



Yun Suk-Bong/Reuters



Reuters

Seoul police attack February protest against austerity measures. U.S. occupation force props up South Korean police-state regime, poses mortal threat to North Korean deformed workers state. "Demilitarized Zone" marks imperialist Cold War partition of Korea.

U.S. Troops Out of Korea Now!

MARCH 22—"Peace" talks aimed at bringing to a formal close the 1950-53 Korean War collapsed yesterday as the U.S. refused to even discuss a North Korean demand for the removal of nearly 40,000 American troops from South Korea. A massive U.S. occupation force, armed to the hilt with nuclear weapons, has been stationed on the Korean peninsula since 1945, serving as gendarmes for counterrevolutionary repression throughout the region. The so-called "Demilitarized Zone" along the 38th parallel is a class line: to the south is a capitalist police state created at the behest of U.S. imperialism; to the north, a bureaucratically deformed workers state issuing out of a social revolution which overthrew the capitalists and landlords. As the *New York Times* (25 February) commented in a recent report from Korea: "Nearly a decade after the cold war ended in most of the world, it remains alive and healthy here."

The mortal threat posed by the U.S. military presence was underlined only weeks before the four-party talks—which include delegations from South Korea and China—resumed last Monday in Geneva, Switzerland after a brief initial meeting in December. In late January, U.S. troops in South Korea staged yet another round of provocative military "drills" to prepare for war against the North and for suppressing leftist protests in the South. As South Korean workers chafe under the harsh austerity measures dictated by the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF), Clinton administration spokesmen have made a point of repeatedly stressing the link between American military and economic interests on the peninsula.

As part of our struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party to sweep away the rapacious American bourgeoisie, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs are organizing protests around the U.S. this month to demand: **U.S. Troops Out of Korea Now! For Unconditional Military Defense of North Korea! For**

For Unconditional Military Defense of North Korea!

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

Revolutionary Reunification of Korea! As we declare—in a leaflet calling for these actions:

"Forty-five years after the UN-sponsored 1950-53 Korean War, in which some three to four million were killed and North Korea was virtually leveled, nearly 40,000 American troops remain on South Korean soil. This military presence is not only a dagger aimed at North Korea and the Chinese deformed workers state but also serves as a warning to South Korea's working masses, threatening to drown in blood any challenge to the capitalist order....

"As proletarian internationalists, the Spartacist League—U.S. section of the International Communist League—calls for the *immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Korea!*"

Washington welcomed the election of former "human rights dissident" Kim Dae Jung as president of South Korea in December. Kim immediately saluted the U.S. imperialist forces as "essential to peace in the Korean Peninsula" and has already begun implementing the draconian terms of the IMF "bailout" program, which will inflict massive wage cuts and millions of layoffs on South Korean workers. The imperialist jackals are also using the IMF as their favored instrument to force through widespread takeovers of Korean companies by foreign firms (see "IMF 'Bailout' Means Misery for South Korean Workers," *WV*, No. 681, 2 January). Throughout the countries of Southeast Asia racked by economic crisis, IMF starvation dictates enforced by the local bourgeoisies have

touched off massive protests. **Down with IMF bloodsuckers! Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!**

U.S. Props Up South Korean Police State

From the moment U.S. forces landed at Inchon in September 1945, they have served as front-line troops in the imperialists' frenzied drive to "roll back Communism" and to project American military power in the Pacific. The Korean peninsula was transformed into a principal battleground of the anti-Soviet Cold War, aimed in the Far East at overthrowing the deformed workers state created in North Korea under the postwar Soviet presence and at reversing the 1949 victory of Mao Zedong's Stalinist forces

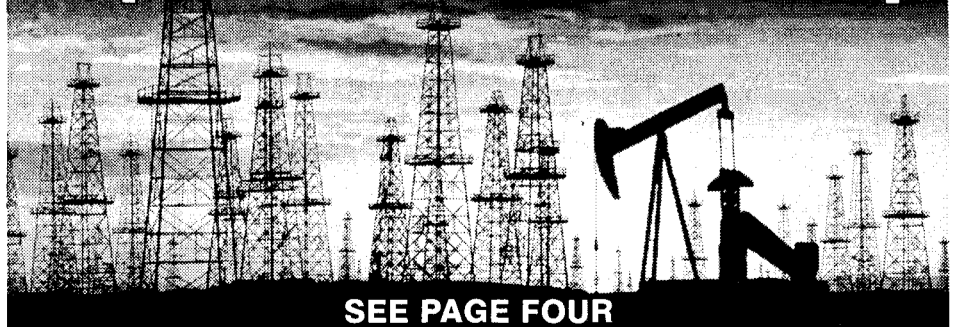
over the corrupt, U.S.-backed capitalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek.

Carried out under the auspices of the United Nations, the U.S.-led war against North Korean and Chinese forces in 1950-53 literally devastated Korea. Air Force general Curtis LeMay, who organized the firebombing of Tokyo in World War II and later threatened to "bomb Vietnam back to the Stone Age," was to brag afterward: "We burned down *every* town in North Korea and South Korea, too." It was during the Korean War that napalm was first used on a massive scale, setting the precedent for its use during America's dirty, losing imperialist war in Vietnam some 15 years later. In December 1950, the North Korean capital of Pyongyang was obliterated by American bombing. As the U.S. carried out its "scorched earth" policy, many people throughout the peninsula were forced to seek refuge in caves, where they lived for years afterward. But for the fear of retaliation by the Soviet Union, which had developed its own nuclear weapons before the outbreak of the war, the U.S. would have carried out its plans to use A-bombs in the Korean War.

The American occupation force has also served as a bulwark against any challenge by Korean workers and peasants to the capitalist regime in the South. In the years before the Korean War, U.S. troops bloodily suppressed one peasant uprising after another. After the war, the U.S. propped up a series of dictatorial military regimes which presided over the brutal exploitation of the growing South Korean proletariat. In May 1980, Washington

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**U.S. Capitalism in the "New World Order"
Imperialist Rivalries Heat Up**



SEE PAGE FOUR



Clinton's Vicious Anti-Immigrant Law at Work

Tragic Suicide in L.A. County

Late last month, seventeen-year-old Geraldo Anthony Mosquera Jr. of Bell Gardens in Los Angeles County committed suicide. Geraldo was despondent over the deportation of his father, who was kicked out of the U.S. late last year for a 1989 conviction for selling \$10 worth of marijuana. Geraldo Mosquera Sr. had fallen under provisions of Clinton's 1996 racist immigration "reform" which greatly expanded offenses for which legal immigrants may be deported. He had lived legally in the U.S. for 29 years, supporting his family as a fork-lift driver, before being thrown back to Colombia. Adding another outrageous chapter to their persecution of this man, U.S. officials would not even allow him back into the country to attend his son's funeral!

Since the enactment of Clinton's anti-immigrant law, which was heavily backed by both Democratic and Republican parties of capital, deportations have topped

50,000 per year—double the rate just five years ago. Most of the current wave of deportees are long-time legal residents, many of whom have been here for decades and have little connection to their countries of origin. The 1996 law extends the racist "war on drugs" to target immigrants, who can be deported if they had ever been convicted of a "crime" with a sentence of more than a year. Convicted immigrants now face double jeopardy: first you do your time, then prison officials release you directly into the arms of *la migra* for deportation.

It is vital for the labor movement that it mobilize to fight the capitalists' racist anti-immigrant campaign. Many immigrants have brought experience of hard-fought class battles in their home countries to the labor movement in the U.S. Particularly in Southern California in recent years, immigrant workers have played a key role in a number of spirited

strikes and union organizing battles. Just as the 1948 Taft-Hartley Act served to purge militants by barring anyone convicted of felonies from holding union office, Clinton's 1996 law (inspired by California's 1994 anti-immigrant Prop. 187) will no doubt have a chilling effect on the unions by opening up the more militant and class-conscious immigrant workers for repression.

The rulers of this country possess an arsenal of state repression—cops, courts, prisons—to keep minorities and the labor movement down, the better to exploit the entire working class. Even Teamsters

president Ron Carey, who rode into office on the coattails of the Justice Department's takeover of the union, has been targeted by the anti-labor government following last summer's successful UPS strike. The capitalist exploiters also push racism and anti-immigrant chauvinism as ideological weapons to poison integrated class struggle. This points to the burning need to forge a class-struggle leadership for labor—a multiracial revolutionary workers party—which champions all of the oppressed in the fight to overthrow racist capitalist rule. *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!* ■

Star Chamber Hearings— U.S. Moves to Deport Own Iraqi Agents

We print below a March 23 letter by the PDC to Immigration and Naturalization Service head Doris Meissner and Attorney General Janet Reno.

