the yoke of imperialist exploitation. The Peruvian regime's patrons and paymasters in Washington and Tokyo are up to their necks in this bloodbath. Japanese Prime Minister Hashimoto immediately declared: "I am pleased with the results and I thank the Peruvian forces." The U.S. State Department grotesquely blamed the leftist victims themselves for this grisly mass murder.

Despite our political differences with the guerrillaist strategy of the MRTA, we Trotskyists of the ICL have from the outset solidarized with their just demand for the release of some 400 of their comrades held hostage in Peruvian dungeons. Honorably, the MRTA fighters stuck to this demand on behalf of their imprisoned comrades to the very end. From the beginning, Fujimori insisted that the MRTA prisoners "will only get out dead." Faced with sympathy among the country's peasant and working masses for the MRTA's bold action as well as an internal political crisis provoked by it, Fujimori ordered the bloodbath by commandos trained by the Israeli Zionist butchers. Meanwhile, in the last 18 months alone, some 500,000 people have been detained in sweeps against "terrorists."

The Peruvian bourgeoisie's brutal repression against leftists and peasants has been backed to the hilt by U.S.

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Update in the Fight for Mumia's Freedom

New Legal Papers Show: Racist Jury Rigging in Jamal Frame-Up

At an April 23 press conference outside the Philadelphia mayor's office, attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal announced the filing of new papers supplementing the Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) petition currently before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. The supplemental application for "relief in the form of a remand" reiterates the call for overturning Jamal's 1982 conviction and dismissing false charges against him in the 1981 shooting death of a Philadelphia policeman. The new papers are based on recent revelations, contained in an official "DATV" videotaped lecture, confirming a policy by the Philly district attorney's office aimed at

excluding blacks from juries (see "Philadelphia: Frame-Up City," WV No. 666, 18 April).

Pointing to "a chain of prosecutorial and police misconduct, stretching from the suppression and destruction of a witness statement that the shooter fled the scene, to a fabricated confession, to improper cross-examination and argument," the legal papers noted that "the newly released 'DATV' videotape demonstrates that the chain of misconduct encompassed the jury selection as well." Jamal lead counsel Leonard Weinglass told reporters, "From day one of his trial, Mumia made it clear that the district attorney's office in Philadelphia would

racially remove qualified jurors who were African-American, and in fact they did precisely that."

The decades-long government vendetta against Jamal—from the time he was a teenage Black Panther Party member targeted by the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO operation to his harassment by Philly police for supporting MOVE and speaking out against racist police brutality as a prominent black radio journalist—shows the vast array of repression and terror wielded by the capitalist state against those who challenge it. We fight to mobilize the multiracial working class and all opponents of racist

terror to demand: Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

To join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, NY, NY 10023-5001. ■

Hatchet Job on the Bruderhof Sinister Smear Against Jamal Supporters

We print below an April 24 protest letter by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Paul LaRosa
48 Hours/CBS
New York, NY

Dear Mr. LaRosa:

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the recent segment of 48 Hours which used the Heaven's Gate mass suicide to depict the Bruderhof community as a dangerous cult. This depiction recalls the media hysteria against the Branch Davidians in Waco who were massacred by the United States government for the "crime" of being a nonconformist religious sect with an integrated membership which dared to defend itself against assault by heavily armed federal agents.

The Bruderhof is well known for its activity in opposition to the death penalty. In particular, they have championed the cause of death row political prisoner

Mumia Abu-Jamal and were instrumental in the publishing of Jamal's second book, *Death Blossoms*. You cannot be unaware that powerful interests from the Fraternal Order of Police to the Philadelphia D.A.'s office to the Pennsylvania governor's office want Jamal dead and his defenders and supporters rendered ineffective.

Mainstream churches in America flourish, grow wealthy, proselytize and are considered highly respectable in this ostensibly secular, but in reality deeply religious, country. Many small religious groups also dot the American landscape. The Bruderhof community is a voluntary religious organization in the Christian Anabaptist tradition. Your reasons for singling it out and pillorying its specific beliefs and practices are suspect and we protest your discrimination against it.

Yours truly,
Rena Herson
for the PDC

April 19: Commemorating Warsaw Ghetto, Waco Massacre We Will Not Forget!

The following remarks, published in slightly edited form, were made by a Spartacist League speaker during a discussion on bourgeois state repression at the SL regional educational in New York City on April 19.

Today marks two anniversaries. The first, 54 years ago, was the beginning of the 1943 uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto against the Nazis. It was the largest Jewish rebellion in Nazi-occupied East Europe in the course of the Second World War. Fifty years later was the 1993 massacre by the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms of over 80 people in an integrated religious commune outside Waco, Texas—ironically, on the very day when Clinton's vice president was in Poland hypocritically commemorating the Nazi Holocaust.

There are a couple of points to be made about these events. One is to underscore, against those who have illusions in bourgeois democracy, that a regime doesn't have to be fascist to carry out mass murder. The American government operates with all the trappings of democracy. But that didn't stop it from carrying out the massacre at Waco, it didn't stop it from carrying out the massacre of MOVE in Philadelphia in 1985, one in Tulsa, Oklahoma earlier this century—not to mention the slaughter of the indigenous Indian population—and one could go on and on. All this was perpetrated in the framework of constitutional democracy.

The other thing I want to say is about the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising itself. When

I was growing up, April 19 meant simply a commemoration of the Nazi Holocaust. It took me years to find out it was also, and more importantly, a commemoration of an uprising against Nazism which was carried out by people who by and large considered themselves socialists. The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising was staged in the situation of a truly totalitarian occupation, against odds which are unimaginable for us today. This was the entire Nazi SS/Wehrmacht juggernaut against a handful of people with handmade hand grenades and a few weapons that had been smuggled in—mostly small arms—and it went on for something like two or three weeks against these enormous odds. The flag that was flying over one of the headquarters of the Ghetto insurgents was the red flag [see "Hail Warsaw Ghetto Fighters!" WV No. 452, 6 May 1988].

And this of course has all been suppressed by Zionists and "good anti-fascist democrats," who today would have you believe that the state of Israel, which carries out its own genocidal war against the Palestinian people, is the representative of the Jewish struggle against the Nazi regime. The memory of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising belongs to the revolutionary proletariat everywhere. It harks back to a time in East Europe when socialism was the belief of the mass of the working class, when the workers went into battle with the red flag flying and with the aim of achieving international working-class power. And that had its echo in the Warsaw Ghetto. ■



TROTSKY

The Capitalist State: An Instrument of Class Oppression

The climate of racist reaction in the U.S. is underscored by the rapidly growing prison population, especially of black youth, and the drive to execute death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Marxists understand that the bourgeois state—the police, the courts, the army—is an agency by which the propertied classes hold down the exploited classes. Drawing on studies of earlier societies and on the lessons of the

revolutionary upheavals in Europe in the 19th century, Friedrich Engels explained that whereas the earliest human societies had no state, once society divided into classes a special apparatus of repression arose committed to defending the interests of the dominant class. The capitalist state thus cannot be reformed to serve the interests of the working people, but must be smashed through proletarian revolution and replaced with a workers state, opening the road to a classless, socialist society.

This special public force is needed because a self-acting armed organization of the people has become impossible since their cleavage into classes. The slaves also belong to the population: as against the 365,000 slaves, the 90,000 Athenian citizens constitute only a privileged class. The people's army of the Athenian democracy confronted the slaves as an aristocratic public force, and kept them in check; but to keep the citizens in check as well, a police-force was needed, as described above. This public force exists in every state; it consists not merely of armed men, but also of material appendages, prisons and coercive institutions of all kinds...

The highest form of the state, the democratic republic, which in our modern social conditions becomes more and more an unavoidable necessity and is the form of state in which alone the last decisive battle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can be fought out—the democratic republic no longer officially recognizes differences of property. Wealth here employs its power indirectly, but all the more surely. It does this in two ways: by plain corruption of officials, of which America is the classic example, and by an alliance between the government and the stock exchange, which is effected all the more easily the higher the state debt mounts and the more the joint-stock companies concentrate in their hands not only transport but also production itself, and themselves have their own center in the stock exchange....

The state, therefore, has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies which have managed without it, which had no notion of the state or state power. At a definite stage of economic development, which necessarily involved the cleavage of society into classes, the state became a necessity because of this cleavage. We are now rapidly approaching a stage in the development of production at which the existence of these classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but becomes a positive hindrance to production. They will fall as inevitably as they once arose. The state inevitably falls with them. The society which organizes production anew on the basis of free and equal association of the producers will put the whole state machinery where it will then belong—into the museum of antiquities, next to the spinning wheel and the bronze ax.

—Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884)



LENIN

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2 May 1997

ICL Protests Massacre of MRTA Fighters



Spartacist Japan

April 23 (from left): Tokyo, New York City, Berlin. Spartacist Group Japan signs read: "Workers Revolution Will Avenge Martyrs of Fujimori Dictatorship!" and "From Lima to Tokyo and Washington—For International Proletarian Revolution!"



WV Photo



Christian von Polentz

Hours after the Peruvian regime's April 22 massacre of 14 Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) leftists in Lima, the International Communist League issued an urgent protest statement. The following day, ICL comrades mobilized for protest demonstrations in New York City, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Mexico City, Tokyo and Berlin. Over the next three days, the ICL initiated or joined protests in Washington, D.C., Vancouver and Toronto, while the Spartacus Youth Clubs held speak-outs on various U.S. campuses denouncing the Washington-backed bloodbath.

In Tokyo, the Spartacist Group Japan intervened at a protest against a visit to Washington by Prime Minister Hashimoto, who had just applauded the Peruvian regime's mass murder. While the demonstration focused on calls for U.S. bases out of Okinawa, our comrades distributed the ICL statement in Japanese

and carried placards denouncing the bloodbath. In Berlin, the Spartakist Workers Party declared: "The German government is no less brutal in its own backyard and has armed the Turkish regime in its bloody war against Kurds and leftists."

A number of the protests in the U.S. were initiated or joined by supporters of the Workers World Party (WWP) and its International Action Center, as well as the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and its allied Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru. The protests called by our comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste outside the Peruvian consulates in Toronto and Vancouver were joined by the Workers Communist Party of Iran and several other organizations, including the Black Action Defense Committee in Toronto.

Overall, however, what was striking was the abysmal response by the bulk of

the left internationally. Even the largest of the demonstrations barely drew more than 100 people. It is a measure of the rapid rightward motion of the various reformist and centrist groups under the tow of the bourgeoisie's lies about the "death of communism" that they mostly had a token—if any—presence at the protests.

For their part, Workers World and the RCP—sharing a reformist worldview which rules out any possibility of mobilizing the working class in socialist revolution to sweep away the imperialist rulers and their semicolonial regimes—simply enthuse over "Third World" guerrilla struggles. Worse yet, the RCP—occasionally echoed by the WWP—acts as virtual press agents for the Peruvian Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). Despite its occasional leftist verbiage, Shining Path is distinguished by its pathological violence, which it regularly employs against trade unionists, peasants and political

opponents—including the leftist MRTA.

While honoring the slain MRTA fighters, ICL protesters stressed that the strategy of peasant-based guerrilla struggle is incapable of eliminating the oppression and injustice meted out by semicolonial regimes like the Peruvian dictatorship. We counterpose the need for international proletarian revolution led by Leninist-Trotskyist parties. As an SYC spokesman declared at an April 25 speakout at the University of Chicago:

"U.S. domination of Latin America has been enforced over the decades through savage terror against impoverished peasants, oppressed indigenous people and restive workers, carried out by both the American military and its neocolonial death-squad regimes. In the spirit of international proletarian solidarity, we fight to mobilize the power of the U.S. labor movement in struggle against the American ruling class as a part of the fight for socialist revolution throughout the Americas and worldwide!" ■

Túpac Amaru...

