



For Workers Revolution—For a Socialist Asia!

Japan Economic Crisis Shakes Imperialist Order



AFP



Kobayashi/Newsweek

As Tokyo traders watch yen plummet, deepening economic crisis sparks fears of international depression, provokes broad attacks on Japanese workers.

The bailout of Japan's currency in late June underlined the crisis-ridden state of the world's second-largest economy. Washington deployed billions of dollars on international money markets to keep the yen afloat, in return extorting promises of "reform" from the government of Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, including further opening the economy to U.S. investors and industrialists. Even so, the yen has continued to drift downward.

U.S. Escalates Japan-Bashing—The Main Enemy Is at Home!

The plunge in the value of the yen came only a week after Tokyo announced that its economy had registered a net decline over the past year and its

worst annual performance since the end of World War II. Coming atop a decade of economic downturn, the financial crash which inundated Southeast Asia

and South Korea last year has hit Japan's weakened economic structure with the force of a tsunami. Japan's capitalists have slashed investment in productive capacity. Working people have cut back consumption to essentials. For the first time in half a century, last November the Ministry of Finance allowed a major bank to go bust, followed by the country's fourth largest securities firm, the *continued on page 8*

Hideous Racist Lynching in Texas

The race-hate provocation staged by two dozen robed and hooded Klansmen in the East Texas town of Jasper on June 27 was a grotesque "celebration" of the lynching of James Byrd Jr. three weeks earlier. The KKK nightriders should have been driven out by an integrated mobilization, with the friends and family of James Byrd at the head and contingents of labor brought in from around the state and the rest of the country. From the Democratic White House to the Republican state house, racist capitalist politicians issued pious expressions of sympathy for James Byrd. But the hypocrisy of these pronouncements was underlined on June 27, as the would-be killers of the KKK were protected by 200 cops, Texas Rangers and

Smash Klan Terror!

FBI agents while a black anti-Klan protester was arrested.

Jasper is billed as an example of the "New South," with a population— evenly divided between blacks and whites—which supposedly thrives on "racial harmony." The town even has a black mayor. But the horrific murder of James Byrd underlined the chilling boast later issued by one of the KKK "protesters": "Make no mistake about it: This is Klan country."

James Byrd Jr. was picked up by three white men in the early morning hours of June 7, savagely beaten, chained by his ankles to the back of their truck and dragged for three miles. His body was ripped apart, his head and right arm found a mile from his torso, a long trail

of blood marking his excruciating final moments. James Byrd was 49 years old, the father of three children. The night he was killed, he had been walking home from his parents' house after a bridal party for a niece.

The three white men were quickly found. A cigarette lighter with a KKK symbol scratched on it had been left at the scene of the beating. Two of the men have tattoos linking them to white racist groups. The third, Shawn Berry, confessed to the police. Referring to a "novel" prescribing race war and genocide, which has become the bible for white-supremacists around the U.S., Berry recounted one of the other killers saying, "We're going to start *The Turner* *continued on page 12*



AP

Clara Taylor with photos of her brother, James Byrd Jr., victim of racist murder.



Dennis Rivera's "Victory": Union Pensions Looted for Layoffs

NYC Hospital Workers Shafted

NEW YORK CITY—Three days after more than 20,000 health care workers turned out for a June 18 pre-strike rally in midtown Manhattan, Local 1199 leader Dennis Rivera announced a deal with the greedy hospital bosses that he was "ecstatic" about. This "progressive" faker is undoubtedly happy that he may have managed to scuttle what would have been a widely popular strike, but the nursing aides, housekeepers, X-ray technicians, cooks and custodians who keep many of the city's largest private medical centers running just got kicked in the teeth.

Rivera has promised the members of

the National Health and Human Services Employees Union unprecedented job security. This is the sort of "job security" that has filled homeless shelters and slave-labor "workfare" rolls around the country. Under the proposed contract, up to 3,700 jobs will be slashed over the next five years. Adding insult to injury, the union's members will pay to have their throats cut. Rivera has agreed to fork over \$135 million from union pension funds to pay for "early retirement." At the same time, the employers get to cut their contributions to the pension fund, looting it by another \$100 million

or more over the life of the contract.

Worse still, the contract would provide "job protection" only to workers hired before September 1992, allowing for a quarter of the workforce to be laid off anytime. This is a frontal assault on the union itself—dividing the membership along generational lines—like the "two-tier" wage schemes used by the capitalists nationally to grind down workers' living standards over the past 20 years. Even those workers covered under the "security" provision can be laid off if the institution closes or claims to be in "perilous" financial condition. Rivera crows that "this contract will offer virtual job security." But just like "virtual reality" isn't real, Rivera's virtual security is no security at all. And what 1199 members, who average about \$30,000 a year, get in return for all these givebacks is a paltry 6 percent pay raise that works out to some \$40 a week after two years.

This sellout—which should be thrown back in Rivera's face—is an object lesson in the price paid for the bureaucrats' subordination of the labor movement to the capitalist parties. Dennis Rivera's real loyalties lie not with the union members who pay his salary but with the Democratic Party, of which he is New York State vice chairman. Rivera carefully built up his "progressive" reputation by, for example, calling out his membership to support student rallies against cutbacks or spouting empty expressions of "solidarity" with striking workers. But when nurses went on strike at Brooklyn's Maimonides Hospital in April, the Rivera bureaucracy had Local 1199 members cross picket lines to work alongside scabs brought in to bust the strike.

At bottom, Rivera is no different than open supporters of Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani like AFSCME District Council 37 municipal workers head Stanley Hill and Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Willie James. Hill has presided over the loss of over 20,000 unionized city jobs now being filled by conscripted "workfare" recipients, while James two years ago shoved through a deal which would have replaced 500 subway cleaners with such slave labor. We demand the full integration of "workfare" recipients into the unions, with full union protection, benefits and wages.

As we wrote last issue, "Giuliani can get away with acting like a tinpot dictator because he knows the municipal labor tops are in his hip pocket." In 1989,



WV Photo

June 18 rally in Manhattan by health care workers.

as black Democrat David Dinkins was promising Wall Street that NYC workers "would take it from me," his successful mayoral campaign was virtually run out of Rivera's union offices. Last fall, Rivera gave backhanded support to Giuliani, announcing his "neutrality" while standing alongside the racist Republican mayor at a press conference on Medicaid cuts.

The heavily black, Hispanic and immigrant membership of 1199 is a cross-section of NYC labor. Amid pervasive racist cop terror and the elimination of open admissions at City University, a strike by the potentially powerful transit union or the hospital workers could be extremely popular among New York's besieged minority and working-class population. There is a particular sympathy with overworked, underpaid health care workers in this racist capitalist society, where the bottom line in "medical care" isn't saving lives, but boosting profits. The "managed care" moguls are the '90s equivalent of last decade's hated junk bond traders, who will do anything to make a buck—from slashing jobs to slashing medical treatment. Meanwhile, thousands are dying in the ghettos and barrios from preventable and treatable diseases like tuberculosis and asthma.

Rivera uses his leadership of a potentially volatile union to derail class struggle. To unleash the power of the unions means breaking with the partner parties of capital. We need a revolutionary workers party, forged in political struggle against the pro-capitalist union tops, to sweep away the profit-gorged exploiters and racist union-busters and create a workers government in which jobs, decent housing and medical care will be available to all. ■



TROTSKY

India and Permanent Revolution

More than 50 years after achieving independence from British colonial rule, India remains under the yoke of imperialist exploitation, a prison house of subjugated peoples in which the workers and rural masses are desperately impoverished and women subjected to benighted oppression. During the interimperialist slaughter of World War II, the bourgeois-nationalist Congress and its Stalinist sycophants lined up behind "democratic" Britain while a



LENIN

competing wing of Indian nationalism looked to Japan. The Trotskyists fought to mobilize the proletariat, leading behind it all the oppressed, in the struggle for socialist revolution against British imperialism and its domestic lackeys. The program of permanent revolution advanced by the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India in a 1941 declaration remains no less urgent today.

India faces a historically belated bourgeois-democratic revolution, the main tasks of which are the overthrow of British imperialism, the liquidation of a semi-feudal land system, and the clearing away of feudal remnants in the form of the Indian Native States. But although bourgeois-democratic revolutions occurring in the advanced capitalist countries in previous centuries found leadership in the then rising bourgeoisie, the Indian bourgeoisie appearing on the scene only after the progressive role of the bourgeoisie in the world as a whole has been exhausted, is incapable of providing leadership to the revolution that is unfolding in India....

The task of such leadership falls in the nature of things on the Indian proletariat, which is the only class capable of leading the toiling masses in the onslaught against imperialism, landlordism and the native princes. The concentration and discipline induced by its very place in capitalist economy, its numerical strength, the sharpness of the class antagonism which daily brings it into conflict with the imperialists who are the main owners of capital in India, its organization and experience of struggle, and the vital position it occupies in the economy of the country, as also its steadily worsening condition under imperialism, all combine to fit the Indian proletariat for this task.

But the leadership of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution poses before the working class the prospect of seizing the power and, in addition to accomplishing the long overdue bourgeois-democratic tasks, proceeding with its own socialist tasks. And thus the bourgeois-democratic revolution develops uninterruptedly into the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only state form capable of supplanting the dictatorship of the Indian bourgeoisie in India. The realization of the combined character of the Indian revolution is essential for the planning of the revolutionary strategy of the working class. Should the working class fail in its historic task of seizing the power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revolution will inevitably recede, the bourgeois tasks themselves remain unperformed, and the power will swing back in the end to the imperialists without whom the Indian bourgeoisie cannot maintain itself against the hostile masses. A backward country like India can accomplish its bourgeois-democratic revolution only through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The correctness of this axiom of the theory of permanent revolution is demonstrated by the victorious Russian revolution of October 1917, and it is confirmed on the negative side by the tragic fate of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27.

—Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India,
"Thesis of Indian Fourth Internationalists" (1941)

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Defend Chicago PL Teacher!

The following protest letter was sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to John Garvey, principal of Foreman High School in Chicago, on June 12.

We vehemently condemn the anti-communist witchhunt against Foreman High School teacher Bonnie Blustein. Blustein was suspended for three days on "charges" that she is using the classroom for communist "indoctrination" of her students by espousing the views of the Progressive Labor Party. Meanwhile the Chicago Sun-Times, quoting anonymous "school board sources," calls for extending the witchhunt to two other Foreman High teachers.

The attack on Blustein is classic political persecution reminiscent of the McCarthyite witchhunt of the 1950s. The government destroyed the lives and livelihoods of thousands during its infamous Red Purge, as the domestic counterpart to the Cold War

against the Soviet Union.

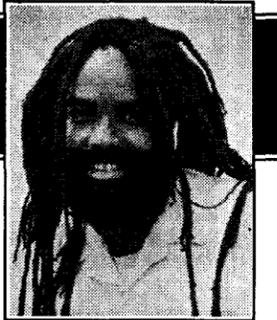
Under capitalism the public education system functions to serve the interests of the racist capitalist ruling class, in the service of socializing the next generation of workers. While hypocritically touting the First Amendment in civics classes, public school officials quickly lash out at those who actually speak out against this rotten profit system—just as bourgeois society routinely denies workers the simple rights to organize or even speak about union matters on the job.

The witchhunt against Blustein is a direct threat to the rights of all teachers, workers and students to express and organize opposition to capitalist exploitation and racist injustice. We say: Hands off Bonnie Blustein! End the anti-communist witchhunt at Foreman High!

Cheri Mitchell
for the Partisan Defense Committee

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

A Philly Union Fights for Its Life



In an age of capitalist triumphalism, the conflicts between labor and capital seem to have been all but resolved, if the corporate press is to be believed. Of course, nothing could be further from the truth.

Triumph for capital has historically been crushing defeat for workers, as big business gobbles more and more, fattening its ever burgeoning bottom line, even if this meant feeding on labor's wages and benefits.

In Philadelphia, for some, this is the best of times: Billions are traded on its regional stock exchange, buildings are rising in Center City, and stores are bustling. It is also, for some, the worst of times: Unemployment eats at the heart of the inner city, homelessness spreads like a social disease, and welfare cutbacks threaten the very existence of the urban poor.

Into this context the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 234, after working for eleven weeks with no contract, have been forced to go out on strike against the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA). In an age of capitalist triumph, the bosses are hot for more and more labor conces-

sions: a radical "overhaul" of work rules, more part-timers, wage cuts for new hires, and a freeze in medical insurance payments. Edward Rendell, called "America's Mayor" by the corporate press, apparently isn't labor's representative, for union calls for mass picketing at the proposed sites for the 2000 "Republican" or "Demican" National Convention were met by a mayoral snarl: "the police will be there"—in force! If cops are there, you can bet they'll be carrying a court order, an injunction limiting the number of pickets, and limiting labor's power to garner the support it badly needs to protect its interests. The law has ever been on the side of wealth, as scholars Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward noted in *The New Class War* (1985):

"Until the mid-nineteenth century in the United States, the courts held that unions were criminal conspiracies; later, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 provided the basis for declaring unions to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade. Even after the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914 explicitly declared that unions were not illegal combinations in restraint of trade,

striking workers were nevertheless, until the Great Depression, regularly subjected to court injunctions and criminal prosecution, and to the coercive power of police and state militia (54)."

Even now, so many years later, unions are demonized in the corporate press, and painted as greedy. While strikers are damned, why are the rich and powerful, who have the lion's share of wealth, depicted as noble? Could it be that much, indeed most, of what we read is the work of the corporate press? (And isn't this an argument for a labor press?)

TWU, Local 234 is a largely multiracial union that is addressed by management in a tone of undisguised contempt. A recent negotiation was described by a SEPTA bigwig as "a five-to-ten-minute sham." A TWU call for "binding arbitration" as a step to ending the strike was rejected out of hand.

The SEPTA strike comes at an important point in time, when capital is using its muscle to discipline labor. If labor is conscious, bold, and imaginative, it can reverse this defeatist trend of give-backs and capitulations, and open the door to peoples power. It means standing up to the courts, the cops, and the corporate press. It means fighting the forces of high finance and bourgeois leaders. It means battling, until a full victory is won!

10 June 1998

© 1998 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

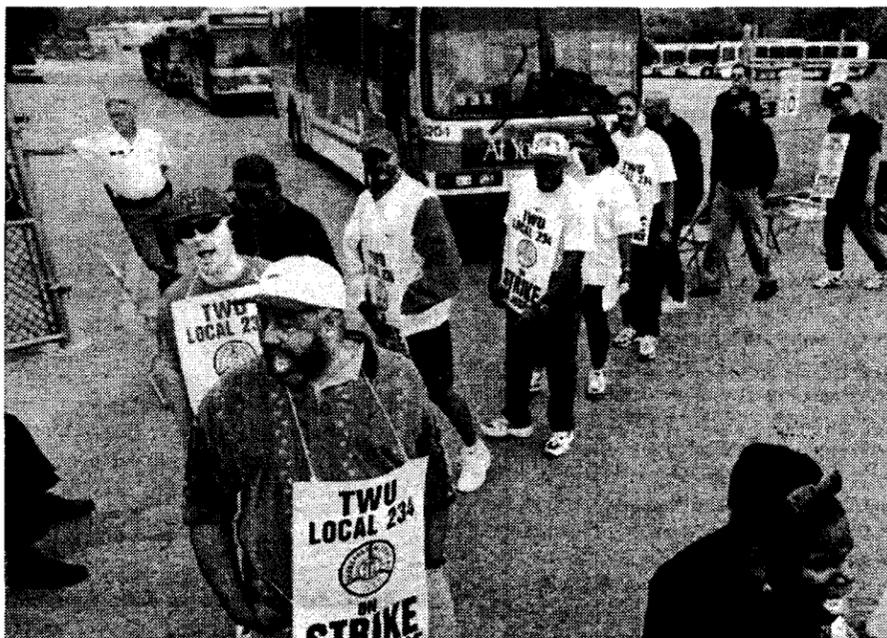
Philly Transit Strikers Hold Out Against Union Busting

No to Binding Arbitration!

JUNE 29—Amid on-and-off talks to end the four-week-long Philadelphia transit strike, the 5,500 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 234 continue their battle against the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA). While the Local 234 leadership has repeatedly announced its desire to reach a "compromise," SEPTA has refused to budge from its demands to increase two-tier wage differentials, hire part-time van and bus drivers and otherwise attack hard-won union gains.

With businesses screaming about lost revenues, the city government, led by Democratic mayor Ed Rendell, is steadily upping the pressure on the union. On June 26, City Council president John Street filed a lawsuit in the state Supreme Court demanding round-the-clock negotiations supervised by the anti-labor state government. The city bosses' attack on the TWU is just the spearhead of their drive against all Philadelphia labor. A victory for the TWU would strike a blow particularly for city workers unions, as well as the minority poor. Victory to the Philly transit strike!