The Partisan Defense Committee condemns the star-chamber deportation proceedings against six Iraqi nationals in California. The six, who were agents of the CIA in the Clinton administration's own sinister machinations in Iraq, now face deportation after a March 9 ruling that they constituted a "danger" to "national security." In the hearings, federal immigration judge D. D. Sitgraves ruled that defense attorneys for the six were not permitted to examine "evidence" against them or to cross-examine government agents. The attorneys have stated that they "know no more about the allegations than we did when the proceedings began eleven months ago." Only because a former CIA head, James Woolsey, has now offered to defend the six will the defense even be able to examine the secret evidence against them as they appeal the ruling.

These deportation proceedings took place as the U.S. undertook its military buildup in the Persian Gulf, threatening yet another mass murder of the Iraqi people. Hundreds of thousands of Iraqis have died at the hands of U.S. imperialism,

from the 1990-91 Gulf War and subsequent U.S. missile attacks and particularly through the continuing starvation embargo against Iraq. Unlike untold numbers of leftist opponents of American-backed military regimes around the world who met torture and death after being deported from the U.S., the six former CIA "assets" were knowing accomplices of Washington's failed dirty work. Nevertheless, the treatment they received in the court of American "democracy" represents a threat not only to all immigrants but to the civil liberties of everyone in the U.S.

Setting the stage for Judge Sitgraves' star chamber is the anti-immigrant witch-hunt promoted from Clinton's White House on down, which has caught countless Arabs, Africans, Central Americans and Asians in its racist vise. Under the "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act" backed by both the Democratic and Republican parties and signed by President Clinton in 1996, immigrants can be "tried" in "anti-terrorism" courts without ever knowing the charges against them, while decades-old convictions on the most trivial offenses are now grounds for deportation.

We demand that all deportation proceedings against the six Iraqis be halted now!



TROTSKY

The Communist Manifesto of 1848

This year marks the 150th anniversary of the publication of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' *Communist Manifesto*, the founding document of the communist movement. Their understanding that capitalism was a crisis-ridden system which would lead only to further immiseration of the proletariat is evident today in the economic devastation faced by the young proletariat of Southeast Asia—and by ever-wider layers of workers in the advanced capitalist countries—as



LENIN

well as in the growing danger of imperialist war. We seek to forge the world party of socialist revolution needed to bring to the proletariat the consciousness of its historic role as the gravedigger of the capitalist system and to lead it in creating a classless, egalitarian society.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of the immense majority, in the interests of the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air....

The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society....

The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own grave-diggers.

—Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Communist Manifesto* (1848)

Socialist Action Censors Target Trotskyists U.S. Bans Visit by Cuban Officials

A conference of academics and professionals billed as "A Dialogue with Cuba," held March 19-21 at the University of California at Berkeley, ran afoul of the American government's relentless drive to destroy the Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers state. Clinton's State Department—using a measure enacted by Republican president Reagan in the 1980s denying U.S. visas to Cuban government officials—excluded 11 of 32 Cubans who were to attend the gathering. Reflecting concern among a section of the ruling class that the trade embargo hurts American business interests, 21 Congressmen verbally protested the State Department action.

Heavily built by the fake-Trotskyist Castro enthusiasts of Socialist Action (SA), the Berkeley confab was precisely geared to those favoring a soft-core approach to counterrevolution—undermining Cuba's economy with dollars—whose principal apostle these days is the Pope. *Socialist Action* (February 1998) exulted in the Pope's recent visit to the island, bleating: "Media Neglected Pope's Call for End to Blockade of Cuba."

Intent on bolstering bourgeois forces opposed to Washington's trade ban, the conference organizers were virulently hostile to a Spartacist League literature table highlighting our call for unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperial-

ist attack and internal counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution against Castro's Stalinist bureaucracy. Our revolutionary materials on the international class struggle sent SA honcho Jeff Mackler into a frenzy, as he came running over to enforce their "policy" banning all materials deemed not directly relevant to Cuba! Unlike the milquetoast reformists of the Freedom Socialist Party, we refused to submit to this political censorship. Mackler then threatened to call the cops if our table was not down within five minutes. Moments later, the campus administration came to throw us out.

Mackler's appeal to the bourgeois administration and cops is nothing new for the reformist SA, which has long sought to curry favor with bourgeois forces and the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. During the Greyhound strike in 1983, Mackler and other Socialist Action supporters organized a goon squad to prevent militants from stopping scab buses in San Francisco. And SA was among the loudest cheerleaders for Polish Solidarność—the Vatican-sponsored company "union" for the CIA—and Yeltsin counterrevolution in Russia. But our Trotskyist politics were not silenced at the Cuba conference, and we continued to distribute literature putting forward what is ultimately the only real defense of Cuba against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution: international socialist revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is March 24.

No. 687

27 March 1998

After Protest at Toronto Women's Day

Canadian I.S.—Press Agents for Ayatollah Regime

We publish below a leaflet issued on March 14 by the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League.

On March 7, the feminist organizers of the Toronto International Women's Day fair openly embraced agents of racist state terror and anti-woman violence. For the first time, both the imperialist Canadian Armed Forces and agents of the blood-drenched Islamic Republic of Iran—which has butchered thousands of leftists, gays, Kurds and other minorities—were accorded prominent display stalls. Militant protests by hundreds of women's rights activists and leftists succeeded in driving out both the military recruiters and the mullahs' propaganda officers. [See "Toronto Protesters Say: 'Army Recruiters Out!'" WV No. 686, 13 March.]

The Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste is proud to have stood with those who sought to rescue International Women's Day as a working-class holiday which celebrates the struggles of all the oppressed. Not everyone was so pleased. In defense of the Islamic Republic's propagandists and the besieged army table, the feminist IWD organizers dispatched their marshals and Ryerson University security police to try to quell the protests. Now the so-called International Socialists (I.S.) have published a despicable diatribe which slanders those who protested the Iranian government as a mob of violent racists!

The I.S. newspaper, *Socialist Worker* (11 March), denounces the expulsion of the Islamic Republic's representatives as a "racist assault," singling out the Worker-Communist Party of Iran (WCPI), as well as Socialist Action supporter Joe Flexer. To justify its vile slander, *Socialist Worker* prettifies the Iranian regime's propaganda display as simply "a booth staffed by some Muslim women." Then the I.S. howls that "The booth was attacked and the women expelled from the fair on the bogus argument that the religion they represent is sexist. This is just racist."

No, this is just a pack of lies.

In fact, the booth in question was covered with pamphlets and glossy photos, bearing the emblem of the Islamic Republic, which glorified the treatment of Iranian women under the fundamentalist

regime, including the imposition of the veil. The women purveying this trash openly defended the barbarous practice of stoning women to death for adultery. Chanting "Down with the Islamic Republic!" in English and Farsi, and led by Kurdish and Persian women supporters

The International Socialists are liars and slanderers. And we have to ask—who benefits? Certainly not the brutally oppressed women and minorities of Iran. By defending the agents of the Islamic Republic against the outrage of its victims, the I.S. offers a "left" cover for

Socialist Worker
Paper of the International Socialist Organization
22 West 44th St., New York, N.Y. 10018
January 1979

THE FORM-RELIGIOUS THE SPIRIT-REVOLUTION!

Iran is a fabulously wealthy country. It earns billions of dollars each year through oil. It owns millions more from natural gas, of which it holds the world's second largest reserves. Yet its people are among the world's poorest. The vast majority of Iranians have gained absolutely nothing from all this wealth.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM '64

THE Prophet AND THE PROLETARIAT

Class struggle on Islamic fundamentalism, class and revolution



Der Spiegel

Cliffites promote "anti-imperialist" credentials of Islamic fundamentalist regime which enslaves Iranian women in veils.

of the WCPI, a multiracial group of well over a hundred women and men angrily denounced the Iranian government as deadly enemies of women and minorities. The only "racist assault" came at the hands of *IWD marshals*, who tried to drag away an Iranian protester and then had him physically removed from the campus by Ryerson police. Of this, the I.S. breathes not a word.

Socialist Worker proclaims that "Fortunately the honour of IWD was partially salvaged when some others at the fair organized a protest outside the Canadian army booth and drove it from the fair." "Some others"? Supporters of the WCPI and Socialist Action were prominent in the anti-army protest, which was initiated, organized and led by the Trotskyist League, the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty and Anti-Racist Action. In contrast, the I.S.—whose own table was just a few feet away from the Armed Forces recruiting station—played no role at all until hundreds of demonstrators shouting "Army out!" confronted the uniformed killers of the Canadian imperialist state.

that repressive regime spawned by the supremely violent system of imperialism. Moreover, as the Canadian government gears up its anti-immigrant machinery of deportation to expel thousands—not least Iranian refugees—the I.S.'s sinister violence-baiting of the WCPI is an open invitation for racist state repression of foreign-born leftists.

