

Police Attack Leftists, Protect Fascists

Berlin: Militant Protest Spikes Nazi Rally

FEBRUARY 18—Emboldened by the German government's attacks on immigrants and mass deportations of refugees, with unemployment at its highest rate since Hitler came to power in 1933, the Nazi "Young National Democrats" announced they would stage a race-hate march for "Jobs for Germans First" through Berlin's Hellersdorf district on February 15. The fascists have repeatedly targeted Hellersdorf to terrorize immigrants and have even murdered an Arab woman with impunity. But not this Saturday. Despite a massive show of police force to protect the brownshirt Nazi scum, some 2,000 anti-fascist fighters—leftists, trade unionists, immigrants, Jewish students and others—boldly faced down a savage police attack and forcefully drove the Nazi rats back into their sewers.

The television news that evening showed what happened in Berlin on

February 15: there were no goose-stepping Nazis, no immigrant hostels burned to the ground. Instead, there were scenes of cowering skinheads lying on the floor of a subway car under heavy police protection, as would-be *führers* escaped in police vans from a crowd of anti-fascists who gave chase, shouting "*Nazis raus!*"—Nazis out! Prominent at the head of the determined anti-fascist mobilization was the red banner of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD, German section of the International Communist League), which proclaimed: "Stop the Nazis Through Workers United-Front Action! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrant Workers and Their Families!"

As the united-front action which spiked the Nazi provocation came to a close, Spartakist speaker Renate Dahlhaus declared to the hundreds of

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Cristian V. Polentz

February 15: Berlin anti-fascist protesters on train platform confront Nazis cowering in subway car behind police guard.

Avenge Steven Biko Through Workers Revolution!

Neo-Apartheid Regime: Enemy of South African Masses



Jordan/Syigma



Reuters

Left: 1977 funeral of Steve Biko, murdered by police. ANC government offers "amnesty" to apartheid killers, unleashes cops against South African masses. Right: February 6 protest in coloured township near Johannesburg in which four were killed.

JOHANNESBURG—Heaping contempt on the memory of those who fought apartheid terror, the South African government's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has accepted an application for "amnesty" for the cops who tortured and killed Steven Biko in 1977. At the time of his death at age 30, Steve

Biko was the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the most prominent spokesman for a new generation of anti-apartheid militants. His murder was an outrage which shook the world, making him a symbol of all the many thousands martyred in the fight against the brutal apartheid system of racist segregation and repression. It is no less an outrage today that Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) in government seeks to amnesty Steve Biko's murderers.

Restricted to his cell for weeks, shackled and naked, Biko was beaten to the

point of unconsciousness, then dumped in the back of a Land Rover for an eleven-hour drive to a prison hospital in Pretoria, where he died of brain damage. His killers are a group of former security policemen who have now confessed to taking part in the murder of at least ten Eastern Cape anti-apartheid activists, many of whom were drugged, tortured and shot dead, then burned on wooden pyres, with their remains dumped into the Fish River to conceal the bloody crimes. The racist killers today approach the TRC for amnesty in the full knowledge that dozens of their fellow apart-

heid butchers are "confessing" and getting off unscathed.

The apartheid regime rested heavily on a deliberate policy of naked terror to repress the nonwhite masses in the interests of the capitalist ruling class. When that form of rule became untenable—at bottom, when the black unions emerged, joining their social power to the township revolts and other anti-apartheid struggles—the South African capitalists and their imperialist godfathers turned to the ANC to preserve their system based on the superexploitation of black

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Free Mumia Now!

Ominous Court Ruling Against Jamal

A recent ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court sends a clear danger signal to all those who are fighting to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. On February 3, the court granted a motion by the Philadelphia district attorney's office to strike Jamal's "Supplemental Reply Brief" challenging the prosecution's blatantly false rendering of testimony last October by Veronica Jones, a key eyewitness for Jamal. The ruling may indicate that the state Supreme Court is nearing a decision on Mumia's appeal seeking to overturn his 1982 frame-up conviction for the killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner.

At the October evidentiary hearing before Judge Albert Sabo, Jones described how she had been coerced by Philadelphia police and prosecutors to lie at Mumia's 1982 trial. Restating what she initially told the cops, Jones testified that she saw two men—neither of whom could have been Mumia—flee the scene

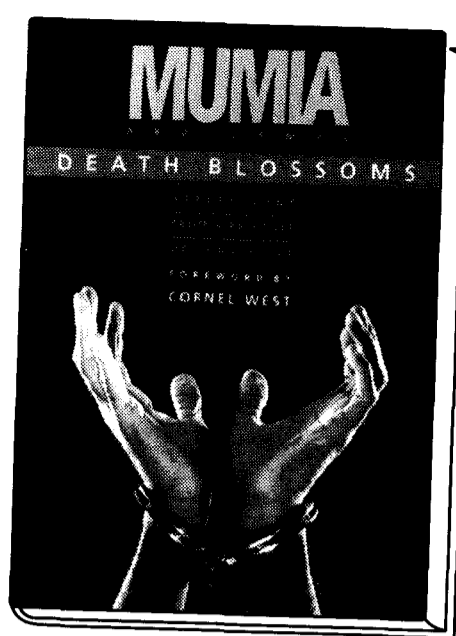
of Faulkner's murder, which corroborates the testimony of four other witnesses. For coming forward to tell the truth, Jones was outrageously arrested on the witness stand (see "'Hanging Judge' Sabo Dismisses New Evidence of Jamal's Innocence," WV No. 655, 8 November 1996).

Responding to an "opening brief" on this testimony filed by Mumia's legal team with the state Supreme Court, the prosecution submitted an "answering brief" filled with lies. The D.A.'s office claims that Jones never saw two men flee, denies that she was coerced into recanting her initial testimony, and charges that Jamal's defense team failed to diligently try to locate her. Such lying charges are standard procedure for Philly prosecutors and cops, whose corruption and frame-up methods have achieved national notoriety. The defense's rebuttal of the prosecution brief should have been accepted as routine; that the court denied it is ominous.

The court currently has before it three briefs and two motions filed by Jamal. The main brief seeks a reversal of Sabo's August 1995 denial of Mumia's PCRA petition for a new trial, putting forth more than 20 constitutional arguments for a new trial. A second brief lays out additional arguments for reversing Jamal's conviction based on the new evidence from Veronica Jones. A supplementary brief calls for dismissing the charges against Mumia based on the recent decision by Pittsburgh federal district court judge Donetta Ambrose that Mumia's constitutional rights were violated by Pennsylvania prison officials and the governor's legal office, who intercepted, copied and read Mumia's legal correspondence with his attorneys.

With its latest ruling against Jamal, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court may now be preparing to decide his appeal without giving the defense any notice. The court could also be moving to reach a decision on particular motions, such as one to recuse Supreme Court Justice Castille—a clearly prejudiced, pro-prosecution judge—from hearing the appeal.

Mumia was targeted for death by the racist capitalist state from the time he was a prominent Black Panther Party leader in Philadelphia at the age of 15, and on through his years as a powerful journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization. As one of Mumia's attorneys, Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, told New York's WBAI radio recently, "He was made a target of COINTELPRO, the FBI's counterintelligence program which was designed to kill, frame up and otherwise extinguish the Black Panther Party." Wolkenstein explained that after over a decade of intense police surveillance and frame-up attempts, "when opportunity came to them with the killing of this police officer with Mumia on the scene but uninvolved, they seized the opportu-



New book of writings by Mumia Abu-Jamal can be ordered through Plough Publishing House, Farmington, PA 15437.

nity to arrest him and subsequently convict him and sentence him to death."

As part of our fight to sweep away this racist system of capitalist repression, we demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! To join the fight to free Mumia, 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 Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. ■



TROTSKY

The Labor Bureaucracy: Defenders of Racist Capitalism

The past few decades have seen the living standards of working people driven down, the trade-union movement gutted and the black poor subjected to ever more savage attacks. American capitalism has historically blocked or diverted the development of a class-conscious and militant workers movement by playing off ethnic and, especially since World War II, racial divisions within the proletariat. The pro-capitalist

AFL-CIO bureaucracy serves as a key prop for the bourgeoisie in suppressing workers' struggles and fostering racist chauvinism. In the 1929 founding platform of the American Trotskyist movement, James P. Cannon insisted that overcoming the political backwardness of American workers required an intransigent struggle against the labor bureaucracy and for a revolutionary workers party.

The American workers are not class conscious, they have not yet developed even the concepts of social reformism or independent political action, and, on the whole, are permeated through and through with the ideology of capitalism. These incontestable facts are the starting point of the communist approach and indicate our fundamental task: to struggle for the creation of a class movement of the American workers, for the development of class consciousness, and to lead them toward revolutionary concepts in struggle.

The fight for a class movement of the American workers is in the first place a fight against the capitalist ideology which dominates them. The labor bureaucrats of the AFL and the unaffiliated unions of the same type are the direct bearers of this ideology in the working class and must be fought as such....

This bureaucracy is the chief influence against the class movement within the workers' ranks—the strongest, the best organized, and the representative of the most reactionary program. The specific nature of the American labor bureaucracy—its present source of strength—also makes it the more vulnerable in the period of growing radicalization. The very first steps of the workers towards a class movement can be taken only in direct struggle against them. The relentless and irreconcilable fight against the AFL leadership, based on a correct analysis of its specific role as the outspoken bearer of capitalist ideology, is a prerequisite for effective work in developing the struggle of the workers, increasing their class understanding, and leading them to the fight for broader political aims.

— "Platform of the Communist Opposition" (February 1929)



LENIN

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21 February 1997

Black History Month 4

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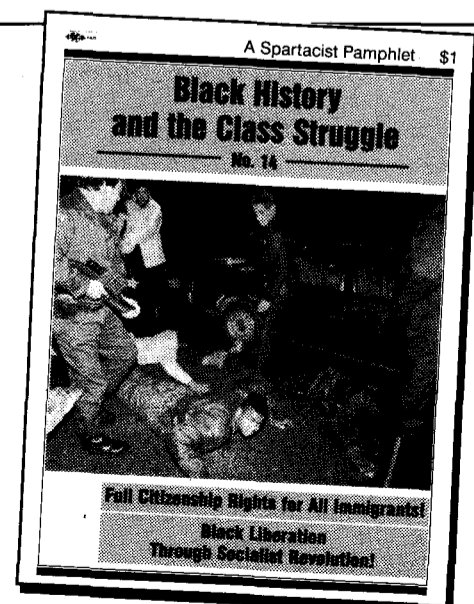
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CUNY: Cops Off Campus!

We reprint below, slightly abridged, a New York Spartacus Youth Club leaflet which was issued on January 25 and distributed on several campuses in the area.

The City University of New York (CUNY), which had open admissions and no tuition for generations until 1976, is ruthlessly purging working-class and minority youth—and anybody who protests—with the budget ax and the police baton. Since the late '80s there have been sporadic upsurges of student protest against two decades of continuous and escalating cutbacks in staff, courses and financial aid. The administration has responded by increasing the presence of security and campus police and spying on student activists.

CUNY, with the aid of the U.S. Department of Justice, has created an elite force of *armed* cops. Backed with a \$30 million budget, this police force "monitors student protests and keeps tabs on campus activists" and also tracks student protesters following demonstrations (*Daily News*, 14 August 1995). This squad, with the Orwellian "newspeak" name of SAFE (Special Assistance for Events), keeps files on demonstrators, both students and workers, and through the NYPD is notified of students arrested at demonstrations. With Governor Pataki now proposing to hike CUNY tuition more than \$400 a semester, this huge security apparatus is in place to crack down on student protest.

Throughout the U.S., campus repression, with an ugly racist edge, is dramatically increasing, as tuition is rising, classes are being cut, and campus workers face union-busting attacks. Last semester, campus cops brutally attacked and pepper-sprayed anti-racist student demonstrators at SUNY Binghamton. At Berkeley, there is a campus SWAT team. At Rutgers, armed campus cops routinely videotape demonstrations. In 1995, Rutgers students protesting the university president's racist remarks—straight out of the infamous *Bell Curve*—that black and Hispanic students are "genetically, hereditarily disadvantaged" were clubbed and gassed by local police called by the administration.

Already, student activists have been denied access to CUNY schools. David Suker from CCNY was suspended for a year for his role as a prominent campus activist in the protests against budget cuts. Meanwhile, the administration is

NYPD thugs attack a massive March 1995 demonstration of high-school and college students protesting cutbacks in education.



moving to arm all campus cops and introducing attack dogs. These and other measures are designed to intimidate students and staff on the campuses and quash dissent at CUNY, one of the more politically volatile universities on the East Coast. The true character of these so-called "safety" measures was displayed at Queensborough Community College in Queens last year, when two gay student activists were arrested and roughed up by CUNY thugs for the "crime" of kissing during a school dance. We say: Cops off campus!

The Democratic White House and Republican Congress joined together to ax welfare last summer. In New York and other states, those able to get public relief are being forced to work at starvation wages in union-busting "workfare" schemes. The passage of anti-immigrant Proposition 187 and anti-affirmative action Prop. 209 in California is part of an overall drive to deny access to education to a whole layer of black and immigrant youth. In racist America, the capitalist rulers foment racial hatred as means to further exploit and degrade all workers and the poor. While blacks and immigrants are increasingly locked out, the public education system as a whole is in an advanced state of decay. Having looted the economy, the ruling class has little interest in spending money on edu-

cating poor and working-class youth for jobs that no longer exist.

The budget cuts and tuition fee hikes at CUNY are cut of the same cloth, to increasingly make "higher" education inaccessible to black, minority and working-class youth. The Spartacus Youth Clubs say that education is a right, not a privilege for those who can afford it. We demand open admissions, free tuition, and a full living stipend for all students! Elite private universities, such as Columbia and New York University, which are bastions of class and race privilege, should be nationalized! All cops off campus! We call to abolish the administration and replace it with student/teacher/worker control of the university.

The Student Liberation Action Movement (SLAM) has organized a "two day strategy conference" for "building a student movement, fighting budget cuts, getting cops off campus, [and] ending workfare." The problem is that students on their own don't have the social power to prevail against budget cuts, the abolition of welfare, increasing racist reaction, cop terror and repression. These are the products of a system that is based on the exploitation of the many by the few, and the cops are the armed fist whose job is to defend the interests of the capitalist rulers against those they exploit and oppress. Thus, any strategy to fight these

conditions must be based on a revolutionary perspective of struggle to get rid of this entire system. Without such a perspective any strategy that SLAM comes up with, despite all their liberation rhetoric, necessarily accepts the framework defined by the capitalist rulers and can lead only to the politics of so-called "lesser evilism," i.e. lobbying the Democrats in Albany to "fight" Republican governor Pataki.

In the spring of 1995, in response to massive tuition increases, tens of thousands of CUNY students took to the streets. The cops arrested more than 100 largely black and Hispanic students, including hunger-strikers. The Spartacus Youth Club intervened at teach-ins, meetings and rallies calling for students to unite with hospital workers, transit and other city workers in a one-day city-wide strike to shut down New York City, as part of a struggle for jobs and free, quality education for all. Radical students must link their fight with the integrated labor movement to win.

In the hands of the multiracial working class, whose labor created all the wealth in this country, lies the social power to reclaim this wealth for the benefit of the majority rather than the profits of the few. The political obstacle to such struggle is the trade-union bureaucracy. Rather than deploying the weapons that are inherent in the unions' numbers, organization and most decisively their ability to shut down capitalist production, the labor misleaders operate as the agents for the capitalist rulers, tying the interests of the working class to the interests of their exploiters through the vehicle of the Democratic Party.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are schools of revolutionary action and education for young communists. As the student/youth auxiliary to the Spartacist League/U.S., the SYCs seek to win a new generation to the side of the working class and to train the future leaders of the multiracial revolutionary party which is necessary to lead the working class in struggle to end this system of capitalist exploitation and oppression. If you are looking for a real strategy to fight against the shredding of education for black, poor and working-class youth, against the slave-labor "workfare" programs, against racist reaction and the all-sided increase in cop terror and repression, then it is time to join the struggle for a socialist future! Join us! ■

Five protesters during the Democratic National Convention (DNC) in Chicago last summer are facing possible prison sentences of five or more years on felony charges of mob action and aggravated battery against police officers. These false charges stem from an August 27 march of over 500 demonstrators organized by the liberal-left "Not On the Guest List Coalition."