The City Council suit is just the latest of a series of government strikebreaking measures against the union. Each time that unionists have fought to extend the strike by picketing regional rail and bus lines, which transport suburbanites to their office jobs in Center City, the courts have stepped in with anti-picketing injunctions. Philly's notoriously racist and corrupt cops have repeatedly been mobilized to enforce the injunctions. If SEPTA tries to bring in scabs or run some rail and bus lines with management strikebreakers, which it has repeatedly threatened to do, the cops will be there to herd them across the picket lines and brutalize strikers.



Philadelphia transit strikers stop scab bus in suburban Montgomery County.

As in all major labor battles, the role of the cops and courts as core components of the racist, anti-labor bourgeois state has been on display. Yet the pro-capitalist leadership of the TWU looks to the capitalist government to effect a "fair" settlement. Throughout the strike, which was only called eleven weeks after the Local 234 contract had expired, the TWU tops have declared that they would call off the strike if SEPTA submitted to binding arbitration. This is a deadly trap! Such arbitrators put forward a "neutral" face the better to mask their role as agents of the capitalist state charged with forcing through anti-union settlements. No to binding arbitration!

Even without union strike benefits, transit workers are holding firm. As one striker told the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (21 June), "If you give in to them now, next year they're going to want more, and, sooner or later, you're going to find yourself out on the street anyway." But the strikers can't hold out forever. To defeat SEPTA requires shutting down all Philadelphia-area transit, particularly the regional rail and bus lines. This means

building mass, militant picket lines and defying the strikebreaking cops and anti-union injunctions. Operators in the United Transportation Union are being allowed to drive Victory-Red Arrow buses while TWU mechanics are on strike. This treacherous scabbing must stop now—picket lines mean don't cross!

The Rendell administration has sought to whip up anti-union sentiment by claiming that the strike is hurting the minority poor, who overwhelmingly rely on public transit. What a cynical sham! Rendell is a die-hard enemy of labor, blacks and Hispanics. First elected mayor in 1992, largely on a "get the unions" program, Rendell early on oversaw the mass arrest of almost 200 striking members of the heavily minority Hospital Workers Local 1199C. Before that, as Philadelphia district attorney, he was the top cop in the frame-up of MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was railroaded to death row in 1982 for a murder he did not commit. And it was Rendell who prepared the arrest warrants against MOVE in May 1985 which led to the murderous cop assault that ended in

the Osage Avenue inferno, killing eleven MOVE family members and burning down an entire black neighborhood.

The union must actively reach out to the city's black and Hispanic population, who are subjected to grinding poverty and brutally racist police repression. What is needed is a class-struggle leadership to wield labor's power in defense of all the oppressed: for jobs for all at union wages, for free mass transit, for labor/minority mobilizations against racist attacks. In particular, the labor movement must champion the cause of freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, who has recently issued a statement in support of the transit strike (see above). Jamal's frame-up conviction and death sentence is a clear illustration that the cops and courts are part of a system of racist, anti-labor injustice (see article on page 16).

While hatred of Rendell is palpable among strikers, the TWU bureaucracy tirelessly preaches reliance on "good" local Democrats and the Clinton administration. The TWU caused a stir early in the strike when it picketed near sites under consideration for the Republican convention in 2000. With the Democrats also looking to Philadelphia to host their convention, Local 234 president Steve Brookens grovellingly wrote to them that the union "is committed to keeping Philadelphia a key element in any Democratic Party election strategy, but we need a similar commitment from the Democrats to keeping Philadelphia a worker-friendly community" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 26 June).

No less than the Republicans, the Democrats are a capitalist party committed to the enforcement of racist oppression and the exploitation of labor. After engineering the elimination of welfare and instituting slave-labor, union-busting "workfare," Clinton last year hammered Amtrak workers, imposing a 60-day, no-strike "cooling off period" on the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees—who had been working almost three years without a contract—after appointing a "Presidential Emergency Board" to ram a contract down their throats.

There must be a political fight inside the labor movement against its misleaders, whose strategy of reliance on capitalist politicians and the capitalist courts is a sure road to defeat. To mobilize labor's social power, not only in its own interests but on behalf of all those oppressed, requires the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party committed to ending racist capitalist rule through socialist revolution. ■

Italy: Popular Front Government Unleashes Cops Against Fiat Strikers

The following is translated from a June 11 leaflet issued by the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), section of the International Communist League, denouncing a vicious cop attack against pickets outside a Fiat plant in the Naples area. The SLAI, a division of the syndicalist-influenced COBAS trade unions, has been staging eight-hour strikes at the plant every Saturday. The cops were ordered in by Prime Minister Romano Prodi's Ulivo (Olive Tree) coalition government, which includes the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) and relies on the active parliamentary support of Rifondazione Comunista (RC), the two successor parties to the reformist Communist Party (PCI). At an SLAI support rally in Acerra on May 24, an LTd'I speaker expressed solidarity with their struggle, stressing our principled opposition to class-collaborationist reformism and state intervention in the workers movement.

SPARTACO

On Saturday, May 16, between four and five in the morning, an SLAI COBAS picket at one of the entrances to the Fiat auto plant at Pomigliano d'Arco was brutally assaulted by over 300 cops. In the course of the cop charge, two workers were thrown to the ground and nearly crushed by passing cars. Parliamentary deputy and SLAI COBAS leader Mara Malavenda (who was expelled from RC's parliamentary fraction for refusing to vote confidence in the Prodi government) was viciously attacked and thrown to the pavement, her head smashed into the concrete. Police prevented an ambulance called by the SLAI COBAS from reaching the injured for over 20 minutes. Only the intervention of other strikers prevented the cops from continuing to attack Malavenda as she lay on the ground. One picketer was also repeatedly sexually molested by a police official.

The entire workers movement must respond to this outrageous attack by the bourgeois state. The Ulivo government is a bourgeois popular-front regime—a coalition of bourgeois and reformist parties—carrying out a capitalist program that is completely counterposed to the interests of the working class. With the support of Rifondazione Comunista and in concert with the bureaucrats of the trade-union federations, the regime wants to send a clear message to the entire working class: resistance to austerity, unemployment, and two-tier wage systems will be met head on with the violence of the bourgeois state's repressive

apparatus under PDS Interior Minister Napolitano. This is especially so in the case of the Fiat empire, the Prodi government's main capitalist patron.

An Injury to One Is an Injury to All!

The working class must respond with mass mobilizations, starting with an extension of the Pomigliano d'Arco strike to Fiat's other plants in the North as well as the South. To defend itself against the inevitable attacks by police, scabs and fascists, the workers should



Luciano Paterno

organize picket-line self-defense squads and draw other sectors of the workers movement into the struggle. The unemployed should be mobilized through the call for dividing available work among all workers, with no cut in pay. Immigrants, victimized by rising racist terror by fascist bands and the cops, must also be mobilized.

Militant Syndicalism Supports the Popular Front!

The SLAI COBAS at Fiat Pomigliano is calling for a strike against forced overtime on Saturdays, which the company uses to maximize exploitation of the workforce even as Fiat management prepares to fire all workers who are "not sufficiently productive" due to health or other reasons. In spite of the open scabbing by the trade-union federation bureaucrats, who help the police in ensuring that Fiat gets the overtime schedule it wants, the just struggle of the SLAI COBAS is having success: 75 percent of the workers scheduled to work on May 16 stayed out.

But the stakes are very high. In an international context of increasingly bitter inter-imperialist economic competition, the bourgeoisie wants a proletariat that is completely subject to the demands of the profit system. This government—in which the parties of the workers movement (the PDS and RC) play a central

role—is carrying out the bourgeoisie's dictates by introducing job "flexibility," increasing the rate of exploitation and inflaming divisions in the working class between men and women, immigrants and Italians, South and North, younger and older workers.

Workers' resistance to the capitalist program of "blood and tears" requires a revolutionary party that fights against the popular front with the aim of smashing the class rule of the bourgeoisie and installing a workers government based on organs of proletarian power. The

COBAS to appeal to the bourgeois state in 1995 for a referendum to recognize their equal right to collective bargaining along with the trade-union federations. And in the last elections, a majority of the leaders of the "rank-and-file unions" voted for Rifondazione Comunista's popular-front program. RC's "thanks" for this was to publish a "balanced" report on the police rampage at Pomigliano, refusing even to condemn it. This is a clear declaration that RC sees Fiat boss Agnelli's opinion as more important than the outcome of the strike and the physical

Reformist PDS of Massimo D'Alema (far left) plays central role in popular-front government of Prime Minister Romano Prodi (left). March against unemployment in Naples, scene of recent cop assault on Fiat strikers.



Ferrara/Nouvelle Presse

power of the working class must be mobilized in the fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours with no cut in pay, in order to divide all available work among all workers and defend the living standards of the proletariat. Now more than ever, it is necessary for the unions to organize the unorganized, especially immigrants and the unemployed. We fight for industrial unions that unite all workers in the same industry. Unemployment and cuts in social services hit women and youth the hardest. We demand equal pay for equal work and 24-hour day care. But to realize these demands the masses have to be systematically mobilized on the road to a proletarian revolution.

The SLAI COBAS, like other "rank and file" organizations and unions, style themselves as "apolitical" and claim to stand for "pure, hard" syndicalism. In reality, every significant union struggle inevitably becomes political, and syndicalism reveals the bourgeois class nature of its program. In response to the police assault, a brutal act of political intimidation by the ruling class, Malavenda and the SLAI COBAS leadership pressed legal charges against the cops and complained that "the cops are attacking striking workers instead of fighting organized crime." Their leaflet called on the cops to "do their job"—but the cops' "job" is precisely that of repressing the struggles of the workers and all the oppressed.

This appeal to the cops expresses—and promotes among the workers—faith in the same bourgeois repressive apparatus which just used an iron fist to try to smash the strike at Pomigliano. For Marxists, the bourgeois state is, in its essence, special bodies of armed men—the army, police, etc.—which along with the judiciary, prisons, and state bureaucracy defend private property. The same faith in bourgeois institutions led the

well-being of their comrades.

In contrast to the rest of the so-called "left," including the COBAS leadership, we Trotskyists of the LTd'I fight for the complete political and organizational independence of the working class and we oppose on principle any form of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie or its state. Accordingly, in the last election we opposed a vote to any of the parties in this bourgeois coalition—including Rifondazione "Comunista"—and we warned that an Ulivo government would be anti-worker, anti-immigrant, anti-woman and imperialist.

At a meeting in Acerra after the police attack, the SLAI COBAS spokesmen described the current government as "fascist," thereby encouraging the idea that only a fascist regime can carry out an anti-working-class program. On the contrary, a "democratic" bourgeois state—even when administered by the reformist leaders of the workers movement—is anything but neutral in the class struggle. Rather, it is an instrument of the class rule of the capitalist bosses—one political form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, of which fascism is another. The mystification pushed by the SLAI COBAS

continued on page 15

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program

Also includes:
Organizational Rules and Guidelines

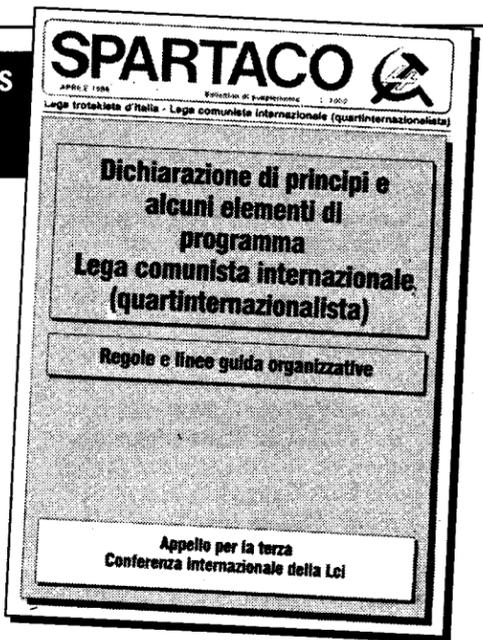
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For the Right of Self-Determination for Kosovo Albanians!

Down With Imperialist Intervention in the Balkans!

JUNE 29—Two weeks ago, more than 80 warplanes from 13 NATO countries roared across Macedonia and Albania. Stopping just short of the border of Yugoslavia, this “exercise” was intended as an overt threat of imperialist terror against that country. It was the largest mobilization of NATO military might in the Balkans since the murderous U.S.-led campaign of air strikes against Bosnian Serbs in the summer of 1995. Now, defense ministers in Washington and European capitals are openly mooting plans for air strikes against Serb-dominated Yugoslavia, as well as an intervention by ground troops, unless Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic halts military repression against ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo. The defense minister of Germany—which under Hitler’s Nazis occupied Yugoslavia during World War II—provocatively declared that NATO bombings would not be limited to Kosovo but would go after “selected targets throughout the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia” (Reuters, 17 June).

Only months after threatening to bomb Saddam Hussein’s Iraq back to the Stone Age, U.S. rulers are now posing as champions of “human rights” in Kosovo. The imperialist rulers are furious at their inability to impose order in the Balkan powder keg. But like its one-sided slaughter of Iraqis in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Washington’s main aim in any military strike against Serbia—the core of the rump Yugoslavia which issued out of capitalist counterrevolution—would be to reassert its role as world cop by sending a bloody message to those who dare defy the dictates of U.S. imperialism. The bloody U.S. ruling class feels it can terrorize the peoples of the world at will, from colonial-type occupations of Somalia, Haiti and Panama to the bombing of Third World countries such as Libya and Iraq. *In the event of imperialist attack, the international working class must defend Serbia against U.S./NATO forces!*

For years, Washington armed and incited Muslim and Croatian forces against the Bosnian Serbs. Following the 1995 air strikes, the NATO powers imposed a “peace accord” policed by an imperialist occupation force. But as we warned at the time, “The U.S.-imposed pact and NATO occupation will produce yet more bloodshed, while further hardening nationalist hatreds among the South Slav peoples” (WV No. 634, 1 December 1995). Now, direct U.S./NATO military attacks



AP photos

As U.S. warplanes carry out provocative “exercises” near Serbian border, American troops police Bosnia as part of UN/NATO imperialist expeditionary force.



against Serbia would threaten an even greater scale of destruction and risk igniting new and perhaps wider wars. Meanwhile, the punishing imperialist sanctions against Serbia, which were imposed in 1992 and curtailed after the 1995 accord, only to be ratcheted up again this spring, have inflicted terrible suffering on the civilian population—especially old people, children and the poor. *Down with imperialist sanctions against Serbia! All U.S./UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans now!*

Capitalist Counterrevolution and Nationalist Fratricide

Imperialist-fomented capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe has brought the Balkan peoples all-sided communalist slaughter, ripping apart the former Yugoslav deformed workers state along national/communalist lines. The orgy of bloodletting in Bosnia, whose territory is fiercely contested by Serbs, Croats and Muslims, has been marked by forced population transfers (termed “ethnic cleansing”) carried out by all sides. If the Bosnian Serb forces were responsible for the lion’s share of

such communalist atrocities, it was only because they had superior firepower and historically occupied a greater part of the country. The International Communist League opposed *all* the competing nationalist forces in the ethnic civil wars that erupted in the former Yugoslavia in 1991. At the same time, we have opposed all imperialist intervention in the Balkans.

In contrast to Bosnia, Kosovo has a largely homogeneous population—90 percent of its two million are ethnic Albanians. Since early March, the Serbian army has launched murderous assaults against villages in Kosovo, Serbia’s southern province, aimed at stamping out a separatist rebellion by the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK). The military attacks have left more than 300 dead and some 80,000 homeless, especially along the Albanian border, where Milosevic aims to create a *cordon sanitaire* (buffer) to prevent the shipment of military supplies to the nationalist guerrillas. As we go to press, Serbian tanks, artillery and armored personnel carriers have begun another major offen-

sive against UCK forces, which now claim to control 40 percent of Kosovo’s territory.

We defend the right of the Albanian-populated areas of Kosovo to self-determination—that is, the right to secede from the Serb-chauvinist regime in Belgrade. However, should the imperialists stage a military intervention over Kosovo, the issue of self-determination would be subordinated to our military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO forces. In any case, we give no political support to the UCK, whose own murderous nationalism is reflected in indiscriminate attacks against ethnic Serbs with the aim of driving them out of Kosovo. A number of UCK leaders previously fought with the Muslim forces—which were infested with Islamic fundamentalists—against the Serbs in Bosnia. We defend the right of the Serbian minority to live in Kosovo on the basis of full equality. And we champion the defense of the Roma (Gypsy) minority, who are subjected to chauvinist atrocities from all sides.