The I.S.'s defense of the Iranian government and Islamic reaction is not an aberration. This outfit has spent years painting up Muslim fundamentalism as "anti-imperialist" and even "revolutionary." In 1979, they supported the fundamentalists' seizure of power in Iran under Ayatollah Khomeini. Anti-Communist to the bone, the I.S. howled against the Soviet Red Army intervention in Afghanistan, hailing the CIA-backed Islamic

mujahedin who fought to maintain women as chattel slaves, and who murdered schoolteachers for the "crime" of teaching girls to read.

In contrast, Trotskyists said "Hail Red Army—Extend social gains of October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" And we fought for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against the threat of capitalist counterrevolution, noting it was better to fight imperialism in Afghanistan than inside the USSR itself. As we warned, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan under Mikhail Gorbachev opened the door to the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, and left Afghan women at the mercy of the religious terrorists. In its own small way, the I.S. bears direct responsibility for the horrors of Islamic rule in Iran and Afghanistan, and for the immiseration of the workers and minorities under Boris Yeltsin's Russian capitalist regime.

The Trotskyist League has many political differences with the Worker-Communist Party of Iran, which we have long made clear. For example, the WCPI has on several occasions fostered illusions in imperialist agencies like the United Nations, calling in 1996 for the UN to "put an end to the arrogance of the United States" as Washington threatened another military attack on Iraq.

We have also argued against the WCPI's thoroughly retrograde position on abortion. Their program states flatly that their party "is against the act of abortion." The Trotskyist League fights for free abortion on demand as a key element in the struggle to break the grip of the family, the main institution of women's oppression. In Sweden, the WCPI endorses capitalist government prohibition of the Islamic headscarf in schools. We oppose such intervention by the imperialist state, which can only fuel anti-immigrant racism and fascist terror, as in France today. At the same time, we reject *Socialist Worker's* disgusting insinuation that leftists who oppose the veil—symbol and instrument of female servitude—are accomplices of French fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen and his murderous National Front.

On March 7, however, the WCPI took the right side in defense of women's rights. Every organization of the left and workers movement must stand with them against the poison spewed by the International Socialists, which can only serve the interests of the enemies of all the oppressed—imperialist capitalism and its "Third World" underlings. Down with I.S. lies and slanders! Women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Just Out!

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

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A Spartacist Pamphlet

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150 Years of the Communist Manifesto 35
Marxism and Religion 48

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Spartacist Events

BOSTON

**U.S./UN Hands Off Iraq!
Defeat U.S. Imperialism
Through Workers Revolution!**

Monday, March 30, 7:30 p.m.
Harvard, Emerson Hall, Room 305

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Selected Monday evenings, 7 p.m.
Next class, April 6: **South Africa and the Lessons of the Russian Revolution: For Workers Revolution to Smash Neo-Apartheid Capitalism;**
Harvard University Memorial Hall, Room 303
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

NEW YORK CITY

**U.S./UN Hands Off Iraq!
Defeat U.S. Imperialism
Through Workers Revolution!**

Saturday, March 28, 3 p.m.
New York Law School, Room C-200
47 Worth St. (north of Chambers)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 8 p.m. Next class, April 9: **Black Oppression—Bedrock of U.S. Capitalism: The Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism;**
New York University Loeb Student Center, Room 513
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

CHICAGO

**U.S./UN Hands Off Iraq!
Defeat U.S. Imperialism
Through Workers Revolution!**

Thursday, April 2, 7 p.m.
University of Chicago, Cobb Hall, Room 102

For more information: (312) 454-4930

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Events

TORONTO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, March 31: **The Fight for a Leninist Vanguard Party Today;**
International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

**Independence for Quebec!
National Chauvinism Is
Poison to Class Struggle**

Friday, March 27, 7:30 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre
Room L4, 1661 Napier Street
(off Commercial Drive)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Imperialist Rivalries Heat Up



U.S. Capitalism in the "New World Order"

Ross/Tony Stone

We publish below the second and concluding part of an edited presentation by comrade Joseph Seymour on the origins and development of the imperialist system. Part One appeared in WV No. 686 (13 March).

PART TWO

In West Europe and also Japan, the devastation of World War II combined with the leftward radicalization of the working class militated against a return to the "free trade" and "free market" policies of the pre-1914 era. In 1947, U.S. president Harry Truman told a group of American Congressmen, "We'll have to provide a program of interim aid relief until the Marshall program gets going, or the governments of France and Italy will fall, Austria too, and for all practical purposes Europe will be Communist" (quoted in Philip Armstrong et al., *Capitalism Since World War II* [1984]).

Except for the U.S., all the major advanced capitalist countries engaged in a high degree of state intervention in economic activity in the early postwar period. To prevent the massive flight of capital to the U.S., where the rate of return was far higher, all West European governments imposed tight restrictions on foreign-exchange transactions. This, in turn, discouraged the movement of capital from the U.S. to Europe, since American investors were uncertain as to whether and on what terms they could get their money out again.

Consider a wealthy American in the 1950s who had inherited some bonds of the big Italian automaker Fiat. If he wanted to sell those bonds and reinvest the money in an American corporation, he would have to bribe the top officials of 15 different Italian ministries. Under these conditions, wealthy Americans were not exactly breaking down the door to invest in Europe. It was not until the late 1950s that the pound, franc, deutschmark and lira became freely convertible into dollars as well as into one another. And it was only after this that big U.S. manufacturing firms like General Motors and Ford opened factories in West Europe.

I want to digress here on the relation between currency convertibility and the international movement of capital in its different forms, in part because this is a key element in the present financial crisis in East Asia. The single most valuable piece of foreign property American capitalism has are the oil fields in Saudi Arabia leased by a consortium of four U.S. oil companies. Yet nobody knows or cares

about the exchange rate of the Saudi riyal. That's because the oil extracted from Saudi Arabia is sold on the world market for dollars. However, the cars produced by General Motors factories in Germany are sold to Germans for deutschmarks; the cars produced by Honda factories in the U.S. are sold to Americans for dollars. This kind of foreign investment will be undertaken only if the deutschmark is convertible into dollars, and dollars into yen, at a stable rate. This same principle holds true for investment in the securities of foreign firms. American and Japanese financiers will purchase bonds issued by Hyundai and Samsung only if the South Korean *won* is convertible into dollars and yen at a stable rate.

A basic precondition for the economic boom in East Asia during the last decade was that the governments of this region not only pledged currency convertibility but pegged their currencies to the dollar. The present crisis began last summer when Thailand reneged and devalued its currency to increase exports and reduce imports. When other countries in the region followed suit, this triggered a massive and panicky capital flight.

U.S. Imperialism and the Cold War

But let's return to our historical analysis which allows us to place recent economic developments in a broader perspective. The outcome of World War II had an even more profound effect on the economically backward regions of the world than on the advanced capitalist

countries. To begin with, major regions were removed from the sphere of capitalist exploitation altogether. In East Europe in the late 1940s, the Soviet bureaucracy, under pressure from American imperialism, created deformed workers states structurally similar to the Stalinized Soviet Union, based on planned, collectivized economies, state monopoly of foreign trade, etc. Bureaucratically deformed workers states also emerged in China, North Korea and Vietnam as a result of indigenous peasant-based revolutions led by the Stalinists.

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

Despite some CIA-organized coups (such as that against the left-nationalist Mossadeq regime in Iran in 1953), the ability of U.S. imperialism to control governments of former colonial countries was limited by the countervailing power of the Soviet Union. Moscow's backing allowed bourgeois-nationalist regimes like Nasser's Egypt, Nehru and Indira Gandhi's India and Saddam Hussein's Iraq to exercise a certain degree

of political and economic independence from the imperialist powers which they could not have attained on the basis of their own national economic resources. Western and Japanese corporations were discouraged from investing in countries like Egypt and India for fear of punitive taxation, restrictions on the repatriation of profits and the possibility of nationalization without adequate compensation. The 1960s and '70s marked the heyday of economic nationalism and statified capitalism in what was then called the "Afro-Asian bloc."

At the same time, the bourgeoisies of certain American client states also utilized the Cold War conditions to attain a semblance of economic independence. Here I want to talk a bit about South Korea because it is now the focus of a major economic crisis with global repercussions. The rapid industrial growth in South Korea over the past three decades was subsidized by U.S. and Japanese imperialism because it was a front-line state in the Cold War. South Korea is conventionally described as a prime example of export-led growth. However until the mid-1980s South Korea normally ran balance-of-trade deficits, not surpluses. It was importing large amounts of high-tech machinery and equipment, mainly from Japan, to construct an industrial infrastructure and plant. These deficits were financed by American aid and Japanese loans on soft terms.