As described by the *Chicago Reader* (14 February), hundreds of police on foot and horseback blocked marchers from going to the convention site. The cops singled out five activists, apparently for their leading roles in the protest and in demonstrations earlier in the week. The five—Bonnie Tocwish, Robert MacDonald, Ron Schupp, Ben Masel and Michael Durschmid—were arrested over the next two days. According to Durschmid, the arrests were intended to stop a "Festival of Life" march planned for the last day of the convention, when Clinton was due

Protesters Arrested at Democratic National Convention Face Prison

Defend the DNC 5!

to arrive. On February 10, seven other DNC protesters were tried and acquitted of misdemeanor charges stemming from arrests at a different march.

These arrests were part of a pattern of police repression aimed at curtailing social protest during the convention. Chicago's Democratic mayor Daley was determined not to have a repeat of the mass protests that took place during the 1968 Democratic convention, when police thugs beat and bloodied protesters against the Vietnam War before the eyes of the world.

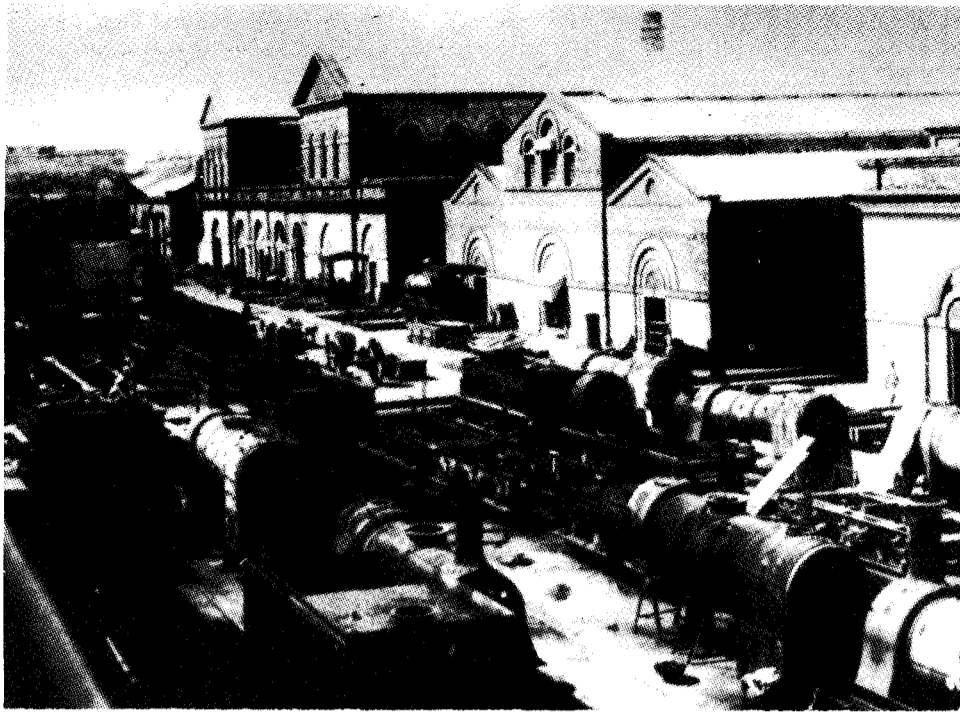
At this year's Democratic fête, Chicago cops went after not only

demonstrators but also journalists working with the CounterMedia project, destroying film and equipment. They also raided the offices of the anarchist organization Active Resistance, terrorizing activists and sending two to the hospital with pepper-spray injuries. A CounterMedia press release (1 September 1996) reported that when Active Resistance supporters asked if the police had a warrant, the cops sneered, "We don't need a warrant, we believe you're conspiring against the U.S. Government."

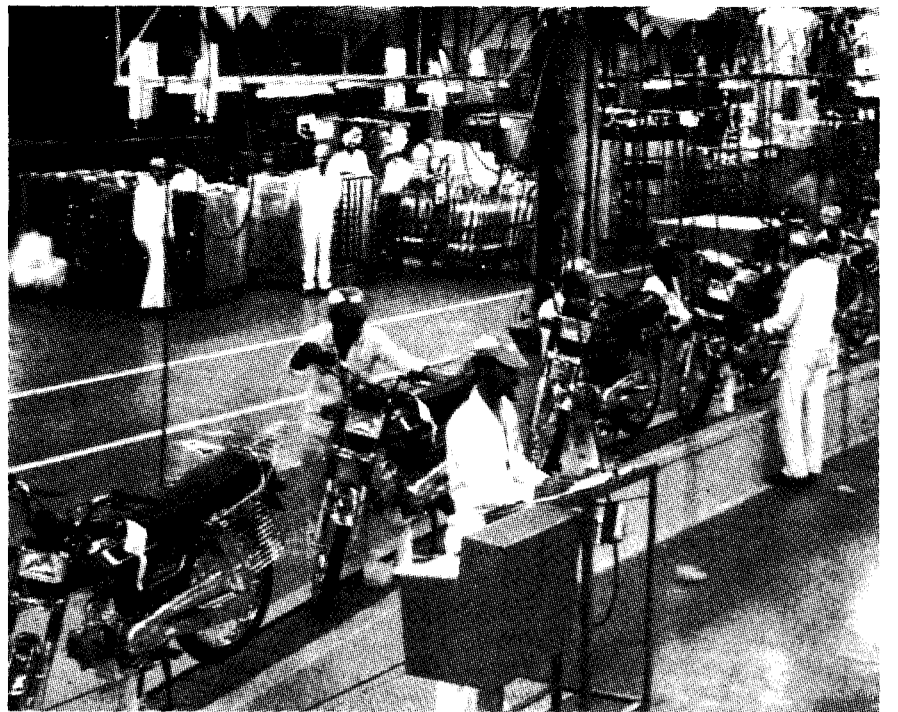
Earlier that week, a phalanx of police also violently broke up a demonstration

organized by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) to protest Clinton's axing of welfare. With batons flying, cops beat and arrested 22 PLP supporters. Followers of ultrarightist crackpot Lyndon LaRouche helped set off the cop melee by fingering PLPers for arrest. Six PLPers still face serious felony battery charges stemming from the police attack.

Like the continuing victimization by Chicago cops of three anti-Klan protesters (see article, page 16), the prosecution of the DNC 5 is aimed at silencing all who would protest against the conditions of this racist capitalist society. All defenders of labor and minorities, all supporters of democratic rights, must come to the defense of the DNC 5 and all leftists arrested during protests around the Democratic convention. Criminal court proceedings against the DNC 5 are set to continue on February 19. If a motion to dismiss is denied, the case could move straight to trial that day. Drop all charges against the DNC 5 and Progressive Labor Party protesters!



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Asiaweek

Left: Railway workshop in British-ruled colonial India, late 19th century. Right: Japanese motorcycle factory in India today. Under imperialism, more economically backward countries have always been dominated and exploited.

The "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism

The first two parts of this article were published in WV Nos. 660 and 661 (24 January and 7 February).

In claiming that the recent "globalization" of production represents a "qualitative transformation" in the world capitalist system, numerous bourgeois and leftist commentators, including David North's International Committee (IC), effectively ignore the development of modern imperialism over a century ago. To understand the actual significance and limits of the recent changes in the world economy, it is necessary to view these changes in a broad historical perspective.

In his 1916 pamphlet, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin described modern imperialism as that

Part Three

epoch of capitalism marked by the export of capital and the division of the world into "spheres of influence" by a few major advanced capitalist states. The two key institutions of the pre-1914 imperialist order were colonialism and the gold standard.

Particularly Britain and France, but also other West European countries, the United States and Japan exercised direct state power over hundreds of millions of toilers throughout the world. British plantation owners in India did not have to worry that the Indian government would impose high taxes on their property or enact laws favorable to labor since the government in India was **their** government. Compared to British India, foreign investment in China in the pre-1914 era was relatively slight, because the country was beset by political disorder and was an arena of conflict among a number of rival imperialist powers.

At the same time, the gold standard assured a degree of financial integration among the advanced capitalist countries which has never been matched since. Exchange rates between currencies were fixed, there were few or no restrictions on the international movement of capital, and real interest rates were stable and closely linked in the major financial capitals—London, Paris, New York. British holders of American railway bonds did not have to worry that their assets would

How David North Embraces Karl Kautsky

be devalued by hyperinflation or by the depreciation of the dollar against the pound.

World War I and the Russian Revolution

Under these conditions the globalization of capital flourished as never before or since, as can be shown with the following few statistics for Britain and France (taken from Herbert Feis, *Europe—The World's Banker 1870-1914* [1964]). The income derived by British capitalists from their foreign assets increased from 4 percent of total British national income in the 1880s to 7 percent by 1903 to almost 10 percent on the eve of World War I in 1914. Foreign investments were concentrated in Britain's own colonies (especially India, South Africa, Canada and Australia) as well as in the United States and, to a lesser extent, Argentina. By 1914, total productive assets held by British capitalists outside Britain amounted to well **over one quarter** of the capital stock within Britain itself!

While the globalization of pre-1914 British capitalism was historically unique, the role of foreign investment for French capitalism in this period likewise **greatly exceeded** that of any present-day imperi-

alist country. Between 1909 and 1913, almost 5 percent of French national income was derived from French investments abroad (mainly in Russia, Turkey, the Balkans and France's own African and Asian colonies). By 1914, the total value of French long-term foreign investment (45 billion francs) amounted to 15 percent of the productive wealth within France (295 billion francs).

Now let us look at comparable figures for the United States at present. In 1994, total income derived from the foreign assets of American capitalists, both direct investment and stock and bond holdings, was \$167 billion. That amounted to slightly **less than 2 percent** of the U.S. gross domestic product of \$6.7 trillion. The current total value of American direct foreign investment is about one trillion dollars, slightly less than 10 percent of the \$10.5 trillion in privately owned industrial assets (plant and equipment) within the United States. In the case of Japan, the relative weight of foreign investment is even less than it is in the U.S., and in the case of Germany it is substantially less.

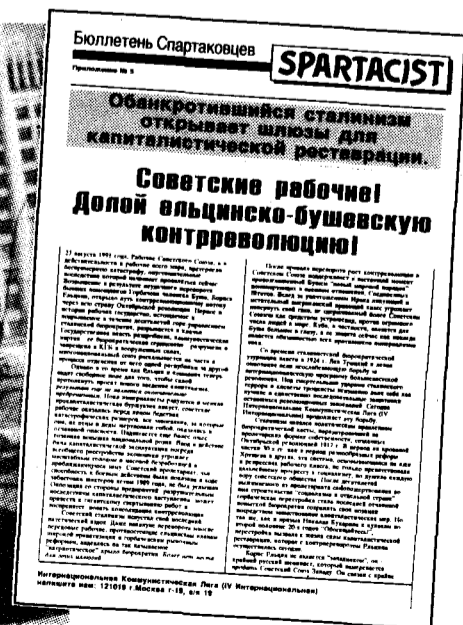
As the above figures indicate, World War I and the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia brought about a profound and long-lasting disruption of the world capi-

talist economy. To begin with, the war killed off the gold standard. All combatants financed their huge, unprecedented military expenditures by printing money while imposing tight controls over all international transactions. When the war ended in 1918, price levels in the major capitalist countries bore no relation whatsoever to either prewar foreign-exchange parities or real purchasing power.

An attempt to resurrect the gold standard in the mid-1920s was buried under the wreckage of the Great Depression of the 1930s. That decade saw the collapse of world trade, the rise of "beggar thy neighbor" trade protectionism, the widespread use of foreign-exchange controls (especially in Nazi Germany) and the establishment of regional economic blocs dominated by a single imperialist power (e.g., Japan's "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere").

Added to the effects of the Great Depression and intensifying inter-imperialist conflict were the consequences of the Russian Revolution. Not only had a major country been ripped out of the sphere of capitalist exploitation, but the imperialist bourgeoisies were now imbued with a fear of "red revolution" elsewhere, especially in backward countries where social and political conditions were manifestly unstable. The huge losses suffered by French financiers and other holders of Russian tsarist bonds cast a long shadow over world capital markets in the 1920s and '30s. Lending

Der Spiegel



Russian Orthodox priest on Yeltsin's barricades, Moscow, August 1991. International Communist League leaflet declared, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!"

to semicolonial countries like China and Mexico was inhibited by the perceived danger of revolutionary turmoil and left-wing governments which would repudiate the country's foreign debt. The only significant foreign investment in China during the interwar period was undertaken by the Japanese in Manchuria—after they had conquered and occupied this region in 1931.

From World War II to the Cold War

The struggle of the major capitalist powers to redivide markets and spheres of exploitation led in 1939-41, as it had in 1914, to an interimperialist world war, though this time one in which a chief combatant was a (degenerated) workers state, the Soviet Union. (Thus, while taking a defeatist position toward all the imperialist powers in World War II, as in the previous world war, revolutionary Marxists called for unconditional military defense of the USSR.) The outcome of the Second World War perpetuated and deepened the disruption and segmentation of the world economy. By defeating its main imperialist rivals, Germany and Japan, the United States became the hegemonic capitalist power. But the global hegemony of American imperialism was blocked by the Soviet Union, which had emerged from the war as the second-strongest state in the world. From East Asia to West Europe to South America, the course of economic developments between 1945 and 1991 was integrally connected with the Cold War.

In West Europe and also Japan, the devastation of the war combined with the leftward radicalization of the working class militated against a return to the "free trade" and "free market" policies of the pre-1914 era. Except for the U.S., all major advanced capitalist countries engaged in a high degree of state intervention in economic activity during the first phase of the postwar period. Almost all foreign-exchange transactions in West Europe were subject to strict government regulation and bureaucratic approval. The pound, franc and deutschmark did not become "freely" convertible until the late 1950s.

Currency convertibility is a basic economic precondition for large-scale foreign investment in manufacturing and services, since the revenue generated from these activities is usually denominated in the currency of the country in which the investments take place. The oil extracted by Exxon in Saudi Arabia is sold on the world market for dollars. But the automobiles produced by General Motors in Germany are sold to Germans for deutschmarks. Thus, it was only in the 1960s—after the introduction of convertibility gave them the option of repatriating their profits—that American corporations bought out or built industrial plants in West Europe on a significant scale. The total value of U.S. direct investment in manufacturing in West Europe went from \$3.8 billion in 1960 to \$12.3 billion (discounting for inflation) by the end of the decade.

It was, however, in the economically backward regions of the world that the postwar period saw the most radical political changes affecting the international movement of capital. In the course of defeating the Nazi Wehrmacht, the Soviet Red Army occupied East Europe. Over the next few years, under the hostile pressure of American imperialism, these countries were transformed, bureaucratically from above, into "people's democracies"—i.e., deformed workers states structurally similar to the Stalinized Soviet Union, based on planned, collectivized economies, the state monopoly of foreign trade, etc.

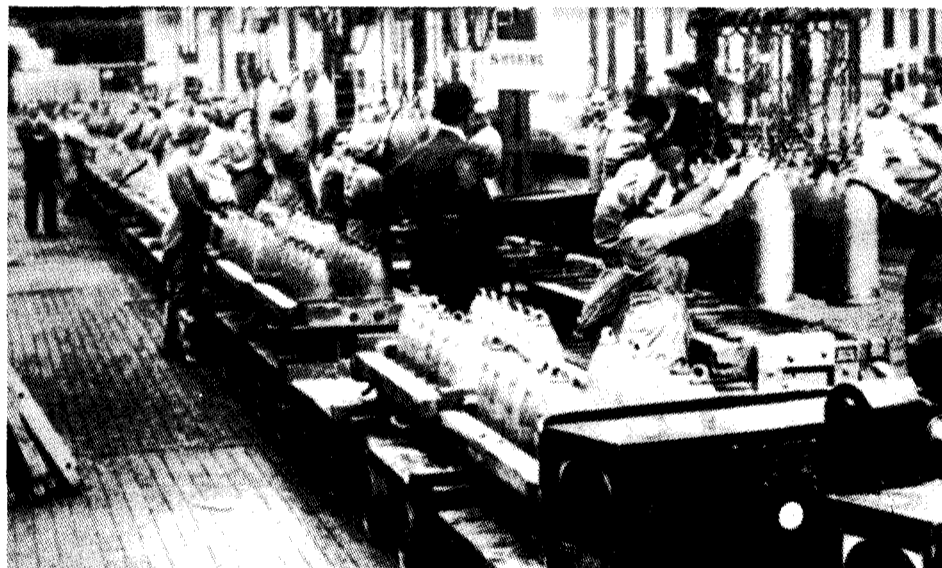
Bureaucratically deformed workers states also emerged in China, North Korea and Vietnam, as a result of indigenous, peasant-based social revolutions led by Stalinists. It was above all fear of war with the Soviet Union which prevented Washington from using its nuclear weapons against Mao's China during the Korean War in the early 1950s

and a few years later against the Viet Minh forces which were defeating the French colonial army in Indochina. A large part of the world was thus removed from the sphere of capitalist exploitation, although still subject to the powerful political, economic and military pressures of imperialism.