The continual flare-up of national and ethnic wars in the Balkans underscores the fact that only workers revolution can put an end to the cycle of nationalist slaughter in this blood-soaked region, because only on the basis of a collectivized planned economy democratically administered by organs of proletarian power (soviets) can the nationalist antagonisms bred by capitalism be transcended. This was exemplified by the experience of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. In leading the workers to power in October 1917, Lenin’s Bolsheviks laid the basis for the numerous nationalities which had been oppressed under the tsarist prison house of peoples to achieve the right to self-determination. Firmly grounded in a perspective of international proletarian revolution, the October Revolution opened the road to true socialist equality through the expropriation of the capitalists and landlords.

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans

Nationalist civil wars were both a direct antecedent to and by-product of the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Yugoslav deformed workers state. The victory of Tito’s Communist Partisans against the German Nazis and Croat and Serbian nationalists in World War II resulted in the overthrow of

continued on page 12



Ethnic Albanian women and children flee Serbian forces attacking villages in Kosovo.

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India-Pakistan Nuclear Rivalry



Reuters photos

Chauvinist outpourings in India (left) and Pakistan greeted A-bomb tests which represent ominous escalation of war fever on subcontinent.

LONDON—The nuclear tests carried out in May by India, followed two weeks later by its neighbour and rival Pakistan, were met with a chorus of imperialist condemnation. Following New Delhi's announcement, Labour prime minister Tony Blair sanctimoniously lectured India about its threat to a "safe world." U.S. president Bill Clinton, commander in chief of the deadliest nuclear arsenal in the world, hypocritically decried India's challenge to "the firm international consensus to stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction," imposing a raft of punitive economic sanctions first against India and then Pakistan.

Only months earlier, these two statesmen of "peace" were gearing up for mass destruction in Iraq, where the Anglo-American imperialists and their allies slaughtered 100,000 people during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. A million more Iraqis, including over 600,000 children, have died as a result of imperialist sanctions over the past eight years. Unlike the case of Iraq, the measures against India and Pakistan have not been embraced by many other imperialist powers, and the U.S. has already resumed some aid programmes to New Delhi. The International Communist League denounces the imperialist sanctions against India and Pakistan. Down with the starvation blockade of Iraq!

The proclamations by Britain and the U.S.—the only country ever to use nuclear weapons—reek of imperialist arro-

For Unconditional Military Defense of China!

gance against the prospect of semicolonial countries entering the relatively exclusive "nuclear club." And conspicuously absent in the imperialist hue and cry over "nuclear proliferation" is any reference to the considerable nuclear arsenal of Zionist Israel, which has been engaged in "extensive defense cooperation" with India (*Jerusalem Post International Edition*, 30 May).

Nonetheless, the India-Pakistan nuclear rivalry represents an ominous escalation of nationalist war fever on the subcontinent. India's tests, its first since an initial atomic explosion in 1974, came only two months after the election of a coalition government headed by the virulently Hindu-chauvinist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The BJP is a creature of the fascist Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), whose cadre form the leading core of the BJP. A relatively marginal political force only a decade ago, the BJP grew rapidly after the BJP/RSS-led *Hindutva* (Hinduness) fundamentalist combine instigated mob assaults in 1990 and 1992 on the most sacred mosque in India, the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya, triggering

pogroms in which thousands of Muslims were slaughtered. Now, the chauvinist outpouring over the A-bomb tests directly threatens the huge Muslim minority within India, whom the BJP decries as "Pakistani" and an "enemy within."

The BJP announced its intentions of "reviewing" India's nuclear weapons policy even before taking office in March. But a month before the Indian tests, the theocratic regime of Pakistani prime minister Nawaz Sharif carried out a launch of its new Ghauri missile—provocatively named for the first Muslim invader of the subcontinent in 1193—which is capable of reaching well into Indian territory. India's nuclear explosions in turn provoked a chauvinist furore within Pakistan, as former prime minister Benazir Bhutto, once the darling of Western liberals and "leftists," and others screamed for Sharif to order similar tests.

BJP leaders gloated of their determination to "put an end to the Pakistan menace" (*Frontline*, 6-19 June). But as was made clear by the coalition government's defence minister, longtime "socialist" leader George Fernandes, the explosions were also meant to convey a message to China. This message did not fall on deaf ears in the imperialist centres. The U.S. bourgeoisie, in particular, is divided over how best to pursue its aim of capitalist counterrevolution in the Chinese deformed workers state. Key sections of the American ruling class seek to continue prodding the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy along the road of a "cold" restoration of capitalism. But as U.S. naval provocations off the Chinese mainland two years ago and the current flap over Clinton's visit to Beijing illustrate, there is also considerable sentiment that Washington employ military blackmail to further its counterrevolutionary aims.

The ICL fights for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Beijing bureaucracy which is leading the drive towards capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, the A-bomb tests on the Indian subcontinent and the anti-China furore promoted by leading imperialist spokesmen underscore the Trotskyist call for unconditional military defence of the Chinese deformed work-

ers state against capitalist attack, including upholding *China's right to a nuclear arsenal*.

Both under the BJP-led coalition and its "secular" Congress and United Front predecessors, India's government has been strengthening all the hideous mechanisms of capitalist class rule, inflaming religious and ethnic divisions, wielding murderous violence against the lower castes perpetrated by upper-caste landlords and their hired thugs, intensifying the already brutal subjugation of women while threatening to engulf the subcontinent in communalist war. Pakistan, despite a veneer of parliamentary democracy, remains a military dictatorship under the grip of Islamic fundamentalism. Islamabad accompanied its A-bomb tests with the imposition of a draconian "state of emergency" which will be used to repress any resistance to the severe economic hardships being forced down the throats of the hideously exploited Pakistani working masses.

India and Pakistan have already fought three wars in the past 50 years, two of them centred in Kashmir, the Muslim-majority region which is divided between the two countries. Today, Kashmir is again a trip wire for war, as BJP revanchists scream of seizing "Pakistan-occupied" Kashmir and thousands of troops stand eyeball to eyeball on the border, regularly exchanging fire. The region is on a knife edge. The ICL is committed to forging internationalist vanguard parties, based on the Trotskyist programme of permanent revolution, to lead the impoverished and dispossessed masses of the subcontinent in the fight for proletarian power and the creation of a socialist federation of South Asia.

Capitalist Exploitation, Communalist Terror

The rise of the BJP comes in the context of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe and is paralleled by the growth of Islamic fundamentalism in predominantly Muslim countries. During the Cold War, India could count on diplomatic, economic and military aid from the Moscow Stalinists. With the Sino-Soviet split of the late 1950s, the Beijing regime became a chief backer of capitalist Pakistan, while the Kremlin criminally supported the Indian bourgeoisie in a 1962 border war against the Chinese deformed workers state. In the 1980s, the Soviet bureaucracy began pulling back on its international commitments as it embarked on a programme of



AP

U.S. forces slaughtered thousands of retreating Iraqi soldiers in 1991 Persian Gulf War. American denunciations of India's "weapons of mass destruction" reek of imperialist hypocrisy.

"market reforms" which was to lead to full-scale capitalist restoration.

At the same time, India's Congress government initiated a policy of economic "liberalisation," privatising sectors of the state economy and opening the door to untrammelled imperialist exploitation. Combined with implementation of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank austerity dictates, this meant taxes on food and fuel and driving down manufacturing wages to compete with cheap imports from Southeast Asia. These "reforms" created a large urban middle class, grasping to make ends meet, resentful of the entrenched and filthy rich Congress tops and their big business cronies, and fearful of the impoverished toiling masses below them.

The razing of the Ayodhya mosque by fascist-led Hindu-fundamentalist mobs in 1992—and the ensuing massacre of up to 2,000 Muslims—helped propel the BJP on the road to power. Evoking memories of the horrendous 1947 Partition which created post-independence India and Pakistan, religious fanaticism reverberated across the subcontinent. As we wrote in "Hindu Fascists Whip Up Religious Slaughter" (WV No. 567, 15 January 1993):

"The BJP is an upper-caste Hindu-led party, oriented to maintaining the traditional caste hierarchy in the context of capitalist urbanisation which undermines the old rural-centred system. It appeals to a layer of urban educated petty bourgeois who can find no jobs, and traders and petty entrepreneurs who often see Muslims in the same way as the European fascists viewed the Jews before

blers, illicit liquor dealers, pimps, goondas [gangsters], and Communists" (Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* [1997]). When 15 million workers went on a general strike in 1992, they were confronted by BJP-organised strikebreakers. But the Bombay region remained highly unionised. In 1996, the Peugeot car factory there was hit by two major strikes against demands for higher productivity, the second lasting four months. And last year, prominent trade-union organiser, Datta Samant, was gunned down in Bombay, sparking a citywide strike.

While raising import tariffs in line with its rhetoric of *swadeshi* (self-reliance), the BJP is intent on escalating the economic "liberalisation" begun under Congress, though not enough to satisfy the IMF vultures. The brutal reality of life for workers in India was shown last month, when over one thousand workers extracting salt from the sea in Kandla, a port in the western state of Gujarat, drowned in a storm. Unlike those of the prosperous middle class who have satellite TV, these largely illiterate workers could not even afford radios which would have notified them of storm warnings. Fifty years after independence, the vast majority of India's 900 million people live in extreme poverty, dispossessed and effectively disenfranchised, while corrupt capitalists, landlords and politicians amass fortunes through extortion, super-exploitation and brute force.

This is the legacy of the Nehru/Gandhi dynasty's Congress party, which governed India throughout much of the post-

ple were killed and over eleven million driven from their homes—the largest forced population transfer in history (see "The 'Quit India' Movement 50 Years On," *Workers Hammer* Nos. 131 and 132, September/October and November/December 1992).

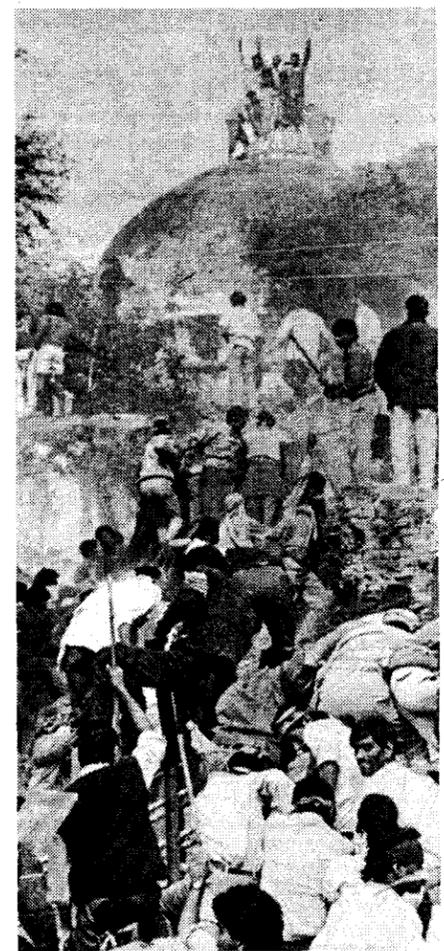
For Permanent Revolution on the Indian Subcontinent

The wretched history of Congress underscores the impossibility of "secular democracy" under capitalism in horrifically backward countries like India. Congress chief and founding Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru, joined by Muslim League leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah, presided over the communalist slaughter which accompanied the division of British India into predominantly Hindu and Muslim states. Today, both Pakistan and India remain prison houses of peoples. The former includes over a million Hindus, as well as Baluchis, Pashtoons and other oppressed nationalities. India has the second-largest Muslim population in the world (after Indonesia)—larger than Pakistan and that of the entire Arab world—as well as a myriad of other peoples chafing under the rule of the Hindu-centred "all-India" bourgeoisie.

Hindu (and Hindi-language) chauvinism has been integral to capitalist rule in post-independence India. During her lengthy reign, Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, cynically supported Sikh and Tamil separatist movements when it suited, only to suppress them later. After ordering the army massacre of more than 2,000 Sikhs at Amritsar's Golden Temple in 1984, Indira Gandhi was killed by her own Sikh bodyguards. Her son and successor Rajiv then unleashed a bloodbath of thousands more Sikhs in retribution. Seven years later, Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated by Tamil Tigers, who had been brutally suppressed by the expeditionary force he had sent to Sri Lanka. Now headed by his widow, Congress is no longer the hegemonic party it once was, as its base of support has fractured along regional and religious fault lines.

Among the chief promoters of the myth of capitalist "democracy" in India are the two reformist workers parties, the Communist Party (CPI) and the CPI (Marxist). These ex-Stalinist parties, which have administered various state governments for years, are deeply rooted in class collaborationism, alternately tailing Congress and other bourgeois forces. While both the CPI and CPI(M) derive their mass support at least in part from an anti-communist reputation, they are thoroughly wedded to Hindu-centred Indian nationalism. Both backed the slaughter of the Sikhs by Gandhi in 1984 and denounce the struggle of the Muslim Kashmiris as "terrorism."

The CPI and CPI(M) joined with several other groups in a 16 May proclamation countering the BJP's "reckless nuclear policy" with typically abject butter-not-guns reformism (*People's*



India Today
BJP-organized Hindu-chauvinist mob destroys Ayodhya mosque in 1992, leading to pogromist slaughter of up to 2,000 Muslims.

Voice [Canada], June 1998). In fact, they capitulated to the chauvinist frenzy. Indrajit Gupta, CPI interior minister in the United Front coalition government which preceded the BJP in power, declared: "The nuclear tests are a great achievement for India, no doubt, but we can't even supply ordinary drinking water and electrical power to the people" (*New York Times*, 28 May). The political bankruptcy of the ex-Stalinist parties has prepared the current upsurge of fundamentalist and fascist forces.

Shaped by two centuries of British colonial rule, Pakistan and India are classic examples of combined and uneven development, in which modern industry and technology co-exist with aspects of pre-industrial society. Age-old caste oppression remains pervasive in India, while women are the slaves of slaves throughout the subcontinent. In Pakistan, women are subjected to *purdah* (seclusion) and jailed or stoned to death for adultery and similar "crimes" under the hated Haddood Ordinance, which is based on Islamic law. Young women who refuse to submit to arranged marriages often have acid thrown in their faces or are otherwise brutalised. India has seen an alarming revival of *sati* (the religious practice of burning widows to death on their husbands' funeral pyres) and dowry burnings, the murder of young brides by

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Commonwealth Office

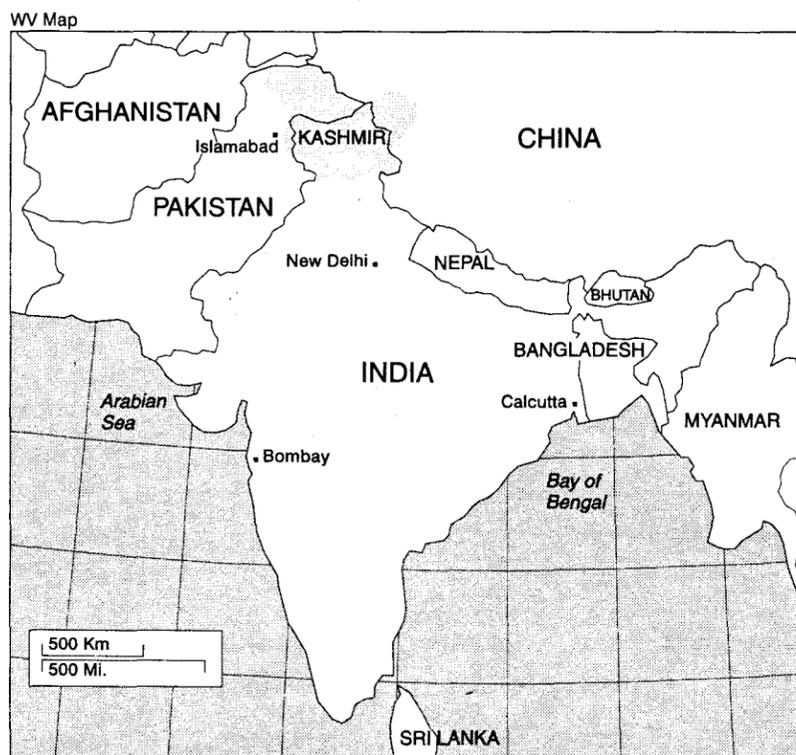


AFP
CIA-sponsored Afghan mujahedin launched attacks against Soviet army in Afghanistan from bases in Pakistan.

World War II. In India anti-Muslim communalism is the reactionary rallying cry for the fascist mobilisation of the new middle classes in the context of general urban plebeian rage and economic desperation—a feature of modern capitalist India, not some feudal leftover."