Beginning in the 1960s, under the military dictatorship of Park Chung Hee, the South Korean capitalist groups—the so-called *chaebol*—undertook an ambitious industrialization drive through a high level of state intervention and nationalistic economic policies. For example, in the 1970s the Seoul regime decreed that all oil shipped from the Persian Gulf to South Korea had to be carried in Korean-owned ships. This and similar measures were harmful to U.S. and Japanese economic interests. But Washington and Tokyo were constrained from putting economic pressure on South Korea—threatening to cut off aid or loans—for fear of destabilizing the right-wing dictatorship and strengthening the left and anti-American oppositional forces.

Today, Wall Street spokesmen and the American and British financial press are denouncing "crony capitalism" in South Korea, denouncing its unregulated and irresponsible banking practices. This has been going on for a quarter of a century. So what's different now? What's different now is that the Soviet Union no longer exists and North Korea is in dire straits.



Reuters

General strike against anti-labor laws and threat of mass layoffs in winter of 1996-97 demonstrated combativity of South Korean proletariat.

So the American and Japanese imperialists are ripping up their old agreements with the *chaebol* and dictating new terms: We used to let you have 50 percent of the surplus from South Korean workers; now you can only have 25 percent and then only if you do exactly what we tell you. That's called the "globalization" of capital, otherwise known as imperialism.

Historical Development and Dialectics

In examining the development of a second generation of imperialist states—the U.S., Germany and Japan—one might ask why a third generation could not emerge today from the more industrially developed Third World countries like South Korea or Brazil. This raises the question of methodological approach. Historical development is dialectical, not cyclical. History does not consist of a continual repetition of set patterns without significant change. One has to comprehend imperialism in its historically concrete, complex and ever-changing dimensions. What is possible and probable at any given time is determined and conditioned by the entire previous course of development. How people think and act is determined and influenced by their understanding of past experience. They seek to emulate activities and policies deemed to be successful and avoid those seen as a recipe for failure or disaster.

Let me give a few examples of what I mean by the dialectical nature of history in regard to modern imperialism. When Lenin wrote *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* in 1916, the imperialist bourgeoisies were not particularly worried about social revolution in their colonies and semicolonies. There had been numerous revolts by the native peoples against colonial rule—the Sepoy mutiny in British India, the Philippine liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism, the uprising of the Herero people in southwest Africa against their new German colonial masters—but these had all been suppressed through overwhelmingly superior military force. In no case had such colonial revolts driven out the imperialists and expropriated their property. But, as we have seen, after the Bolshevik Revolution, American, British and French bankers were extremely cautious in lending money to colonial and especially semicolonial countries. In other words, the proletarian revolution led by Lenin in Russia *changed* in significant ways the behavior of the capitalists and their governments which Lenin had analyzed *before* that revolution.

Another example is that the German ruling class in the late 19th century could not build a great industrial power like Britain by adhering to the same economic policies that Britain had earlier—precisely because they were confronting Britain as the dominant world industrial-financial power. Thus industrial capitalism as it developed in late 19th-century Germany had to be—and was—quite different in its structure and character than that of the pioneer country of industrial capitalism. In fact, by 1900 some spokesmen for the British ruling class regretted that they had not opposed the unification of Germany in the 1860s, or that they had not formed an alliance with Russia and France to crush Germany in the 1880s when it was still relatively weak. They regretted that they had not put up high tariffs against German imports, just as Germany put up high tariffs against British imports.

Or consider Japan in this respect. In the decades before the Second World War (called the Pacific War in Japan), the House of Morgan and major British banks like Barings and the Rothschilds lent large sums of money to Japan, therefore helping finance its industrial-military development. Wall Street and the City of London did not demand in return for these loans that American and British industrialists be able to buy up the productive resources of the *zaibatsu* on the cheap.

That is now exactly what is happening to South Korea. Over the past three decades, the South Korean ruling class



Japanese farmers protest imports of U.S. rice, American labor bureaucrats push Japan-bashing protectionism. As inter-imperialist rivalries intensify, capitalist rulers and labor lackeys promote chauvinist poison.

consciously tried to emulate the economic program—such as massive government subsidization of and guarantees for loans for industrial investment—which had transformed Japan into a major capitalist power in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, as recent dramatic events have shown, the South Korean *chaebol* could not follow in the footsteps of the Japanese *zaibatsu* in large part because they were blocked from doing so by Japanese industrial-financial power. South Korea is not being allowed to borrow money to subsidize its own national bourgeoisie. The conditions of the recent International Monetary Fund (IMF) loans to South Korea are that the Americans and Japanese—and the Germans, too, if they are interested—can buy the most productive resources of the *chaebol* very cheaply. The American imperialists have no intention of allowing another country to surpass them by their own actions or inactions.

In short, the South Korean bourgeoisie is too reliant on imperialism to embark on the road of independent national development. However, the influx of capital into countries like Thailand, Indonesia and particularly South Korea—what is currently termed "globalization"—has created a combative, young proletariat. In such countries of belated capitalist development in the imperialist epoch, we advance the program of permanent revolution: only under the rule of the proletariat—standing at the head of the poor peasantry and other oppressed sectors and fighting to promote socialist revolution in the more advanced capitalist powers—can the yoke of imperialism be overthrown.

The way economic development has proceeded in these countries in the past few decades—particularly in regard to the changed role of agriculture in the world economy—also has a programmatic implication in advancing the perspective of permanent revolution. Today, the classic agrarian slogan of the bourgeois-

democratic revolution—"land to the tiller"—is no longer adequate. The way in which the agrarian revolution unfolded in Russia in 1917-21, with the peasants simply seizing and dividing up the land, is not likely to recur in many backward countries today. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, labor productivity developed much faster in industry than in agriculture. Tsarist Russia was a major exporter of grain, produced by labor-intensive methods by peasants using techniques which had scarcely changed in a century.

But since World War II, labor productivity has grown faster in agriculture than in industry. There is more capital per worker in American agriculture than in the American steel industry. Many Third World countries now export light manufactures, such as clothing and consumer electronics, to North America and import basic foodstuffs from North America. As a consequence, many backward countries have experienced massive deruralization. The mass of toilers no longer live in rural villages, but in the shantytowns around the major cities. Peasant small-holding is no longer economically viable without large amounts of capital investment and significant technical training. In countries like Mexico, the program of agricultural collectivism—supported by socialized industry and intensive technical education—is key to a genuine agrarian revolution.

The Collapse of the Soviet Union

The economic roots of what is now called "globalization," especially the growth of manufacturing in East Asia, can be found in the declining profitability of American industry beginning in the late 1960s and in Japan during the following decade. With the devastation of Germany and Japan in World War II, the U.S. attained a degree of economic dominance in the early postwar years that could not be long sustained. In 1950, the U.S. accounted for 60 percent of indus-

trial output and over half of the capital stock of all advanced capitalist countries and for one-third of world trade in manufactured goods.

However, as Germany and Japan rebuilt their industrial economies, they began to cut into ever larger shares of world markets and even the U.S. domestic market. At the same time, the U.S. industrial plant, largely built during and immediately following World War II, was becoming increasingly obsolete. The competitive position of American capitalism was further eroded by the inflationary pressures of the Vietnam War. By 1970, the U.S. share of world trade in manufactured goods was only half what it had been 20 years earlier. The rate of profit fell from 19 percent in the early 1960s to 13 percent in the late '70s. Corporate America responded with an anti-labor offensive combined with a certain shift in operations to low-wage countries. Between 1977 and 1994, there was a fivefold increase in manufacturing plant and equipment directly owned by U.S. firms in Third World countries.

By the mid-1970s, the so-called Japanese "economic miracle" was clearly needing further divine assistance as profitability was sharply declining. There were a number of contributing factors: higher labor costs resulting from virtually full employment, the big jump in the price of oil, protectionist measures in the U.S. and West Europe. The basic cause, however, was that analyzed by Marx in Volume III of *Capital*: rapid accumulation drives down the rate of profit because the additional increment of capital does not generate a corresponding increase in surplus value. In the case of Japan, the rate of profit fell from 23 percent in the 1960s to 15 percent in the second half of the 1970s.

So the *keiretsu*, too, decided to go offshore. Japanese direct investment in East Asia skyrocketed from \$100 million a year in the early 1960s to \$2.7 billion a year in the late 1980s. Matsushita was now making many of its TV sets and air conditioners in Malaysia, Yamaha its sporting goods in Taiwan, Minebea its miniature ball bearings in Singapore and Thailand, TDK its magnetic tapes in Taiwan and South Korea, etc.