(continued from page 1)

imperialism in the guise of a global "war on drugs." At the same time, the racist American rulers carry on their own war of police terror and repression against working people, blacks and Hispanics in the U.S. The barbarism of the U.S. capitalist ruling class is amply evident in the ongoing crusade to legally lynch black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, whose cause has won the support of hundreds of thousands of working people and minorities around the world. As for the Japanese government, in the course of the Lima crisis it has sought to shore up its "anti-terrorist" credentials by escalating its international vendetta against the leftist "Red Army Faction" group.

Despite the valor of its militants, the MRTA's guerrillaist strategy is incapable of eliminating capitalist exploitation and oppression. As the MRTA's own impotent appeals to Fujimori to change his anti-worker and anti-peasant policies have made clear, such petty-bourgeois guerrillas are simply, as we have written, "reformists with guns." The ICL is guided by Leon Trotsky's program of permanent revolution. In semicolonial countries like Peru, only through the seizure of state power by the revolutionary proletariat supported by the peasantry can the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—agrarian revolution, the emancipation of the doubly oppressed peasant and working women, and liberation from imperialist bondage—be achieved. This requires the expropriation of capitalist property and the formation

of a planned socialized economy. Ultimate victory for the toiling masses of Latin America requires extending workers revolution to "the belly of the beast," U.S. imperialism. We fight for Leninist-Trotskyist parties from Peru to Japan to the U.S. as part of a reformed Fourth Inter-

national to lead the proletariat to power and sweep away capitalist-imperialist barbarism internationally. *Free all victims of Fujimori's terror! From Lima to Tokyo and Washington—For international proletarian revolution!*

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LRP's South Africa Lash-Up

In a recent issue of its journal *Proletarian Revolution* (Spring 1997), the U.S. League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) heralds the founding of a "New Revolutionary Group in South Africa"—the Workers International Vanguard League (WIVL). The LRP is sponsoring a U.S. speaking tour in May by a WIVL spokesman. The WIVL is a recent split from the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International (WIRFI), whose largest component was Cliff Slaughter's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) in Britain. Militants in South Africa who, out of ignorance, might be favorably inclined to the LRP had better think twice. The calling card of the tiny American LRP is militant opposition to struggles for basic democratic rights for the oppressed. These "separate but equal" socialists oppose even the call for integration of schools, an elementary demand to provide black children some measure of equal access to education.

What the South African WIVL and the American Shachtmanite LRP mainly have in common politically is their virulent Stalinophobia. For the LRP, their support to all known enemies of the Soviet degenerated workers state, no matter how reactionary, was at least consistent with their view that the USSR was "state capitalist." The WIVL and its predecessor, the Workers International group, formally adhered to Trotsky's position that the Soviet Union was a degenerated workers state, while in practice repudiating Trotsky's programmatic conclusions. Trotsky's program of proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy was premised on

For Permanent Revolution Against Neo-Apartheid Capitalism!



Workers protest anti-labor provisions in neo-apartheid constitution, April 1996. Leninist vanguard party is needed to lead proletariat and all the oppressed to sweep away white capitalist exploiters and their ANC-led government.

contrast, flows from the standpoint of *defending* the historic interests of the working class through the fight for international socialist revolution. Thus we have consistently condemned the South African Communist Party (SACP) for supporting and liquidating into the Afri-

pro-apartheid elements, as long as they hated the SACP and ANC. In opposing a vote to the WIRFI slate in the 1994 South African elections (WV No. 602, 10 June 1994), we noted:

"Their unrepudiated record of blocs with some of the most reactionary forces in the region, in the name of 'fighting Stalinism,' ruled out support for their candidates. In the November 1989 elections in Namibia, they participated in an electoral lash-up called the United Democratic Front (UDF), which included several bantustan parties who were collaborators of South Africa's puppet regime. The UDF received money from the apartheid government, which was anxious to undercut the vote for SWAPO. Today, the Slaughterites' virulently Stalinophobic election manifesto essentially accuses the ANC of bringing Stalinist gulags to the veld."

From the limited documentation that we have seen, the split between the Slaughterites and the WIVL appears largely cliquish, centering more on organizational squabbles rather than political principle. A document circulated by the WIVL declares: "From the moment of our first contact with the International, we opposed and criticized the opportunist alliance with the UDF in Namibia." But the elections in Namibia took place in 1989, *two years before* the leaders of what is now the WIVL affiliated to the WIRFI. This means that even though they knew beforehand that Slaughter's Namibian section was in an electoral bloc with forces financed by apartheid, they joined the WIRFI anyway. They then remained in the same international organization with Slaughter and his Namibian group for *five years*. Now they want to pass themselves off as principled Leninists!

The same WIVL document briefly touches on Bosnia. For several years, every issue of Slaughter's *Workers Press* featured articles on their campaign for "Workers Aid to Bosnia." Running supplies to the bourgeois-nationalist Bosnian Muslim regime, with French and British imperialist troops in "UN" blue helmets riding shotgun, "Workers Aid" was simply a stalking horse for the imperialists, who were also shedding crocodile tears for "poor little Bosnia." The WIVL now complains that the WIRFI pursued a "politically inconsistent line"

on Bosnia, at times becoming a "spokesperson for the nationalist and restorationist Izetbegovich government."

But the WIVL never challenges the WIRFI's line of military support to the reactionary Muslim Izetbegovic regime in Sarajevo. Similarly, the LRP gave military support to the Bosnian Muslims and to the Croatian forces under the fascist Tudjman government, at least up until the summer of 1995 when NATO initiated a bombing campaign against the Bosnian Serbs. In contrast, we in the International Communist League opposed all sides in the squalid nationalist slaughter in the former Yugoslavia. We opposed all imperialist intervention, calling for defense of the Bosnian Serbs against repeated NATO air strikes. The only perspective that offers a way out for the working class amid the devastation wrought by capitalist counterrevolution is to overthrow *all* the bourgeois-nationalist leaders in a struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans.

For a Black-Centered Workers Government in South Africa!

As Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution asserts, in countries of belated capitalist development the tasks historically associated with bourgeois-democratic revolutions cannot be achieved short of the establishment of proletarian rule. Our program for proletarian leadership in the struggle for national liberation is encapsulated in the slogan of a black-centered workers government, under which there would be an important role and full democratic rights for "coloureds" (mixed-race), Indians and those whites who accept a government centrally based on the black working people.

The bourgeois ANC regime manifestly cannot deliver on its promises to the South African masses. Yet if the frustration of the masses does not find expression along class lines, it will fuel and exacerbate every other kind of communal and ethnic division. The ANC has scapegoated immigrants from other African countries, as well as coloureds and in some instances Zulu-speaking black African migrant workers. At the same time, reactionary demagogues have sought to exploit popular discontent with the ANC. For example, a prominent local politician in Buthelezi's right-wing Inkatha Party recently organized protests in the coloured residential areas of Johannesburg against government attempts to force payment of back rates and rent. The protests combined generally supportable demands against the regime with a virulent anti-black thrust. In this increasingly polarized situation, some fake-left groups have alibied the ANC while others champion reactionary and communalist movements among sectors of the oppressed threatened by the ANC's brand of nationalism.

In South Africa, WIVL cadre have argued with our comrades against our call for a black-centered workers government, claiming that our emphasis on the centrality of black African labor is "divisive," or somehow backhandedly pro-nationalist. On the contrary, it is the WIVL which tails a "coloured nationalism" which is prevalent in the Western Cape area where the WIVL is concentrated.

An example of this is the WIVL's support to People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), a reactionary vigilante organization centered in the coloured community of the Western Cape and dominated by Islamic fundamentalists. PAGAD appeals to hostility within the coloured community toward a government



Rodger Bosch

HANDS OFF PAGAD!! BUILD THE MASS MOVEMENT!!

The arrest of PAGAD leaders and the police clampdown against PAGAD must be condemned in the strongest possible terms by every democratically minded and concerned resident, organization and trade union. It shows whose side the state (with its police) is really on—namely on the side of the drug and gang lords against the community. The objective of the state is clearly to crush PAGAD. We equally condemn the unprovoked shooting by the police on the PAGAD march on Sunday 11 August, while the provocative march by armed gangsters earlier the same day was allowed by the same police. Charging PAGAD members under the same laws used by the NP regime against the oppressed, shows just how low the ANC-led government has sunk. The Workers International does not support the killing of people without a fair trial, except in self defence. However, the blame for the death of gangsters and drug merchants at the hands of the community must be fully laid at the door of the police. Why do we say so?

The ANC, NP and others claim that it is the duty of the police and justice system to protect the community against

South African fake Trotskyists support PAGAD, communalist vigilante movement dominated by Islamic fundamentalists.

unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack.

The WIRFI's "Trotskyism" was strictly on paper. In practice, just like the LRP, it supported capitalist-restorationist forces across the board. Both organizations joined the NATO imperialists in demanding the withdrawal of the Soviet Red Army from Afghanistan, where it was fighting CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries, in the 1980s; hailed counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność (the only "union" in the world supported by imperialist politicians like Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher); and supported Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary coup in Russia in August 1991. In short, the LRP and WIRFI opposed Stalinism *from the right*, or in bloc with the right.

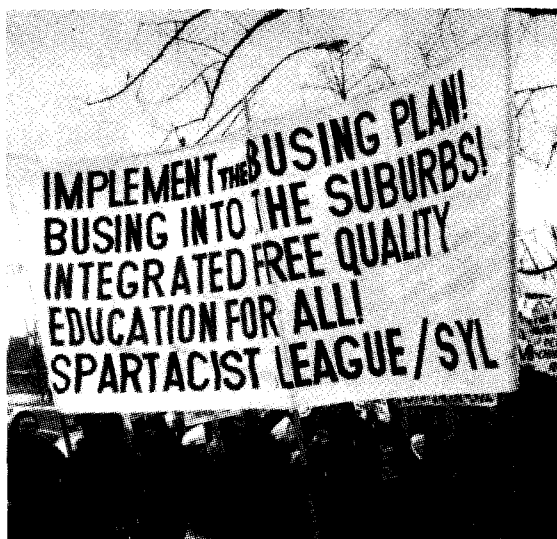
Trotskyist opposition to Stalinism, in

can National Congress (ANC), betraying the workers and oppressed black masses. With Nelson Mandela's election as South Africa's first black president in 1994, the bourgeois-nationalist ANC now administers the neo-apartheid capitalist state on behalf of the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange and their partners in Wall Street and the City of London. As Marxists, we have a perspective of splitting the SACP, i.e., of winning its subjectively revolutionary elements to a genuinely communist program and party.