The BJP/RSS-led *Hindutva* combine includes the Bombay-based fascist Shiv Sena, formed in the early 1960s primarily to smash militant trade unions, then organising Bombay's highly cosmopolitan proletariat in the textile mills, railways and banks. Among its early targets were Tamil workers from southern India, who were denounced as "criminals, gam-

independence era. Most liberal and reformist opponents of the BJP promote the "secular-democratic" pretensions of the bourgeois-nationalist Congress. In fact, India and Pakistan were born out of the *defeat* of secular-democratic aspirations in the anti-colonial struggle against the British Raj, which manipulated and exacerbated communalist hatreds to bolster imperialist rule. As the parting act of British imperialism's bloody "divide and rule," Clement Attlee's Labour government engineered the 1947 Partition, unleashing an orgy of communalist fratricide in which some two million peo-



British imperialist butcher Mountbatten (center), flanked by Indian Congress leader Nehru and Muslim League head Jinnah. Imperialist partition in 1947 set stage for horrific communalist slaughter.

Der Spiegel



Japan...

(continued from page 1)

century-old Yamaichi Securities.

The burgeoning economic crisis can be seen in everything from the plummeting Nikkei stock index to record levels of unemployment. And it is paralleled by growing political disarray in the country's postwar capitalist establishment, notably including the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Earlier this spring, Sony chairman Norio Ohga likened Hashimoto to U.S. president Herbert Hoover on the eve of the Great Depression and warned that the economy "is on the verge of collapsing." The reformist Communist Party (JCP), after being marginalized for decades as a Cold War pariah, is running second only to the LDP in opinion polls. Trading on populist appeals and its record as the only significant party not to have participated in the merry-go-round of unpopular and discredited coalition governments, the JCP is expected to win up to 20 percent

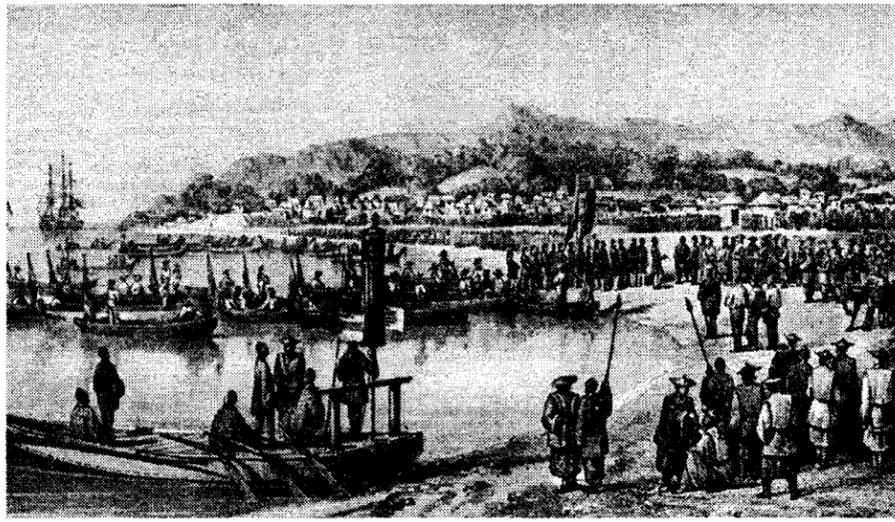
PART ONE OF TWO

of the vote in July elections for the upper house of parliament.

Even before the latest economic jolt, *Newsweek* (20 April) wrote: "Japan is verging on a recession that could prolong the Asia crisis indefinitely and drive U.S.-Japan trade frictions up to the red line." In fact, antagonisms between Washington and Tokyo have already hit the red line on numerous occasions. This came out most dramatically last fall when the U.S. threatened to embargo Japanese cargo ships on the West Coast during a dispute over shipping rights in Japanese ports. Such measures are matched by an escalation in rhetoric which smacks of Reagan's anti-Soviet "evil empire" ravings in the 1980s, as U.S. Treasury officials denounce Hashimoto's finance chief as the "Minister for the Destruction of the World Economy."

The spokesmen and ideologues of American capitalism have good reason for concern. Japanese financiers hold \$320 billion in U.S. Treasury bills and bonds, about 10 percent of that portion of the federal debt which is in private hands. If Nomura Securities, the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Sumitomo Bank et al. sold off most of their American government and corporate securities to cover losses at home, interest rates would go through the ceiling and stock prices through the floor. More immediately, the contraction of the Japanese economy and the plunging yen have led to a sharp decline in imports of American goods and the biggest U.S. trade deficit in a decade.

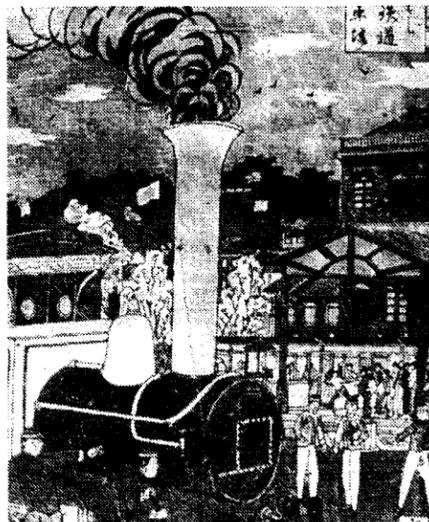
Bourgeois wishful thinking about the "death of communism" notwithstanding, the widening financial collapse in Asia underlines the Marxist understanding that inherent in the capitalist system is the tendency toward periodic economic crises which, in the words of the 1848 *Communist Manifesto*, "put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on trial." As demonstrated by the succession of global depression and world war in the 1930s, such crises inexorably lay the



AKG
Arrival of U.S. warships in Tokyo Bay in 1853 forced Japan out of feudal isolation.

basis for ever more destructive wars among the national capitalist rulers to redivide world markets and spheres of exploitation.

At the same time, the relentless assault on the living standards of the working masses of Asia, the deepening immiseration of the urban and rural poor, have provoked struggles against the austerity dictates of the International Monetary Fund, the imperialist bankers and the domestic capitalist rulers. This is most evident in the ongoing wave of protests in Indonesia, which has already resulted in the ouster of blood-soaked dictator Suharto. Economic collapse in Southeast Asia and the decline in the yen have shaken the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy, whose drive for capitalist restoration has



Independent
Development of railways signalled Japan's transformation from feudal order to industrial power toward end of 19th century.

been fueled in large part by offering up extremely low-paid Chinese workers to foreign investors. A Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party is key to transforming the defensive battles of the Chinese workers into a fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist bureaucracy and reverse the counterrevolutionary tide.

The proletariat of Japan, industrial powerhouse of the Asian Pacific Rim, holds the key to the fate of the region. If Japanese workers are not to be plunged into mass unemployment or new imperialist adventures, they must join with the

workers of Indonesia, Thailand, China and South Korea in the struggle for a socialist Asia. As we wrote in "Death of Communism' Myth Goes Splat" (WV No. 677, 31 October 1997) following last October's Wall Street crash:

"Socialist revolutions internationally—ushering in a classless, egalitarian society based on production for need, not for profit—is the only answer to the anarchy and brutality of the capitalist system. It is our task to forge the proletarian leadership needed to lead humanity out of this abyss."

Imperialist Rivalry and Resurgent Nationalism

Little more than a decade ago, Japan was regarded as the economic superstar of the capitalist world, its growth rate more than twice that of the United States. Tokyo's "industrial policy," orchestrated by the powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry, was held up as a paragon of farsighted capitalist planning, especially in contrast to the obsessive concern of U.S. corporations and banks with short-term profitability. But ever since the "bubble economy" based on speculation in stocks and real estate burst in the late 1980s, the Japanese economy has been dead in the water, its banks—the world's largest—saddled with bad debts which they refused to write off for fear of triggering a wave of bankruptcies.

The immediate backdrop to this dramatic decline, and the growing threat of global depression, lies in the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. As long as the Soviet Union existed, conflicting interests between U.S. imperialism and its Japanese and German rivals were by and large subordinated to the dictates of the U.S.-led Cold War alliance. For the sake of that alliance, Wall Street and Washington were willing to open the U.S. market to Japanese manufacturers while tolerating the insulation of Japan from import competition and foreign capital penetration. However, as British financial journalist Christopher Wood pointed out in his 1994 tract, *The End of Japan Inc.*: "With the end of the Cold War America no longer sees a need or reason to put diplomatic or strategic interests ahead of its own commercial self-interest."

Particularly under Democrat Clinton, U.S. "trade hawks" have brazenly issued ultimatums to Japan of the sort generally

directed to Third World neocolonies. In April, Clinton explicitly demanded that Hashimoto implement massive tax cuts and other domestic policies promoted by Washington. U.S. commentators not only denounce the corrupt "crony capitalism" now blamed for the Asian crisis but even paint Japan's financial elite as in the grip of powerful crime syndicates, witness the *U.S. News & World Report* (13 April) headline, "Yakuza Inc." In Australia, whose export economy is dominated by trade with Japan, the frenzy has reached an even more fevered pitch. The *Sydney Morning Herald* (9 June) blared "How Japan Drove Down the Region," while the *Australian Financial Review* (11 June) screamed, "Australia Under Attack!"

This war of words is mirrored in the Japanese media. A recent commentary in the *Japan Times* (27 March), headlined "Just Say No to U.S. Demands," railed that the U.S. was guilty of "de facto intervention in Japan's domestic affairs" and warned U.S. officials that "there are limits to the kind of demands they can make." The inauguration of the so-called Big Bang policy opening up the country's financial markets to foreign institutions led to a wave of jingoism, with such headlines as "Foreign Companies Hit the Beaches, Occupy the Country" and "American Capital Runs Roughshod Over Japan."

Such allusions to a replay of the 1941-45 Pacific War are not isolated. In recent years, the U.S. media have been filled with hypocritical reminders of the Korean and Chinese "comfort women" (*ianfu*) forced to serve as prostitutes for the Japanese military in World War II and of the 1937 Nanjing massacre, where Japanese occupation forces beheaded, impaled, buried alive or otherwise murdered more than 340,000 Chinese in less than two months.

For its part, the U.S. bourgeoisie incinerated more than 200,000 Japanese civilians in a matter of minutes in the 1945 A-bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; yet the Smithsonian Institution was forced to scuttle a tame exhibit on the 50th anniversary of these first—and only—wartime uses of nuclear weapons after a storm of opposition by American political and military spokesmen. The vile anti-Japanese racism which accompanied the imperialist war in the Pacific was manifested not only in the mass imprisonment of ethnic Japanese in the U.S. but in the grotesque glorying in the American press of Japanese scalps, skulls and ears American GIs brought back as "trophies" (see John Dower, *War Without Mercy* [1986]).

Meanwhile, Japan has been awash in a sea of jingoist propaganda aimed at reversing its image as the defeated aggressor in World War II. With the drive spearheaded by Todai University professor Fujioka to rewrite history textbooks, it has now become common in the pages of the "respectable" bourgeois press and on TV talk shows to deny Japanese imperialist atrocities in China, Korea and elsewhere. An array of prominent industrial and political figures are promoting the new film *Pride*, which exonerates World War II military dictator Tojo. This is the sort of "historical revisionism" which was previously heard only from



Der Spiegel

Under Meiji Restoration of late 1860s, which restored emperor as nominal head of state, Japan embarked on drive toward modern, industrial state. Right: Japanese invasion of Korea in 1904 led to four decades of colonial occupation.



Robert Hunt Library

the sound trucks of militarist sects or in discreet conversations at cocktail parties.

The resurgence of national chauvinism is a prelude to eventual military confrontation. America's ruling circles saw the demise of the Soviet Union as ushering in a "one superpower" world of unchallenged U.S. domination over its imperialist competitors and the semicolonial peoples of the Third World. The 1991 "Desert Slaughter" of Iraq, followed by repeated air strikes and the ongoing UN-sponsored starvation blockade, was a sharp expression of this, as Washington made clear that it would brook no "insubordination" from Third World bourgeois regimes and sought to ensure a stranglehold over oil supplies vital to Germany and Japan.

While falling in behind U.S. military moves in the Persian Gulf, the militarily far weaker Japanese bourgeoisie has been asserting its appetites in the Pacific Rim. Since 1992, after amending the constitution to allow for the deployment of its forces abroad, Japan has participated in five UN "peacekeeping" missions. Twice in less than a year—first to Cambodia and then Indonesia—Hashimoto has conspicuously dispatched military, not civilian, aircraft to "evacuate" Japanese nationals.

However, there is one point on which both American and Japanese capitalists agree: the need to crack down on the proletariat. Behind the shipping dispute which came to a head last year was a concerted drive by shipping companies in both countries to break the Japanese maritime unions' control over shifts and working conditions. Ideologues for Anglo-American capitalism prescribe for Japan the program of wage-gouging,

ism, demanding that Japan cease to be a "nation structured on U.S. military bases." This is laced with reformist calls for petty tax reductions and opposition to "capitalism without rules."

Against the social-chauvinist labor traitors, whose policies have twice this century helped drag the workers into inter-imperialist world wars, the Spartacist League/U.S. and Spartacist Group of Japan, sections of the International Communist League, fight to forge revolutionary vanguard parties based on the program of international socialist revolution. As we note in the Declaration of Principles adopted at the Third Conference of the ICL earlier this year:

"In the conflicts between rival regional trade blocs today, the outlines of future wars are sharpening. In the face of growing inter-imperialist rivalry, we reassert: *'The main enemy is at home!'*"

Origins of Japanese Capitalism

How is it that in the space of just two decades a country regarded as the most economically successful of major capitalist states is now widely perceived as the weak link of the world economy? To answer this question adequately it is necessary to consider the history of Japanese capitalism from its origins in the 19th century. This history is directly intertwined with that of U.S. imperialism: from the American warships in Tokyo Bay which forced Japan out of feudal isolation in the mid-19th century to the U.S. occupation following Japan's defeat in World War II and the subsequent Cold War alliance between Washington and Tokyo.

Along with Germany and the U.S., Japan was one of the three major "new industrializing countries" of the late 19th

Some 120,000 Japanese Americans were thrown into concentration camps during World War II by racist American rulers.



Seattle Post-Intelligencer

UPI

state—"strong army, rich country"—expressed its commitment to developing modern industry as the necessary basis for military strength. C. G. Allen, a leading student of Japanese economic history, judged that "there was scarcely any important Japanese industry of the Western type during the latter decades of the nineteenth century which did not owe its establishment to state initiative." Iron and steel, cement-making, chemicals, coal and copper mining, the merchant marine were initially wholly or largely financed and operated by the state.

Beginning in the last period of the 19th century, the government sold many of these enterprises to politically favored capitalist clans popularly called *zaibatsu*, literally "money cliques." This was the origin of the vast financial/industrial conglomerates described by one American scholar as modern holding companies combined with a feudal-like hierarchy and loyalties. Indeed, Mitsui was an old merchant/money-lending family which had played an important role in the Tokugawa era, while Mitsubishi was founded by a former samurai turned mercantile entrepreneur. The integrated complexes of commercial, industrial and financial capital they created were closely bound up with the state bureaucracy and enjoyed generous government subsidies, for example through low-interest loans.

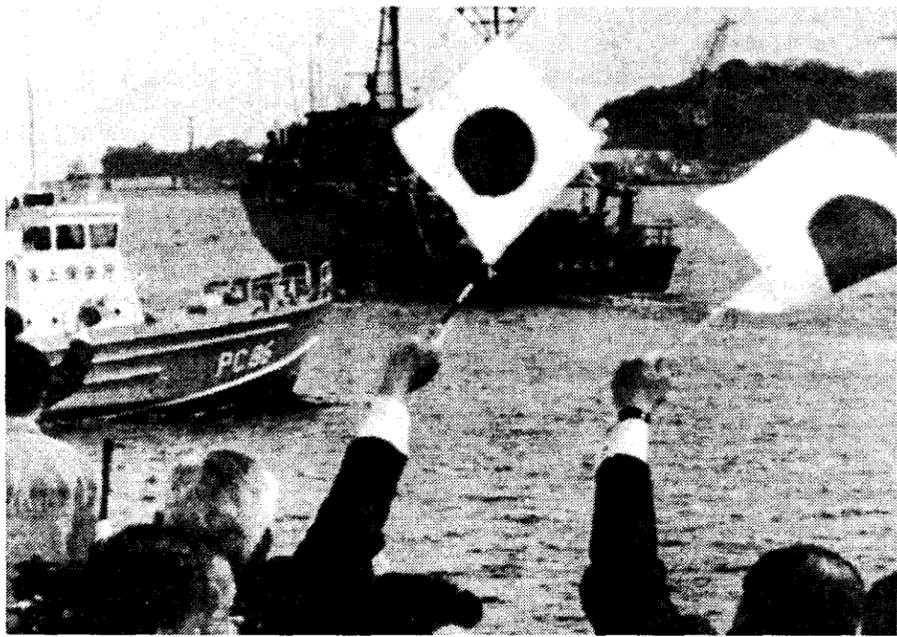
Yet the economy remained dependent on export of labor-intensive light manufactures—primarily silk and cotton textiles—while importing advanced machinery and much of its steel. What allowed and encouraged Japan to establish a heavy industrial base was the complete disruption of the existing pattern of international trade as World War I engulfed Europe in 1914. The Japanese chemical industry now displaced German-made

drugs, fertilizers and dyestuffs throughout East Asia. Between 1913 and 1918, the number of steel mills in Japan increased *tenfold*, from 21 to over 200.