Nonetheless, during the 1980s Western and Japanese investment in neocolonial countries was still inhibited by the uncertainties of the Cold War. A popular revolution or even an election or military coup could bring about a left-nationalist regime backed by Moscow. A fundamental political condition for the present triumph of capitalist "globalization" was the retreat of Soviet power under Gorbachev in the late 1980s, followed by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. It was no accident, for example, that the toppling of the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua in 1990, capping the contra war organized by Washington, coincided with the beginning of a massive investment boom by U.S. banks and corporations in Mexico. At the same time, capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc

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U.S. general George Marshall (above left) oversaw plan to reconsolidate West European capitalism as part of anti-Soviet Cold War. Coal shipments were airlifted behind Soviet lines to West Berlin, 1948.



IG on NPAC Vietnam Antiwar Coalition Centrist Sophistry and the Popular Front

As Democratic president Clinton prepared to terror-bomb Iraq in February, the Spartacist League called for military defense of Iraq against imperialist attack and stressed that only workers revolution under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party could destroy U.S. imperialism. In contrast, the reformist left sought to appeal to bourgeois liberals to pressure the Clinton administration and looked to past class-collaborationist "antiwar" vehicles such as the "National Peace Action Coalition" (NPAC) which helped derail protest against the Vietnam War in the 1960s and early 1970s into the arms of the capitalist Democratic Party.

U.S. imperialism's long, bloody and ultimately losing war to defeat the forces of the North Vietnamese bureaucratically deformed workers state (DRV) and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF) radicalized broad layers of youth in the U.S. and internationally. While Saddam Hussein's Iraq is a semi-colonial capitalist country, what was posed in Vietnam was a *social revolution*. The Spartacist League called for military victory to the NLF/DRV and fought to win antiwar radicals to a revolutionary proletarian perspective. We agitated for labor political strikes against the war and raised the call, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!"

Our line was sharply counterposed to that of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the main force behind NPAC. The reformist SWP deliberately limited NPAC to the single demand "Out Now!" in order to draw in imperialist "doves" like Indiana Democratic Senator Vance Hartke, who was on NPAC's steering committee. These bourgeois politicians wanted to cut U.S. imperialism's losses once it became clear that the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants were winning on the battlefield. We characterized NPAC as a form of popular front—a class-collaborationist alliance tying the organizations of the left and workers movement to the class enemy—and demanded: "Bourgeoisie out of the anti-

war movement!" Thousands of radicalized youth who solidarized with the Vietnamese struggle grew to despise the SWP for its rightist "peaceful, legal" line, exemplified by its embrace of imperialist politicians.

The SWP's class collaborationism was sealed in blood at a 1971 NPAC confer-

the direct vehicle of bourgeois nationalism, including the "leftist" PRD variety. This elementary observation provoked the IG to sputter that we are revising "key Spartacist positions from the past" and to denounce us for refusing to fight the PRD "popular front."

Expressing its own opportunist out-



Young Socialist

Reformism vs. Marxism during Vietnam War: SWP honcho Fred Halstead pushed social-patriotism, Spartacists raised call, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!"

ence in New York City, where an SWP goon squad launched a violent attack against supporters of the SL and the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party who were protesting Hartke's presence on the platform. In a July 1971 leaflet distributed immediately after the NPAC conference, we stated:

"The Spartacist League opposes the presence at anti-war actions of conscious representatives of our class enemy, the capitalist class.... Hartke represents the class enemy pure and simple. He has no more place in the anti-war movement than [then-president] Nixon, for both are conscious agents of the *same class*: the capitalist class which aims to smash the Vietnamese social revolution and all revolutions which threaten world capitalism. They differ only as to *tactics*."

Our principled opposition to NPAC was recently taken up in the pages of the *Internationalist* (January-February 1998), published by the coterie of defectors from the SL who call themselves the "Internationalist Group" (IG), in a piece titled "So How About the NPAC Popular Front?" The purpose of this article is to cover up their opportunist appetites toward a spectrum of reformist and petty-bourgeois forces around Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) in Mexico, which the IGlets justify by huffing and puffing about a "Cardenista popular front." In fact, the PRD is an outright *bourgeois-nationalist* party.

In a polemic against the IG which corrected our own earlier characterization of the PRD, we noted that in the absence of a mass reformist workers party the Mexican proletariat is politically subordinated to its "own" ruling class not through a non-existent "popular front" but through



Young Spartacus

look, the IG insinuates that if we don't call the PRD a popular front, that means we tail it. Of course, the IG labels the PRD a popular front precisely in order to capitulate to it. This was clear at a January protest in New York City against the recent massacre of 45 peasants in Chiapas. The IG failed to raise a single slogan against either Cárdenas or the PRD, finally producing a sign which vaguely called only to "Break with the Popular Front!" In contrast, an SL placard declared clearly, "No Support to the Capitalist PRD—Build a Revolutionary Workers Party of the Bolshevik Type!" (see "Tailing Mexican Nationalism, IG 'Disappears' the PRD," WV No. 683, 30 January).

In its latest attempt to throw up a confusionist smokescreen around this question, the IG argues that the SL declared the SWP to be reformist over its "popular-front coalition with 'antiwar' bourgeois politicians as early as 1965." To even draw an analogy between NPAC and the Cardenistas is a measure of the IG's sophistry: where the former was essentially a front group for the reformist SWP including a handful of bourgeois politicians, the PRD is a *capitalist* party with "left" tails. In fact, the SWP was not able to consummate a popular front with bourgeois politicians like Hartke in 1965, because at that point no significant bourgeois politician opposed the war. Bourgeois "defeatist" sentiment over Vietnam was prepared by the anti-Communist bloodbath in Indonesia in late 1965—which reassured more far-sighted imperialist spokesmen that American interests in the region were

secure even if the U.S. pulled out of Indochina—and only came to full flower after the punishing 1968 "Tet Offensive" by the NLF/DRV.

We characterized the SWP as reformist in 1965 because of its *social-patriotic politics*—which expressed its class-collaborationist appetites. We split from the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee that year when its SWP organizers pushed through a policy excluding any expression of *revolutionary* opposition to U.S. imperialism in favor of the single, "classless," liberal-pacifist appeal to "Stop the war in Vietnam now!" Where the SWP pushed the social-patriotic call to "Bring our boys home," we said *our* side was the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. But by the IG's logic, it would have been okay to tail after the SWP unless and until these reformists had actually pulled some Democratic Party politicians into their "antiwar" lash-up.

In forming a political bloc with the capitalist politician Hartke, the SWP took a page from the reformist Communist Party (CP), which had been building similar class-collaborationist coalitions

since the 1930s. The CP was applying the Stalinist policy of the popular front—which in Europe meant cementing electoral coalitions with bourgeois politicians with the aim of beheading proletarian revolutions—to American conditions, where there was no mass reformist party. Thus the CP supported Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal coalition" and organized a class-collaborationist "antiwar movement." In a 1937 polemic, *The People's Front: The New Betrayal* (excerpted in our recently re-issued pamphlet, *On the United Front*), James Burnham of the then-revolutionary SWP wrote:

"Through a multitude of pacifist organizations, and especially through the directly controlled American League against War and Fascism, the Stalinists aim at the creation of a 'broad, classless, People's Front of all those opposed to war.' The class collaborationist character of the People's Front policy is strikingly revealed through the Stalinist attitude in these organizations. They rule out in advance the Marxist analysis of war as necessarily resulting from the inner conflicts of capitalism and therefore genuinely opposed only by revolutionary class struggle against the capitalist order; and, in contrast, maintain that all persons, from whatever social class or group, whether or not opposed to capitalism, can 'unite' to stop war."

This description fit NPAC to a T.

It is also a telling polemic against the centrist IG, whose appetites to tail after liberal/reformist "antiwar movements" are evident in its February leaflet on the Persian Gulf war buildup. The IG's empty call to "Build a Revolutionary Party!" on the front page of its statement



Young Spartacus

No PRD in this picture: IG calls to "Break with the Popular Front!" at NYC Mexico protest, deep-sixing opposition to bourgeois-nationalist PRD of Cárdenas.

U.S. Bloody Imperialist War in Vietnam

1968 My Lai Massacre

On March 14, U.S. Army veterans Hugh Thompson Jr. and Lawrence Colburn returned to the Vietnamese village of My Lai, revisiting with local residents the site of an infamous massacre of unarmed civilians by American troops 30 years before, which they had tried to stop. For four hours on 16 March 1968, U.S. soldiers led by Lieutenant William Calley raped, tortured and systematically murdered over 500 villagers. Most were women and children; 56 of those killed were less than five months old. Thompson, Colburn and Glen Andreotta, the crew of an H-23 helicopter which arrived after the massacre was well under way, managed to save a handful of Vietnamese from the slaughter by training their guns on the rampaging troops.