But the Slaughterite WIRFI treats this mass reformist workers party as if it were a purely bourgeois organization, drawing no distinction between the SACP and the ANC. Moreover, the WIRFI's track record was one of indiscriminately supporting all sorts of unsavory and reactionary forces, including

representing the black majority. It is this "anti-government" sentiment which leads the WIVL to capitulate to PAGAD in the guise of "township community activism," ignoring its virulently anti-black character. Last fall, before the WIVL split, the WIRFI issued an undated leaflet—"Hands Off PAGAD!! Build the Mass Movement!!"—which is virtually uncritical of PAGAD, complaining that the media "seeks to break up the support of PAGAD by calling it a vigilante group, or muslim organization, or extremist and so on." At an April 19 Spartacist League East Coast regional educational in New York City, an LRP supporter defended the WIRFI leaflet, claiming PAGAD has only recently come under the sway of Muslim reactionaries. Yet even last year, PAGAD was parading with banners proclaiming "We Fear No One But Allah 'God'" and its armed wing, Qibla, is led by elements who fought with the *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan and Bosnia.

The fact that the WIVL is blind to the reactionary character of such forces is not surprising, given that it embraced these elements in Afghanistan as a "lesser evil" to the Soviet intervention forces. The victory of the *mujahedin* has meant virtual enslavement for women in



WV Photo

Spartacist League called for defense and extension of busing for school integration in Boston, 1974. Forerunners of LRP opposed busing, racial integration, putting themselves in objective bloc with racist mobs (right).



Urike Welsch

Communist Party, whose industrial cadre form the leadership at all levels—from shop stewards to union presidents—of the principal mass organization of the black proletariat, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). As a representative of the ICL stated in addressing a conference of the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action in 1995:

"While its leaders are on the government 'gravy train,' the South African CP still contains leftist elements who take the party's one-time Leninist pretensions as good coin. Only a party openly standing for the principles of Bolshevism can attract those militants now in the Communist Party who are sympathetic to the perspective of proletarian revolution and internationalism."

— published in the ICL pamphlet, *The Fight for a Revolutionary Vanguard Party: Polemics on the South African Left* (April 1997)

LRP: Left Apologists for White Racism

Formed in 1975, after the expulsion of its central leader, Sy Landy, from a larger Shachtmanite outfit, the LRP has

Grotesque *Socialist Voice* (Winter 1976-77) photo caption. LRP's only complaint about KKK emblem is its position on the flagpole!



U.S. flag above Confederate banner atop state capitol building in Montgomery, Alabama, symbolizes dominance of Northern capital in the South.

U.S. flag above Confederate banner atop state capitol building in Montgomery, Alabama, symbolizes dominance of Northern capital in the South.

Afghanistan, as well as the institution of medieval tortures. The WIVL's support to PAGAD is a measure of its contempt for the necessary struggle for the social liberation of women.

While the WIVL lines up with anti-ANC communalists, the LRP simply ignores the burning democratic tasks that must be addressed as part of the struggle to carry out Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution. The LRP calls for a South African workers party based on the unions, with a program that makes no mention of the need to champion the interests of *all the oppressed*: black farm laborers, women degraded by such practices as enforced polygamy and the bride price, the homeless and squatters, the millions of Africans still trapped by economic necessity in the "tribal homelands" (bantustans). The LRP explicitly advocates a labor party based on a minimum program, and even the "transitional demands" it does put forward, such as a sliding scale of hours and wages, are not meant to be taken seriously. "These demands cannot be used as slogans for immediate mass struggle in South Africa today," says the LRP (*Proletarian Revolution*, Summer 1996).

The LRP's advocacy of a labor party in South Africa expresses not only an economist outlook but its ingrained social-democratic anti-Communism. The large majority of politically advanced workers in South Africa support the

over the years combined softness toward black nationalism with opposition to elementary defensive struggles in the interests of blacks and working people. In the U.S. blacks are an oppressed race-color caste, segregated at the bottom of capitalist society. We fight for *revolutionary integrationism*—understanding that full social and political equality for blacks can only be achieved through workers revolution and the creation of an egalitarian socialist society—while defending even such partial steps toward racial integration and equality for black people as are possible under capitalism. The LRP's opposition to integration was simply a capitulation to black nationalists who despaired of the possibility of integrated struggle uniting black and white workers.

The reactionary consequences of the LRP's line was shown by its opposition to school busing. When the courts ordered the schools in Boston to bus children from the racially segregated black ghettos to mainly white areas in the mid-1970s, racist mobs went into a frenzy. We supported busing and demanded its extension to the overwhelmingly white, middle-class suburbs, and called for the formation of workers defense guards to repel the racists. Sy Landy and his cothinkers opposed busing and claimed that integration "means the *subordination* of blacks to the dominant whites. It represents a strategy to *quell*

the black struggle" (*Torch*, December 1974). Thus, in the guise of supporting a suicidal separatist strategy for blacks, Landy & Co. placed themselves in an objective bloc with outright racist scum, who claimed that separate schools for blacks were somehow "equal." Anyone who has experienced the horrors of apartheid knows this is a blatant lie. A couple of years later the LRP used the same false methodology to motivate opposition to the "Equal Rights Amendment" to the Constitution, which simply asserted formal equality for women!

In another flagrant example of the LRP's solidarizing with white racism, its paper *Socialist Voice* (Winter 1976-77) published a photo of the Alabama state capitol showing the American flag flying above the Confederate flag of the old Southern slavocracy with a caption saying that this "symbolizes dominance of Northern capital in the South." With this line, the LRP should have opposed the Northern Union forces in the Civil War! And today, the Confederate flag is not only the prime symbol of hardline white racism in the U.S. but has become an international emblem of fascism, commonly flaunted, for example, by German Nazi skinheads.

Partly as the result of the defeat of busing and other struggles for black rights in the North, fascists like the Ku Klux Klan grew in strength and sought to gain a foothold in urban centers in America. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee were successful in initiating powerful mobilizations of labor and blacks that prevented the Klan and Nazis from marching in such cities as Detroit, San Francisco, Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia. These labor/black mobilizations were genuine united-front actions, endorsed and participated in by trade unions. The LRP opposed these actions. Denouncing the 5,000-strong anti-Klan mobilization in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, the LRP declared it wasn't a real labor rally because it was endorsed by reformist union bureaucrats. Since all American unions are run by reformists,

this is tantamount to excluding the unions—the only mass workers organizations in the U.S.—from anti-fascist mobilizations, i.e. turning them into impotent protests by handfuls of leftists. The LRP's ingrained hostility to any real struggle in defense of blacks and other minorities is in good part responsible for its inability to attract more than a handful of members, after 20 years in existence.

Rejecting united fronts with the trade unions, the LRP looks to joint action with dangerous demagogues like Louis Farrakhan. Thus they write: "In the future, Farrakhan may be forced to raise militant demands and call meaningful actions, in order to hold leadership when mass struggles break out. In that case revolutionaries would join in common action, always warning against Farrakhan's treacherous pro-capitalist leadership" (*Proletarian Revolution*, Fall 1995). But Farrakhan is *hostile* to social struggle, including the fight against racism. He conducts joint meetings with KKK leaders, provides bodyguards for Hitler apologists like pseudo-historian David Irving and amnesties slavery in the Sudan and other African countries.

As the Spartacist League speaker at the April 19 Spartacist educational in New York City noted, groups like the LRP and WIVL repudiate Lenin's fight for "a party that must be a tribune of the people, that must take on the challenge of all questions of special oppression." Our speaker continued:

"Your tailing of black pseudo-nationalists like Farrakhan—who are in fact very much the enemy of integration, who pow-wow with the Ku Klux Klan, who were happy to see Malcolm X dead—goes hand in hand with opposition to a struggle for simple democratic rights. In South Africa you oppose the struggle for democratic rights of women and immigrants. You champion people who are effectively reactionary on the question of women and communalism with regard to other sections of the population. We're opposed to that. What a vanguard organization, a Bolshevik party, fights for is internationalism. It's against this provincial, parochial backwards crap! That's not communism!" ■

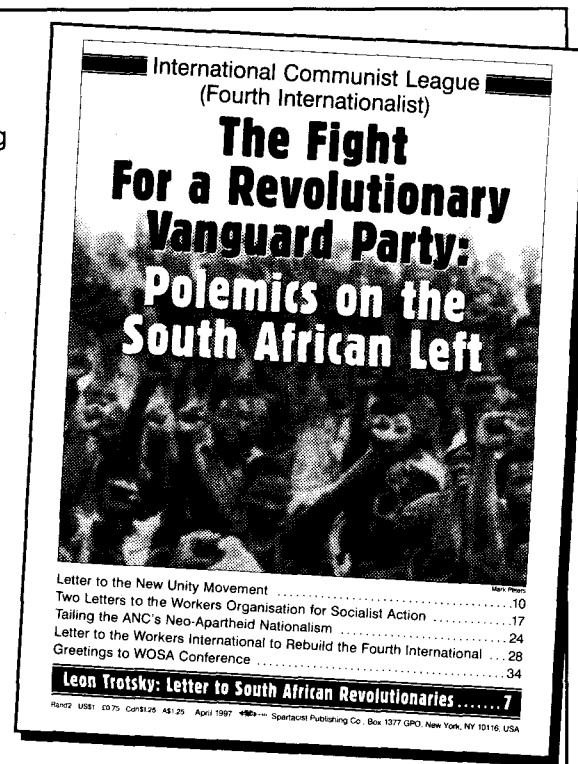
JUST OUT!

Letters and articles presenting the Marxist position on key questions of debate on the South African left: for revolutionary proletarian opposition to the "neo-apartheid" government of the now bourgeois-nationalist ANC; the debate over a "mass workers party"; the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution vs. the doctrine of "nation-building" in colonial and neocolonial countries.

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Interimperialist Rivalry in the "New World Order"

In "Why Internationalists Call for U.S. Bases Out of Japan" (WV No. 657, 6 December 1996), we published a reply by the Spartacist Group Japan to a reader named Fujimoto who questioned the call for "U.S. military out of Japan!" raised in a 9 September 1996 SGJ leaflet protesting the U.S. bombing of Iraq. In his letter, Fujimoto pointed to groups like the Japanese Communist Party, in whose mouth slogans against U.S. imperialism signify an overture to Japanese nationalism. We publish below an article—titled "Smash the Counterrevolutionary Alliance Between Japan and U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!"—translated from the upcoming Spartacist Japan (No. 18, May 1997) which supplements the reply to Fujimoto and clarifies when and how Leninists use the above slogan.

In our 29 November 1996 reply to comrade Fujimoto we upheld our leaflet as a fine statement of proletarian internationalism. The International Communist League campaigned against U.S. imperialism's slaughter in Iraq, with ICL sections putting out revolutionary propaganda infused with the Leninist understanding that "the main enemy is at home." Thus the SGJ leaflet was directed against the Japanese ruling class, complicit in the September bombing of Iraq.

The exchange with comrade Fujimoto provoked a wide-ranging and rich internal discussion within the ICL. A presentation and discussion at the 6 February 1997 meeting of the International Secretariat resulted in a motion clarifying the slogan on U.S. bases in Japan. The motion noted:

"Without the former Soviet Union as a force to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism from interventions abroad we have seen escalating U.S. military engagements (often under cover of the UN flag) from Bosnia to the Near East to Africa. All this occurs in a period of heightened inter-imperialist rivalry where the militarily and economically dominant position of the U.S. since the end of World War II is challenged particularly by resurgent German and Japanese imperialism and their respective spheres of influence. We note that the question of slogans must be taken up and carefully reviewed as applicable, or not, in each instance. Slogans applicable in the 'old world order' cannot be shoehorned into the new world disorder, nor is one slogan applicable for all places at all times. The 9 September 1996 SGJ leaflet ('Japanese Imperialism Endorses the Killing of Arabs and Kurds—U.S. and All Imperialist Forces Out of the Persian Gulf!') is a fine proletarian internationalist statement directed against the Japanese bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism and their call for 'U.S. bases out!' came clearly in the context that 'The main

enemy is at home, our own rapacious bourgeoisie and military.' However, a reader familiar with ostensibly revolutionary organizations lifted that demand out of context which left it open to misinterpretation as a utopian/pacifist demand or left cover for social-democratic/nationalist revanchist forces.