At the same time, radical political changes also took place in those economically backward countries which remained within the sphere of capitalist exploitation. The weakening of the West European imperialist states caused by World War II combined with the radicalization of the colonial masses led to the "decolonization" of much of Asia, the Near East and Africa. State power in these regions now passed into the hands of indigenous bourgeoisies, who sought to pursue their own national interests within a global context dominated by international finance capital.

Despite some CIA-organized coups (e.g., against Mossadeq in Iran in 1953), the ability of U.S. imperialism to control the governments of the former colonial and semicolonial countries was limited by the countervailing power of the Soviet Union. Moscow's backing allowed bourgeois-nationalist regimes like Nasser's Egypt, Nehru and Indira Gandhi's India and Saddam Hussein's Iraq to exercise a degree of political and economic independence of the imperialist powers which they could not have attained on the basis of their own national economic resources.

During the 1960s, Soviet funds and engineers helped build the Aswan High Dam—one of the largest in the world—in Nasser's Egypt. By the early '70s, the USSR had become the largest market for India's exports, while Moscow provided the New Delhi regime with over-60 percent of its imports of military hardware. At the same time, Western and Japanese



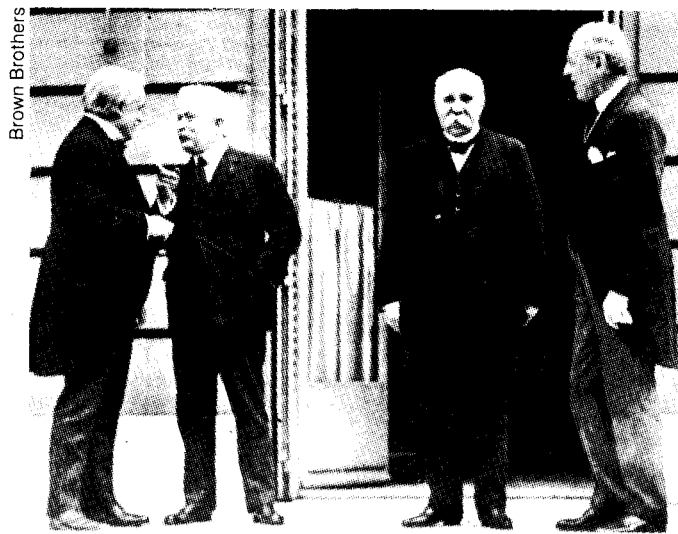
British munitions factory during World War I. Huge military expenditures destroyed the gold standard and profoundly disrupted the world capitalist economy.

corporations were discouraged from investing in countries like Egypt and India for fear of punitive taxation, restrictions on the repatriation of profits and the possibility of nationalization without adequate compensation. The 1960s and '70s thus marked the heyday of economic nationalism and statified capitalism in what was then called the "Afro-Asian bloc."

But with the collapse of the Soviet Union, there was no longer even a partial counterweight to Western/Japanese imperialist domination in the Third World. The 1991 Gulf War signaled that, without the protection of the USSR, those bourgeois-nationalist regimes which flouted the dictates of Washington would be subjected to the devastating power of the Pentagon war machine.

However, even with the relatively greater room for maneuver they had when the Soviet Union still existed, the bourgeois-nationalist regimes in the Third World did not and could not chart a course truly independent of imperialism, nor could they bring about the economic and social modernization of their countries. Despite their "non-aligned" posture and even "socialist" rhetoric, the semicolonial bourgeoisies remained tied to the

Leaders of victorious Western powers in World War I at 1919 "peace" conference in France. War was fought for redivision of colonies, spheres of influence.



imperialist bourgeoisies by a thousand strings, subordinated and subservient to the power of the imperialist world market. Thus, India's exports remained concentrated, as in the colonial era, in light manufactures produced by unskilled labor. Egypt remained economically dependent on the export of cotton (as well as tolls from the Suez Canal), Ba'athist Iraq and Qaddafi's Libya on the vicissitudes of the world oil market controlled by the "Seven Sisters" monopolies. And Algeria under the radical-nationalist FLN regime relied heavily on money sent back by Algerians working in France. Only through the revolutionary overthrow of the local bourgeoisies, as part of a perspective of world socialist revolution reaching into the imperialist centers, can these countries achieve true independence from imperialism.

The End of the "American Century"

What is now termed economic "globalization" was rooted in the recovery of German and Japanese capitalism from their devastation and defeat in World War II.

tems for younger workers and outright union-busting. Unionized plants in the Midwest and North, which paid relatively high wages, were shut down as production was shifted to the "open shop" South and Southwest.

At the same time, American industrial capital undertook a major expansion in East Asia and Latin America. Between 1977 and 1994, there was a **fivefold increase** in manufacturing plant and equipment owned directly by U.S. corporations in Third World countries, from \$11 billion to \$52 billion (in real terms, discounted for inflation). Japanese industrialists soon followed their American competitors in going offshore. By the mid-1980s, Matsushita was producing many of its TV sets and air conditioners in Malaysia, Yamaha its sporting goods in Taiwan, Minebea its miniature ball bearings in Singapore and Thailand, TDK its magnetic tapes in Taiwan and South Korea, etc.

Nonetheless, investment by Western and Japanese corporations in neocolonial countries was still inhibited by the uncertainties of the Cold War. A popular uprising or even an election or military coup could suddenly bring about a left-nationalist regime backed by Moscow. For example, in 1979 a revolution in Nicaragua toppled Washington's puppet dictator Somoza and brought to power the radical petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinistas. At the same time, a major leftist insurgency was raging in neighboring El Salvador. Thus, even Yankee imperialism's own "backyard" was not secure for Wall Street banks and the Fortune 500 corporations.

Economic "Globalization" and Capitalist Counterrevolution

A fundamental political condition for the present triumph of capitalist "globalization" was the retreat of Soviet global power under Gorbachev, the disintegration of the Moscow Stalinist bureaucracy and the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. It was no accident that the electoral overthrow of the Sandinista regime in 1990, capping a contra war armed and organized by Washington, coincided with the beginning of a massive investment boom by U.S. banks and corporations in Mexico. At the same time, capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet sphere has opened up a new, huge sphere for exploitation, especially for German imperialism. A few years ago, a spokesman for German industry exulted: "Right on our own doorstep in Eastern Europe, we have for the first time a vast pool of cheap and highly trained labor."

During Cold War II in the 1980s, North's IC joined in the imperialist anti-Soviet chorus along with other pseudo-Trotskyists like the United Secretariat of the late Ernest Mandel, as well as mainstream social democrats and Eurocommunists. Having done all within their means to promote counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, the Northites now proclaim that the restoration of capitalism there—a historic defeat for the international proletariat—was objectively determined. Their 1993 pamphlet, *The Globalization of Capitalist Production & the International Tasks of the Working Class*, informs us: "The

continued on page 14

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

workers. Accordingly, the ANC regime installed in 1994 seeks "reconciliation" with the racist torturers and those who profited from their hideous crimes. Headed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, the TRC was consciously designed as an impotent safety valve for the victims of apartheid injustice to vent their suffering while their racist tormentors typically not only remain free but in positions of power. Mandela's bourgeois-nationalist ANC serves as the black front men and junior partners for the white ruling class in neo-apartheid South Africa.

The ANC statement on the bid for amnesty by Biko's killers expresses "hopes that former security police officers and medical practitioners implicated who were involved in such activities would break ranks with the past." This was also their line when former defense minister Magnus Malan was let off last October. At that time we pointed out: "For the white racists, the Malan verdict confirmed that the ANC regime would continue to shield them from the vengeance of the black masses" (WV No. 654, 25 October 1996).

As the ANC presides over capitalist austerity on behalf of the white racist ruling class and foreign investors, this has led to an exacerbation of ethnic and tribal tensions among the nonwhite masses. In early February, barely two weeks after the news about Biko's killers emerged, the ANC government unleashed police and troops against protesters in the predominantly coloured ("mixed-race") townships of El Dorado, Westbury and Newclare in southern and western Johannesburg. As cops fired buckshot and live ammunition into the crowd, four people were killed and several others injured. The township revolts erupted over government attempts to collect rents and utility rates, as residents accused the regime of renegeing on a 1994 agreement to cancel all past unpaid charges. But the anti-government protest, whose basic demand was entirely justified, was marked by general hostility to blacks among the coloureds involved.

The government's violent response to the coloured revolt—in marked contrast to the conciliatory attitude extended to earlier tax-rate protests by whites in yuppie suburbs like Johannesburg's Sandton—was also intended as an unmistakable message to the residents of black townships who might consider protesting over rates and social services. The latest events underscore yet again that the only road to justice and equality for South Africa's masses lies in a proletarian revolution to sweep away neo-apartheid capitalism, replacing it with a black-centred workers government.

Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement

Biko's death in detention after days of interrogation and repeated assaults held



AFP

Neo-apartheid Mandela regime fronts for racist capitalist rulers. Right: Cop attack on 1994 supermarket strike.



AP

up a magnifying glass to the bloody system of apartheid. His personal courage and outspoken leadership earned him a mass following and scores of activists adopted the outlook of the Black Consciousness Movement. Biko founded the BCM in 1970, at a time when older nationalist groups like the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) had been banned and driven into exile by the massive crackdown which followed the 1960 Sharpeville massacre.

Biko became the leading exponent of BCM, which proposed black self-reliance through self-help community projects and racial pride. Biko's movement was strongly influenced by eclectic nationalist writings, from Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture) in the U.S. to Frantz Fanon and Julius Nyerere in Africa. Biko saw black pride as a counterbalance to white racism and encouraged the unity of all those discriminated against on the grounds of colour or race, including the coloured and Indian sectors of the population.

When a new generation of activists embraced Biko as their young leader in the aftermath of the June 1976 Soweto uprising, the racist police turned their sights on him. Repeated bannings and limited circulation of his writings left Biko's views open to broad interpretation by various nationalists from PAC to the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO). His political career cut short by assassination, like Malcolm X, Biko in death became an icon easily claimed by divergent political viewpoints.

Defending the BCM leaders against apartheid repression, we pointed to the fundamental weakness in their ideology: the absence of any recognition of the centrality of the black working class in the struggle against white supremacy. One year after the Soweto protests, as the jackboot of apartheid repression again came down on Soweto youth, we wrote: "The failure to strongly mobilize black workers underscores...its lack of a program to link the struggle for democratic rights with the mobilization of the social power of the black proletariat around its class interests" (WV No. 164,

"Soweto Bleeds," 1 July 1977).

That Steve Biko's killers can walk the streets with impunity while anti-apartheid fighters remain imprisoned to this day is a grotesque illustration of what passes for justice in the "new" South Africa. Biko's family has courageously opposed his racist killers' bid for amnesty. Thousands of outraged demonstrators should have taken to the streets. But most left and "radical" groups, including the nationalists in PAC and AZAPO which claim Biko's legacy, have refused to organise protests against the TRC sham. This pas-

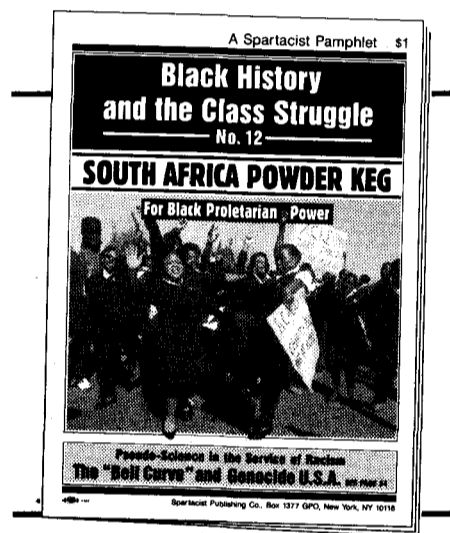
sioned against each other in a dog-eat-dog struggle for crumbs. The government is consciously playing blacks against coloureds and Indians, South Africans against immigrant workers, in order to divert attention from the real enemy: neo-apartheid capitalism, under which the overwhelming majority of the population is kept in desperate poverty, and the blacks remain on the bottom.

We have often written that the explosive situation in South Africa will either be resolved by a class-struggle fight for proletarian power or this society will fracture along racial, ethnic and tribal lines. An example of how the legitimate grievances of one sector of the oppressed can be channeled, in the absence of a class-struggle axis, into hostility toward other sectors was seen in the recent coloured township revolt. The primary organiser was Basil Douglas, a local councillor and member of the murderous Inkatha Freedom Party, which is based on the reactionary Zulu tribalism of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was sponsored for years by the Nationalist apartheid regime. The coloured protesters blamed black squatters and neighbouring black Sowe-

tans as the source of their woes. Meanwhile, some black Sowe-

tans denounced the coloureds as having "had it good" under apartheid. This was an echo of the demagoguery being pushed by the regional ANC government. Tokyo Sexwale, the ANC premier of Gauteng province, in 1994 denounced the coloureds' request to wipe out unpaid back rent, saying he wanted to "vomit" when "others try to use" blacks' "legitimate grievances" (*Cape Times*, 19 September 1994). At the same time, the ANC government is orchestrating and manipulating a xenophobic backlash targeting immigrant workers from neighbouring African states—a key sector of South Africa's proletariat, especially in the gold mines. This escalating drive is being spearheaded by leading ANC women politicians who direct the country's first privately run deportation camp, called Lindela, in Randfontein. An article aptly headlined "Deporting for Cash" (*Weekly Mail & Guardian*, 13 February) details how the camp was set up by top ANC women including deputy parliamentary speaker Baleka Kgositsile, deputy minister of home affairs Lindi Sisulu and Adelaide Tambo. One of the ANC members involved maintained that the deportation camp was a "way of contributing to the normalisation of South Africa.... As much as we are not against foreigners coming into South Africa, we must assist our government in curbing the influx."

The ANC touts this as an example of "black people in general and African women in particular seeking a stake in the economy of our country"! Their understanding of fighting the oppression of women and blacks is to elevate a few privileged elements of the aspiring black bourgeoisie to grind the black South African and immigrant working masses. Many of the refugees come from countries like Mozambique, which were devastated by the military and economic



Special issue of Black History and the Class Struggle (No. 12) devoted to South Africa, available for \$1 from SPC, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

sivity is a reflection of their tailing after Mandela's nationalist popular-front government, which is based on the "tripartite alliance" of the ANC, the reformist South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The ANC and PAC are applying for amnesty for their own guerrilla fighters, which obscenely equates those who resisted apartheid terror with their executioners.

For a Black-Centred Workers Government!

The Mandela government's claim to be constructing a "nonracial" society is a hoax. The rigid structures of racial segregation—the Group Areas Act, the language restrictions, the pass laws—are gone, but the brutal exploitation of black and also coloured workers by the white industrialists, mine owners and wealthy farmers continues as before. The courts, cops and military that enforced apartheid rule remain intact, even if some ANC faces appear in high places. As a reporter for the *London Independent* (26 December 1996) put it: "There are still two South Africas; one white, the other black. Whites generally drive cars; blacks queue for mini-buses. Road-repair gangs are black; foremen white."

The bourgeois-nationalist ANC government cannot possibly meet the aspirations of the masses for jobs, homes, decent living standards, medical care and education. In the absence of a conscious struggle for workers revolution, the different sections of the oppressed are being

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Down With Strikebreaking Government Intervention!

Clinton Orders American Airlines Pilots Back to Work

Minutes after 9,000 members of the Allied Pilots Association (APA) went on strike against American Airlines, President Bill Clinton vetoed the pilots' right to strike with a stroke of the pen, invoking the 1926 Railway Labor Act against airline workers for the first time since 1966. Trade unionists across the country were watching the impending battle with hopes of winning one for a change, since the pilots obviously have the capacity to shut down the nation's second-largest airline. But the APA leaders immediately complied with Clinton's strikebreaking order, while an AFL-CIO spokesman rushed to announce that the labor tops "respect the decisions that were made" by the man they helped re-elect to the White House. Now Clinton's hand-picked "emergency board" will spend 60 days trying to strong-arm the APA into buckling under to American Airlines and the capitalists' "national interest."