The My Lai atrocity was no isolated occurrence. In its attempt to drown the Vietnamese Revolution in blood, U.S. imperialism regularly carried out such mass murder, killing more than two million Vietnamese. "Free-fire zones" were created through large swathes of the countryside. The CIA's "Operation Phoenix" assassinated at least 100,000 in its failed attempt to destroy the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF), while American bombing runs laid waste to farming and forest areas. Indeed, even as Calley directed the carnage at My Lai, GIs were slaughtering up to 155 women, children and elderly men two miles away at the town of My Khe.

What sets My Lai apart is that persistent government efforts to conceal this bloodbath failed. For months, the Army tried to cover up the massacre in the face of growing evidence from journalists and even GIs. Unable to keep up their stonewalling, Army brass reluctantly pressed charges against some of the officers. But



Ronald Haeberte



Kyoichi Sawada

Massacre of 500 Vietnamese villagers in My Lai (top) was no aberration. U.S. imperialism slaughtered over two million Vietnamese in war of terror against workers and peasants.

only Calley was convicted. Sentenced to "life imprisonment at hard labor," Calley spent only *three and a half days* in jail before being returned to his private

apartment through the direct intervention of then-president and fellow war criminal Richard Nixon. (Later, he spent a few months in the "disciplinary barracks" at

Fort Leavenworth.) Today Calley drives a Mercedes and manages a Columbus, Georgia jewelry store.

As we said at the time in an article titled "My Lai Mass Murderer Must Not Go Free!" (WV No. 48, 5 July 1974):

"Calley was not *simply* a scapegoat—many men were sent to Vietnam and did not become torturers, rapists and murderers. To say that what Calley did was inevitable or meaningless is a vile insult not only to the Vietnamese dead, but also to the many soldiers who went through the agony of Vietnam without becoming sadists and mass murderers. The workers movement must hold Calley and his cohorts accountable for their crimes."

Ever since its humiliating defeat at the hands of the North Vietnamese Army and NLF, the capitalist rulers of the U.S. have feared that they would be unable to generate popular support for their imperialist adventures around the world. As part of their efforts to overcome the "Vietnam Syndrome," imperialist spokesmen have peddled the lie that antiwar protesters in the 1960s and '70s "spat on" Vietnam veterans. The broader lie—that U.S. imperialism was not defeated on the battlefield but "stabbed in the back" by protesters at home—was drummed up again as Washington sought to discredit antiwar protests during the 1990-91 "Desert Slaughter" of Iraq. In fact, Vietnam antiwar activists often sponsored coffeehouses near army bases so they could discuss the imperialist nature of the war with the working-class youth being sent off to kill and die for the capitalist rulers. Meanwhile, as opposition grew among the ground forces in Vietnam, hundreds of American officers were "fragged"—killed by their own troops.

Today, Washington seeks to provide a "humanitarian" sheen for projecting its military might internationally. In a ceremony dripping with hypocrisy, the U.S. Army recently honored Thompson, Colburn and the surviving family of Andreotta, portraying the My Lai massacre as an aberration. In fact, My Lai showed the true face of U.S. imperialism. To end the threat of new imperialist wars requires the overthrow of the rapacious capitalist ruling class through socialist revolution. ■

and in signs carried at protests was conspicuously *not* linked to the need to break workers and minorities from the capitalist Democrats. Their statement is full of phony agitation for trade-union actions—like a boycott of military shipments—without once making the essential point that *only workers revolution in the U.S. can put the imperialist warmongers out of business*. These charlatans seek only to put a "working-class" gloss on pro-Democratic Party reformist protest politics.

Of a piece with this is a trade-union resolution which, according to the IG leaflet, is being pushed by its Brazilian allies in the "Class-Struggle Caucus," whose idea of "struggle" is to drag the trade unions into the capitalist courts (see "IG Lawyers for Brazil Betrayal: Caught in a Web of Lies," WV No. 672, 8 August 1997). While denouncing "Yankee imperialists," the motion decries "the scandalous material support by the [Argentine] Menem government to imperialist aggression." Scandalous?! This capitalist government is slavishly supportive of its U.S. imperialist patrons and has been carrying out vicious attacks on the working class on behalf of the International Monetary Fund. At bottom, the IG's "disappointment" over the actions of the Menem government reveals its touching faith in the "anti-imperialist" credentials of the Latin American bourgeoisies and promotes illusions in a class-collaborationist "anti-imperialist united front" with bourgeois nationalists.

For our part, we will not preach the liberal lie that there can be a solution to

imperialist war—or to racial oppression, cop terror, unemployment and all the other ills produced by capitalism—short of a socialist revolution that places the working class in power and disarms the rapacious imperialist rulers once and for

all. As proletarian internationalists, we call for unconditional military defense of the Vietnamese deformed workers state against imperialism and internal counter-revolution while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist

bureaucracy in Hanoi. We fight for the perspective of international socialist revolution against "socialists" who foster illusions in capitalism, and against those like the IG who willfully confuse the line between reformism and revolution. ■

Defend South African Student Protesters!

We reprint below a March 8 letter to the Vice Rector of Student Affairs at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in South Africa. The letter, which was enthusiastically distributed by students at UWC, protests the arrest of student demonstrators and leftists by the SAPS national police force of the government led by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC), which is supported by the Communist Party (SACP) and COSATU trade-union federation.

Dear Sir:

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently protests the arrest of student demonstrators and leftist activists at the University of Western Cape on 2 March 1998. The activists were part of a demonstration against the University administration's plans to enforce fee payments that will result in excluding hundreds of the poorest students, overwhelmingly black African, from the registration rolls. The protesters face charges of public disruption and contempt of court.

This is an open political attack on leftists at UWC. Of the students arrested on campus this week, seven out of nine are leaders of various leftist organizations on campus, including the Socialist Students Action Committee, the Student League and the Pan African Student Organisation. The administration sought out these individuals for harassment because they formed the leadership of the protest opposition to the fee plan. The administration mobilized campus security and the SAPS to demonstratively smother opposition to the impending purge. We demand: Hands off student activists and leftists at UWC! Cops off campus!

At all levels, education for the oppressed is a cruel joke in the "new" South Africa. The apartheid laws preserved higher education as a bastion of white privilege. The ANC/SACP/COSATU Tripartite Alliance government has done nothing to change this. Black and poor students remain overwhelmingly excluded from higher education. A grotesque rationale for continuing and deepening this racist

inequality is the Alliance call to "end the culture of non-payment" through the Masakhane campaign, where those with nothing must pay their own way. The UWC administration is more than willing to throw students off campus in the name of financial responsibility. The SRC student government, which is politically dominated by Alliance partner SASCO [South African Student Congress], has cosigned the fee payment plan, endorsing the administration call for Masakhane bootstrapping. Education should be a right, not a privilege for those who can afford it. For free, quality education for all!

This year, as last, the ANC government and their colleagues in the campus administration have shown how they intend to deal with opposition to their slash-and-burn educational policy—with cops and arrests. End the political harassment of student activists at UWC! We demand the immediate dropping of charges against all student protesters!

Richard Genova
Partisan Defense Committee

Korea...

(continued from page 1)

orchestrated the massacre of some 2,000 civilians in the southern city of Kwangju, as the South Korean military drowned an uprising there in blood (see "Kwangju Massacre: Washington Gave the Green Light," WV No. 646, 24 May 1996). Open military rule was only swept away as the result of a massive labor revolt in 1987. But despite its "democratic" trappings, the South continues to be ruled through police-state terror.

This was underlined recently when Kim made a post-inaugural gesture of releasing several dozen among the many hundreds of political prisoners who languish in South Korean dungeons. But this "democrat"—whose running mate was the former head of the Korean CIA—did not even wait for his inauguration to amnesty former dictators Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo, who were finally brought to trial two years ago for their role in the Kwangju massacre. Under the all-encompassing National Security Law and similar measures, thousands of labor organizers, student protesters and others deemed to express sympathy with North Korea or with "communism" have been thrown into prison. Prominent among those not released by Kim is the world's longest-serving political prisoner, Woo Yong Gak, who was arrested 40 years ago on charges of being a North Korean commando and remains in jail for refusing to renounce Communism. **Free all victims of police-state repression in South Korea!**

North Korea Under the Gun

Years of militant struggle by the South Korean proletariat, defying not only direct military repression but the corporatist, KCIA-sponsored "Federation of Korean Trade Unions," led in the late 1980s to the formation of independent trade unions, now grouped together in the 500,000-strong Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU). We have warned that economist militancy alone could not defeat the attacks of the mammoth *chaebol* conglomerates backed by a formidable apparatus of capitalist state terror and the U.S. Army. In fact, the KCTU leadership does not even call for the withdrawal of American military forces—only for troop reductions—and has long looked to "liberal" bourgeois oppositionists like Kim Dae Jung. Following Kim's election, the union federation called off a general strike and has joined with the government and the *chaebol* in enforcing layoffs and wage cuts.