"Moreover, the slogan does not address the real question of how those U.S. bases will be removed: either through proletarian socialist revolution or revanchist Japanese nationalism. Thus in the future it would be better to raise the demand 'U.S. bases out!' where the context is clear and unambiguous, such as today in Korea, where defense of a deformed workers state is posed, or where the presence of U.S. bases is instrumental to subjugation of colonial and semicolonial countries. Regarding the (strained) collaboration between U.S. imperialism and

ing what they consider Japan's subordination to U.S. imperialism and calling for a stronger, more independent Japan, most graphically stated in Rodoto's leaflet, "Hashimoto Is a Traitor!" At the demonstrations against U.S. bases, these groups rarely espouse any hostility to the Japanese imperialist military or the appetites and designs of their "own" bourgeoisie. Thus can the "anti-militarism" of today easily become the "national defense" of tomorrow when the Japanese bourgeoisie shifts to a policy of greater independence from the American imperialist military machine.

ANPO [the U.S.-Japan security treaty] was and is foremost an anti-Communist alliance, which the left has historically

presentation to the February International Secretariat meeting, which drew on the many written contributions to the discussion and which evoked many crucial historical experiences and debates within the revolutionary vanguard forces of the time. However we are pleased to base our comments below on extracts from Smith's remarks, edited for publication.

* * *

Our starting point on the question of "U.S. bases out of Japan" is to be found in the slogans "The main enemy is at home" and "Not one man, not one penny to the bourgeois military." The U.S. troops question is really a question of state power and one which

Japanese prime minister Hashimoto with U.S. president Clinton. Right: Okinawa protest against U.S. bases, October 1995.



Economist



Shizuo Kambayashi

Japan in the bloody Iraq war, a slogan such as 'Smash the counterrevolutionary alliance between Japan and U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!' would better have expressed our opposition to the use of U.S. bases in Japan.

"Our revolutionary internationalist perspective can best be expressed, where applicable, by joint statements by the relevant ICL sections and the I.S. should seek to coordinate this kind of propagandistic response in the future."

How the slogan "U.S. bases out of Japan" can be used to express social-chauvinist impulses is shown by the "U.S. bases out of Okinawa" movement. Today the Japanese bourgeoisie is publicly united for maintaining U.S. bases in Japan, hence the government's unanimity behind the "forced land lease" law. But Japanese bourgeois support for the American military is merely expedient, based on tactical judgments, balance and timing. The left expresses their opposition to the military alliance by denounc-

ing. The left's line on "ANPO military globalization," which masks the growing strains between two of the world's most powerful imperialist forces, is just a present-day version of Karl Kautsky's theory of "ultra-imperialism." Before World War I, Kautsky put forward the position of "a new ultra-imperialist policy, which will introduce the common exploitation of the world by international united finance capital in place of the mutual rivalries of national finance capital." It is important to note Kautsky's trajectory—not only was he a vehement opponent of the 1917 Russian Revolution, but in 1914 he had sided with the German bourgeoisie at the beginning of World War I. The notion of "ultra-imperialism" is a convenient "left"-sounding "theoretical" cover for rejecting the traditional Marxist position on inter-imperialist conflicts—that is, that the main enemy is the ruling class in one's own country.

Space considerations do not allow us to publish the full text of comrade G. Smith's

must be viewed in the light of uneasy capitalist alliances, which in the current post-Soviet period are more and more being vitiated by growing inter-imperialist rivalries.

Thus the slogan "U.S. military out of Japan!" cannot be viewed as a demand in the typical sense of the term. Consider, for example, the Bolshevik view on the call to end the war and for a peace without annexations raised during the First World War by various centrists. Lenin made the point that without the proletarian revolution in all countries, peace means only the temporary suspension of overt hostilities—that is to say, there could be no just peace, or peace without annexations, short of victorious civil wars leading to workers revolution. The problem with "U.S. military out of Japan!" is exactly that it begs the question of how the U.S. military will leave Japan—as a consequence of moves of an increasingly assertive Japanese imperialism or through proletarian revolution.

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April 1996: Spartacist protesters against counter-revolutionary U.S.-Japan military alliance carry sign reading: "Not One Man, Not One Yen to Imperialist Japanese Military!"



Spartacist Japan

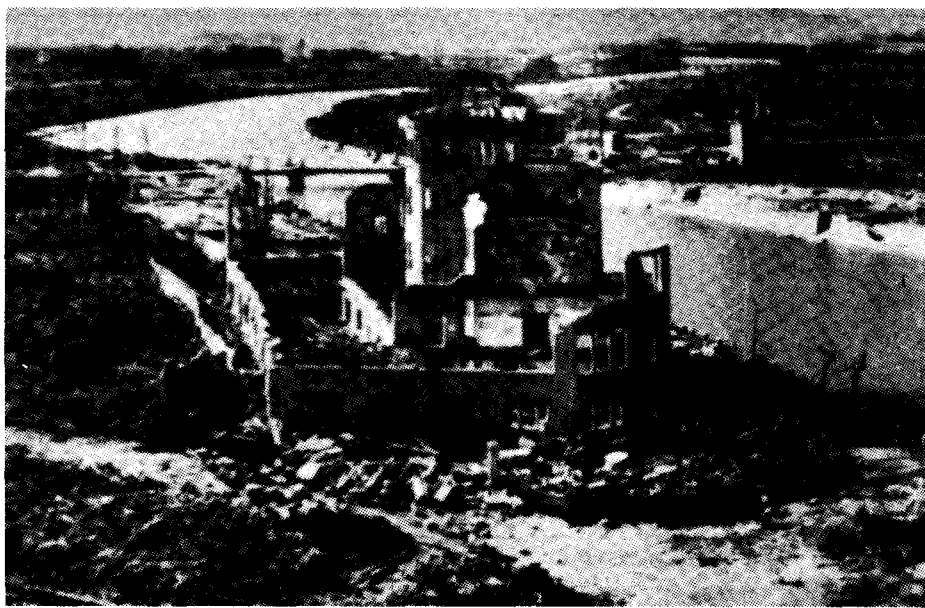
Soviet Union no longer exists, a world in which we have to think very carefully about our slogans. Previously one could correctly and simply oppose the far-flung presence of U.S. imperialism's military bases on the grounds that they were aimed at the USSR—i.e., it was an integral part of our program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. Now we operate in a very different world, more akin to that of the pre-1914 period.

Leninist Internationalism in World Wars I and II

Wars have victors and vanquished, and imperialist wars inevitably generate revanchism on the part of those who come up on the short end of the stick. The Treaty of Versailles which ended World War I was a "robbers' peace" imposed by one set of imperialists headed by Britain and France (and behind them, the U.S.) upon another set of powers led by Germany. The Bolsheviks rightly condemned the Versailles Treaty from an independent proletarian revolutionary perspective. But to oppose Versailles from any other standpoint would have opened the door very directly to a "red-brown coalition"—to simply siding with the losers in the last round of imperialist fighting.

The policy of the Communists during the French occupation of the German Ruhr in 1923 was confused. Some slogans expressed a correct policy of revolutionists opposing their "own" imperialist rulers, but the "Schlageter line" of Karl Radek led episodically to convergences with right-wing German revanchist forces in the name of a "just defensive war" against an imperialist annexation. This disorientation contributed to the confusion of the German proletariat on the eve of an acutely revolutionary situation.

Consider World War II and the German occupation of France, Belgium and the Netherlands, all imperialist countries, and the bourgeois resistance movements in those countries. The Trotskyists under Nazi occupation in World War II bent the stick one way or the other on the issue of national oppression in the Nazi-occupied countries. In the main, comrades organized in small and weak formations pursued an overly forward policy in the bourgeois-allied, Stalinist-led Resistance movements, which was a sliding in the direction of the "anti-fascist" bourgeois-



Imperialist war atrocities: U.S. atom-bombing of Hiroshima, 1945 (above), Japanese imperial army's rape of Nanjing, China, 1937.

Shigeo Hayashi

Edgar Snow Collection



man workers in uniform and the Trotskyists who published *Arbeiter und Soldat* (Worker and Soldier), as well as the Dutch Trotskyists of the Committee of Revolutionary Marxists who very concretely foresaw that the introduction of Allied troops in West Europe would be aimed at the incipient workers revolutions that one might expect growing out of the conclusion of the imperialist war (see *Prometheus Research Series No. 2*, "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy,'" February 1989).

From Cold War to the "New World Order"

The principal military victors in World War II were American imperialism and the Soviet Union. As the Cold War began in earnest the Americans adopted a policy of reconstructing West Germany as an anti-Communist redoubt and forward post. Likewise in Japan following the victory of Mao in China and the onset of the Korean War, U.S. imperialism forged an anti-Communist alliance with its former wartime enemy. The German and Japanese bourgeois states were rebuilt under the American military shield and shared in a division of labor in the postwar anti-Soviet crusade. The "economic miracles" of Germany and Japan are directly connected with those countries' roles as forward quartermasters for American armies in Europe, Korea and Vietnam.

What has happened is that the military losers in World War II have grown strong again and the Soviet Union is no more. We are well into a situation of renewed imperialist rivalry that is no longer modulated or suppressed by unity against "the spectre of communism"—the threat represented by the 1917 October Revolution.

Germany in fact has more or less realized "troops out," especially Russian troops, through the victorious counterrevolution in East Germany in 1989-90. In the early 1980s, the demand for "Foreign troops out" first arose in East Germany and it was aimed at the Soviet troops—all part of the SPD Social Democrats' "*Ostpolitik*" (Eastern policy). The demand was then picked up in the West and the call was "All foreign troops out of Germany!"—still meaning: Russian troops (the rest we will deal with later). Such was the policy of the Social Democrats and pacifists, really soft-core Fourth Reich/Green nationalism. In those cir-

cumstances, we didn't want to touch the "Troops out" slogan with a ten-foot pole. What we advanced as a slogan was "Defend the Soviet Union! Smash NATO through workers revolution!" When we said for example, "Pershings out of Germany!" and defended the presence of the Soviet SS20s, everybody knew exactly what that meant—unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism.

We are for the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states—China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea—and for the defeat of imperialist troops in colonial and semi-colonial countries. In situations such as South Korea, Bosnia, Panama, Grenada, Libya or Macedonia, or regarding French troops in Chad or Rwanda, or Belgian troops in Zaire, it is a simple matter of opposition to imperialism: we call for the defeat and withdrawal of the imperialist troops.

In the current situation in Japan, it's not so much social-democratic pacifism with which we have to contend, but the ideology of recrudescing Japanese imperialist revanchism. The pacifists function as soft apologists for their own imperialism. No doubt there is and will be a certain considerable amount of social-democratic pacifism/anti-U.S. militarism lingering in Japan, and in any case that's how the very bourgeoisified Japanese social democrats

will play on the U.S. troops issue. But the real drive for U.S. troops out of Japan is beginning to come from the opposite side of the political spectrum.

Japan right now is an anomaly. It has the fourth or fifth largest army in the world and "constitutional prohibitions" against using that army for anything other than "self-defense"—an arrangement which grew out of the victory of the U.S. and the attendant military occupation of the country. But that was then and now is now. This arrangement less and less suits the real interests of the Japanese bourgeoisie. That's one side of the issue.