Clinton's action was an expression of his role as CEO of the capitalist state. The government will occasionally countenance strikes—when they can be defeated through widespread scabbing and thuggery by the cops, the paid strikebreakers of the bosses' state. But professional jet pilots can't easily be replaced by scabs. Crowing over Clinton's move, the labor-hating *New York Times* (16 Feb-



"Informational" picket by pilots at Chicago's O'Hare Airport three days before strike deadline.

ruary) wrote: "While the American pilots may have had few political allies, they have enormous economic power—too much, Mr. Clinton decided, to permit a strike. Much like a strike at a single, critical parts plant can shut down most of General Motors' assembly lines, the pilots had the power to ground American." This was a warning to all workers: if you exercise your power to hurt profits, you lose the "right" to strike."

The American Airlines bosses and even more so their mouthpieces like the *Times* tried to whip up popular sentiment against the threatened pilots strike. The pilots, with their six-figure incomes, were portrayed as selfish and arrogant compared to the lower-paid flight attendants and baggage handlers. As if the multimillionaire corporate managers of American were going to pay the flight attendants more from any money

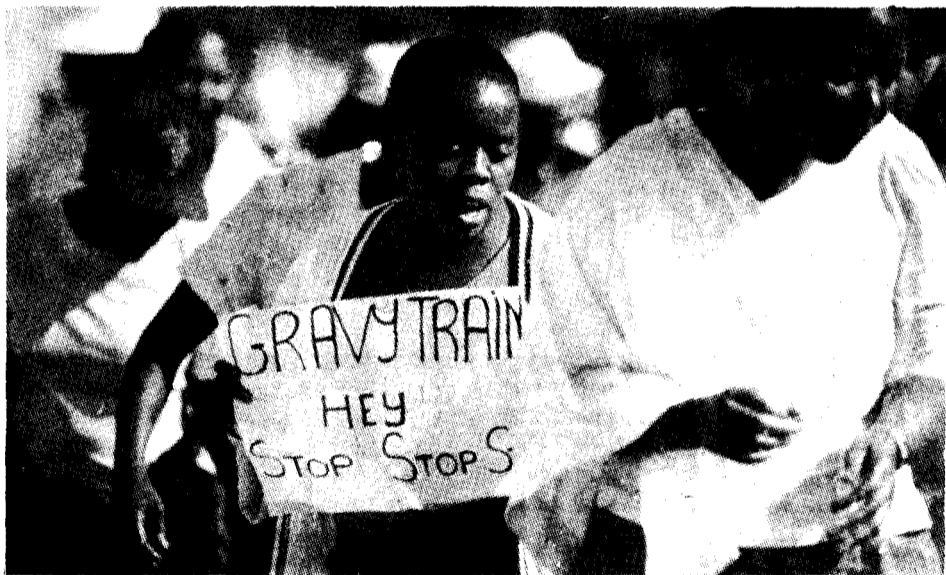
they "saved" on the pilots' contract. The capitalist rulers' anti-strike propaganda was simply one of their standard divide-and-rule tactics. Key to overcoming such attempts at dividing the workforce is to form a *single industrial union* covering all airlines, embracing pilots, mechanics, flight attendants, baggage handlers, cleaners, ticketing agents and other workers.

Clinton's anti-strike action came as no surprise to anyone. During the last few weeks of negotiations between the APA and American, everyone was speculating that the White House would not permit a major airlines strike. And both the APA leaders and AFL-CIO bureaucracy, despite the new, supposedly more "militant" regime of John Sweeney, made it clear that they would accept government arbitration. This, too, is a surprise to no one. The labor misleaders are wedded to the defense of the capitalist profit system, and thus they serve to police the workers movement on behalf of the bourgeoisie and its state. As we wrote in a 1994 Spartacist League document:

"The clear lesson of this period is that no major strike can be won without defying the country's harsh anti-labor laws. Today's labor bureaucrats, the children of Taft-Hartley, know no other tactic than arbitration. (In fact, given the vast financial-legal resources of the corporations as well as the pro-business biases of government officialdom, this perspective is a sure loser.)"

— "The Post-Soviet World: Perspectives and Tasks of the Spartacist League/U.S." (*Spartacist* No. 51, Autumn 1994)

To win a major strike, the workers have to defy the bosses' laws and play hardball. This points to the necessity to oust the pro-capitalist labor traitors who now run the union movement and replace them with a class-struggle leadership as part of the fight for a revolutionary workers party. ■



Nurse during October 1995 strike carries sign protesting ANC regime "gravy train."

warfare of the white-supremacist regime in Pretoria because they provided bases for the ANC guerrillas. We demand full citizenship rights for immigrant workers! In counterposition to the nationalism of the ANC, we fight for a socialist federation of southern Africa.

A house painter in the coloured township protests exclaimed: "Blacks are on the gravy train now. We were with them in the struggle but they aren't thinking about that now. The blacks are turning white and they are leaving us behind." The notion that the mass of blacks, not just a handful of ANC leaders (who include coloureds and Indians), are now on "the gravy train" bears no relation at all to the realities of the "new" South Africa. If anything, rising unemployment has meant a worsening of economic conditions for blacks, as well as coloureds.

A recent report by the COSATU trade-union federation sharply criticised the "neo-liberal" austerity policies of the Mandela government with which it is allied, noting that "the economy in the new South Africa continues largely to represent what it was in 1993, except

there is some jobless growth, and a few black faces and companies participating in it." The increasing disaffection of COSATU from the ANC government is significant, because this mass labour organisation contains not only the bulk of the organised black workers but also coloured and Indian, and even some white, workers. Thus, it poses the potential for working-class struggle transcending and cutting across national-ethnic divisions.

If the class principle does not prevail, the scrambling for crumbs off the table of the bourgeoisie can only intensify. Only the forging of a Leninist party that acts as a tribune of the people, defending all sectors of the oppressed as part of the struggle for proletarian state power, can cut through these rising ethnic hatreds born of the horrendous poverty produced by capitalist superexploitation and the divide-and-rule policies of the apartheid masters. Under a black-centred workers government, there will be an important role and full democratic rights for coloureds, Indians and other Asians, and those whites who accept a government

centrally based on the black working people. Such a workers government would expropriate the country's industrial and mineral wealth for the benefit of the toiling masses and would strive to extend the revolution internationally, ultimately to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe, North America and Japan. As we wrote shortly after Mandela became South Africa's first black president:

"So long as the struggle over the redistribution of the country's wealth is defined in national-ethnic terms and limited to a purely South African framework, it could well trigger race war, bloody tribalist conflict and economic collapse. Only a *proletarian internationalist* perspective, linking the reconstruction of South Africa to a world socialist revolution, can ensure that a just and egalitarian society will be erected on the ruins of the apartheid state."

— "South Africa Powder Keg," reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12 (February 1995)

The ANC's wretched willingness to amnesty Biko's murderers makes it patently clear that the cry for justice in South Africa will only be answered when the white racist capitalist class and its black front men are swept away by proletarian revolution. The ANC regime's coddling

of the apartheid-era butchers contrasts with what happened to the ousted dictator Batista's killers in Cuba following the seizure of power by Fidel Castro's guerrilla forces in 1959. On the road to consolidating a bureaucratically deformed workers state, the Cuban government organised revolutionary tribunals to put Batista's bloody henchmen on trial, executing some 550 of the most notorious criminals. The difference is that in Cuba there was a *social revolution* in which the old state apparatus was smashed, while in South Africa the ANC entered into a "power sharing" deal with the apartheid rulers.

To avenge the murder of Steve Biko and bring to justice the butchers of countless other anti-apartheid fighters requires a government where revolutionary workers tribunals, including the families of Steve Biko and other murdered fighters, will prosecute and sentence the racist criminals. We Spartacists fight to forge a Trotskyist vanguard party, based on the perspective of permanent revolution, which will champion the interests of all the oppressed, and fight for socialist revolution and its necessary international extension to the industrial centres of the capitalist world. ■

Marxist Bulletin 5

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Memorial Meeting Honors Our Comrade Cesar Armendariz

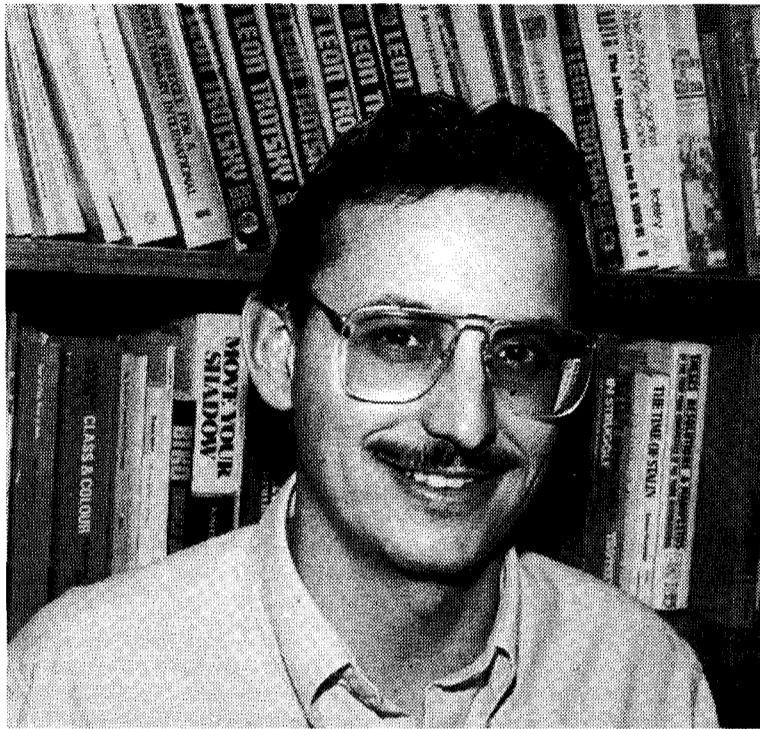
Our comrade, Cesar Armendariz, died on December 30 after sustaining fatal head injuries in a car accident two days earlier. Cesar had been a member of the Spartacist League since 1979 and had served since 1990 as the organizer of our Washington, D.C. branch. He was 45 years old.

Cesar's horrible, untimely death was a devastating blow to the many comrades who respected and learned from him over many years of joint work and struggle. On February 1, family members, friends and comrades gathered at a Spartacist League memorial meeting at the AFSCME District Council 1707 union hall in New York City to remember and celebrate Cesar's life and his life's work. The many comrades who had known and worked with Cesar spoke movingly about his wide-ranging interests and capacities in fighting to build our party to lead a world socialist revolution. Comrades recalled his dedicated work advising the party's Medical Commission, his role in international campaigns, in historical research and, especially, in the recruitment and training of young communists.

Cesar's multifaceted talents, warmth and intense commitment were apparent to all who knew him. His funeral took place in El Paso on January 3. His close friends and comrades, Robin and Brian Mendis, and their daughters Elena and Nora traveled from Washington, D.C. to join the nearly 200 people who came to honor Cesar. Brian wrote: "He was buried in the desert, close to his father, Cesar Sr. Cesar's mom told me yesterday that our symbol, the hammer and four, will be on the gravestone."

A week later, on January 10, Cesar's co-workers and patients at the Providence Hospital in Washington, D.C., where he worked as a doctor, held a memorial service to which our comrades were invited. It was clear that Cesar's professionalism, compassion and boundless sense of humor would be sorely missed by those who had worked the long, grueling shifts side by side with him in the emergency room. In a collection of written remembrances put together by doctors, nurses, clerical workers and others, one co-worker wrote: "He was gentle and his life's work he put towards relieving the suffering of many. But he was hard and uncompromising when it came to fighting injustice. He wasn't all he appeared to be. He was more, much more."

The memorial meeting in New York was attended by comrades from every branch of the SL/U.S. and some from outside the U.S., as well as by Cesar's mother, Alice Welch, his brother Marty and his companion Michale. Comrade Gene Herson presided at the meeting, which was addressed by comrades Deborah Mackson, Robin Mendis, Brian Mendis, William Gruen,



1951-1996

Francisco Garcia and Amy Rath. Others, including Cesar's mother, his companion and numerous comrades, got up to speak to share their memories of Cesar.

Nora Mendis read one of Cesar's favorite poems, Pablo Neruda's "Ode to the Tomato." Her sister Elena read a poem she had composed in Cesar's memory and also played a violin piece in his honor, the "Ashokan Farewell." A display of photos, books and correspondence paid tribute to the rich diversity of Cesar's contributions and interests: his work for the party, his love of Neruda's poetry and of music and cats, his avid interest in the history of the American Civil War, his travels throughout Europe and to Mexico. Cesar's infectious sense of humor was remembered by every comrade close to him. Comrade Brian recalled "the many evenings spent around the table in our dining room just laughing and laughing and laughing 'til the tears would run down our eyes."

Among those who traveled to New York to attend the

memorial meeting was Cliff Carter, a black trade unionist from the Virginia Tidewater area who first worked with the Spartacist League in building the November 1982 labor/black mobilization which stopped a KKK race-hate provocation in Washington, D.C. Recalling the many political discussions they had had over the years, Cliff concluded, "Cesar was nothing but the naked truth."

Statements were read from the sections of the International Communist League and from numerous individual comrades around the world who were unable to attend. Writing from Tokyo, comrade Dan, who had worked with Cesar in the Washington, D.C. branch, recalled the "steely tenacity which I respected very much. Cesar was no fair-weather revolutionary.... He had his eyes on the prize." The meeting concluded with the singing of the *Internationale*.

We print below a selection of the remarks made at the memorial for Cesar which testify to the many contributions this remarkable man made to the forging of a revolutionary workers party and to the special qualities he brought to our collective struggle.

* * * * *

Deborah Mackson: It is with a very great deal of sadness and a very large sense of loss that I'm speaking from this podium today. Cesar was my friend and my comrade for 17 years. To know Cesar was a special experience. He was an honest man, a man of no pretense. Intelligent and caring, he looked at this life, at this world in which we live and said very simply, "I understand." And with that understanding

he devoted himself to changing it.

This was no easy task. But as all of us who had the good fortune to know him can testify, Cesar never sought the easy road in life. Instead he sought ways he could ease the road for others. He never compromised about who he was or what he thought was right and the life he chose meant a lot of struggle against the American status quo. He was a Hispanic man who grew up in El Paso, Texas, where life was not particularly kind to the nonwhite or poor. But he set his sights on becoming a doctor. And he became a good one—extremely knowledgeable and, rare in that profession, profoundly compassionate. He became a communist who struggled to build the Leninist party in the United States and the world. And he was a passionately gay man in a very anti-gay society.

Cesar joined our party because he knew that to defeat the kind of oppression he faced himself and the kind of exploitation so rampant in this capitalist society it



Cesar during 1988 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive at Howard University (left). With comrade Robin at September 1996 University of Maryland campus protest against U.S. terror bombing of Iraq.



Young Spartacus photos



Spartakist

Comrades in Berlin honor Cesar with wreath at annual "3 L's" commemoration for Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, January 12.



WV Photos

Left: Comrade Robin Mendis addresses February 1 memorial meeting. Displays documented Cesar's life and work.

would take uncompromising class struggle. As a doctor, Cesar was infuriated by the inhuman and indecent limits faced by the poor in their access to medical care. As a communist, he understood the broader political context: the escalation of exploitation and racism, the cutbacks in benefits and social services, all flowed from the irrational system under which we toil, impacted by larger historical events.

It was that understanding which led Cesar to insist upon going to Berlin in 1989-90 to be part of our International's intervention, aimed at providing a proletarian revolutionary leadership in the unfolding political revolution in East Germany. Cesar was extremely proud of his work there. He was unfamiliar with the German language so he used his camera to capture the events unfolding around him. The archives in Berlin are full of his pictures and he brought copies home, too, to share with those who were unable to go.

The counterrevolution in Germany and later in the Soviet Union had its impact on our party. Some people gave up the fight. But not Cesar. He was a comrade who to the best of his abilities was fighting to help his party make the necessary turn. Jim Cannon once said, "Soldiers of this great cause are not too many these days. For that reason each individual soldier must be appreciated all the more highly." And that's what we're here to do today, to appreciate Cesar's life.

Cesar Armendariz was born in Dallas, Texas on April 29, 1951. He was the second of six children. Cesar's mom told me that his high school years were fully devoted to having fun—and I'm sure he was good at that! Cesar's sense of humor and enjoyment of a good time, anytime, are well known in this room. He went to college at the University of Texas in El Paso in 1969 where he fell in love with learning. He majored in biology, took a minor in chemistry and was awarded a Bachelor of Science degree with honors in 1973. He received a full four-year scholarship to UCLA's medical school and later they invited him to complete his internship and residency at their own hospital.