The combative South Korean proletariat can go forward only on the basis of class independence from the bourgeoisie, requiring intransigent political struggle against the nationalism promoted by the labor misleaders and the left. Socialist revolution against the *chaebol* capitalists would not only emancipate South Korean workers, women and all the oppressed, but is the surest defense of the collectivized economic foundations of the North Korean deformed workers state. After decades of embargo and military encirclement of the North, the Seoul bourgeoisie and its imperialist patrons in

SPARTACIST/SYC SPEAKOUTS

U.S. Troops Out of Korea Now!

For Unconditional Military Defense of North Korea!

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY REUNIFICATION OF KOREA!
SPARTACIST LEAGUE



- For Proletarian Socialist Revolution in South Korea!
- For Proletarian Political Revolution to Oust the Stalinist Bureaucracy in North Korea!
- Down With IMF Bloodsuckers!
- Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!**

<p style="text-align: center;">BOSTON</p> <p>Thursday, March 26, 12:30 p.m. UMass/Boston (between Wheatley & McCormick bldgs.) For more information: (617) 666-9453</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">CHICAGO</p> <p>Wednesday, April 1, 12 noon University of Chicago on the Quad For more information: (312) 454-4930</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">NEW YORK CITY</p> <p>Monday, March 30, 4:30 p.m. New York University Outside of Bobst Library For more information: (212) 267-1025</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">SAN FRANCISCO</p> <p>Monday, March 30, 12 noon SF State University Malcolm X Plaza For more information: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">LOS ANGELES</p> <p>Monday, March 30, 5:30 p.m. Pasadena City College Front of campus (Colorado Blvd., 1/2 block east of Hill Street) For more information: (213) 380-8239</p>	

Washington and Tokyo hope to literally starve North Korea into submission. As famine spreads through the North after three years of abysmal harvests, the Japanese bourgeoisie has refused to ship one grain of its hoard of 3.5 million tons of surplus rice.

North Korea has been pushed into near-terminal decline by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Stalin-

reunification with the South. A leading Pyongyang spokesman, Pak Hyon Jae, made very clear what this means when he called recently for "one nation, one state, two systems and two governments," promising to "leave intact the present political and economic systems in the north and south of Korea" (*People's Korea*, 27 December 1997). This is a recipe for capitalist restoration and

tary defense of the deformed workers states against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution—for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies!

A victorious struggle for revolutionary reunification of Korea would be a beacon to the workers of China and Vietnam and would also inspire the powerful industrial proletariat of Japan, opening the road to a socialist Asia. Key to this perspective is the formation of Leninist-Trotskyist parties in Korea, China and throughout the region. As we wrote in our March 22 protest call:

"The only way out of imperialist oppression and degradation in dependent countries like South Korea lies in the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution: the seizure of power by the proletariat, marching at the head of all the oppressed, linked to the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist centers...."

"This fight must be based on a perspective of internationalist unity with the combative Chinese workers, who are today facing the threat of capitalist counterrevolution, and with the proletariat of Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. Events such as the Asian financial crisis and the U.S. military buildup in the Persian Gulf reveal that in the 'post-Soviet' world the contradictions of capitalism, far from being overcome, are finding a renewed expression. Interimperialist rivalries are heating up, threatening the ultimate devastation of a third world war. While the capitalist ruling classes trumpet the 'death of communism' with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the ICL fights for new October Revolutions as the only alternative to capitalist enslavement and imperialist war. We struggle to build revolutionary parties in Korea, Japan, the U.S. and around the world. **Reforge the Fourth International—world party of socialist revolution!**" ■



Relatives call for release of political prisoners, many of them workers and leftists. After election as president, Kim Dae Jung (inset, left) "amnestied" bloodsoaked former dictators Roh Tae Woo and Chun Doo Hwan.

ist bureaucracy's drive toward capitalist restoration. First under Kim Il Sung and now under his son and successor Kim Jong Il, the Pyongyang bureaucracy has promoted its nationalist program of *juche* ("self-reliance"), an extreme, autarkic variant of the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." Far from seeking proletarian struggle to overthrow the South Korean bourgeoisie, the North Korean Stalinists call for "peaceful"

annexation by the powerful South Korean bourgeoisie.

With the destruction of the Soviet Union, the remaining deformed workers states—including Vietnam and Cuba—are increasingly threatened by capitalist restoration. In China, the Stalinist regime has driven the country well down the road to counterrevolution. After years of "market reforms," subjecting ever-larger numbers of workers to brutal exploitation at the hands of imperialist and overseas Chinese capitalist investors, the Beijing bureaucracy has now embarked on a plan to sell off the bulk of state-owned industry. The dismantling of collectivized agriculture in the 1980s has already forced tens of millions out of impoverished rural areas and into the cities in a desperate search for low-wage jobs; now millions of industrial workers are also threatened with layoffs.

At the same time, these attacks have provoked widespread protests and strikes. What is urgently posed is the need for the proletariat to seize political power from the venal Stalinist bureaucracy, replacing it with a government based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. **For unconditional mili-**

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Northite Pirates Run for Cyberspace

After years of hysterically trumpeting the need to build a weekly, then twice-weekly, then daily *Bulletin*, David North's fake-Trotskyist "Socialist Equality Party" (SEP—formerly the Workers League, and before that the "American Committee for the Fourth International") has now officially thrown in the towel on what was always a grotesquely fake newspaper. A February 13 "Dear Reader" letter announcing the SEP's latest grandiloquent scam, "the launching of the World Socialist Web Site," mentioned in passing: "We... will no longer be publishing *The International Workers Bulletin*." North's British SEP satellite has similarly announced the end of its *International Worker*.

So much for the Northites' "mass paper" pretensions. Since anointing himself supreme leader of the "International Committee of the Fourth International" following the ouster of the discredited (now deceased) Gerry Healy a dozen years ago, North has followed in Healy's corrupt, thuggish and megalomaniacal footsteps. When in 1976 Healy launched a fancy, four-color, daily paper modeled on the British tabloids, we asked: "Where's the Class Line in the *News Line*?" (WV No. 114, 18 June 1976). That soon became clear, as Healy—and his American flunkie North—began running paeans to Libyan strongman Muammar Qaddafi and other oil-rich Arab bourgeois regimes (see "Healyites, Messengers of Qaddafi," WV No. 158, 20 May 1977). Two years later, Healy and North openly hailed Saddam Hussein's execution of 21 Iraqi Communists, while Healy's outfit secretly spied on Iraqi oppositionists in Britain.

When the flow of petrodollars for services rendered dried up, Healy's regime imploded. North stepped into the breach, soon proclaiming himself, ever so modestly, *the* leader of the international proletariat.

Humbug

The Northites are now rhapsodizing about the Internet as a "revolutionary medium" which is supposedly "relatively cheap and accessible" to "potentially millions." This pompous dismissal of the vast majority of the world's workers and poor—especially minorities and immigrants—who don't have up-to-date computers, modems and net surfing capacity sums up the Northites' appetites as "middle-class radicals" (an epithet they are fond of throwing at the Spartacist League in an attempt to deflect our polemical attacks). For North, the Internet is a "revolutionary medium" because

it enhances his ability to bury his wildly opportunist zig-zags of yesterday in flickering digital documents that may appear today and be wiped out tomorrow. And the Northites no longer have to face

the road to oblivion. Among the flotsam and jetsam of anti-Spartacist grouplets in the U.S., both the "Bolshevik Tendency" (BT) and Workers' Voice recently announced (hopefully fatal) splits. The

total depths of cynicism and humbug for which the Northites are infamous.