The other side is the interests of the American bourgeoisie. The *New York Times* recently is filled with articles on Japanese military atrocities in China during World War II. This is meant to have an impact on the Chinese government, which lately has been cultivating strident Chinese nationalism as a cover for its capitalist-restorationist appetites. But above all these articles are intended for domestic consumption, to prepare public opinion for renewed interimperialist rivalry and conflict with Japan. China and Eastern Siberia are the two big prizes up for grabs and the two imperialist powers in a position to do the grabbing are in fact the Americans and the Japanese.

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

Our American section of course carries out a particular obligation to oppose the military machinations of its own imperialism, which owing to its victory in World War II really has been the top-dog imperialism, and the main military threat to the deformed workers states.

It was absolutely correct for the SGJ to call for class-struggle means to cripple the activity of American bases during the recent imperialist foray against Iraq. But the American bases are an expression of an alliance, increasingly uneasy, with the Japanese bourgeoisie.

U.S. imperialism is still the main enemy of the peoples of the world today. But the question is: Who's it going to be in ten years? With the Soviet Union gone we're in a very different situation and we have to hone our slogans to account for the big shifts taking place in international politics. To capture how we intend to carry out our program, we raise the slogans "Drive U.S. imperialism out of the Pacific! For a workers republic in Japan! For workers revolution in the U.S!"

When the Soviet Union existed it was "simple." Any particular American base, no matter where it was, was just another dagger aimed at Russia. From our Soviet-defensist standpoint, we demanded "U.S. bases out!" But increasingly in this post-Soviet world of growing interimperialist rivalries the slogan "The main enemy is at home!" must come to the fore.

In the current world situation, the pressures toward political deformation based on a narrow national viewpoint can be particularly great. Thus the need is particularly strongly felt for the revolutionists to be organized to combat the pressures of their "own" bourgeois societies, through an international party, a reformed Fourth International. ■



General Douglas MacArthur, U.S. occupation forces head, with Japanese emperor Hirohito, 1945.

sies. This also had tragic consequences for the young Trotskyist cadres at the hands of both the fascists and Stalinists in Europe (see "Genesis of Pabloism," *Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972). A parallel sliding toward support of the Allied side was expressed in the "Proletarian Military Policy" (PMP) of the American Socialist Workers Party. The PMP was a reformist call for trade-union control over compulsory military training, implying it is possible for the working class to control the bourgeois army.

We hold up as models the work of the French Trotskyists in Brest who organized cells of revolutionary-minded Ger-

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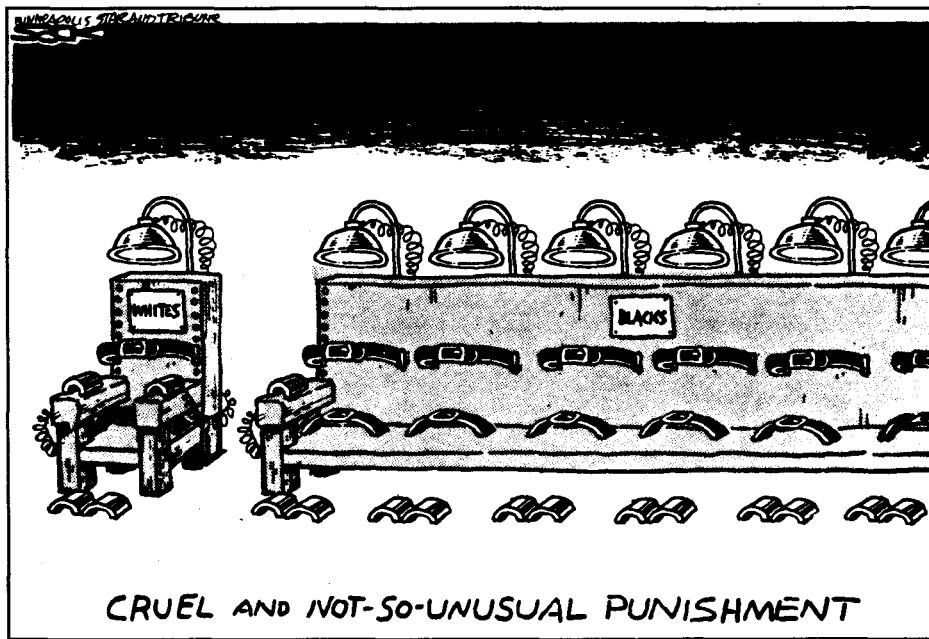
(continued from page 12)

As Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, one of Mumia Abu-Jamal's defense attorneys, stressed in an April 19 presentation at a Spartacist League East Coast regional educational in New York City, the fight against racist repression must be premised on the perspective of sweeping away the racist capitalist order through socialist revolution in the U.S. and internationally. Above all, this means the forging of a Leninist vanguard party of the proletariat, part of a reborn Fourth International, built in political struggle against the pro-capitalist union tops.

We publish below an edited and abridged transcript of comrade Wolkenstein's talk, which addresses the fight for civil rights in the U.S. and its connection to the class struggle.

* * *

We have today the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a man who's on death row, a former Black Panther Party member and MOVE supporter, a journalist who faces execution by the state after many, many years of COINTELPRO action against him. Finally, they framed him up in 1981-82 for the killing of a police officer. And we have the case of militants—Partisan Defense Committee labor coordinator Gene Herson, Refuse & Resist supporter Jeff Lyons and a young black worker named Dennis Glass—who participated



Sack/Minneapolis Star and Tribune

an intensive, month-long campaign to stop the fascists. We thought it would make a very important political point to invite Mumia Abu-Jamal, and he became the first name on our endorsement list. We called out labor, we were able to force the Nazi skinheads to back out, and we had a pretty successful demonstration that day. We had I think the first taped commentary from Mumia, who said:

"Despite the Klan's hooded image, blacks just hours out of slavery knew well that they were not demons from some sulfuric underworld, just vile, vicious men who hid their identities merely to mask and further the Southern states' political objective to strangle the

rious racist who served as police commissioner and mayor in Philadelphia during the vendetta against the Black Panthers, MOVE and Mumia. The KKK saw the connection. They are race-terrorists, carrying out lynch law, protected by the police, the armed fist of the capitalist state, which engages in racist legal lynching every day.

Democratic Rights Under Capitalism

We're all here because we share some basic understanding that the capitalist system is the source of joblessness, hunger, homelessness and racial oppression.



Harper's Weekly

1868 election rally of freed black slaves in South during Radical Reconstruction. Victory over slavocracy in Civil War led to basic citizenship rights for black people, extension of federal Bill of Rights protections to all citizens.

in a demonstration in Chicago last June 29 in an attempt to stop the Klan from showing its face there. The protesters disarmed and trounced the Klan, and now these three are being prosecuted. The legal ramifications in these cases are extremely different in their degree of severity. The political questions behind them, in many ways, are virtually identical, albeit in different degrees. Also there's a very interesting intersection between our work in defense of Mumia and our fight to stop the growth of fascism through labor/black mobilizations.

In 1988, the year we began publicizing Mumia's case, we learned that fascist skinheads were going to be mobilizing in Philadelphia that November 5. We began

babe of black political gains of Reconstruction... In its historical role, the Klan's vicious wave of violence against blacks was driven not so much by hatred as by fear. Fear that black numbers of freedmen in the Black Belt South would dominate political life via the vote. Also a target of Klan terror, the Southern populist movement, where black and white poor in the 1800s attempted to unite against the common foe: the nation's true minority, the ruling class. That is the Klan's primary role and function: to use racial hatred to divide the many peoples who make up this country so that the few, the ruling class, can more easily exploit the many."

In his own terms, Mumia understood the danger of the Klan and how the rulers of this country use it as shock troops and attempt to divide workers and the poor on racial and ethnic grounds.

There's another point in terms of the relationship between Mumia's case and the police, and the interrelationship between the police and the Klan. On June 29 in Chicago, one of the things that led to the arrest of Dennis Glass was the fact that he was probably the most animated protester and was carrying a Spartacist sign against racist cop terror and a Partisan Defense Committee sign defending Mumia. During the protests against the Democratic National Convention in Chicago later that August, the police made note that some carried signs for Mumia. And at a KKK rally in Pittsburgh on April 5, when the Klansmen saw people who supported Mumia's case, the fascists called on the police to join them and chanted, "Hail Frank Rizzo!"—the noto-

We also understand that this cannot be eliminated without overturning the capitalist order. As we discussed earlier today, one of the things Karl Marx taught us is that in order to go forward to a classless, egalitarian society internationally, the capitalist state has to be smashed and replaced by a state which defends proletarian interests. The police and army are the armed fist of the state. But no less than that, the whole legal system which exists under capitalism carries out the defense of private property.

We have to go back to the basics here, the question of reform or revolution. One cannot reform the state, one cannot seek an end to the injustices that occur in the legal system by any sort of reform of the court system, or think that the police can be "tempered" in their actions in defense of capital. Bourgeois democracy is *bourgeois*; it's based on defending the property forms that exist under capitalism. The French Revolution gave the right to property to everyone. Recall Anatole France's statement that the rich and poor equally have the right to live under a bridge. Today in America, the poor don't even have the right to live under bridges anymore.

The American Revolution was a bourgeois revolution, but it was not even completed in its bourgeois tasks until the Civil War. Until that time, you had two social systems existing in this country, one based on slave labor, the other based on so-called "free labor," the right of people to buy and sell their labor power.

It took the Civil War to end that dual system and establish a single social system—on a capitalist economic basis without slavery. As part and parcel of that, certain legal rights were granted. If you were born in this country, you had the right of citizenship. You also had the right to vote, although that was limited to people who could pay certain taxes, and was not granted to women.

The establishment of a federal system in the aftermath of the Civil War meant that it was no longer the United States "are"—plural—but the United States "is." And that had its reflection in government and in legal concepts. We have grown up with an idea of civil rights, First Amendment rights, but these were not your "rights" as a citizen in any of the states until after the Civil War. Until that time, the Bill of Rights applied only to what an extremely weak federal government could do.

I wanted to make this point because there are so many myths about constitutional rights. When I went to law school in the early 1970s, after the civil rights movement and as the U.S. was being defeated in Vietnam, people were being told of all the supposed "rights" they had. But these rights that many think are a cornerstone of the American legal system were *made* rights that the states had to carry out for a brief period as a result of social struggle—whether it's protections against search and seizure, or the so-called Miranda rights against forced confessions, or your right to a lawyer.

I'm going through this to make another point here regarding the First Amendment. Our ability to sit here in this room and talk about the need to overthrow capital is a reflection of what has been gained from the legal system in the course of social struggle—particularly the struggles to establish unions in this country. In earlier days, any sort of gathering was busted up as a "conspiracy" and people were regularly arrested on the basis of "criminal syndicalism" laws. The formal right to speak, to assemble, under the First Amendment was not accepted for every citizen in every state until the early 1900s—and it remained a pretty empty formality for blacks, immigrants, socialists and labor organizers.

It was in the course of the arrests of Eugene Debs, other members of the Socialist Party and others who opposed America's entry into World War I that the Supreme Court for the first time held that engaging in First Amendment activities—like public speech—was a defense against criminal prosecution, except when such public expression created a "clear and present danger." This in itself had very extreme limitations. Debs was given a ten-year sentence for the following "outrageous" statement about resisting the draft: "You need to know that you are fit for something better than slavery and cannon fodder." The United States Supreme Court upheld his sentence, even while saying that the First Amendment applied. So that's a sense of how you don't have these legal rights at all in practice, absent a social movement and a strong proletariat that can ensure them.

Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Racist Death Penalty

Mumia's case has become—in good part through our efforts—the defining legal case of our decade. Because of the absence of the type of social struggle that went on around Sacco and Vanzetti in the 1920s and the Scottsboro case in the 1930s—and even the Rosenbergs—it may not have the same historical dimensions, but it very well may. It poses fundamental questions of democratic rights and black rights, from understanding that the death penalty is racist legal lynching—which has to do with the history of slavery in this country—to the extreme repression, the "impulse to genocide" we've called it, that this state will use to keep its populace at bay.

Mumia is literally on death row because when he was 16 years old, as a Black Panther Party member, he made a historical analogy about the power of the United States government and used the

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Thurs.: 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (510) 839-0851

Chicago

Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 12:00 p.m.-3:00 p.m.
328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 454-4930

New York City

Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025-

term "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and the Black Panther Party slogan "All power to the people!" This then was used by the prosecution years later to show that he was "rebellious," that he did not have proper respect for authority, and therefore should be sentenced to death because a police officer had been killed. In other words, according to the prosecution, Mumia supposedly intended to kill this cop—whom he didn't kill—for 12 years because at age 16 he'd said, "All power to the people!" That's a First Amendment question.

You have some other very fundamental questions in Mumia's case. We're about to file new papers coming out of the recent "exposé" that the Philadelphia district attorney's office has for decades engaged in getting rid of jurors on the basis of race so they can convict at all costs. It's a 40 percent black city; the vast majority of people going through that court system, and the vast majority of people being sentenced to death, are black and minority. So you keep blacks off the jury, you keep educated blacks especially off the jury, you keep whites who may be sympathetic to blacks off the jury. Yet the right to a trial by a jury of one's peers is considered to be one of those fundamental rights that distinguishes the United States as a supposedly democratic country. The struggle for equal protection under the law included a lengthy battle against "lynch law"—to secure the right of black defendants to jury trial and, equally, the right of black people to serve as jurors.

What we see in Mumia's case over and over again is proof positive that it's a frame-up system. The police lie and are corrupt—framing up the guilty and innocent alike—whether out of arrogance, bonapartism, laziness or because they've politically targeted somebody. There is no way that you're going to get rid of the system of capitalist injustice—the frame-ups, the racial discrimination, the fact that blacks are on death row in a much, much greater proportion than whites—no way that it is going to be remedied, reformed, legislated away by things like a "Racial Justice Act" against bias in death penalty prosecution. The capitalist judicial system is by nature premised on racial discrimination and class bias. And it cannot change without there being a change in the social order that gave it birth and keeps it going. Without a socialist revolution there can be no fundamental change in the justice system,

the legal system.

It was only in 1972, around the time of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, that the death penalty was eliminated in this country. But it took only four years for the Supreme Court to say that if the states passed new laws to institute the death penalty in a way that wouldn't create "too much" disparity, you could have the death penalty again. And that's what happened. Some years later, there was another fairly major challenge to the death penalty in a 1987 case called *McCleskey v. Kemp*. McCleskey was a black man on death row in Georgia. The NAACP and other groups opposed to the death penalty got together statistics showing that if you were black and you killed a white man, you had eleven times the chance of being sentenced to death than if you were white and had killed a black man.

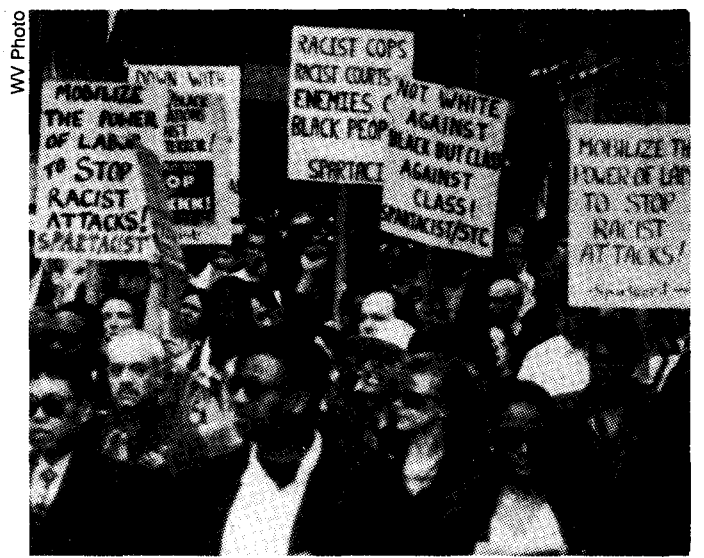
The Supreme Court did not question the legitimacy of the statistics proving that the implementation of the death penalty in this country is racially biased, but found that it was "irrelevant"—in fact, *too* relevant. The court said that they could not overturn the death penalty on these grounds because that would put in question the entirety of the criminal justice system in this country, because that same type of racial bias existed throughout. This is such a telling admission of what we Marxists know and say about the state and the relationship between the race question and the legal system in this country.

Free Mumia! Defend the Anti-Klan Three!

Some left groups call for a new trial or "fair trial" for Mumia. This is fundamentally reformist—even worse in this particular case. Our legal papers have always called for a dismissal of the charges. You get cases where the cops and prosecution lie, or frame up people, or invent confessions, or suppress evidence of innocence, or don't turn evidence over to the defense, or have a racist jury selection. In Mumia's case, you have *all* of these things—and more. Even within bourgeois legal terms, this case is so outrageous that there is plenty of law to support a dismissal outright.

What we have with these groups that nominally consider themselves socialist, like the Workers World Party, is the "politics of the possible," lowest-common-denominator, reformist politics. And these types are calling for a new trial or a "fair trial" for Mumia—in Philadelphia!—when it is politically, theoretic-

NYC protest against verdict acquitting cops who beat black L.A. motorist Rodney King, 1992. To end racist repression requires socialist revolution which sweeps away capitalist state.



cally and empirically absolutely clear that there's no way that Mumia ever had a fair trial, did not have a fair post-conviction hearing, and cannot have a fair trial!

We have made it very clear in our many, many writings about this case in *Workers Vanguard* and in the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, that there cannot be a fair trial for Mumia and he must be freed. Despite all the work of the Partisan Defense Committee in Jamal's legal efforts, we do this having *no* confidence at all that this will produce a favorable resolution of this case. The only way to really save this man's life, let alone get his freedom, is for there to be significant social mobilizations by trade unions, workers organizations together with minority organizations. These and other social struggles must make the ruling class feel that it is just not in their interest to see this man either executed or spend his life in prison.

Lastly, I want to say something about the Anti-Klan Three case. We had 24 hours' notice to organize a demonstration against the Klan. People made extreme efforts in that 24 hours to call on labor support, liberal black Democrats in the city, other organizations to come out with us in Daley Plaza in Chicago to stop this KKK group. And by and large they didn't. The trade-union leadership and the liberal black Democrats were committed to seeing Clinton re-elected. This was a couple of months before the Democratic National Convention, and it was quite clear that they would not support anything that would raise a broader challenge to what was going on in this country, especially in the city where the Dem-

ocratic convention was going to take place.

This Klan group, Robb's group, actually had us in their cross hairs, unbeknownst to us at that particular moment, and basically went on an attack. We disarmed this group. If we had not done so, it would have been quite significant. We were able to make clear to them that they were not going to ride unchallenged in a major metropolitan city. And they didn't.

For that, the city is prosecuting three people for the "crime" of having stopped the Klan—total frame-up charges that people assaulted the cops. It's quite clear that this is retaliatory. They have assigned a homicide D.A. to this case, which means that the city is taking it very seriously. Our job is to present in this bourgeois court the reality of what happened that day, which is that the Klan is the aggressor. We were out there to defend our rally and to make it clear that we have a political position of stopping the Klan. The police, furious that we defended ourselves, have retaliated against the anti-Klan protesters.

You don't absolutely need a socialist revolution to stop particular injustices. You can defeat particular fascist movements with sufficient mobilization of the working class. But you cannot get rid of the injustice system or the threat of fascism without overturning capitalism. The ultimate defense for all of us is transforming our struggles against oppression and repression into a struggle which overturns the American imperialist order which produces the social decay and the racism. It's only by succeeding in that struggle that we are going to be able to have a society without exploitation, racism and war. ■

Spartacist West Coast Regional Educational

For a Black-Centered Workers Government!

Neo-Apartheid Regime: Enemy of South African Masses

Eyewitness Report: Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee 11 a.m.

**Mobilize to Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan 3!
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)!**

1:30 p.m. To be followed by organizing workshops on how to build these campaigns

No to Capitalist Counterrevolution! For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Central Tasks of the Working Class in Cuba, China, Vietnam and North Korea

Speaker: Oliver Stephens, Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste (Canada) Central Committee 4 p.m.

Saturday, May 10

The Women's Building, 3543 18th Street (at Valencia)
Audre Lorde Room (BART stop: 16th and Mission)

For more information and readings, contact the Spartacist League: Los Angeles (213) 380-8239
San Francisco (415) 777-9367 Oakland (510) 839-0851 Vancouver (604) 687-0353
or visit the Bay Area Spartacist Public Office, open Thurs. 5:30 p.m. - 8 p.m. and Sat. 1 p.m. - 5 p.m.
at 1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street), Oakland

SAN FRANCISCO—Saturday, May 10

Trotskyist League Regional Educational

Sponsored by the Toronto Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, Chicago Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs. For more information and readings, contact:
Chicago (312) 454-4130 Toronto (416) 593-4138

Saturday, May 24 7:30 p.m.

Marxism and the October Revolution

Speaker: Ed Clarkson, Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee

Saturday session at International Student Centre
33 St. George Street (just north of College) Subway: Queen's Park

Sunday, May 25 1:00 p.m.

Permanent Revolution and Chinese Trotskyism

Speaker: Sean Jacobsen, Vancouver Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

Sunday, May 25, 3:30 p.m.

No to Capitalist Counterrevolution! For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Central Tasks of the Working Class in Cuba, China, Vietnam and North Korea

Speaker: John Masters, Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Central Committee

Sunday sessions at Toronto Labor Lyceum, 33 Cecil Street
(next to Steelworkers Hall, one block south of College, between Spadina and Beverley)

TORONTO—Saturday-Sunday, May 24-25

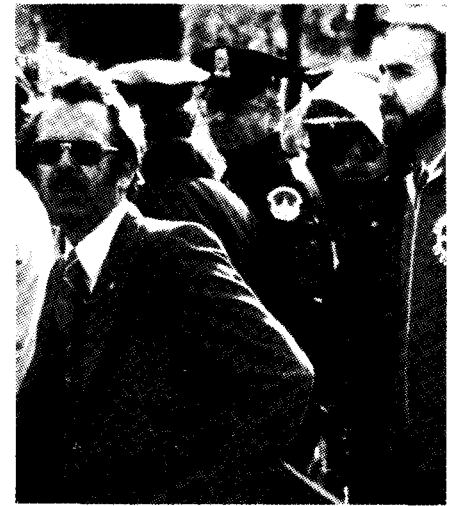
For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop Fascist Terror!