Cesar could no doubt have succeeded in any specialty that he chose and risen to the top of his field. He was an excellent scientist, researcher and practitioner. But he didn't choose his profession because he wanted to make a lot of money. He chose it because he wanted to help people. So he chose family practice.

Alice told me that when he took his state boards, which is a real headache of a four-hour exam, the only parking spot he could find was at a two-hour meter, and he did *not* want to get a ticket. So he figured he had to get through that exam really *fast*. All the while he was taking the exam, he was worrying about that parking meter. Well, he didn't get a ticket and he scored in the top 5 percent in the state.

In 1979, Cesar met the Spartacist League. Our Marxist worldview completed his search for a way to change the world for the better. He joined the party in the summer of that year, and applied all of his intelligence and skill to building this organization into a party that could fight for power, the power to eliminate poverty, racism, injustice—all the things that he hated. In Los Angeles,

Cesar immediately became a force for expanding the party's reach. He took the job of sales director and used his substantial knowledge of the city to get *Workers Vanguard* into the hands of the growing Latino workforce there.

By 1982, he was a member of the local's executive committee. That November, the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan in Washington, D.C. It would have been the first time since 1925 that the Klan marched in the nation's capital. And we said, no, this will not happen! Cesar got on a plane to Washington to help organize that demonstration, which was 5,000 strong and sent the Klan packing, literally. They had to stuff their regalia in brown paper bags and scurry into an underground parking garage under police protection. That demonstration was important for us in a lot of ways. We understood the importance of having a presence in the American South, and Washington was a gateway.

We were able to set up a local committee there and after a year here in New York, Cesar moved to D.C. In 1990, shortly after his return from Berlin, he stepped forward to become the branch organizer. All during Cesar's years in Washington, our small branch regularly worked not just D.C., but Maryland and Virginia, especially the Tidewater area. A group of black workers had come from there to our 1982 anti-Klan demonstration in D.C. And the branch also often joined in regional trips to the Deep South. Whenever humanly possible, Cesar was on those trips. He loved getting out there and introducing people to a worldview that made sense.

We in the communist movement know that our most precious resource is our cadre. The Marxist program is brought to the proletariat from without, by human beings who know and understand its importance and the importance of the working class. Cesar was a real cadre. He was capable of independent command. He possessed all the skills a man needs to lead people in struggle: he could and did give classes, forums, agitational speeches; he could write leaflets, research articles and take the pictures to go with them; and above all he could talk with people, explain our perspective on the world, and draw these people in to work with us for the better future he so urgently wanted.

I think one of the best examples of this was his work in El Paso. El Paso is right across the river from Juárez, a city of two million in the *maquiladora* belt, an important concentration of industrial workers in northern Mexico. Cesar would go home to visit his family, and during those trips he would devote a good deal of his time to trying to bring our program to new people. During a one-week trip in 1991, he visited the picket lines of striking garment workers in El Paso who, by the way, knew how to strike. When they walked out, they took their machines with them! He found the head of the Mexican agricultural workers union in Juárez, with whom he had a wide-ranging political discussion covering everything from the Industrial Workers of the World to the Soviet working class. He researched the atrocities of the American Border Patrol, forwarding all of his materials to WV, and went to the University of Texas, where he visited campus organizations and introduced them to our newspaper. The reports he sent in over the years showed how he maintained contact with his acquaintances in the labor movement in El Paso and Juárez.

In the summer of 1992, he went home for his sister Jenny's wedding; he wrote, "My sister's wedding was fun, the mariachis were great and *La Cruda* (hangover) the next day not too bad." But he was working as well. He wrote:

"I arrived at the [Santa Fe] bridge at 3 a.m. with the new *Espartaco* and the *Espartaco* "Huelga" [strike] offprint of the WV article. In a somewhat eerie setting the farmworkers gather from midnight to 5:30 a.m. at Santa Fe and 6th St. on the El Paso side of the bridge that comes from Juárez. They wait to be hired by the farm contractors and to be driven out to the farms for a day's labor. These men and women have virtually no money but their response to our article was quite warm. I talked about the need for international labor solidarity, about the need for a workers party—one worker asked me how to subscribe and did so."

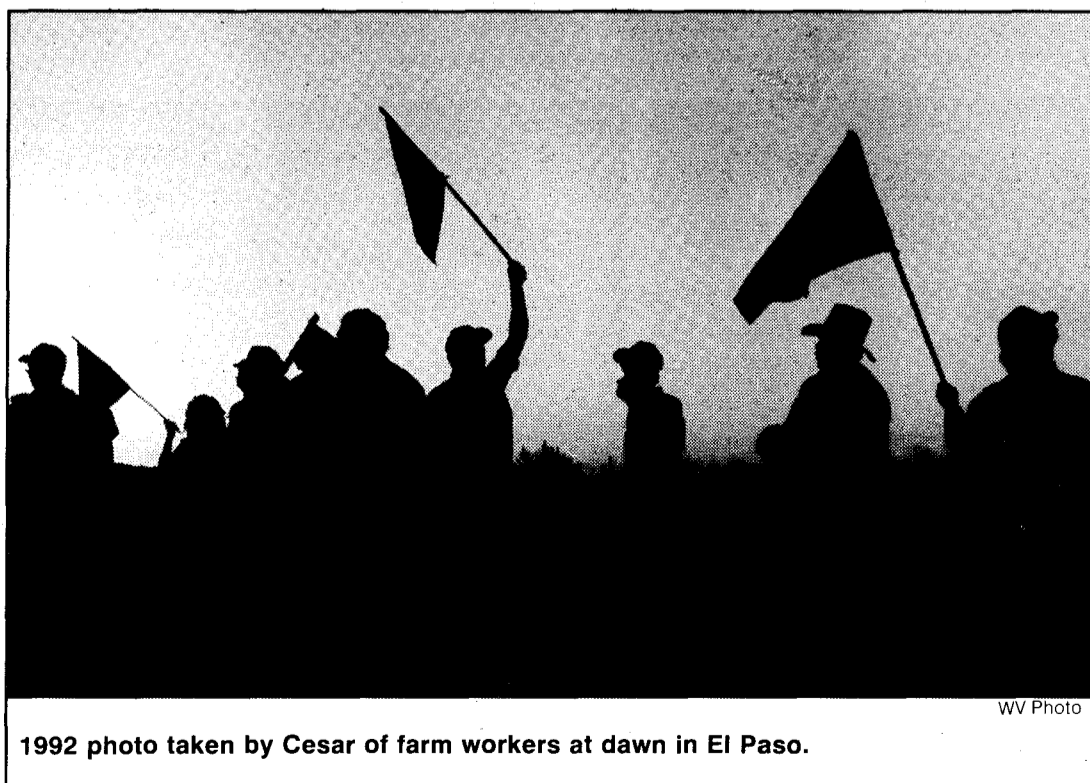
In the beautiful displays that you see out in the hall, you'll see a wonderful picture Cesar took that morning.

It is hard to do justice to Cesar's contributions to the party. There wasn't any assignment that he wouldn't try and very few he couldn't do. He was particularly involved with bringing the case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal to trade unions, campuses

and community organizations, always making the point that it was the same state power which locked up Jamal and was waging war on the labor movement, rolling back welfare, cutting health care, education and social services. What was to be done was always clear to Cesar—it was to build the revolutionary party.

Cesar knew how to do that. There was little more precious to him than our young comrades. He devoted much of himself to winning young people to our program. In 1988, he was instrumental in bringing a busload of black Howard University students, the "Frederick Douglass Brigade," to Philadelphia to stop the Klan from demonstrating there. And he was really good at educating, training and integrating new members into our organization. It was part of his contribution to the future.

The example he set with his life
continued on next page



WV Photo

1992 photo taken by Cesar of farm workers at dawn in El Paso.

continued from previous page

is one sorely needed by the betrayed youth of today's America. Cesar was a man rich in talents, which he gave freely to a cause bigger than himself or any of us. Because of that and the work he did, Cesar had the respect and confidence of his comrades, which meant the world to him. I remember how proud he was when he was elected an alternate delegate to the National Conference of the SL/U.S. in 1994.

I worked with Cesar in many different capacities over the years, but the one constant was our work together on the medical front. Our Medical Commission exists to help comrades and their families fight their way through the increasingly callous medical system. We lean heavily on our party doctors for information, for advice, and often to run interference for our comrades when they fall ill. Cesar was meticulous in his research into medical problems and his compassion knew absolutely no bounds. We just got a letter from a young comrade in Germany, Jan, which describes the way Cesar was with people:

"In the end of 1995, I fell ill with cancer. What a shock that was! Not knowing anything about my disease, I was completely frightened, willing to do anything that the doctors in the hospital proposed. The idea that a doctor from afar could help me to enter into discussions and arguments with my doctors in Berlin about my treatment seemed very strange to me. (It seemed very strange to the doctors in the hospital as well. In fact, they refused to talk to him.) Cesar helped me to get over my initial shock, helped me to understand my disease and told me literally everything I needed to know about treatments, curability, etc.

"He spent a big amount of his time to cheer me up. Obviously he had a good sense of what a patient feels like in his hospital bed. At one point he shared some gossip with me and I asked how he found out about it. I wasn't familiar with the American expression: 'I heard it through the grapevine.' In order to explain this expression to me, Cesar started singing the Marvin Gaye song."

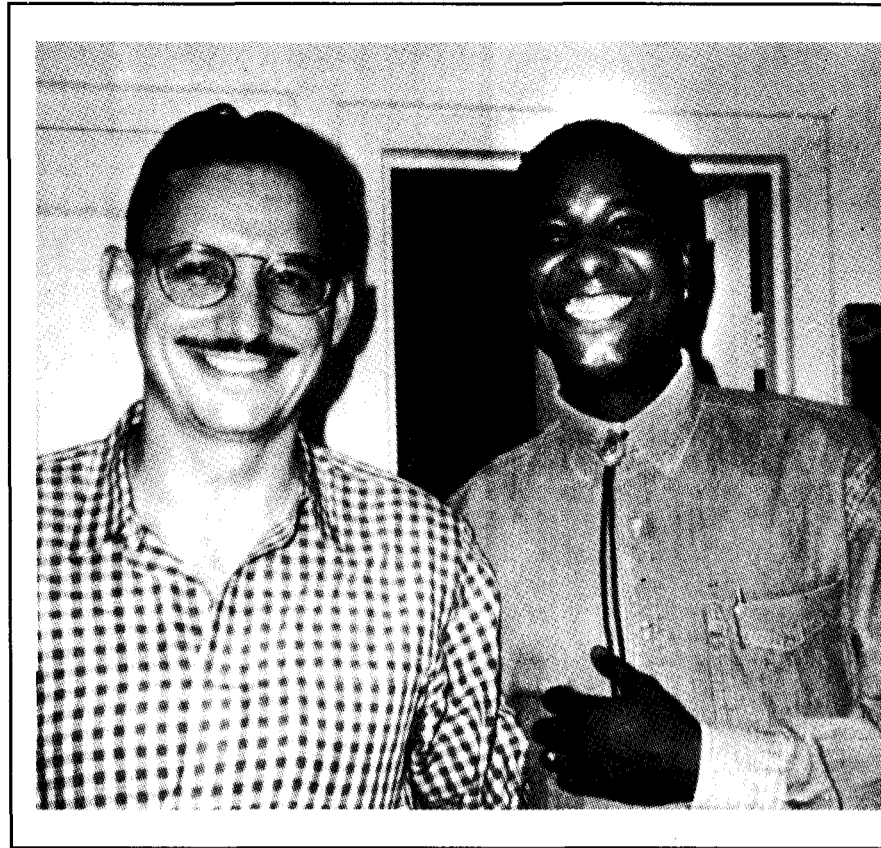
Apparently he had to do it a couple of times before he got the tune right. And Jan ends, "His life as a communist will be an inspiration for many young communist fighters who will join our ranks in the future."

This makes his tragic death at 45 seem to me so especially unfair. A big part of our work together was keeping our comrades and friends in good health. I will really miss being "on the case" with Cesar, discussing a problem, hitting the books, working out a plan of attack, trying to out-smart the medical establishment, going to bat for our comrades and perhaps making things a little better.

Cesar was a cherished friend, not just of mine but of so many people in this room. It's hard to say good-bye to a man who loved life so much, who got so much fun out of it even when the chips were down. My heart goes out to his family. And to you, Michale. We were all so happy when you found each other. You got more than you expected, though, didn't you? I bet you didn't know that when you got Cesar you got all the rest of us, too! And the friendship, really the life, that Cesar shared with Robin and Brian and Nora and Elena was a rare gift, taken away from you way too soon. But I hope you can take some comfort in what you did have. Many people go through this life never experiencing the kind of friendship you had. Cesar loved you without reservation.

I was looking at some of Cannon's speeches this week, and I came across a passage that he wrote when a friend of his, Bill Brown, died. And I said to myself, but that's Cesar! Cannon wrote:

"I recall [him] as a herald of the happy future when social relations will be organized sanely and will be lighted up by human joy and laughter. He was a good soldier in the emancipation struggle of the toilers.... Those who sur-



Mendis family

Cesar and his companion, Michale Satchell, in 1994. At the New York City memorial meeting, Michale recalled of Cesar: "He stood for what was right and I know he stood by me."

vive him and carry on the struggle, which alone gives life hope and meaning, will gratefully remember...the lion hearted fighter, the soft hearted friend."

Good-bye, Cesar.

* * * * *

Robin Mendis: We both joined in 1979. Cesar was a beautiful, amazing and extraordinary man. He was my comrade, my closest collaborator and best friend for over a decade. There is now a big hole in our party and in my life. He was the best communist. He made us laugh, he led our branch, he fought against injustice, against every racist outrage and the horrors of capitalism.

He understood that, "Without a penetrating, resolute and courageous party leadership, the victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible." That's from *Lessons of October* by Trotsky. Nothing was routine to him. His life was the life of our movement. He was a leader in our party, which fights to be the conscious factor in history, and his life touched many, many people.

He was everywhere: Philly, Atlanta, Springfield, Birmingham, New York, El Paso. November 27, 1982 was one of the best days of his life. He really inspired us. He was an internationalist. He went to Germany, desired to be a founder of our Mexican section and intensely followed our international sections. He had an enthusiasm for talking to youth, listening and explaining, encouraging, raising confidence and fighting with them politically. He was a doctor, but his profession was as a revolutionary. This is from *Struggle for a Proletarian Party* by Cannon. The party:

"requires an active professional leadership, composed of individuals democratically selected and democratically controlled, who devote their entire lives to the party, and who find in the party and in its multiform activities in a proletarian environment, complete personal satisfaction.... The essence of politics is to understand the realities of a given situation, to know what is possible and what is excluded; above all, to know what to do next—and to do it."

Sometimes he had a hard time when things went wrong in the local, but he got better in recent years and he always learned from his mistakes. He was an excellent organizer with a keen sense of collaboration, organ-

izing the sum of our parts, our strengths and weaknesses. He often substituted himself to get work done. He was kind but not a pushover, and he led many fights.

He was not Hispanic- or gay- or "doctor"-centered. He understood the black question and the Civil War, the Russian Revolution, the woman question. He helped organize our South African study group in 1987. His favorite poster—"Government Out of the Bedrooms!"—was at every forum. He was a great salesman of our press, and especially good at getting names of interested people. He always won our local sub drive.

It was great to see El Paso, where he grew up, with his wonderful family whom he loved so much. We saw where the cotton fields used to be, where he made his secret forts, where he watched *The Wizard of Oz* and still feared that tornado. We saw where he had stood on a hill, looked into Mexico with its miles of shacks and decided to join the Spartacist League.

It was hard when his dad died. What he wrote about his dad reminds me of him:

"Together with my mother, both working people, through times of scarcity and better times, they provided, protected and nurtured. He provided music. He brought magic into our lives and we brought it into his. He loved to hear his children play. In that, there was the greatest of satisfaction. In his struggle to provide, when faced with racial discrimination or other oppression, he stood his ground, he had dignity. And as he had just retired, his desires and ideas were ever so expansive. He looked southward to the impoverished of Mexico with vague but real dreams of helping. He dreamed of a better world. A man forever giving. A man with dignity. He was proud. He commands my respect. He draws my deepest love."

Cesar was a second dad to our children. He bought them ice skates for Christmas and bathing suits for birthdays. He'd tease Nora about being our political chairman as she would suggest topics from *WV* for our forums and teach the youth the *Internationale*. He liked to hear Elena play the violin. He was very proud of both of them.