Japan thus emerged from the war as a relatively developed capitalist country. Linked to the U.S. as its main trading partner, Japan fully participated in the prosperity of the 1920s—and in the Great Depression of the 1930s. The sharp contraction of output and income which followed the 1929 Wall Street crash necessarily led to a marked decline in the volume of Japan's exports to North America and Europe. Additionally, barriers were everywhere raised against what was then called the Japanese "trade menace." As a result of the Smoot-Hawley tariff and other American protectionist measures, between the late 1920s and mid-1930s the proportion of Japanese exports shipped to the U.S. dropped from over 40 percent to little more than 20 percent of a far smaller total volume. Japan was also cut off from its second leading market, West European colonies in Asia such as British India and the Dutch East Indies.

In response, beginning with the conquest of Manchuria in 1931 the Japanese bourgeoisie moved to establish its own colonial empire: the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." The Western imperialist powers in turn resorted to intensified economic warfare. The July 1941 embargo of vital oil supplies by the U.S., Britain and the Netherlands left the Japanese bourgeoisie with only one alternative if it was not to return to a pre-industrial economy. In a punishing attack that December on Pearl Harbor—the main U.S. naval base in the Pacific—Japan's rulers hoped to force Washington to accept their Greater East Asia

continued on page 10



Reuters

Minesweepers leave for Persian Gulf in 1991 in first Japanese overseas military mission since World War II.

union-busting and payroll-slashing carried out in Thatcher's Britain and Reagan's America in the 1980s. MIT economist Rudi Dornbusch declares that Japan "desperately needs a Reagan-Thatcher revolution," while Christopher Wood argued in his 1994 book:

"While Japanese companies remain for now content to employ more than 3 million excess workers with nothing to do and no value to add, American firms in recent years have restructured ruthlessly. Since 1989 when the U.S. slowdown first became evident American companies have shed more than 7 million jobs in continuing waves of retrenchment.... The process may have often seemed brutal. But the penchant for 'downsizing' has been effective. American companies' earnings have risen, and the American stock market with them."

Yet the pro-capitalist labor misleaders on both sides of the Pacific strive to deflect the workers from class struggle against their "own" exploiters and instead keep the proletariat chained to the "national interest" of their respective bourgeoisies. Racist Japan-bashing protectionism is a hallmark of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, and is particularly pronounced among "progressive" types like the United Auto Workers and Machinists leaders. In a similar vein, the ex-Stalinist JCP avidly promotes Japanese national-

century. But while West Europe and its North American colonies had experienced a centuries-long transitional epoch of mercantile capitalism, Japan went from a feudal order to an industrializing capitalist state within a span of two generations. This generated a capitalist system in which certain characteristics of feudalism remained especially strong.

Japan's *daimyo* (feudal lords) responded to the initial incursion of Western imperialism in East Asia in the 16th and 17th centuries with a rigid national isolationism under the Tokugawa Shogunate. Weakened by internal contradictions, by the mid-19th century Tokugawa isolationism could not withstand the renewed onslaught of Western imperialism, now strengthened by emerging industrial capitalism. In the two decades following Britain's defeat of China in the Opium War of the early 1840s, Western gunboat diplomacy forced the Japanese government to sign a series of commercial treaties opening up the country to foreign trade.

The late 1860s saw the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate by modernizing and nationalistic elements of the ruling elite in the Meiji Restoration, which restored the emperor as nominal head of state. The official motto of the new Meiji

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1998年5月

国際原則の宣言と
綱領のいくつかの諸要素

国際共産主義者同盟
(第四インターナショナル)

スバルタシスト・日本グループ

Japan...

(continued from page 9)

Co-Prosperity Sphere. But Tojo and his fellow militarists woefully underestimated not only the industrial power of the United States but the appetite of its rulers to control the whole world.

By 1945, as defeat loomed in the Pacific War, influential elements of the Japanese ruling class advocated negotiating peace terms with U.S. imperialism based on shared opposition to "red revolution" in Asia. In February 1945, Prince Konoye, a former prime minister, advised Emperor Hirohito: "Defeat may lower our national prestige, but British and American opinion has not gone to the length of contemplating making changes in the structure of the Japanese State. What we should fear most is the possibility of Communist revolution following defeat" (quoted in Joyce and Gabriel Kolko, *The Limits of Power* [1972]). A few turbulent years later, Konoye's projection of an anti-Communist alliance between Wall Street and the *zaibatsu* came to be realized.

Forging the Washington-Tokyo Cold War Axis

When the U.S. military occupied Japan after the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, American ruling circles were divided on what strategy to pursue in the Far East. What was

state in East Asia.

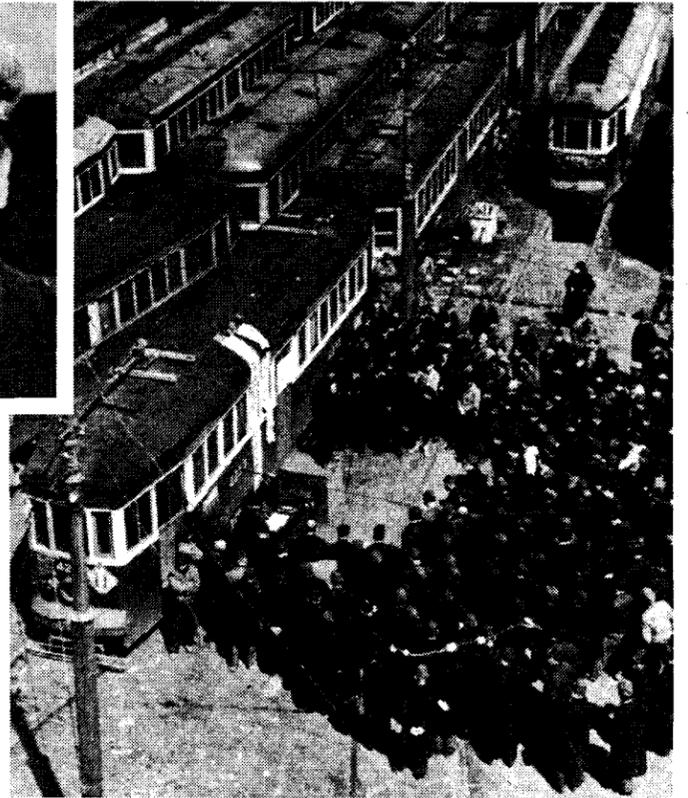
The initial policies pursued by the American occupation regime under the megalomaniacal General Douglas MacArthur were thus contradictory and contributed to the political and social turmoil of the early postwar years. While the Japanese military was subjected to an extensive purge, the emperor was retained and the imperial governmental bureaucracy remained intact, serving as the agency through which American policies were implemented—and, on occasion, subverted. At the same time, thousands of leftists and working-class militants were released from prison, some having been arrested up to two decades earlier under the 1925 Peace Preservation Law.

Following the war, Japan experienced an explosion of class struggle unique in its history. Within a year and a half of the August 1945 surrender, five million workers were enrolled in trade unions, more than ten times the prewar peak. As the only political force which had opposed the militarists' drive toward war, the Communist Party emerged from underground with great moral authority and grew enormously. The most militant union federation, Sanbetsu, was strongly influenced by the pro-Moscow JCP. However, in keeping with the international Stalinist line of "two-stage revolution" and the Kremlin's effort to maintain its wartime alliance with the "democratic" imperialists, the JCP openly dis-



Wide World

1948 Tokyo municipal workers strike. U.S. occupation forces under General Douglas MacArthur presided over anti-Communist purge which broke militant unions.



Acme



AP

Combative South Korean workers protest layoffs in February as financial crash sweeps East Asia.

then a minority current—including the House of Morgan, General Electric and other elements with extensive prewar ties to Japan—favored transforming Japan's traditional rulers into junior partners. But there was also a strong current of American bourgeois opinion which wanted to destroy Japan's potential as a rival imperialist power while building up Chiang Kai-shek's China as the main U.S. client

avored the fight for proletarian power in favor of the "democratic revolution" supposedly being carried out by U.S. occupation forces. The JCP called for a class-collaborationist "popular front" alliance with "progressive" elements of the Japanese bourgeoisie. In fact, the Socialists briefly participated in two such popular-front governments in 1947. But the Communists continued to be regarded as mor-

tal enemies by the Japanese ruling class and American imperialists.

By 1947, the new Cold War between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union dominated global politics. China was engulfed in a full-scale civil war between Mao's peasant-based Red Army and Chiang's forces, which culminated two years later in the expulsion of the Chinese bourgeoisie from the mainland and the creation of a bureaucratically deformed workers state on the model of Stalin's USSR. These developments brought about a shift in U.S. policy toward Japan. Now the American bourgeoisie was united in building up a stable and prosperous Japan as a bulwark against Communism in Asia. As the SGJ noted in an article headlined, "Smash the Counter-revolutionary Alliance Between Japan and U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!" (*Spartacist* [Japan] No. 18, May 1997; printed in *WV* No. 667, 2 May 1997):

"The German and Japanese bourgeois states were rebuilt under the American military shield and shared in a division of labor in the postwar anti-Soviet crusade. The 'economic miracles' of Germany and Japan are directly connected with those countries' roles as forward quartermasters for American armies in Europe, Korea and Vietnam."

Predictably, the main target of this "reverse course" was the left and workers movement. In 1948, MacArthur outlawed all strikes by government employees. This affected key sectors of the economy, notably the state-owned railways. In his 1986 book *The Reckoning*, written against the background of the escalating U.S.-Japan trade war, liberal American journalist David Halberstam recounted the key role of the U.S. occupation regime in eradicating labor radicalism in Japan and therefore eventually strengthening the competitive advantages of Japanese industrialists:

"In 1949, with MacArthur's support, there was an all-out assault upon Communist leadership in the unions which became known as 'the Red Purge.' In union after union the Communists and some of their colleagues were simply arrested and removed from their jobs. As many as ten thousand workers were fired during these purges, and hundreds of thousands were pulled back from union membership."

It was the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 which finally pulled Japan out of its prolonged postwar economic depression. The *zaibatsu* (reorganized under the label *keiritsu*) now became MacArthur's quartermasters, supplying arms and other equipment for the imperialist war against the forces of the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states. MacArthur presided over a scorched-earth policy which resulted in the slaughter of up to four million Koreans by the time of the 1953 truce and oversaw the creation of a vicious police state in South Korea. From the outset of the war, MacArthur argued for the use of nuclear weapons against

China and North Korea. MacArthur was subsequently denounced as a loose cannon, but such plans were also repeatedly entertained by Democratic president Truman, who withdrew MacArthur in 1951 in part because he wanted someone more "reliable" in command in case nuclear weapons were deployed.

Seeking to keep the Communists out of government and ensure that the Socialists would not again gain governmental office in Tokyo, in 1955 the U.S. State Department brokered the fusion of the two main bourgeois parties to form the Liberal Democratic Party, which ruled Japan for the next four decades. The Cold War alliance of Japanese and American imperialism was personified by Nobusuke Kishi, LDP party boss in the late 1950s. A top official in the Japanese puppet government in Manchuria and then in the wartime Tojo regime, Kishi was imprisoned for several years as a war criminal by the American occupation authorities. He was released during the "reverse course," as Washington moved to enlist the Japanese right in the global anti-Communist crusade.

The Kishi government demonstrated the integral connection between the Cold War against the Soviet Union and China abroad and the *keiritsu*'s war against the workers movement in Japan. In the face of mass protests, in 1960 Kishi rammed through the Japanese Diet (parliament) a renewed military treaty which granted the U.S. "the use by its land, air, and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan." Shortly thereafter, the government intervened to defeat a bitter, year-long strike of coal miners at the Mitsui-owned Miike mine, the largest and most modern colliery in the country. The Miike strike was a key labor battle in postwar Japan, and the defeat of the miners did much to consolidate *keiritsu* capitalism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

SPARTACIST ENGLISH EDITION SUMMER 1997

NUMBER 53

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

China on the Brink

Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?

SEE PAGE 2

Permanent Revolution vs. the "Anti-Imperialist United Front"

The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism

SEE PAGE 21

Original Documents Published from Soviet Archives

Trotsky's Fight Against Stalinist Betrayal of Bolshevik Revolution

SEE PAGE 36

Revolutionary Regroupment or Centrist Alchemy?

SEE PAGE 56

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SPARTACIST ENGLISH EDITION SPRING 1998

NUMBER 54

For New October Revolutions!

Third International Conference of the ICL

SEE PAGE 2

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program

International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

SEE PAGE 6

On the Origins and Development of Leninist Organizational Practices

SEE PAGE 24

Organizational Rules and Guidelines

International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

SEE PAGE 31

Women and Permanent Revolution in South Africa

SEE PAGE 48

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India-Pakistan...

(continued from page 7)

husbands' families greedy for more or a second dowry. Such barbarous practices are increasing most among the urban layers most attracted to the BJP.

The intertwining of ethnic and sexual oppression on the subcontinent was highlighted by the eruption of communalist terror in 1993 in response to a book by Bangladeshi writer Taslima Nasrin, an opponent of religious fundamentalism and women's oppression who was subjected to death threats and criminal prosecution. In our article in defence of Nasrin in *Women and Revolution* (No. 44, Winter 1994-Spring 1995), we wrote:

"Nasrin's case raises questions far beyond the important democratic issues of women's rights, freedom of speech and the separation of religion and state. Addressing the profound oppression of women and the religious and national hatreds, her writings inevitably, and unintentionally, raise questions that only a revolutionary socialist program can answer."

In the epoch of imperialism, the bourgeoisies in countries of belated capitalist development are incapable of carrying out even fundamental democratic tasks. Much less are they able to implement a thoroughgoing agrarian revolution, which requires the expropriation of the big landlords and their capitalist allies. In short, the bourgeoisie cannot satisfy the most basic needs of the impoverished masses. The only way out of the multiple layers of oppression, degradation and exploitation is through the Trotskyist programme of permanent revolution: the seizure of power by the proletariat—standing at the head of the poor peasantry, the oppressed women, castes and national minorities—as part of a perspective of socialist revolution throughout the region and internationally, particularly in the imperialist centres.

National justice for the myriad oppressed peoples of the subcontinent,



Anu Pushkarna

India's multinational proletariat has direct interest in crushing communalist terror, caste oppression as part of struggle for workers revolution.

often the working class that is targeted by communalists. There have been numerous instances in recent Indian history of powerful strike movements which transcended communal and ethnic divisions. In 1984, some 300,000 dockers engaged in the longest port strike in Indian history, defying savage strike-breaking by the Indira Gandhi regime, including the massacre of over 300 workers. In the midst of this heroic battle, a report in *Workers Hammer* (No. 57, May 1984) stressed:

"This strike is particularly important because it has united a key section of India's vast proletariat across the myriad national/ethnic/religious divisions of the subcontinent. Tamils in the south, Bengalis in the east, northern and western In-

For federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka as part of a socialist federation of South Asia!