Last June 29, when members of the Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" marched into Chicago's Daley Plaza intending to stage a race-hate provocation, they were met by a militant, integrated anti-Klan protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Struggle League. Wielding bolt-studded shields and flagpoles as weapons, the KKKers assaulted the protesters. But it was the racist thugs who ended up sprawled on the pavement. In retaliation, Chicago police later launched their own assault against the hundred or more anti-Klan demonstrators, arresting nine, three of whom still face one to two years in jail on trumped-up charges (see page 11). The anti-Klan protesters acted not only to defend themselves against a violent attack, but in defense of all the intended victims of KKK terror—blacks, Hispanics, Jews, gays, trade unionists, leftists.

Exactly ten years earlier, in June 1986, this same Klan group, headed by Thomas Robb, staged a vile "white supremacy" rally in the largely white Marquette Park enclave on Chicago's Southwest Side. Several dozen protesters led by the Progressive Labor Party and its International Committee Against Racism tried to stop the Klansmen before they got to the rally site, but were attacked and beaten by cops and other racists. Protected by the police, Robb and 50 of his thugs, dressed in white sheets and combat uniforms, incited a would-be lynch mob of 3,000 bigots.

The KKK's made-in-America fascism stands for the racist murder of everyone not deemed part of their "Aryan nation." Wherever the Klan carries out its marches and rallies, it leaves bloody terror in its wake. A week after Robb's 1986 foray into Marquette Park, eight people—including four young children—were nearly killed when the home of a black family on the Southwest Side was fire-bombed, and a black youth was shot dead in a racist assault in the northern suburb of Zion. And when Robb returned to Marquette Park for a 1988 "white pride" rally, hundreds of racists set upon a black man who wandered by.

Right now, fascist groups like Robb's KKK are relatively small. But they cannot be dismissed, as many liberals would argue, as insignificant nuts on the fringes of society. Before Hitler's rise to power in the early 1930s, many discounted the Nazis as irrelevant and marginal. At the time, Leon Trotsky—co-leader with V. I. Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolu-



Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C., November 1982. KKK führer Robb (in suit) and cohorts covered behind police lines that day.

tion—urgently fought for mass united-front action by the German Communist and Social Democratic parties to stop the Nazi threat. The tragic results of the workers leaders' refusal to unite the working class against the fascists were measured in the total destruction of the left and workers organizations, which paved the road to the death and destruction of the Holocaust and World War II.

The fascists must be crushed in the egg! Even today, the Klan and Nazi vermin in the U.S. perpetrate church burnings and bombings in the South and murder blacks, immigrants, leftists, abortion providers, homosexuals and Jews. With genocide as their ultimate aim, the fascists yearn to exacerbate racial and ethnic hatreds to the point of race war. And if the capitalist rulers feel their "right" to exploit and oppress to be threatened, they will unleash the fascist terrorists now held in reserve to drown the integrated labor movement in blood.

What is needed to stop the Klan and Nazis in their tracks is disciplined and determined action based on the power of the trade unions and drawing in wider layers of blacks, Hispanics and other minorities. This is the strategy that the PDC, Spartacist League and the LBSL and other Labor Black Leagues affiliated to the SL fight for and have successfully implemented against threatened fascist incursions in major urban areas: mass, united-front labor/black mobilizations. In Detroit in November 1979, 500 blacks,

auto workers and leftists prevented the Klan from "celebrating" the KKK massacre of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina days before. In San Francisco the following April, 1,200 protesters stopped the Nazis from rallying on Hitler's birthday. In Chicago in June 1982, 3,000 came out to stop a Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day. That November, a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization in Washington, D.C. stopped a Klan march which particularly sought to target immigrants.

Such actions demonstrate in practice the kind of revolutionary leadership needed to mobilize the working class to fight for all the oppressed. To put an end to the fascist danger once and for all, it is necessary to sweep away the decaying capitalist system which fuels the Klan and Nazi filth. The Spartacist League seeks to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party to lead the socialist revolution needed to do that.

Racist Terrorist in a Three-Piece Suit

Thomas Robb openly upholds the genocidal "principles" that have "directed the Klan from its inception," and celebrates its founding every year. Founded in 1866 by former Confederate officers following the victory of the Union Army over the Southern slaveholders in the Civil War, the KKK waged a war of bloody terror to reverse the black rights won during the period of Radical Recon-

struction. The Klan later became the armed shock troops of Jim Crow segregation in the South, carrying out lynchings and other acts of terror.

The Klan's terror campaigns were directed not only against freed black slaves and their descendants, but also against immigrants. A resurgence of American nativist fascism after World War I found particular resonance in the North, including Chicago where the KKK had up to 50,000 members. In part, this came in the wake of significant immigration—largely Catholic or Jewish—from southern and eastern Europe. The industrial capitalists used these exploited immigrants—who were also targeted by the KKK—to further ethnic divisions among the workers in order to prevent the organization of or to destroy trade unions.

Like his cohort David Duke, who in the 1970s was also a "Grand Wizard" of the Knights, Robb seeks to portray himself as a "fascist in a three-piece suit" to capitalize on the climate of "mainstream" racist reaction fostered by the Republicans and Democrats. However, the Klan's occasional forays into electoral politics and their "media savvy" façades are nothing but a cover for outright *racist terror*. Robb is a "pastor" of the Nazi-like "Christian Identity" movement, which denounces blacks as a "lower form of species than white people" and Jews as "children of Satan." He calls for the "execution of all homosexuals" and praises Hitler as "the great German leader and statesman who was ordained by God to lift Germany from the Jewish depravity."

Robb is also at the center of a network of race-hate action organizations which include some of the most notorious fascist killers in the U.S. today:

- Aryan Nations founder Richard Butler and another leading fascist, Robert Miles, who was imprisoned for bombing school buses used for integration.
- Byron de la Beckwith, murderer of Mississippi NAACP leader Medgar Evers.
- J.B. Stoner, convicted for the heinous 1958 bombing of the black Bethel Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama.
- "The Order," which carried out the infamous 1984 murder of Jewish talk-show host Alan Berg in Denver as well



1986 Marquette Park rally by Robb's KKK incited racist firebombing, murder. Ten years later, PDC-initiated protest repulsed deadly Klan attack in Daley Plaza.

Drop All Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!

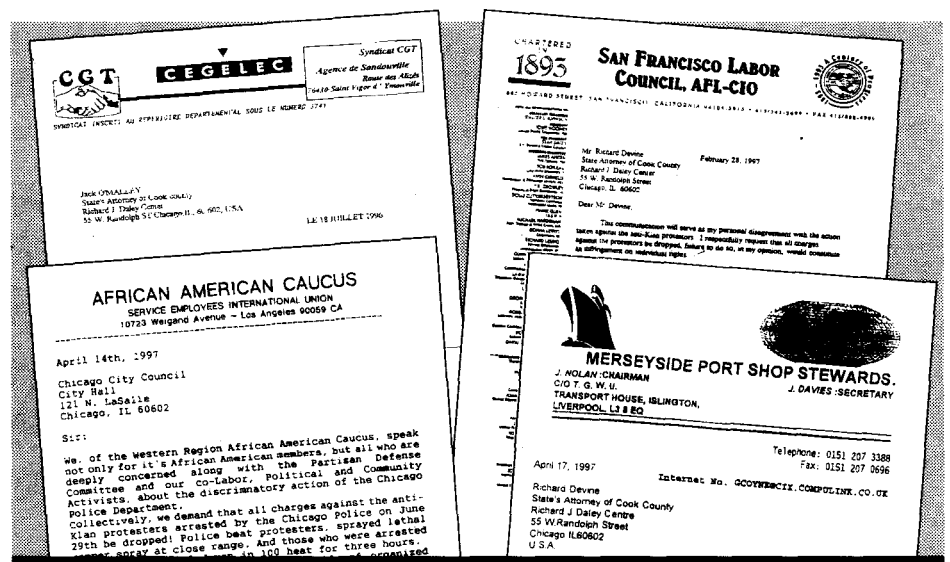
As Partisan Defense Committee labor coordinator Gene Herson, Refuse & Resist supporter Jeff Lyons and Dennis Glass, a young black worker, await their May 5 trial date in Chicago, support continues to build in the U.S. and internationally for the Anti-Klan Three. The three were arrested for participating in a PDC-initiated demonstration on June 29 against the Ku Klux Klan in Chicago, during which a violent Klan assault was thwarted. They now face up to one to two years in prison on bogus charges of assault and battery against police.

A recent protest letter by Lawrence Thibeaux, president of ILWU longshore Local 10 (San Francisco), called for dropping the charges and noted that the attempted prosecution of these activists is designed to have "a chilling effect on political protest." Another by the African American Caucus of the SEIU service workers union (Western Region) wrote: "We believe that Mayor Daley's administration colluded with these fascists to keep this Klan rally a secret, and now

seeks vindictive actions against those [who] were courageous enough to protest this deadly menace sweeping our Country!" Among many others, protest letters have also been sent by California Congressman Ronald Dellums and Ohio 7 class-war prisoner Jaan Laaman, who is in Leavenworth on frame-up "conspiracy" charges.

Defenders of the Chicago Anti-Klan Three in the international workers movement range from the Merseyside Port Shop Stewards in Liverpool, England to the South African Communist Party. From Germany, Karl Kielhorn from the Community of Survivors of Dachau Concentration Camp and the Party of Democratic Socialism in Berlin and Dr. Ernst Springer of the League of Antifascists in Leipzig have written letters of protest. Likewise, Serge Klarsfeld of the Association of the Sons and Daughters of Jewish Deportees in Paris has protested against the prosecution of the Anti-Klan Three.

On May 1, the PDC is sponsoring a



Support for Chicago Anti-Klan Three builds in U.S. and international labor movement.

united-front rally in Chicago in defense of the Anti-Klan Three. A wide range of organizations and individuals in the labor movement—as well as civil rights organizations and activists—support their cause. What's needed now is to turn these messages of solidarity and protest into a mobilization of labor-centered protest. Fill the courtroom May 5!

Send protest statements to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County,

Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph St., Chicago, IL 60602. Send copies and urgently needed donations for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013-0099. For more information, contact the PDC in New York at (212) 406-4252 or in Chicago at: P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931. ■

I/my organization protest the prosecution of those who face charges stemming from their participation in the demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan on June 29, 1996 at Chicago's Daley Plaza and demand: Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!