Deb spoke of the Medical Commission. He cared very deeply about the health and safety of his comrades and those they loved, all so precious to us. Cannon writes about what socialist America will look like:

"Among the heroes of the new society, whom the youth will venerate, will be the doctors of all kinds who will



Spartakist



Le Bolchévik

Left: Cesar in Berlin as part of ICL mobilization during unfolding political revolution in East Germany, December 1989. Right: Cesar and comrades at the Wall of the Communards in Père Lachaise cemetery, Paris, with ICL wreath, 1992.

really be at the service of man in the struggle for the conquest of those diseases which lay him low."

We took care of each other. I was there when he was in the hospital, when he got results from a medical test, when he had a minor car accident, when he was beat up by the Farrakhanites, had a kidney stone or a brain overload. He was there when Nora and Elena were born, he called when I was late, he had Jeff follow me home when there was a carjacking scare, he cleaned my car during ice storms and fed me when Brian was out of town. I knew where he was, what he was doing and what he was thinking almost every moment of his life for the past decade. We never took each other for granted.

He had a beautiful, determined and full life. He liked to dance. He was gorgeous, had beautiful hands and loved many kinds of music. I was never mad at him, sometimes I would be exasperated, but never mad. Our friendship didn't affect our political relationship. He fought with me politically many times.

He would prioritize his life. The party was first fiddle, I was second, work was third, etc. He met Michale and I went right down the list. As things came up I would tease him about being down to fifth or sixth fiddle. The party was always first.

His last day was a typical crazy Saturday when we all had three assignments. We had an exec meeting where we discussed the tasks and perspectives motion that he had written. He wrote of our spring and summer of recruitment and consolidation, of an upcoming forum and class series, of political problems and necessary reorientation of the branch, of the need for continuing education, of work directed to political opponents. He wrote: "Weaknesses of the branch are best countered through maximal collective input and collaboration." He was excited about the strikes in South Korea. I met him later in the office right before he left. I even hugged him good-bye.

His last political act was to pay his sustaining pledge to the party. He deeply understood that we get our money from ourselves, not the state. This was a man who didn't care about material things in his personal life. The point about money is that socialist revolution was not a dream to him, but real and concrete. He could have led thousands.

Saying good-bye is really unbearable. We sang the *Internationale* without him on New Year's. The ICL was the essence of his life. He is a part of us and we will honor and celebrate his life by continuing to fight for the Trotskyist program both internally and externally. We believe as he did, that we are the hope for mankind and our program for workers revolution is the only way to create a world that can raise many, many children as kind and loving and wonderful as Cesar.

* * * * *

Alice Welch: I want to take this opportunity to thank everyone for this memorial, particularly all of those who went out of their way to get it organized. And I'm really surprised to see such a big, big crowd and, of course, a contingent from Washington, D.C.

I think I was the pushy one of the family. My husband was a very loving and kind man. I think Cesar took that especially from him. I think the determination was from me. I wanted to say that my husband and I had a perfect son, in many, many respects. I don't want to flood the hall with tears, but everything you've said, all the praises, the accolades, and everything that you've said—they're true! Thank you very much.

When he was going to UCLA with a group of other medical students, they were all determined they were going to work for *la Raza*, to help the people. Once they graduated, the other doctors felt the greed and the money, and they fell by the wayside. Cesar was the only one going on straight with his principles and his beliefs. And I was very proud of him.

Another person who always looked up to him and loved him was my sister. My sister and I are totally different. She's a writer, a playwright, and she writes short stories. After the funeral, she came up to me and she said, "Alice, I was always so jealous of your son. And the reason is I wanted to have a son like him all my life, because I knew what he was fighting for and I knew what he believed and all his principles."

* * * * *

William Gruen: In my four years at Howard, Cesar's unbending determination to politically intervene, often in the face of hostile audiences and black nationalist pressures, had a profound effect on my recruitment to the youth and on my political development as a whole, helping me realize the necessity of a sharp understanding of the nature of black oppression in this society and why communist revolution was the only way to break the chains of capitalist slavery and achieve black liberation.

Just before I left D.C. to come to work in

Cesar with his mother Alice, brother Marty and sister Jenny at Botanical Gardens, Washington, D.C.



Amy Rath

New York City, I discussed with Cesar my preliminary New York schedule, which was to be split between campus work and work in the party's maintenance department. He stressed how important it was to pay close attention to the task at hand and learn the methods used in both preparing and executing tasks.

The most important note that Cesar wrote me was part of a farewell card when I departed D.C. The other comrades who signed the card wrote very thoughtful compliments regarding my political growth while I was there. Uniquely though, Cesar used this occasion as a chance to point out some of my weaknesses, and most importantly to prescribe a path forward. He wrote:

"Stood your ground with the Farrakhanites like a rock of granite! I'll miss you in D.C., although just down the road, I-95.... Need more depth by reading—self-study persistently. Good luck. A communist leader you can be."

These words will live with me forever. The intensity that Cesar put into his work to fight for revolutionary change to free humanity from oppression through workers revolution, that will never die, too. That will live forever. In a very real way, he tried to prescribe a path for all young comrades, and all comrades who were fortunate enough to work with this beautiful man.

* * * * *

Francisco Garcia: As a Chicano student at UCLA, Cesar was on the receiving end of police billy clubs. Also, at the time he was reading *Quotations from Chairman Mao*. Many of his peers were doing the same. But about two years before he got to know us better, a comrade managed to sell him some of our polemics against Maoism at a demonstration. That literature that we sold him rendered him unfit for Maoism ever after.

In 1988, he was looking into the possibility of transferring to Mexico as part of an international effort to get a station started. But the Mexican state would not let him, a Mexican born in the U.S., practice on Mexican soil because he did not go to school at an accredited Mexican institution.

Then, one year later, in the winter of 1989-90, during the German campaign, he was looking into every possi-

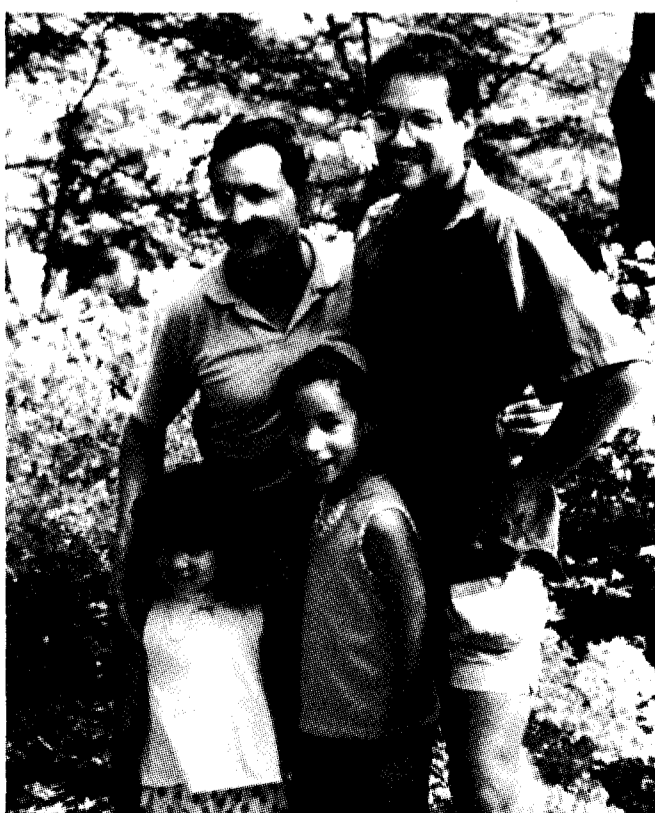
bility he could to find a job so that he could do effective work into the unfolding political revolution as a disciplined member of the party that, if given the opportunity, would take power, no hesitation.

* * * * *

Brian Mendis: The true value of a man is measured and treasured in the life he lived and the character of the service he rendered to humanity. On both counts Cesar stands with the best.

I want to tell one story from a few years ago. As most of you probably remember, we organized a campaign in defense of Jalalabad and, for several years after that, we were on good terms with people from the Afghan embassy. Down in D.C., they would invite us to their annual affair, to which they invited the diplomats from all of the "friendly" countries. When the U.S. build-up was occurring in the Persian Gulf in 1990, we were pushing for the Soviet government to fulfill its responsibilities toward Iraq. We had written letters and contacted various Soviet embassies around the world. So we had an opportunity at the Afghan soiree, since the Soviet ambassador to the U.S. was there. He was an elderly bureaucrat, pasty-faced and all the rest. The Afghans were very friendly, introducing Cesar and me to people and all I could understand were the words "Jalalabad" and "Partisan Defense Committee." We had a letter from the ICL with us. Cesar just walked right up to the Soviet ambassador and gave him this spiel: "You must defend Iraq and you must fulfill your responsibilities," and so on. The Soviet ambassador looked like he had seen a ghost. He turned completely pale and he must have been thinking, "This isn't very diplomatic!"

To say that there was not a mean bone in Cesar's body is an understatement. He had no enemies, at least not personal. And it's not because he was afraid to pick a fight, because he was quite willing to pick fights. But his fights were always free of personal animosity, arrogance or rancor. And we can do no greater service to him than to continue his fights, the fight to make a revolution here. ■



Amy Rath

Cesar with Elena, Nora and Brian Mendis. At memorial meeting, Elena read a poem she composed to honor Cesar (below) and Nora read one of his favorite poems by Pablo Neruda (excerpted at right).

Now I will tell you a poem.

CESAR

Cesar our best friend just left us last night Me and my sister knew him since first sight. We all love him dearly so don't have a fright, He's still in our memories and he was our best friend for life.

WE LOVE YOU CESAR!!

By Elena Mendis

Ode to the Tomato

The street drowns in tomatoes: noon, summer, light breaks in two tomato halves, and the streets run with juice. In December the tomato cuts loose, invades kitchens, takes over lunches, settles at rest on sideboards, with the glasses, butter dishes, blue salt-cellars. It has its own radiance, a goodly majesty. Too bad we must assassinate: a knife plunges into its living pulp, ...

Berlin...

(continued from page 1)

anti-racist protesters: "Berlin is a labor and left city, a Jewish city, a Turkish city, a Kurdish city. It's our city and we aren't going to let the Nazis march here!" An SpAD press release issued that afternoon reported:

"Under massive protection of the state, the Nazis wanted to crawl out of their rat holes in order to recruit to their program of firebombing, murder and genocide. But it didn't happen here! The determined action of all the anti-fascist fighters on 15 February was a fitting memorial to the martyred Frank Böttcher, a 17-year-old leftist youth who was brutally stabbed to death just days ago by a Nazi gang in Magdeburg."

On one week's notice, several organizations swung into action with calls for demonstrations against the fascists. A call to mobilize at the same time and place where the Nazis intended to start their rally was issued by the Trade Unionists Against Racism and Fascism, Anti-Fascist Action and other "antifa" groups. Meanwhile, the Social Democrats (SPD), the ex-Stalinist social-democratic Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) and others appealed to the state to "ban" its Nazi dogs of war, and called for a demonstration some distance away from the site of the intended Nazi assembly. The SpAD and the Spartakist Youth called on all opponents of Nazi terror to join the former demonstration, at the same time and place where the Nazis intended to mobilize.

The rapidly shifting events and challenges in the course of building this protest were a test in action of the competing political programs of the anarchists, the SPD, the PDS and the authentic communists represented by the SpAD. A February 11 SpAD leaflet emphasized: "Only a united-front action based on the social power of the workers and which defends and draws in all the oppressed and exploited can stop the Nazi terror, which ultimately is aimed at the organizations of the workers movement itself."

The SpAD counterposed its call for worker/immigrant mobilizations to appeals to the Fourth Reich by the trade-union tops and PDS Hellersdorf district mayor Uwe Klett (echoed by local Christian Democratic [CDU] politicians) to "ban the fascists." Our comrades warned: "You can't stop the fascists together with the bourgeois state which protects and uses them.... Only the proletarian united front, which the Trotskyists fought for in the '30s against the betrayal of the SPD and against the shameful 'social fascism' politics of Stalin/Thälmann, could have prevented the Nazi regime and the Holocaust and opened the way to overthrowing the bourgeoisie which Hitler served."

Today, the government's hounding of immigrants is used to whip up German

Spartakist Workers Party contingent leads militant protesters in stopping Nazi provocation. Banner reads: "Stop the Nazis Through Workers United-Front Action! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrant Workers and Their Families!"



nationalism—and the fascists are the most consistent German nationalists. The assault on immigrants is the spearhead of a mobilization by the capitalist class against the entire workers movement. Meanwhile, across Europe the workers have responded with class struggle to defend their living standards.

With their chauvinist call for "jobs for Germans first," the fascists hope to seize on widespread despair in the face of escalating unemployment to push their genocidal program against immigrants and workers of Turkish and Kurdish descent. As our comrades' leaflet pointed out, this is particularly true in eastern Germany in the aftermath of capitalist *Anschluss* (annexation):

"That is the result of the capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the sellout of the East German deformed workers state by the SED/PDS. As we warned at the time in our call for the Treptow rally at the beginning of January 1990, where 250,000 demonstrated against the Nazi desecration of the Soviet memorial: 'Resurgent fascism is still an extremist fringe phenomenon. It would again threaten all of humanity as soon as the first crises appear in a reunited Greater Germany.' We Trotskyists fought then for a proletarian political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East and for a socialist revolution in the West—for a Red Soviet Germany.

"Today we see the effects of *Anschluss* in the former DDR, where practically all large-scale industry was smashed by the counterrevolution. In this situation the fascists again smell their chance to come to the aid of the capitalists with their hate-mongering slogan, 'Jobs for Germans first,' deflecting rage over the bankruptcy of the 'market economy' against immigrant workers—as was done in 1933 against the Jews. The sharpened rivalries between the imperialists and the accompanying massive attacks on the workers have led across Europe to the growth of fascist movements."

The SpAD leaflet excoriated the trade-union bureaucrats who have bought into the bosses' anti-immigrant frenzy—like IG Metall chief Zwickel, who scandalously echoed the Nazis' battle cry with a demand for "foreigner quotas." It's an outrage that such a racist demand is voiced by the head of IG Metall, which

presence and to put the Nazis on the run. This required political combat with the do-nothing PDS/SPD/CDU "stay away" crowd and some chaotic anti-communist, anarchoid types. The SpAD built a substantial contingent and sent out effective "agit-prop" teams to the other, PDS-led demonstration to agitate and appeal for



Cristian V. Polentz

Berlin cops protect Nazi skinheads holed up in train car. Cops brutally beat anti-fascist protesters, arrested over 100. Drop the charges!

organizes more immigrant workers than any other union in Germany. Meanwhile the police terror against immigrants is increasingly aimed at these very trade unions, including bloody baton attacks on trade-union rallies.

A Test of Program in Action

As opposition to the Nazi mobilization mounted throughout Berlin, the government and its mouthpieces in the bourgeois press worked overtime to lull and demobilize the Nazis' intended victims: The bourgeois press ran lying stories that the Nazis' threatened provocation was canceled, and Berlin interior minister Schönbohm announced on February 13 that the Nazis would instead rally at an undisclosed indoor site under police protection.

The SpAD played a critical role in countering the government's cover-up for the Nazis. Our comrades blanketed Humboldt University and some of the heavily integrated factories in Berlin with a second leaflet calling to "Stop the Nazis!" and warning: "Don't be fooled by any tricks.... Full steam ahead. A joint demonstration of thousands of working people and all potential victims of the Nazis must *guarantee* that there is no place for Nazis in Berlin."

The political battle continued on the morning of February 15, as our comrades fought to pull together the diverse forces at the site into the largest possible united mobilization to counter the massive cop

organized united-front action to stop the Nazis.

Bullhorning to the 700 assembled at the PDS "peaceful, legal" gabfest, our comrades warned against any confidence in the bourgeois state and urged: "Enough has been said here, now it is necessary to act—that means to *stop the Nazis*. That's why we are now leaving, to unite with those at Kaulsdorf train station who want to stop the Nazis." Our speech hit the crowd like a tidal wave. Scandalously, "Trade Unionists Against Racism" denounced us as "splitters" and declared they would "spontaneously" decide where to go. As we replied that we had no time to wait for their "spontaneity," some 300 of the demonstrators—including a contingent of Jusos (SPD youth) led by the Cliffite group Links-ruck, which is buried inside the SPD—surged forward to link up with the other anti-Nazi forces, chanting "Smash the fascists!"