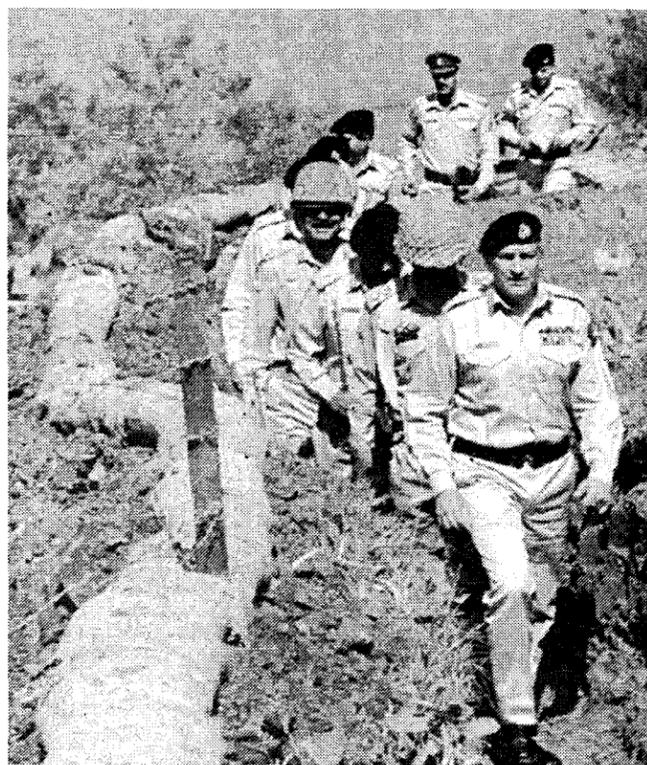
Imperialism Threatens Nuclear Barbarism

Justifying its A-bomb test, the Indian government focused on denunciations of Beijing for arming India's enemies, especially Pakistan. Tibet's reactionary Dalai Lama rushed to congratulate India after the nuclear explosions. This Buddhist cleric, whose monk-ridden "independence" struggle serves as a battering ram for capitalist counterrevolution in China, is a current favourite of the world's anti-Communist glitterati. Among his fans are India's "socialist" defence minister, Fernandes, "a fervent supporter of the Tibetan cause" (*New York Review of Books*, 25 June).

In a "leaked" letter to Clinton, Vajpayee made a thinly veiled appeal to U.S. imperialism for an alliance against the Chinese deformed workers state. The Indian prime minister blamed China for "the deteriorating security environment" and spoke of "an overt nuclear weapon state on our borders, a state which committed armed aggression against India in 1962," referring to India's humiliating defeat after its attempted military incursion into a disputed border region. A commentary in the Indian journal, *Frontline* (23 May), on the BJP government's ambitions noted:

"This focus on China is deliberate, as the beginning of a methodical red-baiting offensive within the country, as the inauguration of an arms race on the Asian continent, and as an appeal to long-term U.S. goals in Asia. What we are witnessing is the staging of a short-term Indo-U.S. tension as a prelude to a long-term comprehensive strategic alliance."

Washington hardly has need of a "strategic alliance" with backward India at the moment. But the drumbeat of belligerent rhetoric against China has gotten noticeably louder among American ruling circles of late, and not just among Republicans taking Clinton to task for alleged campaign contributions from the Chinese military. An article headlined "Red Scare?" in *U.S. News & World Report* (8 June) asked, "Is China friend or foe?" And a piece in the *New York Times* (20 June) by op-ed columnist Thomas Friedman sympathetically noted that with India now deprived of Soviet patronage, the A-bomb tests were "meant to signal America and China that India views their emerging 'alliance' with great concern." Two days later, the *Times* carried a sabre-rattling contribution by Robert Kagan and William Kristol warning: "The Chinese leadership must know that when it breaks its promises—by aiding Pakistan's and



Reuters

Pakistani troops patrol border dividing Kashmir, trip wire for nationalist war between India and Pakistan.

including the right to self-determination, requires the revolutionary overthrow of both the Indian and Pakistani bourgeoisies. This can only be based on an internationalist perspective. In the three wars already fought between India and Pakistan, we advanced the position of *revolutionary defeatism*, calling on the workers to turn their guns the other way. In the face of growing war fever today, it is necessary for the workers of India and Pakistan to unite around their common class interests in opposition to the chauvinism of their "own" bourgeoisies.

The proletariat has a direct and immediate interest in smashing the caste system and crushing communalist and pogromist forces. Frequently drawn from among local and migrant minorities, it is

dians in the great part of Bombay are all battling the bloody bourgeois-nationalist regime of Indira Gandhi."

It is in the course of such struggles that a revolutionary leadership will be forged to bring to the proletariat an understanding of its historic task in sweeping away the whole capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. The ICL fights to build Leninist-Trotskyist parties to fight for socialist revolution against all the reactionary capitalist regimes of the subcontinent: Hindu chauvinists in India, Islamic fundamentalists in Pakistan and Bangladesh, and the brutal Sinhala-chauvinist People's Alliance government which is engaged in the bloody suppression of the oppressed Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. For the right of Tamil Eelam!

Iran's nuclear weapons programs—it will be punished with sanctions." These conservative ideologues concluded with Cold War rhetoric about the need to "contain China's strategic ambitions."

Beginning in the early 1970s, U.S. imperialism and the Beijing bureaucracy consummated a counterrevolutionary alliance aimed against the Soviet degenerated workers state, then the military and industrial powerhouse of the "Communist bloc." Both the U.S. and China also supported Pakistan against Soviet-allied India. Following the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan in late 1979, Pakistan became a strategic base for CIA operations in support of the anti-Communist "holy war" waged by Islamic fundamentalist Afghan *mujahedin*. We proclaimed "Hail Red Army" and called to "extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples." The Kremlin bureaucracy's treacherous withdrawal in 1989 led to the barbaric, anti-woman Taliban coming to power in Afghanistan and gave enormous impetus to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism elsewhere. The pullout was also a direct precursor to capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Washington has curtailed aid to Pakistan while focusing on the drive to restore capitalism in China. Though the 1949 Chinese Revolution was deformed from the outset under the nationalist leadership of the Stalinist Communist Party, it resulted in the shattering of capitalist rule and the creation of a planned, collectivised economy. Decades of Stalinist misrule and the escalation of "market reforms" in recent years have brought China to the very brink of capitalist counterrevolution, which would mean bloody chaos and immiseration for a quarter of the world's population and would further intensify the imperialist scramble to redivide markets and spheres of exploitation. The ICL strives to cohere the nucleus of the Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party which is desperately needed to lead the Chinese proletariat in a political revolution to stop the Beijing bureaucracy's galloping drive towards capitalist restoration. This perspective is premised on unconditional military defence of China against capitalist attack, including imperialist sanctions and nuclear blackmail.

While the imperialists fume about the handful of nuclear weapons held by India and Pakistan, the real danger to the continued existence of humanity lies in the vast arsenals held by the major capitalist powers, particularly the U.S. And as history has shown, there are no bounds to the scale of imperialist barbarity—from the U.S. A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to the horrendous massacres perpetrated by British imperialism in colonial India. As noted in the ICL "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

"Capitalism has long since outlived its progressive historical role of creating a modern industrial economy. In order to maintain their rule, the national capitalist classes must exploit national, ethnic and racial divisions, which have been intensified since the destruction of the Soviet Union. Increasingly mutually hostile imperialist powers and rival blocs must oppress the peoples of the former colonial world and those still under the yoke of colonial peonage, impoverish the world's masses, engage in continual wars for the maintenance and redivision of the world markets in order to prop up the falling rate of profit, and attempt to smash the revolutionary struggle of the workers wherever it breaks out. In its final frenzied effort to maintain its class rule, the bourgeoisie will not hesitate to plunge humanity into nuclear holocaust or dictatorial oppression of unprecedented ferocity."

The only alternative lies in the proletariat establishing its own class rule around the globe, seizing state power from all the exploitative ruling classes and ushering in an international socialist society. The fate of humanity lies in the timely reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International to lead the struggle for new October Revolutions around the world. ■

Texas...

(continued from page 1)

Diaries early." Incredibly, the local sheriff claimed at a press conference, "We have no Aryan Nation or KKK in Jasper County"—a statement met with angry jeers by blacks in the audience.

East Texas is home for two KKK klaverns, as well as groups such as the Texas Aryan Nationalist skinheads. In 1993, the KKK rallied in the white bastion of Vidor, 50 miles from Jasper, amid a successful racist drive to force out the few blacks living in the town's housing projects. And the racist killers come dressed in blue uniforms as well as in white robes. Ten years ago, cops in nearby Hemphill, Sabine County, killed Loyal Garner Jr. They pulled him over as he crossed from Louisiana to Texas, dragged him off to jail, then pulled him out of his cell and beat him when he asked to make a phone call. After lying on the floor all night, he died the next day in the hospital. As we wrote at the time in "Cop Terror Stalks Black America" (WV No. 444, 15 January 1988):

"Jim Crow is supposed to be dead. And in some circumstances you're allowed to act like the formal equality is real. Until you find yourself in a situation where the real racist rules apply. Loyal Garner made a horrible mistake. He thought he had rights; after being arrested, he



Marzani & Munsell

thought he could ask to make a phone call. That mistake was fatal."

The cops who took Loyal Garner's life were acquitted even of "violating his civil rights."

In the wake of this latest KKK murder, there was an outpouring of support for James Byrd's family. Chicago Bulls basketball star Dennis Rodman, who went to school in Texas, offered to pay all the funeral costs. But the "sympathetic" declarations of government officials at all

levels were deeply cynical. Democrats and Republicans alike have pushed the elimination of welfare, the massive prison construction boom, the speedup on death row. These policies amount to a statement that the capitalist class deems a substantial part of the black population to be "expendable." Emboldened by government attacks on blacks, immigrants and other minorities, skinhead and Nazi groups have been expanding across the country, an auxiliary to the systematic

cop terror unleashed daily to keep black people "in their place."

The capitalist rulers denounce the KKK lynchings as the vestige of a supposedly bygone racist past. The racist status quo is today more than adequately enforced by the killer cops—in the low-wage, open shop South as well as in the ghettos of the North. The daily cop killings of black people are no "excess" or "oversight," but part of a calculated program of racist repression. Such repression is integral to this capitalist system, aimed at keeping blacks segregated at the bottom of the economy and at keeping the working class divided so that it cannot effectively fight for its class interests. At the same time, as long as capitalism remains, fascist murderers like the Klan and Nazis will be coddled and even cultivated by the bourgeois rulers, who hold the nightriders in reserve as strikebreakers and, in the last resort, as shock troops for the defense of the capitalist profit system.

The fight against black oppression and anti-immigrant racism is central to revitalizing the labor movement in this country. What's needed is a revolutionary workers party, built in struggle against the racist pro-capitalist misleaders of the unions, to lead the working class at the head of all the oppressed in a socialist revolution which puts an end to the fascist scum and the capitalist system which breeds them. ■

Balkans...

(continued from page 5)

capitalism and brought two generations of peace and relative ethnic harmony to the peoples of Yugoslavia. Kosovo was accorded a measure of self-rule and, in 1974, formal autonomy. Among other things, this meant that ethnic Albanians and Serbs were taught in their own languages at shared school facilities. However, Tito's Stalinist nationalism was diametrically opposed to the fight for socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe, which was necessary to provide the economic basis for genuine national equality in the relatively impoverished Balkans.

The Yugoslav workers state was deformed and undermined from the outset by Stalinist bureaucratic rule. This was exacerbated with the introduction of "market socialism," which opened Yugoslavia to increasing imperialist economic penetration, and reinforced and widened disparities among the various regions. The result was to fuel resurgent nationalism and pave the way for the counterrevolution in which Milosevic played a prominent role. Milosevic came to power in Serbia in 1987 through a vicious chauvinist campaign against the Kosovo Albanians, revoking Kosovo's autonomy and purging more than 140,000 Albanians—including teachers—from the provincial government's workforce. Public education in the Albanian language was suppressed, and ethnic Albanians were forced to endure discrimination and police brutality.

Kosovo leader Ibrahim Rugova, who is

touted by Washington as a "moderate," now openly calls for NATO military intervention against Serbia, as does Albanian prime minister Fatos Nano. Nano is himself an imperialist puppet, presiding over the occupation of Albania by an Italian expeditionary force. Nano is now appealing for NATO troops to occupy northern Albania, which is largely under the control of former Albanian strongman Sali Berisha, who was driven from power last year by a rebellion provoked by a massive "pyramid scheme" corruption scam. Berisha has now tried to stage a comeback on the basis of Albanian nationalism by sponsoring the KLA, which also supports NATO intervention. A KLA leader told the *New York Times* (10 June): "If NATO troops go into Kosovo, we will welcome them and respect any arrangement made with them, but they have no place in Albania."

In fact, Washington is *opposed* to independence for the Kosovar Albanians. The imperialists are fearful that further disintegration of the Balkans along national lines could lead the whole region to blow up. U.S. imperialism is not even opposed to a Greater Serbia as such, provided it sets the terms and Milosevic knuckles under.

Despite the united show of NATO force last month, events in Kosovo have highlighted the underlying divisions among the rival imperialist powers. The European Union has insisted on obtaining UN authorization for any military intervention in Kosovo, while Russia, the Serbs' traditional patron, has threatened to veto any UN Security Council resolution. Germany has now resumed its historic role as imperialist patron of Croatia

and Slovenia. Meanwhile, the German bourgeoisie has begun deporting the hundreds of thousands of refugees who fled the Balkan wars which German imperialism helped instigate. Turkey has longstanding ties to the Albanians, while rival Greece supports the Serbs.

The nationalist conflicts in the Balkans are a trip wire for war. In addition to Kosovo and Albania itself, the Albanian population is spread across Serbia, Greece and Macedonia, where the oppressed Albanian minority constitutes over one-quarter of the population. Any "solution" to these conflicting national interests within the framework of capitalism inevitably involves expulsions, forced population transfers and mass murder. Furthermore, the breakup of Macedonia—occupied by one thousand UN troops, including 350 Americans, and surrounded by neighbors with claims on its territory—would be a certain harbinger of war. The immediate precipitant of the Balkan wars of 1912-13 was a revolt by the Albanians of Kosovo whose capture of Skopje, now

the capital of Macedonia, destabilized the central Balkans. The surrounding states of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro went to war in a mad frenzy to seize territory. This was a prelude to World War I.

The bourgeoisie today trumpets the supposed "death of communism," but it was nationalist Stalinism which perished, in the end dragging the peoples of Yugoslavia—as well as the rest of East Europe and the former Soviet Union—back to the slaughterhouse of capitalism. The just resolution of even the most elementary national and other democratic rights on the Balkan peninsula requires united revolutionary struggle by the multiethnic working class to sweep away all the competing bourgeois-nationalist regimes and the entire capitalist system. This requires the forging of revolutionary workers parties capable of winning the masses away from the nationalist demagogues on all sides in the fight for a Socialist Federation of the Balkans as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

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Mumia...

(continued from page 16)

York Times of June 14th entitled, "Justice for Police Officer Daniel Faulkner." The target of this attack, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a renowned journalist from Philadelphia who has been on death row for 16 years for the alleged shooting of Officer Faulkner, and who was known as "the voice of the voiceless" for his award-winning reporting on police abuse and other social and racial ills that afflicted the minority communities of Philadelphia, had received worldwide support in his effort to overturn his unjust conviction. At the time of his arrest in 1981, Jamal was serving as the president of the Association of Black Journalists and had previously been a founder of the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia and a supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group.

The advertisement for death, taken out at the cost of tens of thousands of dollars, selectively quotes from witnesses at Jamal's 1982 trial, all of whom have been thoroughly discredited in subsequent court hearings beginning in 1995. Omitted are the evidence and witnesses who have come forward to establish facts which were kept from the jury during the 1982 trial. The ad claims as a "fact" that two police officers heard Jamal confess to the shooting of Officer Faulkner the night of the killing. Yet the police officer who guarded Jamal reported that very morning that Jamal had made "no comments." That officer reportedly was on vacation and unavailable at trial, when in



Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

Philly cops screaming for Mumia's execution besiege hospital workers union hall in 1995. Now sinister ad in New York Times marks escalation of cop vendetta against Jamal.

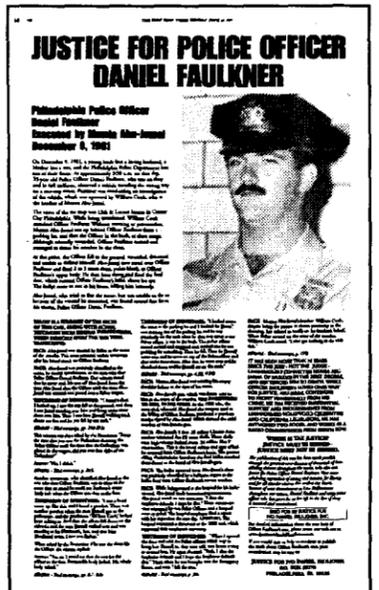
away" from the scene. This couldn't have been Jamal, who weighed 170 pounds and was found by the police sitting on a curb at the scene of the shooting, bleeding profusely from a shot fired by Faulkner. Why Chobert changed his story did not become clear until 13 years later when, at a court hearing in 1995, he admitted that at the time of the shooting he had been driving his taxicab without a license while still on probation for felony arson—throwing a Molotov cocktail at a grammar school. The jury which presumably found Chobert truthful never heard these facts. Furthermore, Chobert

fled the scene of the killing; again, not Jamal. To anyone familiar with the notorious practices of the Philadelphia Police Department, this pattern of police misconduct is not unique to Jamal's case.