Partial List of Endorsers as of 29 April 1997

- Larry Adams, President, Mailhandlers Local 300,* New York, NY
- AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
- Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
- Autonomous Zone, Chicago, IL
- Marcellus Barnes, President, Amalgamated Transit Union Black Caucus,* Chicago, IL
- Danny Bishop, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
- Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Country Club Hills, IL
- Robert C. Clay, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
- Leroy Collier, President, National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
- Professor Irwin Corey, Communist Party,* New York, NY
- Jose B. Cuellar, Professor, San Francisco State University, La Raza Studies,* San Francisco, CA
- Charles DuBois, Correspondence Secretary, AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
- Michael Eric Dyron, Professor of Communication Studies, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill,* Chapel Hill, NC
- Henry L. English, President/CEO, Black United Fund of Illinois,* Chicago, IL
- Edgar G. Epps, Professor of Urban Education, University of Chicago,* Chicago, IL
- Freedom Socialist Party, Seattle, WA
- Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Chairman, Dept. of Afro-American Studies, Harvard University,* Cambridge, MA
- Chester Glanton, President, Teamsters Local 743, Chicago, IL
- Michael Goldfield, Professor, Wayne State University,* Farmington Hills, MI

- Grass Roots Activism Encompassing All Species, Lake Forest, IL
- Leon Harris, Secretary-Treasurer, ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
- Harvard University Democrats, Cambridge, MA
- Rickey Hendon, State Senator, Illinois State Legislature,* Chicago, IL
- ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
- Katie Jordan, President, Coalition of Labor Union Women,* Chicago, IL
- Rashid Khalidi, Professor, University of Chicago,* Chicago, IL
- Peter Kornbluh, Professor, Washington, D.C.
- La Raza Student Organization, San Francisco State University,* San Francisco, CA
- Labor Black Struggle League, Chicago, IL
- League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP), Chicago, IL
- Leon London, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
- Lumpen Magazine, Chicago, IL
- Stephen Lysaght, President, American Postal Workers Union, East Bay Area Local,* Walnut Creek, CA
- Mike Mezo, President, UAW Local 1010, East Chicago, IN
- Modern Action Club, Chicago, IL
- New World Resource Center, Chicago, IL
- News and Letters Committees, Chicago, IL
- Organization of Latin American Students, Chicago, IL
- Partisan Defense Committee
- Al Pieper, Business Agent, GSEU Local 73, SEIU,* Springfield, IL
- Brenda Rayford, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
- Refuse & Resist!, Bay Area, Chicago, New York, Santa Cruz

- Mike Rotkin, City Council member and former Mayor, Santa Cruz, CA
- Earl Silbar, Vice President, AFSCME Local 3506,* Chicago, IL
- Donald Smith, Trustee, National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
- Social Service Employees Union Local 371, AFSCME DC 37, New York, NY
- Spartacist League of the U.S.
- Spartacus Youth Club, Chicago, IL
- Teamsters Hispanic Caucus, Chicago, IL
- Teamsters Local 63, Rialto, CA
- Teamsters Local 743, Chicago, IL
- Teamsters Local 808, Long Island City, NY
- Teamsters Local 70, Oakland, CA
- Ron Teninty, International Representative, Teamsters,* Richmond, CA
- Delbert L. Tibbs, Chicago, IL
- Darby Tillis, Friends of Strangers Ministry,* Chicago, IL
- UAW Local 719, Countryside, IL
- USWA Local 1010, East Chicago, IN
- Eric C. Wat, Asian Pacific Islanders for Immigrant Rights and Empowerment (API-FIRE),* Los Angeles, CA
- Cornell West, Professor of Afro-American Studies, Harvard University,* Cambridge, MA
- Jerry W. Williams, Sr., President/Business Agent, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
- Standish E. Willis, Chair, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers,* Chicago, IL
- Richard Ziebell, President, UAW Local 477,* Chicago, IL
- Itibari M. Zulu, Provost, Amen-Ra Theological Seminary,* Los Angeles, CA

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

as repeated bombings of gay groups, anti-racists and others.

• Tom Metzger's "White Aryan Resistance," which instigated the brutal skin-head murder of an Ethiopian immigrant in Portland, Oregon in 1988.

After taking control of the "Knights of the KKK" in 1982, Robb launched a series of provocative forays into heavily black Northern cities, seizing on the atmosphere of racist backlash legitimized by former Democratic president Jimmy Carter's call for "ethnic purity" and the reactionary climate fueled by the anti-Soviet war drive of his successor, Republican Ronald Reagan, who was elected in 1980 with Klan support. Robb called a march in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, with the aim of organizing the first KKK rally there since 40,000 hooded Klansmen strutted through the streets of Washington in 1925. The Spartacist League responded to this direct threat against Washington's overwhelmingly black population by initiating a mass united-front "Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK." While Robb and his two dozen would-be lynchers cowered behind police lines, more than

5,000 blacks, trade unionists and leftists marched down the fascists' intended route, chanting, "We stopped the Klan!"

Robb has also long targeted Chicago, whose hard racial dividing lines and history of organized racist violence have earned it the name "Segregation City." An article at the time of the Marquette Park provocation in the Chicago weekly *Reader* (27 June 1986) documented a conspiracy by Robb and other Klan and Nazi groups to incite racist terror in Chicago, noting: "These new racist ideologues think Chicago is a good place to organize the white revolution.... The racists have been laying the groundwork for over a year."

In January 1994, the PDC initiated a 500-strong united-front mobilization in Springfield, Illinois which brought out a hard core of the integrated Chicago proletariat despite arctic weather to protest a Klan provocation on Martin Luther King Day. Robb's outfit turned out to be behind that KKK action as well.

In short, last June 29 in Chicago was not the first time we had confronted Robb's racist terrorists in our effort to stop fascist provocations. And there is no

doubt that Robb specifically had the SL and PDC in his cross hairs when he led his armed thugs into Daley Plaza and ordered them to "get ready to fight." After his humiliating defeat in Washington, D.C. in 1982, Robb's *White Patriot* specifically included the Spartacist League among the various left groups he incited his followers to target as "anti-Klan terrorists."

Labor Bureaucrats: Obstacle to Class Struggle

The struggle against the fascist menace is integrally linked to the fight to stop the racist, anti-labor attacks of the capitalist rulers. Throughout much of Europe, assaults by the bourgeoisie on workers' living standards have provoked working-class struggles against capitalist austerity. At the same time, the fascists have been emboldened by "official" anti-immigrant racism and the right-wing climate engendered by capitalist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe to launch ever more deadly attacks on minorities, hoping to seize on widespread despair in the face of escalating unemployment and economic inse-

curity to consolidate a base among the disaffected middle class and backward sections of the working class. In France, Le Pen's fascist National Front has won municipal elections in four southern towns. In Germany, bloody pogroms and arson attacks against immigrants have been on the rise since the capitalist annexation of East Germany in 1990.

But the pro-capitalist trade-union tops, who don't even defend their own members from layoffs and wage cuts, cannot be expected to wage a determined fight against the fascists. There should have been thousands in Daley Plaza last June 29 to stop the Klan, but the labor bureaucrats worked to ensure that didn't happen out of loyalty to their Democratic Party friends, particularly since Chicago was to host Clinton's convention only two months later. In this deeply racist society, mobilizing the integrated trade unions to combat racist attacks is key to any broader struggle in defense of jobs, wages and social programs. And that requires a political struggle to oust the present labor misleadership, break workers and minorities from the Democratic Party and build a revolutionary workers party. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Abolish the Death Penalty!

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Racist Repression!

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Blue and orange flames a foot long shot up out of the leather mask covering Pedro Medina's face as he was electrocuted by the state of Florida on March 25. In the aftermath of that grisly execution, which filled the death chamber with acrid white smoke and the smell of burnt flesh, Florida attorney general Bob Butterworth gloated, "People who wish to commit murder, they better not do it in the state of Florida because we may have a problem with our electric chair." This was not the first such "problem" with the Florida chair, which is grotesquely called "Old Sparky" by Florida's forces of death, in the 74 years since prisoners themselves were forced to build it. Only seven years ago, Jesse Tafero suffered a fate similar to that of Pedro Medina.

Medina's execution, and the attorney general's gruesome response, epitomize the barbarity of the racist death penalty and of the capitalist "justice" system which promotes it ever more enthusiastically. It matters little to these racist kill-

ings on January 8. As many as 75 executions are projected for 1997, the highest annual total since the Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty in 1976 after a four-year hiatus. Even as the rate of executions escalates, the federal government under Clinton makes ever more crimes punishable by death, while states like New York which long resisted it have now revived the death sentence. In April, Washington, D.C.'s black Democratic mayor, Marion Barry, called for bringing back the death penalty there.

The speedup on death row comes in the midst of an enormous assault on civil liberties across the board. In January, the Supreme Court ruled that judges can stiffen prison terms for convicted defendants by taking into account charges on which they were previously *acquitted!* In their decision, endorsed by Clinton, the justices declared, "It is impossible to know exactly why a jury found a defendant not guilty." This is but the latest in a series of assaults on the jury system,



Demonstration protesting threatened execution of Jamal, Chicago, August 1995. Mumia's case has become focus of opposition to racist death penalty.

WV Photo

ers that Pedro Medina might not even have committed the murder for which he was condemned to death. The victim's daughter vehemently objected to the execution, and Medina's last words were, "I am still innocent." Shortly after Medina's execution, 35-year-old Ricardo Aldape Guerra, a Mexican immigrant who served 15 years on death row in Texas, was freed after his frame-up conviction was finally reversed.

A black Cuban immigrant, Medina was representative of the more than 3,200 prisoners on death rows around the country, who are preponderantly, and vastly disproportionately, black or Hispanic—as is the skyrocketing prison population as a whole. Medina's execution was the eleventh this year, which began with a triple execution by lethal injection in President Clinton's home state of Arkan-

sas on January 8. As many as 75 executions are projected for 1997, the highest annual total since the Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty in 1976 after a four-year hiatus. Even as the rate of executions escalates, the federal government under Clinton makes ever more crimes punishable by death, while states like New York which long resisted it have now revived the death sentence. In April, Washington, D.C.'s black Democratic mayor, Marion Barry, called for bringing back the death penalty there.

In his four years in office, Democrat



Leen/Matrix

All-sided capitalist assault on minorities has meant sharp rise in prison population, now mostly black and Hispanic.

Clinton has presided over an onslaught on basic civil rights so far-reaching that even liberals like *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis and the *Village Voice's* Nat Hentoff express alarm "that no president in 60 years has done as much harm to civil liberties as Clinton" (*Village Voice*, 22 April). From extensive FBI wiretapping and Internet censorship to slashing prisoners' access to legal defense, especially gutting the vital *habeas corpus* right of death row prisoners to appeal their convictions in federal court, Clinton has directly targeted many rights supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution. In February, even the conservative American Bar Association came out for a moratorium on the death penalty.

On April 7, some 750 people crowded into New York City's Town Hall to hear Jesse Jackson and *Nation* columnist Christopher Hitchens debate the death penalty with a couple of right-wing bigots. Yet the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal—which has become internationally synonymous with the fight against the racist death penalty—was barely mentioned by the speakers, though both have previously spoken out for Jamal. And Jackson's "alternative" to capital punishment was the living death of life imprisonment without parole.

The attack on democratic rights goes hand in hand with the bipartisan axing of welfare and imposition of union-busting "workfare" schemes, with anti-immigrant terror and the beefing up of police repres-

sion. As we wrote some months ago, "The massive reinforcement of the repressive apparatus of the state—centrally the cops and prisons—reflects the need of the U.S. ruling class to contain the explosive contradictions generated by the growing gap between the tiny handful of rich at the top and the mass of the populace" (*WV* No. 655, 8 November 1996). And in this deeply racist society, such repression necessarily targets blacks and other minorities most heavily. This is particularly the case today, when the ruling class deems the ghetto masses which once served as a "reserve army of the unemployed" as a "surplus population" to be dispensed with.

The liberals have no answer because—like the AFL-CIO union tops—they are wedded to the capitalist state and the capitalist profit system. Reveling in what they proclaim to be the "death of communism" with the destruction of the Soviet Union, the capitalist rulers act as though they can slash workers' living standards with abandon and grind the poor without provoking any social protest. And the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy scarcely pretends even to "demand" a few crumbs for the exploited, acting as enforcers for the bourgeoisie while channeling outrage among workers and minorities into support for Clinton's Democrats. The straitjacketing of the labor movement and the absence of any mass social struggle in turn facilitates the assault on democratic rights.

continued on page 8

Drop All Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!

Fill the Courtroom Starting May 5, 9:30 a.m.!

Circuit Court of Cook County, 1340 S. Michigan Avenue, Room 502

For more information: (312) 454-4930