Meanwhile at Kaulsdorf, the AA/BO (Anti-Fascist Action/National Organization) called from their sound truck to *dissolve the demonstration*, dangerously urging protesters to proceed individually to where the Nazis had been sighted at Wuhletal station. The SpAD contingent immediately turned toward Wuhletal and chanted, "Stand together to stop the fascists!" A number of *Autonom* (anarchoid) youth, Turkish and Kurdish student youth and others joined us and marched off as a disciplined, determined, anti-fascist

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON

Alternate Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m. Next class, March 5: **Marxism and Special Oppression: The Black Question**; Boston University, School of Education, Room 206
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ

Saturdays, 3:00 p.m. Next classes, March 8, **The Marxist Program**; March 15: **The State**; Rutgers College, room to be announced
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next classes, March 6: **The Marxist Program**; March 20: **The State**; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street, near Church Street)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m. Next class, February 27: **The Marxist Understanding of the State**; San Francisco State University, Student Union, Room C116
Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

CHICAGO

Alternate Thursdays, 6:00 p.m. Next class, March 6: **The Marxist Understanding of the State**; University of Chicago, Cobb Hall, Room 207
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

SANTA CRUZ, CA

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, March 4: **The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class**; University of California, Santa Cruz, Kresge 325
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

TORONTO

Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, February 27: **The Degeneration of the USSR: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled**; International Student Centre, 33 St. George St., University of Toronto
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m. Next classes, February 26: **The State and Revolution**; March 12: **The Bolshevik Revolution**; UBC, Student Union Building, Room 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

bloc...while the AA/BO leadership stayed behind!

As the anti-fascists—with SpAD banners in the lead and anarchists and Jusos behind us—neared the Wuhletal train station, they met a cordon of police vans and a phalanx of cops with water cannon. Some clever and courageous anti-racist youth had spotted the train car the police had reserved for the Nazis on the elevated platform and were already giving the fascists a good drubbing. Taking the relatively few cops at the subway entrance by surprise, our comrades stormed up the stairs. Our chants of “Nazis raus!” echoed loudly through the station. Meanwhile, in consonance with their wishy-washy politics, the Jusos hesitated and left a space for the cops to close in behind us.

A pitched battle ensued, as the cops went directly for the anti-fascist protesters’ heads. One young woman comrade of the Berlin Spartakist Youth was smashed in the face by a cop and sent to the hospital with a broken nose requiring surgery. We were told that other protesters had been brutally beaten in police vans. Over 100 leftists were arrested. We demand: *Drop the charges against all anti-Nazi protesters!*

At the same time, cops were picking skinheads up off the platform and moving them into special subway cars and waiting police vans to speed them to safety. Andreas Storr, self-appointed *fürher* of the fascist “Young National Democrats,” was seen scurrying for police protection. When reports came in that antifa motorcycle scouts had spotted more Nazis at a nearby train station, Kaulsdorf Nord, the SpAD formed up the remaining anti-fascist forces, still several hundred strong, and marched there at top speed. Finding no Nazis there, the protesters joined with the SpAD in a victory rally.

A report in *Neues Deutschland* (17 February), which is sympathetic to the PDS, falsely credits the PDS with a key role in stopping the Nazis, while acknowledging that Spartakists and *Autonomes* tried to drive the fascists off the train platform. The very next day, in an interview with the Berlin daily *Tagesspiegel*, PDSer Klett distanced himself from the “brawl” on the train platform and called it “questionable” whether those who led the breakaway from the PDS rally in order to stop the fascists “could be considered leftists,” a standard Stalinist slander of Trotskyists now used in the



Job trainees at recent march in the Ruhr industrial area protesting unemployment. Signs read: “More Than Four Million Jobless” and “We Demand Training for Everyone!”

service of the Fourth Reich.

Klett’s craven repudiation is in line with the PDS’s actual role, which was to *demobilize* the anti-Nazi forces. After shamefully standing on the sidelines of the battle, the PDS then joined in *against* the anti-fascists. Acting in concert with the cops, PDS mayor Klett bellowed over a sound system that the attacks against the Nazis on the platform must stop. And while the PDS tries to paint itself as in the vanguard of the fight against fascism, its support to German nationalism has in the past led it into sordid embraces of right-wing chauvinist forces, including a 1993 meeting between a prominent PDS spokesman and a leader of the Nazi “Nationale Offensive.”

The PDS and SPD promote suicidal illusions in bourgeois democracy, looking to the capitalist state to ban the fascists in order to “clean up” the Fourth Reich’s image in the eyes of the world. But, as Spartakist spokesman Toralf Endruweit said to a roar of applause at the anti-fascist protest: “We aren’t here to show the clean face of Germany, because there isn’t any. We aren’t here for a ‘well-fortified or watchful democracy,’ because this bourgeois democracy protects the fascists and beats up on

immigrants and leftists. We’re here to stop the fascists!”

Only Socialist Revolution Can Eradicate the Fascist Threat!

Across Europe, racist attacks on immigrants are at the cutting edge of the capitalist rulers’ assault on the living standards and union organizations of the entire working class. The interests of labor and minorities must advance together or they will fall back together.

In Germany, fascist arson attacks against immigrant hostels have become so common that they no longer even get

reported unless people are killed. Fascist terror is also on the rise in Italy and France, where Le Pen’s National Front (NF) recently won governmental control of yet another southern city. The NF has already been implementing its program with “ethnic cleansing” and murderous thug attacks on leftists and immigrants. To combat the fascist threat requires not just militant street actions, although they certainly have their place, but a program for revolutionary struggle.

The fascists are recruiting precisely because they are the only force which appears to offer a “radical” social program. The anarchists offer no program for fighting capitalism, while the bankrupt reformist misleaders—tailed by the centrists—seek to divert working-class anger against skyrocketing unemployment into the same anti-immigrant chauvinism pushed by the fascists. We Trotskyists fight for a program of proletarian revolution to sweep away the capitalist system and its fascist dogs of war. The only way to eradicate unemployment, to provide decent housing, education and social services for all, to eliminate the danger of new imperialist wars and new Holocausts, lies through the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the creation of an egalitarian socialist society internationally. For a Socialist United States of Europe!

This requires an uncompromising fight against the poisonous racism which divides the working class. Indifference to racial oppression flows directly from a program of *class collaboration* with your own bourgeoisie. We Trotskyists of the International Communist League fight for a new, revolutionary leadership—a proletarian internationalist Leninist party—to unite the working class in opposition to its class enemy and to fight for new October socialist revolutions worldwide. ■

Geronimo...

(continued from page 16)

was their informant; one, Fred Willis, produced his notebook from 1970 which recorded discussions with Butler.

Butler’s assistance to the government paid off. With the D.A.’s agreement, he got no jail time for the felonies. Nor was he ever charged with possession of the gun, despite the fact that the FBI, the LAPD, the D.A. and the sheriff’s department knew that this convicted felon owned it. Just days after Geronimo’s conviction, Butler’s fine for the Taylor beating was reduced, and all the charges were reduced to misdemeanors through the intervention of prosecuting attorney (now L.A. Superior Court judge) Richard Kalustian—so that Butler could become a lawyer!

The defense summary brief outlines how the prosecution’s failure to disclose its information on Butler prevented Geronimo from exposing as a lie Butler’s testimony in 1972 that he was “never in the world a snitch” and showing that Butler had gained by helping frame up Geronimo. A startling piece of new evidence presented at the recent hearing involved an Internal Affairs investigation of Sergeant Rice. That was when investigating officer Edmond Lutes first learned from the FBI of Butler’s letter and of four FBI interviews with Butler and Rice. Lutes also discovered that Butler’s gun had been signed out of the police evidence room by the FBI. Despite the fact that *Lutes’ entire investigation was tape-recorded*, none of this evidence was disclosed to Geronimo’s lawyers. There was no testimony at the trial about the gun, the FBI or the existence of the tapes!

The chief of the D.A.’s intelligence unit testified at the recent hearing that he’d had personal contact with the FBI and LAPD in the period before Geronimo’s trial and had filled out the confidential informant cards on Butler. While claiming he never checked the cards before the trial, he admits that the whole purpose of his unit was to provide all of

this information to the prosecuting attorney, who never revealed any of it to the defense.

Butler continues to claim he was not an informant, despite testimony to the contrary by five officers from the LAPD and D.A.’s office. Noting conflicting stories presented by Butler and D.A. investigator Morris Bowles, Judge Dickey told the hearing, “It’s always unfortunate when the Court has to reach the conclusion that somebody is deliberately lying on the witness stand.” As Geronimo’s brief points out, had such irreconcilable testimony been aired at the original trial, the jury might well have disbelieved Butler and questioned the entire case against Geronimo.

The evidence presented at the hearing and summed up by the legal papers is iron-clad proof that Geronimo was framed up, and cries out for the immediate release of this fighter for black rights. But proof of innocence is no guarantee against prosecution in this capitalist system of racist injustice, where the state and its courts exist to protect the wealth and power of the ruling class. And there are plenty of people in high places whose careers were made through participating in this frame-up, for whom an overturn of Geronimo’s conviction would be an admission of their criminal complicity in the FBI/police vendetta.

The fight to free Geronimo is part of the struggle against racist oppression in America—and we must redouble our efforts on his behalf now. As we wrote last month: “There is no way to rectify the vicious actions of the ruling class and its state against him—injustice has been irrevocably committed. Geronimo doesn’t need a new trial; he needs his freedom” (*WV* No. 659, 10 January).

Geronimo’s supporters should come to Orange County Superior Court—Department 35, 700 Civic Center Drive West, Santa Ana, at 9:00 a.m. on February 27. The hearing begins at 10:00 a.m. Send desperately needed funds to the Prisoner Litigation Trust Fund, c/o Stuart Hanlon, 214 Duboce Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. ■

International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

International Center: Box 7429 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA

Spartacist League of Australia	Spartacist League, GPO Box 3473 Sydney, NSW, 2001, Australia
Spartacist League/Britain	Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041 London NW5 3EU, England
Trotskyist League of Canada/ Ligue trotskyste du Canada	Trotskyist League, Box 7198, Station A Toronto, Ontario, M5W 1X8, Canada
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Spartacist Group India/Lanka	write to Spartacist, New York
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Spartacist Group Japan	Spartacist Group Japan PO Box 49, Akabane Yubinkyoku Kita-ku, Tokyo 115, Japan
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Spartacist/South Africa	Spartacist, PostNet Suite 248 Carlton Center Level 100, Shop 140 Commissioner Street Johannesburg 2001, South Africa
Spartacist League/U.S.	Spartacist League, Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116, USA

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collapse of the Soviet Union was only the first major political convulsion produced by the transformation of the forms of production. The qualitative advances in the integration of world economy dealt the final blow to the autarchic national policies of the Stalinist regime."

By their own terms, for the Northites the Soviet working class simply did not exist as even a potential factor in deciding the fate of the Soviet Union. The IC has effectively repudiated the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy as even a historical possibility in this supposedly new era of "globalized" capitalism. The 1938 Transitional Program, written when the Soviet Union was relatively far more economically backward and geographically isolated than in the 1980s, stated, "either the bureaucracy, becoming ever more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers' state, will overthrow the new form of property and plunge the country back into capitalism; or the working class will crush the bureaucracy and open the way to socialism."

What did Trotsky mean here about opening "the way to socialism"? Wouldn't a Russian-centered Soviet workers state, even if administered on the basis of proletarian democracy and governed by a genuinely communist vanguard party, still be surrounded by hostile and economically more advanced capitalist states? Yes, of course. However, the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy by the Soviet working class, under the banner of proletarian internationalism, would have reawakened and inspired revolutionary fervor among the workers, rural toilers and oppressed peoples throughout the capitalist world. And a communist government of the USSR would have provided invaluable political, economic and, if necessary, military support for proletarian revolutions in capitalist states, including the imperialist powers.

For Proletarian Political Revolution in China!

As against all the various pretenders to Trotskyism, not least North's IC, our tendency unambiguously and consistently called for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, as we do today in regard to the remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, China, North Korea and Vietnam. The International Communist League mobilized all the limited resources at our command during the political turmoil in the East German (DDR) deformed workers state in 1989-90, fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy which, in league with West German imperialism and its Social Democratic lackeys, pushed for a capitalist reunification of Germany. Uniquely, the ICL opposed capitalist *Anschluss* (annexation) down the line, calling instead

for a "Red Germany of Workers Councils" as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

And during the terminal crisis of Stalinist rule in the USSR, our tendency actively intervened in the Soviet Union with the program and perspective of proletarian political revolution to "open the way to socialism." The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union was no more objectively inevitable in 1991-92 than in 1941, when the USSR was invaded by Nazi Germany. The direction taken by Russia, the Ukraine and other Soviet republics when the Kremlin bureaucracy disintegrated under Gorbachev, while conditioned by the pressures of the world capitalist market, was determined by the struggle of living social and political forces. A decisive factor in the outcome was a retrogression in the political consciousness of the Soviet working class brought about by three generations of Stalinism in power. Widespread apathy and cynicism as well as, to a certain degree, illusions in Western-type bourgeois democracy among the masses allowed the ascendancy of the counterrevolutionary forces centered around Boris Yeltsin in Russia and around anti-Soviet nationalists in the non-Russian republics.

In the case of the USSR, the Northites maintain that the capitalist counterrevolution which actually did take place was inevitable. In the case of China, they maintain that a capitalist counterrevolution has already taken place when it has not yet occurred. A major article in their *Fourth International* (Winter-Spring 1994), titled "The Political Background of the Restoration of Capitalism in China," asserts:

"The state which issued from the Chinese Revolution no longer defends or maintains the limited gains won by the workers and peasants in 1949....

"The Chinese state is not, even in the most distorted sense, an instrument for the defense of the working class.... The state defends the interests of the bureaucracy as a privileged social layer increasingly linked to the rising capitalist class and, through them, the interests of imperialism itself."

Despite the significant inroads made by capital, both domestic and foreign, over the past several years, the People's Republic of China remains a **bureaucratically deformed workers state**. The author of the article quoted above, one Martin McLaughlin, is here plagiarizing without attribution the Maoist doctrine of "capitalist roadism" and applying it to Mao's one-time chief rival within the Beijing Stalinist regime, Deng Xiaoping. Significantly but predictably, not once is the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution mentioned in this lengthy article, which purports to cover the entire history of China in the 20th century.

In contrast, a "Perspectives and Tasks Memorandum" adopted by our international tendency in January 1996 states:

"The next period is likely to see the breakdown and terminal crisis of Stalinist rule in China as powerful elements in the bureaucracy, directly tied to offshore Chinese capital and actively supported by Western and Japanese imperialism,



Tyler/NY Times

Workers in state-owned auto factory in China. Drive of Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy toward capitalist restoration can be defeated only through proletarian political revolution.

continue to drive toward capitalist restoration. The Chinese working class, although heretofore limited by police repression to actions at individual workplaces, has in recent years exhibited massive discontent with the social degradation, insecurities and blatant inequalities generated by Deng's 'market socialist' program. The rural economy has experienced the rise of a class of relatively wealthy peasant smallholders while an estimated 100 million landless peasants have flooded into the cities. We can thus foresee monumental class battles leading either to proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution in the most populous nation on earth."

"Transnational" Corporations and Imperialist States: Antagonists or Partners?

A central element in the theory of a new "globalized" capitalist economy is that transnational corporations have supplanted nation-states as the dominant institutions in world power politics. In his latest book, *Global Dreams: Imperial Corporations and the New World Order* (1994), leading American left-liberal intellectual Richard J. Barnet maintains:

"The architects and managers of these space-age business enterprises understand that the balance of power in world politics has shifted in recent years from territorially bound governments to companies that can roam the world. As the hopes and pretensions of government shrink almost everywhere, these imperial corporations are occupying public space and exerting a more profound influence over the lives of ever larger numbers of people."

A more extreme version of the same thesis is presented by another American radical intellectual, David Korten, in his 1995 book, *When Corporations Rule the World*.

The current view of the International Committee is essentially similar, as North stated in a 1992 speech:

"Under the aegis of imperialism, the globalization of production collides against the nation-state form within which capitalist rule is rooted....

"The web of alliances being formed by various transnational corporations, such as Toshiba, IBM and Siemens, expresses the organic drive of the productive forces to organize themselves on a world scale. But the other side of the same process is the growing antagonism among nation-states and the eruption of various forms of national and communal conflict."