At the 1982 trial and every subsequent hearing in Jamal's case, information was withheld from the defense by the prosecution in a court room presided over by Judge Albert Sabo. In an unrelated proceeding, six former Philadelphia district attorneys swore under oath that no accused could receive a fair trial in Sabo's court. Jamal presented over a score of separate constitutional violations to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, from the withholding of evidence to the racial exclusion of jurors. Eleven qualified African Americans were rejected by the prosecution, a standard practice as was recently revealed in the exposure of a "training tape" for excluding blacks from juries prepared by the Philadelphia district attorney's office in the mid-1980s. On this basis alone, Jamal should be given his freedom.

In a country where the racial bias inherent in the death penalty was recognized by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1987 (even as it ruled that such bias provided no basis for appeal!) Philadelphia reigns as the "capital of capital punishment." A 1998 study by the Death Penalty Information Center, titled "The Death Penalty in Black and White," notes that blacks make up 84 percent of those on death row from Philadelphia and that black men from that city are almost four times more likely to receive a death sentence than other defendants.

Since this sinister ad only repeats old, discredited tales and completely ignores the evidence presented in Jamal's appeals, one is left to ask, "Why now?" The Pennsylvania State Supreme Court is about to render a decision on Jamal's appeal of Judge Sabo's predictable denial of a new trial for Jamal. Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge, who signed Jamal's death warrant in June 1995, has vowed to once again order Jamal's execution should he lose his appeal. Antici-



pating the possibility of a repeat of the massive protests that succeeded in saving Jamal's life in August 1995, the pro-death penalty and law enforcement forces now seem more determined than ever to defeat and deflect the strength of that movement.

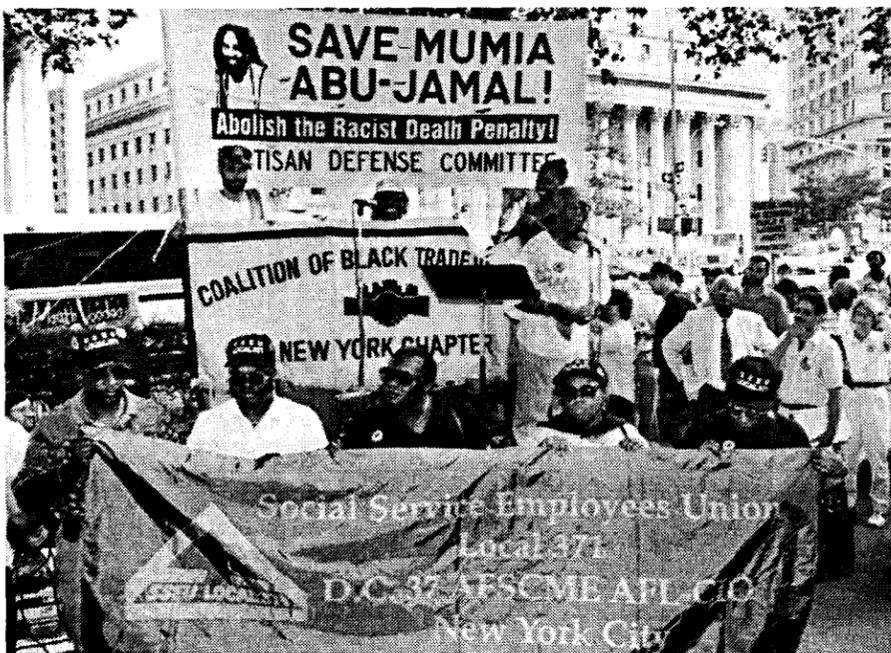
In a country awash with commodity advertising, the many thousands of dollars spent in this false and misleading ad will not subvert or detract from the public outcry in support of Jamal. The rush to judgment back in 1982, fueled by sensational media reporting that echoed police demands for the death of Mumia Abu-Jamal irrespective of the evidence, has produced a historic injustice which has kept an innocent man in prison most of his adult life. The effort to now seal his fate through advertising is equally reprehensible and must be rejected in favor of immediate freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Leonard I. Weinglass

* * *

Funds for Mumia's Legal Defense Are Urgently Needed!

If the Pennsylvania Supreme Court turns down his appeal, the next battleground on the legal front will be in the federal courts, involving massive new costs. Get your union or organization to make a contribution for Mumia's legal defense, payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense"), and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. Contact the PDC—New York: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252, e-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com; Chicago: P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; San Francisco Bay Area: P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462, phone (510) 839-0852. ■



WV Photo

August 1995 New York labor/black mobilization initiated by Partisan Defense Committee was part of international protests which stayed Jamal's execution.

fact he was at home waiting to testify.

Similarly, the charge that the shot which killed Faulkner came from Jamal's legally registered .38-calibre weapon contradicts the medical examiner's report—first entered into the official record in 1995—that the bullet removed from Faulkner's brain was a .44-calibre. That fact was also kept from the jury. Moreover, a weapons expert found it incredible that the police at the scene of the shooting failed to test Jamal's gun to see if it had been recently fired or to test his hands to see if he had fired a weapon.

The testimony cited in the ad of "eyewitnesses" who claimed to identify Jamal as the shooter was equally flawed, coming from witnesses whose testimony has now been exposed as false. One of these witnesses, a white cab driver named Robert Chobert, first reported to police that the shooter was 225 pounds and "ran

revealed in 1995 that he had asked Jamal's prosecutor to help get his driver's license back. Years later he was still driving, unhindered by the police, without a license.

The main witness cited in the ad, Cynthia White, was someone no other witness even reported seeing at the site. In return for her testimony that Jamal shot Faulkner, White was allowed to continue to work the streets as a prostitute for years, apparently with police protection. In a 1997 hearing, another former prostitute, Pamela Jenkins, who was a friend of White at the time, testified that White was acting as a police informant, a fact not given to the defense, and that she had testified only after the police had threatened her life.

Other sworn testimony revealed that witness coercion was routinely practiced by the police as they pursued their investigation against Jamal. In 1995, eyewitness William Singletary testified that police repeatedly tore up his initial statement—that the shooter, not Jamal, ran away from the scene—until he wrote something acceptable to them. The following year, another former prostitute, Veronica Jones, courageously came forward to testify that she had also been coerced into changing her initial true eyewitness account that two men had

NOTICE

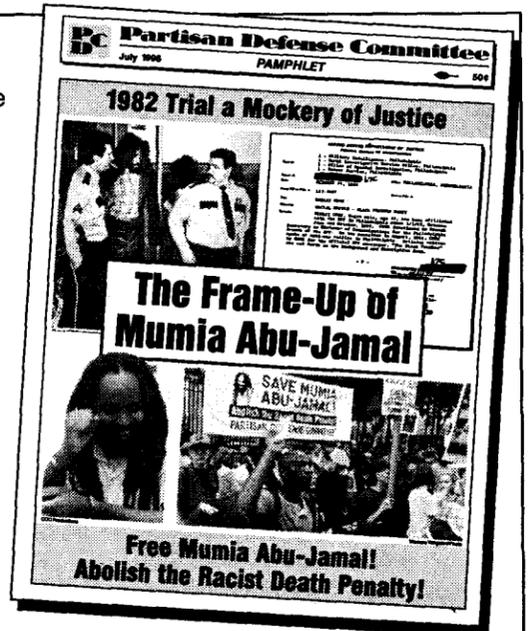
Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August. Our next issue will be dated July 31.

Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party.

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Bundles are available: 25 copies for \$10

Order from/make checks payable to:
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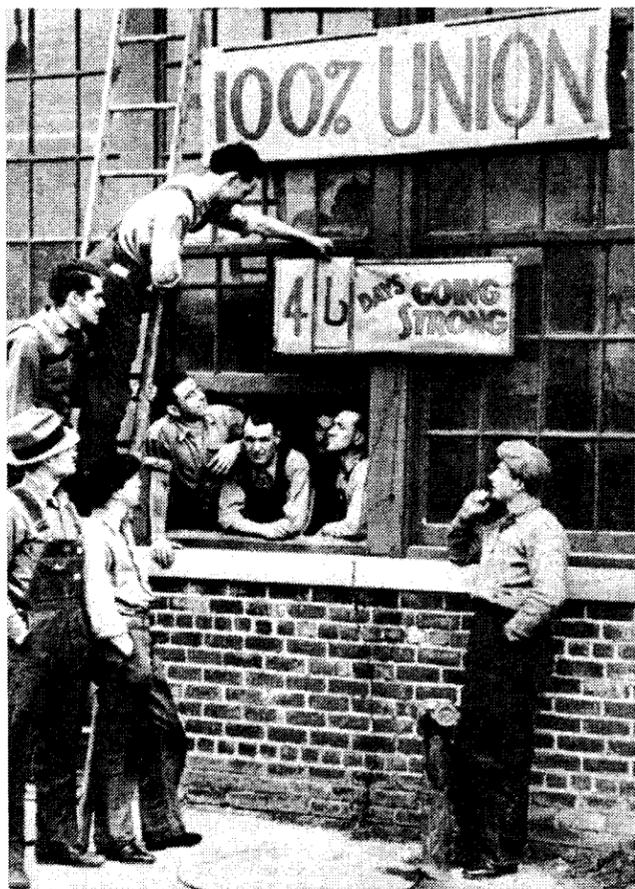
Flint Strikes...

(continued from page 16)

picket line angrily told a WV reporter that machinery has been moved out of the plant with the evident complicity of union officials, who did nothing to stop it. Moreover, UAW officials have kept production for non-GM companies going in the struck plants, with union members crossing picket lines. This flies in the face of the most basic trade-union principles. **Picket lines mean don't cross!**

Particularly since the wave of mass layoffs at the Big Three in the early 1980s, the UAW tops have pushed through one concession after another, promising the workers that enhancing corporate profitability would secure jobs. A UAW agreement at the Metal Center last year offered the company increased "flexibility" in work rules in exchange for promises to invest in the plant. In the early 1980s, GM closed its assembly plant at Fremont, California—a relatively new facility built in 1968—dispersing the heavily black workforce. The UAW let the company reopen the plant as a joint venture with Toyota, **with no contract or union** at the time. This was a pilot project to break union control over working conditions throughout GM and the rest of the auto industry.

The introduction of the so-called "Japanese management system"—itself a result of ruthless union-busting in Japan in the late 1940s and early '50s under the auspices of the U.S. occupation authorities—meant the elimination of whole job categories and massive speedup. The "just in time" inventory system, which



1937 Flint sit-down strike led to rise of UAW as powerful industrial union.

cal program of class collaboration promoted by all wings of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

Flint was the site of the powerful sit-down strikes of the late 1930s, part of an upsurge of labor militancy which built the UAW and the CIO industrial unions. But from the outset, the CIO leadership pushed workers into the arms of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" and the Democratic Party—a party of big busi-

This was clear in the case of PATCO, which went down to defeat because the AFL-CIO bureaucrats, particularly the Machinists leadership then under social democrat William Winpisinger, hid behind capitalist "legality" and refused to shut down the airports in solidarity with the fired PATCO workers. This debacle gave the corporate bosses the green light to fabulously enrich themselves on the backs of the working class. It was only the solidity of the UPS strike, where there was virtually no scabbing, which put constraints on the natural treachery of the Teamsters leadership and propelled the strike to victory.

The bourgeois aspirations and outlook of the labor tops can be seen in the ease with which they move to positions within the capitalist establishment itself. The UAW tops have been trumpeting the fact that Daimler gave them a seat on the board of directors following the merger with Chrysler. Two decades ago, then UAW chief Doug Fraser used his seat on Chrysler's board to help force through plant closings. His predecessor, Leonard Woodcock, was rewarded for his services by being appointed U.S. envoy to China by Democrat Jimmy Carter in 1977.

The allegiance of the labor bureaucracy, as well as a majority of the working class itself, to the Democratic Party is the main obstacle to successful class struggle against the capitalists in the U.S. As part of the fight for a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement, the Spartacist League is committed to the building of a revolutionary workers party, forged in political struggle against the class collaborationism of the union tops. Such a party must be based on the understanding that the workers can defend their interests and those of all the oppressed only through their mass mobilization in struggle, culminating in the creation of a **workers government** which expropriates the bourgeoisie and seizes the instruments of production.

For International Labor Solidarity!

GM's drive to intensify the exploitation of auto workers through "outsourcing" production and squeezing workers in its U.S. plants takes place in the context of intense competition, both among the Big Three and with rivals overseas, centrally in Japan. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union—which despite the rule of a corrupt, nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy was based on a planned economy in which capitalist exploitation had been eliminated—has led to sharpened rivalry between German, Japanese and American imperialism.

GM squeals for protection from "un-

fair" Japanese trade practices while simultaneously preaching the gospel of "free trade" as it builds plants in Thailand, Brazil, Mexico and other Third World countries. Since 1978, GM has built more than 50 parts plants just in Mexico—where auto workers earn as little as \$1 per hour—making its Delphi subsidiary the largest private employer there. The export of capital to low-wage areas, where profit margins are greatest, is a fundamental feature of modern capitalism. At the same time, GM is an **American** corporation, reliant on the U.S. imperialist state to protect its property and enforce its dictates, which will not and cannot shift all its production overseas.

Joining their corporate masters in railing against "unfair" competition, the union tops ram through "productivity" schemes and givebacks with the lie that this will "save American jobs." While often buying into the union tops' protectionist line, many strikers on the Flint picket lines expressed sympathy with low-wage workers in other countries. In getting copies of the last issue of *Workers Vanguard*, with a front-page article on Indonesia, strikers were interested to learn that the brutal Suharto dictatorship came to power through an anti-Communist bloodbath which wiped out the most militant sectors of the proletariat. Some workers bitterly asked why the American union leadership was doing nothing to help organize superexploited workers in Mexico.

"Progressive" labor bureaucrats like AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney and UAW president Stephen Yokich may talk of the plight of Mexican workers. But this hypocritical posture is belied by their incessant appeals to the American rulers for protectionist measures **against** workers abroad. This is **counterposed** to the urgent need to unite workers across national borders. The same GM management which drives down wages and lays off workers in the U.S. also subjects workers in Mexico, Brazil and Thailand to grinding exploitation and slave-labor conditions.

The UAW tops have long acted to serve the interests of American imperialism at home and abroad. The social-democratic UAW leadership under Walter Reuther, congealed through the anti-Communist purges which drove militants out of the unions in the late 1940s and early '50s, fully embraced the Cold War crusade against the Soviet Union. Over the years, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy—through "labor" fronts like the AIFLD in Latin America and AALI in the Far East—acted in concert with the CIA to subvert Communist-led unions and buttress anti-labor dictatorships. Thus, the American union misleaders have helped ensure that U.S. "multinationals" like GM can freely engage in superexploitation of workers in Third World countries.

Protectionism serves to foment bigotry against Asian and Latin American workers. Following the imposition of the NAFTA "free trade" rape of neocolonial Mexico—which the AFL-CIO tops opposed purely as a threat to **American jobs**—the Teamsters bureaucracy organized a racist campaign to keep Mexican truckers out of the U.S. The misnamed UAW "Solidarity House" gang is no better. In the early 1980s, even as it greased the skids for mass layoffs, the UAW bureaucracy launched a vicious Japan-bashing campaign which included sledgehammer attacks on Toyotas and Datsuns. One of the victims of this climate of racist frenzy was Chinese American Vincent Chin, who was bludgeoned to death by a retired Chrysler foreman and his stepson as they screamed that it was because of people like Chin that they had lost their jobs.

Defeat Attacks on Labor, Minorities

The link between protectionism and anti-black and anti-immigrant racism was underlined by the recent KKK provocation in Jasper, Texas after the depraved lynching of James Byrd Jr. Trying to appeal to backward white workers,



Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras

Mexican workers occupy Ford plant in Nuevo Laredo, 1995. UAW tops' protectionism is poison to international labor solidarity.

has made GM so vulnerable to strikes at parts plants, was based on the premise that **there would be no strikes**.

Twenty years ago, American auto workers could boast that they were among the highest paid in the world, though they had to work like hell for their wages. But behind the recent merger through which Germany's Daimler has essentially taken over Chrysler is the fact that U.S. labor costs have plummeted compared to West Europe and Japan. The widespread implementation of multi-tier wage systems, which particularly affect women, minority and young workers, and the sharp overall drop in real wages over the last two decades are paralleled by a drastic decline in union membership and frequency of strikes. The result of years of concessions by the UAW is that GM and the other auto giants pile up record profits and jobs continue to go by the boards, as the Big Three produce **more** cars with fewer workers.