—*Capital, Labor and the Nation-State* (1992)

Transnational corporations are here counterposed to imperialist nation-states. Moreover, the former are presented as (relatively) progressive, since they serve as agents of global economic integration, while the latter are viewed as reactionary and obsolete. North's statement is diametrically counterposed to what Lenin argues in his *Imperialism*. In particular, North's view of the capitalists as an international class flies in the face of the Marxist understanding that the bourgeoisie cannot transcend national interests (for further discussion, see "On Bourgeois Class Consciousness," *Spartacist* No. 24, Autumn 1977).

In the Barnet/Korten/North view, corporations like IBM, Siemens and Toshiba are devoted solely to maximizing their profits on a global scale; their directors and stockholders supposedly don't care whether their actions strengthen or weaken the American, German and Japanese bourgeois states. This view expresses a **liberal idealist outlook** since it implicitly assumes that capitalists do not need state power—i.e., armed bodies of men—to protect their property against challenges from both the exploited classes and rival capitalists in other countries. Wall Street bankers and the CEOs of the Fortune 500 corporations understand (as Richard Barnet and David North apparently do not) that Mexican and South Korean workers are not devout believers in the sanctity of private property. Replying to similar arguments at the time, notably by German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, Lenin in his 1916 study of imperialism quoted the German economist Schulze-Gaevernitz:

"Great Britain grants loans to Egypt, Japan, China and South America. Her navy plays here the part of bailiff in case of necessity. Great Britain's political power protects her from the indignation of her debtors."

The same applies to the U.S., Germany and Japan, whose armed forces are prepared to act as "bailiff in case of necessity." Whether undertaken by corporations, banks or other financial institutions, foreign investment depends on the political, economic and military power of the states controlled by the owners of these capitalist enterprises.

North & Co. have not yet revised or repudiated the position that the Republican and Democratic parties represent the interests of the American bourgeoisie. Why then do the political leaders of these parties continue to expend hundreds of billions of dollars a year on the U.S. armed forces? Even an old-fashioned liberal like Russell Baker has observed: "The era of big government is over except for the Pentagon" (*New York Times*, 24 September 1996). That's because the Pentagon provides and organizes the security guards, so to speak, to protect the property of American capitalists in other countries. Citibank and Exxon are no more independent of, much less antagonistic to, the American imperialist state than Barings Bank and Royal Dutch Shell were independent of the British imperialist state in the pre-1914 era.

Indeed, if the recent merger announcement by Boeing and McDonnell Douglas demonstrates anything, it is that "multinational" corporations—especially so in strategic industries like electronics and aerospace—are very much rooted in their own nation-states. This monopolistic merger is aimed not only at reinforcing the U.S. aerospace and weapons industry but at increasing its competitive edge against rivals like the West European Airbus conglomerate.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Chicago...

(continued from page 16)

anti-Klan demonstrators with batons. Many were injured."

As legal papers for the defendants have pointed out, the actions of city and police officials on June 29 were part of a series of attempts to quash any and all protest in Chicago in the months leading up to the Democratic National Convention last August. The anti-Klan defendants were arrested for the "crime" of exercising their First Amendment right to protest. If the cops and courts get away with punishing anti-fascist protesters for taking a stand against race-hate provocations in Chicago, a heavily labor, black and minority city, it will be a green light for the racist terrorists everywhere. All out to defend the Anti-Klan Three! Be there: February 28, 8:30 a.m., Circuit Court of Cook County, 1340 South Michigan Avenue.

Below we print a slightly abridged and edited speech by Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Michael Davidsson at a January 22 speakout at the University of Chicago to defend the Anti-Klan Three.

* * *

I want to discuss what the Klan is in the context of how to fight it. Simply stated, the Klan is a fascist paramilitary organization with a long and sordid history of race-terror in this country. Its purpose is to perpetrate genocide and



Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Mike Davidsson addresses University of Chicago speakout, January 22.

not academic debates over the legitimacy of racism as an ideology. The increasing presence of the Klan throughout the Midwest is echoed in the epidemic of malicious arson attacks directed against black and integrated churches in the South and in highly publicized racist assaults.

And the North is far from immune from this infection. Immediately prior to the PDC-initiated mobilization against the Klan in Springfield, Illinois in 1994, Cathy Long, a black mother of two in South Bend, Indiana, was brutally mur-



Young Spartacus

Student contingent at January 1994 labor/black mobilization against the Klan in Springfield, Illinois.

to smash workers' organizations—two goals that are intimately linked. As those who are repulsed by such a grotesque organization, how do we respond to it?

One's first inclination might be to ignore the Klan, rationalizing that they are not a threat. But this rationalization is dead wrong. When the Klan is ignored, they commit their crimes unopposed, with impunity, and at an ever greater rate. Klan rallies are the organizing sites for lynch mob terror. Klan rallies are not a "free speech" issue. Their public appearances are forums to recruit to genocide,

dered by four white-supremacists. Two weeks prior to the June 29 mobilization, a cross ominously was burned outside the Blue Island home of a black family. Wherever it raises its ugly head, the Klan has proved a deadly threat to blacks, Jews, Hispanics, gays, Catholics, labor and leftists. Yes, the Klan is an unwavering enemy of organized labor and leftists. The fascist ideology at the root of its once-routine lynchings of labor and civil rights organizers and of the 1979 massacre of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina thrives in the form of the recent cross-burning against a poultry workers' organizing drive in Alabama.

In the climate of racist reaction fostered by both the Democrats and the Republicans, the Klan gains some legitimacy. Its race-terror is in lockstep with the actions of the rulers of America, who dismantle social programs for the working class and the poor, with minorities cast prominently in the role of scapegoats.

The unions have the potential to fight against capitalist exploitation, but they require a revolutionary leadership to unleash that potential. The union bureaucrats oppose class struggle and act only as front men for Clinton and the Democrats. These labor misleaders, along with the black Democrats, stifle the justified rage of the working class and the oppressed against the rulers of America as well as the Klan. They redirected social protest from the streets into Clinton's re-

election campaign. They have acquiesced to federal control over the unions. They have aided and abetted the racist war on immigrants and pushed chauvinistic protectionism. Then, when the bipartisan ax chopped into the very heart of welfare, they were silent.

Prominent Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Farrakhan is a symbol of defiance for many. But he wants blacks cravenly to atone for their own oppression so that he can promote a handful of black capitalists who seek to exploit "their own." His program of racial separatism mirrors that of the Klan. In fact, he appeals to many of the same prejudices as the Klan. He is anti-woman, anti-gay and anti-Semitic. The NOI provided security at a recent speaking appearance of the Hitler-loving propagandist David Irving in downtown Oakland, and the NOI has accepted donations from fascists. Farrakhan's program is anathema to those who fight for black liberation through socialist revolution. Integrated struggle against the common source of oppression—the capitalist system—is the means to combat racism.

Misleaders often plead for reliance upon the cops to stop the Klan. But this strategy is as deadly as ignoring the Klan, because the cops *protect* the Klan. The police assault on the June 29 anti-Klan demonstrators was not unique. The cops have shielded the Klan in the past and were determined to clear the streets of social protest so that the unrest of the 1968 Democratic National Convention would not repeat itself. This silencing of social protest also is part of a larger gutting of fundamental democratic rights, as the chasm between the few exploiting capitalists and the mass of workers widens.

With the widening of this chasm, the cops are granted ever greater powers to target the same people that the Klan does. The police that demand the vindictive prosecution of the Anti-Klan Three are members of a department mired in frame-ups and corruption. The case of Rolando Cruz, who sacrificed nearly a decade of his life on death row before his conviction was overturned, is illustrative. Three former prosecutors and four sheriff's deputies were indicted by a special grand jury for fabricating evidence and presenting false testimony at his frame-up trial. Of more recent vintage, seven Austin, Illinois cops were arrested on federal charges of conspiracy to commit robbery and extortion. Atrocities abound in which the cops have executed innocent workers and minorities in Chicago, such as 22-year-old deaf black wrestler Eric Smith. Since the cops are not our friends, we should not abdicate in the fight against the Klan, but rather should inform the Klan ourselves in no uncertain terms that they are not welcome to rally for genocide.

Another losing strategy is allowing anti-fascist protesters to be herded into police pens. In fact, many other leftist

organizations will lead you straight into these pens. But those in the pens are at the mercy of the cops and have diluted their potential strength. The pens are police traps to contain social protest.

We must adopt the only viable means to fight the Klan, unleashing the social power of labor. The integrated labor movement and all opponents of racist terror must build mass mobilizations of all the Klan's intended victims. Mobilizing labor is both necessary and possible. In 1982, an SL-initiated, 3,000-strong mobilization of unionists, blacks, Jews, gays, leftists and others greeted a gang of Nazi stormtroopers who tried to rally under the protection of hundreds of cops in a bid to disrupt Gay Pride Day in Chicago. In January 1994, the PDC initiated a 500-strong labor/black mobilization against the Klan in Springfield, Illinois, at which a hard core of Chicago labor and students protested in a sub-zero blizzard.

As students and youth, we must take the decisive step and align ourselves with the working class. This identification of our interests with those of the working class is not as dated as the racist rulers of America would have you believe. Throughout the world today, students join with labor to fight racism and to defend picket lines. In France, the move to deport 300 immigrant workers last August triggered mass protests of 20,000 people, in which trade-union contingents marched together with youth of African and North African descent. In Australia that same month, Aborigines, building workers and miners together with university students stormed Parliament House in protest against assaults on welfare and proposed anti-union legislation.

A key element absent from these struggles was revolutionary leadership, a leadership that will fight to break the reliance of the unions upon the state, a leadership with a perspective to seize state power so as to sweep the racist, corrupt capitalist system into the dustbin in order to build an egalitarian socialist society. Class-struggle mobilizations of labor and minorities are what's needed to stop the Klan. Today, it is the duty of students as well as labor and minorities to defend the Anti-Klan Three!

* * *

Join this crucial fight! Send protest statements demanding that the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Send donations for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. Contact the PDC in Chicago at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252. ■

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.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 454-4930

New York City

Tues.: 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club Events

**Race and Class in "Segregation City":
Break with the Democrats—
For a Revolutionary Workers Party!**

Saturday, March 8, 7 pm

Ida Noyes, West Lounge, second floor, University of Chicago

**Spartacus Youth Club University of Chicago
Students/Workers Organizing Meeting**

Defend the Anti-Klan 3! Drop All the Charges!

Thursday, February 20, 2 pm

Reynolds Club, South Lounge, second floor, University of Chicago

CHICAGO For more information: (312) 454-4930

WORKERS VANGUARD

Prison Officials Place Former Black Panther in Deadly Danger

Fight for Geronimo's Freedom!

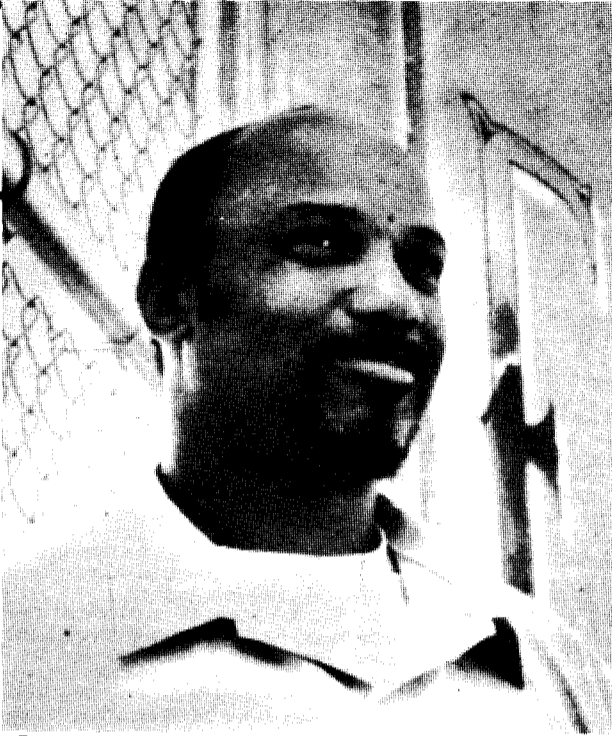
Court Hearing Airs Dramatic Proof of Frame-Up

The fight to free former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) is at a critical stage. A month-long hearing on a petition to overturn Geronimo's 1972 frame-up conviction for a murder the government knows he did not commit has now adjourned. On February 27, defense attorneys Johnnie Cochran and Stuart Hanlon will present final arguments before Judge Everett Dickey in Santa Ana, California. Supporters of Geronimo's cause should fill the courtroom that day in solidarity!

In a sinister development, Geronimo has once again been put in a life-threatening situation by California prison officials. Just three days after the court hearing adjourned, Geronimo was transferred to Chino state prison, where he was thrown into solitary confinement and had his legal materials seized. Prison officials undertook these punitive measures on the grounds that this was a "high notoriety case" and with the lie that he belonged to a black prison gang—a claim that makes Geronimo a target for physical violence by prison guards and other inmates. This is the state's retaliation for Geronimo's efforts to reverse his conviction and for the growing media coverage of his case.

On February 13, Valerie West, staff counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, went before Federal Court in San

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), imprisoned for 26 years for a murder the government knows he did not commit.



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Francisco to seek protection for Geronimo. As part of a suit begun in 1989 to stop a years-long pattern of retaliatory persecution of Geronimo for exercising his First Amendment rights, West requested a temporary restraining order prohibiting the prison system from housing Geronimo in Chino and from using the pretext of gang membership or "notoriety" to put him in solitary. Despite previous court rulings against prison authorities' harassment of Geronimo, the motion was denied by Judge Stanley Weigel. At the same time, the assistant attorney general made clear in open court that the state had already agreed not to

take Geronimo to Chino on his way to and from the February hearing and that they had "made a mistake" in asserting gang membership.

The Santa Ana hearing centered on the overwhelming evidence that Julius Butler, the key witness against Geronimo in 1972, was a longtime government informant. Butler was a key player in the frame-up of Geronimo, who was targeted for repression by the FBI's Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) solely because he was a leader of the Black Panther Party. Despite cover-up attempts by witnesses from the district attorney's office and the Los Angeles

Police Department, what emerged at the hearing was a compelling picture of collusion to keep Butler's status as an informer for the FBI, LAPD and the D.A.'s office hidden from Geronimo's defense team and from the trial jury in 1972.

Papers filed by Geronimo's legal team on January 31 document Butler's role as a government fink, as well as his lies then and now. Butler had already been informing on the Black Panthers to the LAPD for two years before he turned over a letter to police sergeant Duwayne Rice which described a "confession" by Geronimo that never took place. Butler's letter was written just after he had been hit with four felony charges for the beating of one Ollie Taylor and after he found out that the FBI was threatening him with prosecution for possession of a machine gun. The FBI was present when Butler gave the letter to Rice and went on to have over 30 contacts with Butler in the ensuing three years. Two days after he handed in the letter, Butler turned the gun over to the LAPD, claiming it belonged to the Panthers.

Three "confidential informant" cards presented at the hearing gave clear proof that Butler was also acting as an informant for the D.A.'s office at the time. While some 4,000 pages of documents on the case were destroyed by the D.A.'s office, the acting chief of the D.A.'s intelligence bureau stated that the cards were kept because they were "sacred" and "pertained to people that provided information" who "could be in jeopardy should that information get out." Three D.A. investigators testified that Butler

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Demonstration in support of Anti-Klan Three outside Cook County Circuit Court at January 23 hearing.

Chicago SYC Speakout: Defend the Anti-Klan Three!

**For Labor/Minority Mobilizations
to Stop the Fascists!**

Opponents of racist terror are continuing to mobilize support for three activists who face one to two years in prison on bogus charges stemming from their participation in a June 29 Chicago anti-Klan protest during which a violent KKK attack was spiked. On February 28, a united-front protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee will take place outside Cook County Circuit Court, where an evidentiary hearing will be held challenging the police frame-up against the Anti-Klan Three—PDC Labor Coordinator Gene Herson, Refuse & Resist supporter Jeffrey Lyons, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker. A wide range of labor, leftist and other organizations have called for dropping the charges against the Anti-Klan Three, most recently including United Auto Workers Local 719, United Steelworkers Local 1010

and a number of local labor officials.

In going after the three anti-Klan protesters on trumped-up charges of assault and battery against police and obstructing police, the state is retaliating for the trouncing the Klan got on June 29. Despite a concerted effort by city officials to black out any news of the Klan's plans to rally that day, over 100 people joined the united-front protest, which was organized on 24 hours' notice by the PDC and Chicago Labor Black Struggle League. In an article on the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program, Chicago's SEIU Local 73 Journal (October 1996) described how some Union Summer participants "protested against the Klan when it showed up at Daley Plaza in downtown Chicago one day. Police pushed back the

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