UAW members have been systematically betrayed by their leaders. But simply calling for more militant tactics, as do a host of reformist "socialist" groups which tail the labor bureaucracy, is not the answer. The key lies in understanding that these betrayals are rooted in a politi-

ness no less than the Republicans. The treacherous result of the union bureaucracy's subordination of the labor movement to the capitalist parties was made crystal-clear in the 1996 GM contract negotiations, as the UAW tops made sure there would be no strike to disrupt Clinton's re-election. The result was a rotten agreement, allowing GM to dump 30,000 workers and to permanently pay workers at new parts plants far less than other auto workers. And even as the current strikes were underway, the UAW convention in Las Vegas provided a platform for Clinton's labor secretary to demand that the union call off the work stoppage.

As we noted in an exchange with a Machinists union official on the 1995 Boeing strike (WV No. 634, 1 December 1995):

"The labor bureaucracy is the top layer of the unions which long ago separated itself from its working-class base, and which sees the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. The purpose of these top union officials is to ensure the subordination of the workers to the national interests of the enemy class. This collaboration with the capitalist rulers is codified in the labor bureaucrats' fealty to the Democratic Party—and it has led to an unending string of defeats for organized labor."

For Open Political Debate in the Workers Movement!

Protest Rifondazione Comunista Gangsterism!

We publish below a translation of an open letter to members of the reformist *Rifondazione Comunista* issued by our comrades of the *Lega Trotskista d'Italia*.

MILANO, 28 June—Yesterday evening, a Rifondazione Comunista goon squad of twelve men brutally attacked three comrades of the *Lega Trotskista d'Italia*, one of them a woman, outside RC's national *Liberazione* festa. The three comrades had just started selling the LTd'I newspaper, *Spartaco*, on a public sidewalk outside the festa when goons wearing RC badges attacked them yelling, "You have to get out of here!" The goons grabbed the female LTd'I comrade by the throat and arms, slapped another comrade and tried to push and shove our three comrades down the street in order to beat them up, out of sight of witnesses. The leader of the attack screamed at our woman comrade repeatedly, "I will kill you," "I will break your legs," "I can get you, even away from this festa."

Energetically, the LTd'I comrades verbally protested, drawing a crowd of onlookers who seemed shocked by such violence against a woman. Only this and the protest of two youth, whose only "weapons" were the Trotskyist newspapers in their hands, made the goon squad back off.

RC and its "left" tails are particularly uncomfortable because we tell the truth—and that is also the reason they

use physical violence against us. Headlines in the last two issues of *Spartaco*, "For New October Revolutions" and "Smash the Austerity, Racism and Imperialism of the Ulivo/RC Government," particularly enraged them.

RC has now fully supported the Ulivo government for over two years. This Ulivo/RC bourgeois coalition has made deep cuts in pensions, health care and public school funding, while increasing funds for private Catholic schools. With the full support of RC, the government recently approved a measure to set up concentration camps and deport thousands of immigrants. RC also fully supported the infamous, anti-South Treu Agreement which imposes a lower wage scale in the South, institutes the "subcontracting" of workers and provides for more "flexible" working conditions, not covered by union contract. RC head, Fausto Bertinotti, hails the Pope of counterrevolution and states "The Church is our real ally." This imperialist government has also sent Italian troops to Albania for the first time since Mussolini, while whitewashing and covering up for the sadistic Italian military torturers in Somalia. Meanwhile, even official government statistics show a dramatic increase in poverty and in deaths from industrial "accidents" (industrial murder) which now average more than three a day.

The Ulivo/RC government coalition

sends its police to attack striking workers at Fiat Pomigliano, unemployed workers in Naples and elsewhere, and anybody else who opposes their policies of "blood and tears." It is therefore not surprising that, while RC sends its goons to physically attack Trotskyist communists, it welcomes with open arms the government's infamous labor minister, Tiziano Treu, the social policy minister, Livia Turco, and a member of the Vatican-linked PPI (representing the health minister) giving them a platform at the *Liberazione* festa for their reactionary politics.

We of the LTd'I/ICL advocate the most open debate possible in the workers movement. We underline the fact that the increase in Stalinist violence by RC goes hand in hand with its role in the Ulivo/RC bourgeois governing coalition which has been managing Italian capitalism for over two years. RC carries out its criminal Stalinist attacks today for the same reason that the Stalinists carried out their anti-Trotskyist violence in the 1930s. They seek to eliminate revolutionary opposition to their criminal role in building the popular front, a coalition between workers and bourgeois parties which subordinates the working-class organizations to the bourgeoisie, repressing revolutionary struggle. The policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy led to the destruction of the October Revolution. Those same policies, pursued by RC in Italy to-

day, are leading to defeat for the working class and the oppressed, not least women.

RC and Giovani Comunisti youth members: Stand up for your right to read whatever you want and talk to whomever you want. Don't let RC bureaucrats censor you or treat you like the PPI, RC's coalition partner, treats "heretics" against the church. We note that inevitably the seriousness of RC's attacks against us is proportional to the threat that we represent to them. There are many RC members or recent RC members who are deeply disgusted by the politics of RC. An example of this are the two letters of resignation from RC and applications for membership into the LTd'I of two ex-RC youth in Trani and Palermo, printed in *Spartaco* No. 52, April 1998. These youth show the way forward for the many others in RC who are very open to our politics of intransigent opposition to class collaboration and our genuine revolutionary propaganda. We turn to those in RC and GC who are disgusted by their party's management of Italian capitalism's austerity, "blood and tears" policies. We will not be silenced, but will seek to stop Stalinist thuggery through protest and exposure and by fighting to forge the genuine Bolshevik, Leninist-Trotskyist world party of socialist revolution. RC is no place for a communist. Break with the politics of class collaboration! Join the LTd'I/ICL!

Italy...

(continued from page 4)

spokesmen also promotes the illusion that the problem is with the particularly rightist character of the Prodi government—that a "more left-wing" bourgeois popular-front regime could serve the interests of the proletariat. In reality, any popular-front government is bourgeois and will be anti-worker, anti-woman and anti-immigrant.

Break with Popular-Front Politics! Build a Leninist Party!

The workers movement must be completely independent from the bourgeois state and has to be conscious of the fact

that every gain won under capitalism remains partial and reversible in the absence of the complete revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie. This complete class independence and revolutionary consciousness can only be obtained through hard political struggle against the traitorous leaders of the workers movement, waged by a party armed with the program of Lenin and Trotsky and with the aim of splitting the working-class base of the reformist parties from the pro-capitalist leadership.

In recent years, militant syndicalism has re-emerged as a reaction to the betrayals of the PCI leadership and its descendants in the PDS and RC. The syndicalist program ties the workers to the losing perspective of "purely eco-

nomic" struggle at the point of production, necessarily abandoning them to the policy of the popular front which it cannot combat and thus in the end embraces. For example, at a June 6 demonstration in Milan by the rank-and-file unions, which included the SLAI COBAS, the demonstration organizers didn't even consider a slight extension of the march route in order to link up with immigrants in the Meda district. The immigrants were protesting an attack by Northern League racists two days earlier which had left five immigrants injured.

In contrast, LTd'I comrades selling *Spartaco* at the two demonstrations stressed the vital need for workers' struggles to go beyond narrow economic demands and actively take up the defense

of the most oppressed sectors of the population, particularly immigrants and women. The workers movement must champion democratic demands like "full citizenship rights for all immigrants," "stop deportations," "equal pay for equal work" and "free abortion on demand for all women, including minorities and immigrants." This is what's needed to overcome the bourgeoisie's attempts to sow divisions within the working class and society as a whole.

The Lega Trotskista d'Italia and the International Communist League are fighting to build a party that is able to link the defense of the immediate interests of the working class and defense of all the oppressed to the struggle for the proletarian seizure of state power. ■

one of these Klan vermin declared that corporations "should not be allowed to just shut their doors here, putting Americans out of a job" and railed that all immigration should be halted "until there are enough jobs to support our working force in America" (*New York Times*, 27 June).

The KKK has a long, bloody history of strikebreaking and terrorizing integrated union organizing efforts, serving to help keep the South an "open shop" preserve. Yet when the Klan marched last month in Ann Arbor, Michigan—less than an hour's drive from Detroit and Flint auto plants—the UAW leadership did not lift a finger to mobilize the multi-racial union ranks to stop them. The Spartacist League calls for labor/minority mobilizations to stop Klan/Nazi terror. Many UAW members and local officials have joined with us in united-front mobilizations against the racist terrorists, from Detroit in 1979 to Springfield, Illinois in 1994.

The cause of labor can only go forward by championing the rights of blacks, immigrants and all the oppressed. Domestic and foreign auto makers have flocked to the "open shop" American

South, paying barely a third of what unionized workers make. Yet any drive to unionize the South requires a head-on struggle against KKK racist terror. The last, feeble attempt to organize the South—a 1940s campaign obscenely called "Operation Dixie"—was wrecked by the labor bureaucracy's own racism, anti-Communism and their subordination to the Democrats, the party of slavery and Jim Crow segregation.

It is because of such treachery by the union misleaders that millions of workers throughout the U.S. make poverty-level wages or have been forced into slave-labor "workfare." Abetted by their labor lieutenants, the capitalist rulers have been free to wield the ax against social programs like welfare, public education, hospitals and schools, leading to the further deterioration of the predominantly black and Hispanic inner cities. Along with the collapse of the Soviet Union, these are key factors in the years-long bull market on Wall Street, as the bourgeoisie finds little in the way of resistance to its wage-gouging and union-busting.

It is necessary to mobilize the unions in struggle to oppose the rampant attacks on welfare, affirmative action and immi-

grant rights. Labor must demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants and fight for union control over hiring and training programs to combat discrimination against women and minority workers. Against speedup and unemployment, the unions must fight for jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay.

The mobilization of the proletariat in pursuit of its own class interests requires a political struggle to break workers from the Democratic Party. The New Directions "opposition" in the UAW, which is hailed by the social-democratic Labor Notes outfit and other reformists, is no alternative to the Yokich leadership. In fact, New Directions supported Yokich in his bid for the union presidency and shares his pro-capitalist politics. New Directions carefully avoids any mention of the Democratic Party in its 1995 platform, while occasionally boosting the sham "Labor Party" of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers chief Tony Mazzocchi, whose only purpose is to steer workers fed up with Clinton back into the Democratic Party fold.

What is needed is a revolutionary leadership of the working class. UAW

members must reappropriate the militant tactics—from plant occupations to solidarity strikes—which built the union. But even the most militant trade unionism cannot in itself prevent the inherent tendency of capitalism to immiserate the proletariat. Whether through mass unemployment or shifting production to low-wage, non-union areas, as long as the bourgeoisie holds power, it will find means to extract profits out of the hides of the workers.

The road to the emancipation of labor—and women, blacks and all the oppressed—lies in the struggle for socialist revolution to expropriate the capitalist class. The Spartacist League fights to forge a multiracial workers party to lead this struggle. As we wrote in "Unchain Labor's Power!":

"When those who labor rule, the tremendous wealth of this society will be used to provide a decent life for the working people, the poor, blacks, immigrants, the young, the aged. The fight for black freedom will be realized in the overthrow of the rule of American capital. When the workers have the industrial wealth that is now being squeezed out of the working class for the profits of the bosses, we will begin to build a planned socialist economy on an international scale." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

“America First” Protectionism Is Poison to Class Struggle

Flint Strikes Shut Down GM

JUNE 29—Strikes by nearly 10,000 United Auto Workers (UAW) members at two General Motors plants in Flint, Michigan have forced the auto giant to virtually shut down production throughout the U.S., Canada and Mexico. What began as a localized walkout against the Flint Metal Center stamping plant on June 5, expanding six days later with a strike at the Flint East Delphi facility, has turned into the most crippling labor action against GM since a two-month national strike in 1970.

In its drive to isolate and defeat this strike, the company has threatened to cut off health insurance to over 160,000 laid-off workers and has moved to deprive them of unemployment benefits. But the strike remains solid—and solidly supported by auto workers around the country. As Local 651 members walked out of the Delphi plant on June 11, they were greeted by hundreds of GM and other workers from throughout the midwest chanting “UAW! UAW!” Such scenes have certainly unnerved the capitalist rulers, who thought union militancy was a thing of the past.

The impact of last year’s victorious strike by Teamsters against UPS is evident. The UPS strike broke the pattern of crushing defeats for labor over the past two decades, which were ushered in by the destruction of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981 and highlighted by the betrayal of UAW battles in the Illinois “war zone” against Caterpillar. The issues animating the GM strike go to the core of the attacks on labor over the past two decades: the intensification of exploitation through speedup and layoffs; the “outsourcing” of union jobs to low-



UAW Local 659 members picket Flint GM plant. Strike has won broad support from auto workers and other trade unionists throughout the country.

wage, non-union plants; massive overtime forced on aging workers.

Many of the strikers have stressed that they are fighting not only to defend their own jobs and working conditions, but to ensure that there will be decent-paying jobs for their kids. The devastation of Detroit, the black proletarian center which once was the “Motor City,” typifies the deindustrialization of the Midwest which has particularly ravaged the black population. Thrown out of the labor market altogether, wide layers of the ghetto poor are now being forced into union-busting, slave-labor “workfare” schemes.

When management provocatively removed stamping dies from the Metal Center plant over the Memorial Day

weekend, outraged workers feared that the plant would soon be closed down. GM moved the dies to its operations in Canada, but this strikebreaking plan was foiled when the Canadian Auto Workers union refused to touch them. This is a concrete example of the sort of international solidarity action that is needed to fight the far-flung GM empire. But far from seeking to unite auto workers here with those at GM plants internationally—particularly in Mexico, where company operations have expanded enormously in recent years—the UAW bureaucracy peddles the poison of “America first” protectionism. In the name of “saving American jobs,” the pro-capitalist UAW tops seek to line up workers in the U.S. behind the

“national interests” of the American ruling class and *against* workers abroad.

As we wrote in “Unchain Labor’s Power!” (WV No. 673, 5 September 1997) following the UPS strike:

“Translating the widespread sentiment of victory in the UPS strike into an aroused and struggling labor movement—mobilized in defense of its own class interests and the interests of blacks, immigrants and all those at the bottom of this society—is at bottom a political question.... The fundamental starting point must be the understanding that this society is divided between two hostile classes: workers who are forced to sell their labor power in order to survive and the property-owning capitalist class to whom their labor power is sold. The interests of these two classes are irreconcilably counterposed.”

Class Collaboration: Recipe for Defeat

In the last four years alone there have been 17 local strikes against GM, as auto workers wage a guerrilla war against the flight of jobs to non-union plants and against increasingly grueling conditions. These strikes have demonstrated the determination of GM workers and the continuing power of the UAW to hit at the strategic core of American industry. But these have essentially been rearguard actions. Since the late 1970s, the UAW bureaucracy has presided over a nearly 50 percent decline in union membership. Massive layoffs and speedup have taken their toll on the GM workforce: the average age of workers at the Flint Metal Center is 48!

Solid as the current strikes are, the union leadership’s actions persistently undermine them. Strikers on the Delphi *continued on page 14*

Free Mumia! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Racist Cops Escalate Campaign for Jamal’s Execution

In a sinister escalation of the campaign led by the Fraternal Order of Police calling for the execution of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a full back page of the “Week in Review” section of the national edition of the *New York Times* (14 June) was taken up with an “advertisement” screaming for Jamal’s death. The ad, which purported to review the “facts” of Jamal’s case, followed a recent two-part “news” story on San Francisco’s KGO-TV which similarly repeated out of whole cloth the lies of the cops and prosecutors who railroaded Jamal to death row in 1982 for a murder they knew he didn’t commit (see “Free Mumia Now! ABC-TV Smear Job:

Brief for the Prosecution,” WV No. 691, 22 May).

The howls emanating from this chorus of death are in anticipation of a ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, due at any time, on Jamal’s appeal of his conviction and death sentence. Republican governor Tom Ridge has already vowed to sign a new death warrant should the court turn down the appeal.

While Jamal’s lawyers pull every possible legal lever to win his freedom, the whole history of the system of American capitalist repression, not least Jamal’s own case, shows that not one whit of justice can be expected from the bourgeois courts. It took an outpouring of protest

and publicity the world over to win a stay of execution for Mumia in 1995. Today what is urgently needed is the mobilization of the social power of the multiracial working class to demand: Freedom *now* for Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!

Below we reprint a June 17 letter to the *New York Times* by Leonard Weinglass, lead attorney for Mumia Abu-Jamal, which the *Times* has not printed.

* * *

In a startling, and even disgraceful, effort to hasten and insure the execution of an innocent man whose substantial legal claims that he never received a fair



Mumia Abu-Jamal

trial are just now being reviewed by the highest court of Pennsylvania, a previously unknown group speaking for the Fraternal Order of Police, and apparently headed by a slain police officer’s widow, took out a full-page, unsigned ad on the most prestigious page of the *Sunday New* *continued on page 13*