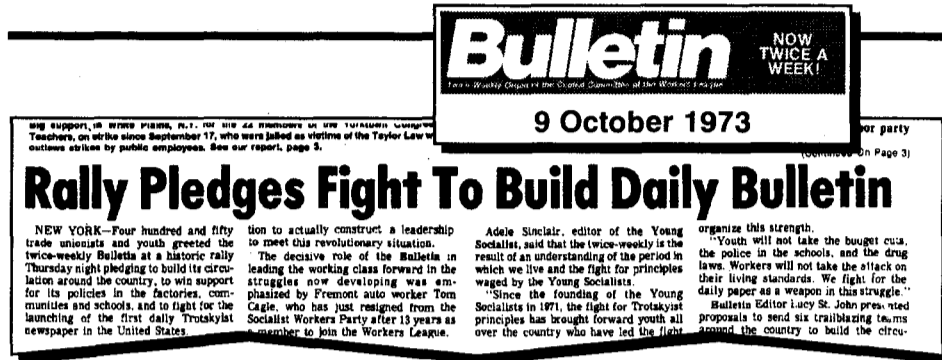
Sordid

The Healy/Northites are, to borrow Lenin's term, "political bandits"—political pirates who will show any flag to attack any target—for whom the class line is a revolving door. In the bureaucratic infighting of the 1960s "Cultural Revolution" in China, they enthused over Mao Zedong's wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy; throughout the Cold War of the 1980s, they supported every imperialist-backed force arrayed against the Soviet Union, from fascist-infested Lithuanian nationalists to the bloodthirsty Afghan *mujahedin*. After years of routinely pleading with the racist Cold Warriors of George Meany's AFL-CIO bureaucracy to "build a Labor Party," North & Co. veered recently into writing off the trade unions entirely as workers organizations—openly apologizing for scabs who crossed United Auto Workers picket lines in the long and bitter Caterpillar strike (see "David North, 'Socialist' Apologist for Scabbing," WV No. 637, 19 January 1996).

There is much, much more to this tendency's sordid history—all thoroughly documented and readily available in bound volumes of back issues of *Workers Vanguard*. Indeed, since North's *Bulletin* had barely 150 subscribers, many of you are probably only here learning of its demise.

At its core, the program of the SEP, proclaimed with great fanfare in the leadup to the 1996 presidential elections, is profoundly reformist—or worse. Reflecting their long history of hostility to the struggles of blacks, women and gays, this strange "equality" party made a central focus of its election campaign an attack on affirmative action—in an election year marked by a virulently racist bipartisan assault on welfare and affirmative action. The SEP also advised the capitalist rulers on how to reallocate economic resources, mewling: "Tax codes would have to be radically revised to place the greatest burden on those who can afford it, the corporations and the rich" (*International Workers Bulletin*, 11 November 1996). "Our aim is not to reduce the rich to conditions of penury," they wrote.

Well, *our* aim is to expropriate the bourgeoisie as a class, and they can then find meaningful employment, if they want to eat. You need a world party of socialist revolution—a reformed Fourth International—to do that, and you need a Trotskyist press to build that party. ■



Fake "mass" paper evaporates into cyberspace, more suited to covering up Northite political bandits' constant opportunist zigzags. Fake-Trotskyist David North (right) apes deceased mentor Gerry Healy (far right) in corruption, thuggery and megalomania.



attacks from angry trade unionists who noticed that the *Bulletin* was a *scab* paper, published without a union "bug."

The new SEP Web site, rapidly expanding via the gaseous "great thoughts" of David North, is the latest in a growing junk belt of virtual fantasy worlds, where posturing little grey men with gigantic egos and dubious politics can play at revolution. Nowadays it's become quite the rage for burnt-out drop-outs to set up Potemkin Village Web sites as outposts of retreat. It's fitting, indeed, that the "Internationalist Group" of Jan Norden, a shamefaced defector from Trotskyism who was formerly editor of *Workers Vanguard*, has also created its own little world within the Net.

The liquidation of the *Bulletin* is part of a broader phenomenon as a host of reformists and centrists, buying into the imperialist lie that "communism is dead," submerge themselves in larger social-democratic formations or split up on

BT has long pushed grossly Anglo-chauvinist opposition to independence for Quebec; now a wing has decamped ostensibly over its abstentionist line on the anti-working-class European Union Maastricht Treaty—of 1992! And in a January 23 Internet posting, the Bay Area Workers' Voice announced that its Detroit branch—which "constituted the majority of the leadership...but were a minority in the organization"—had split.

Contrary to the hostile buzzing of a small clot of petty-bourgeois losers and nerds who obviously have nothing better to do than clog up the Internet with sneers that the SL is "anti-technology," we actually do believe that computers, and yes, even Web sites, are useful tools for certain purposes. But that's all they are. To pretend dumping some documents into cyberspace is any substitute for the hard fight—in the real world, among real people—to build a revolutionary workers party, only confirms the

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See Page 64

Rivalries...

(continued from page 5)

opened a huge, new sphere of exploitation, especially for German imperialism. Four or five years ago, a spokesman for German industry exulted: "Right on our own doorstep in Eastern Europe, we have for the first time a vast pool of cheap and highly trained labor."

Multinationals and the Nation-State

I want to dispel some widespread misconceptions about what is now called the "globalization" of capitalism. The reason that they're widespread is because they're propagated from all points of the political spectrum—the "free market" right, left liberals and social democrats, especially the trade union bureaucracy, and self-proclaimed Marxists like the political bandits of David North's Socialist Equality Party.

One such misconception is that large industrial firms and banks no longer have any strong connection to a particular nation-state but rather operate above and between nation-states, indifferent as to their relative conditions. Thus American liberal economist Charles Kindleberger asserted: "The international corporation has no country to which it owes more loyalty than any other, nor any country where it feels completely at home" (quoted in *California Management Review*, Winter 1992).

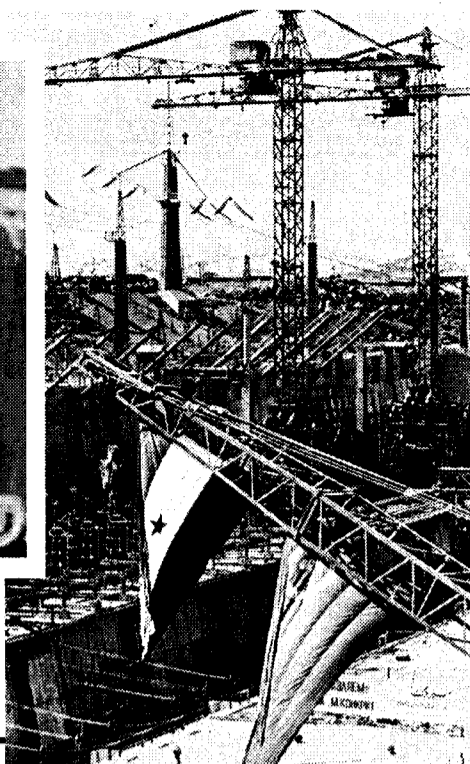
This is profoundly false and can easily be demonstrated as such. If large corporations were genuinely multinational or transnational one would expect their owners and top managers to be drawn from many different countries. But that isn't the way it works. There are no non-Americans on the boards of directors of Exxon, General Motors and Ford; there are no non-Germans on the boards of directors of Siemens and the Deutschebank; there are no non-Japanese on the boards of directors of Toyota, Nissan and Honda. The difference between international operations and national ownership can be seen in the extreme in the case of the Swiss corporation Nestlé. While 95 percent of its assets are located outside Switzerland, 97 percent of its stockholders are Swiss citizens. General Motors, Siemens and Toyota are *national* firms with international operations. They are no more multinational or transnational than was the British East India Company, which organized and carried out the colonial conquest of India in the 18th century.

Secondly, not all operations of large corporations have the same strategic importance. The profitability of many major corporations depends on technological innovations. This is especially true of those firms involved in what one former Republican president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, called "the industrial-military complex." The big U.S. aircraft company Boeing has some parts for its planes made in China. But it does not *design* its planes in China, and if its management ever tried to do that the U.S. government would prevent it. The largest American chemical company, Du Pont, now has 35 percent of its assets outside the United



Crosscurrents Press

Soviet premier Khrushchev with Egypt's Nasser. Soviet aid helped build giant Aswan Dam in the 1960s.



Camera Press

States, but 90 percent of its research and development is conducted *within* its own national state. A survey in the 1980s of over 20 large German multinational corporations indicated that almost 90 percent of their research and development facilities were located in Germany. If the big German chemical companies are not willing to set up research laboratories in neighboring France or Holland, they're certainly not going to locate them in Turkey or Brazil.

Another common misconception is that so-called multinational corporations have brought about the global integration of the process of industrial production. Thus Australian Northite leader Nick Beams informs us that "globalization refers to the internationalization of the circuit of productive capital." Unlike David North and Nick Beams, the men who run GM, Toyota and Volkswagen are not so stupid as to create a system in which a few thousand workers in unstable Third World countries can disrupt their entire production process internationally.

Imagine if GM and Toyota had ten plants in ten different countries, each producing a key component for their automobiles. A strike by 2,000 workers in Mexico or Indonesia could then shut down the entire global production of the world's two biggest automakers. There are a few auto plants in the U.S. which do have that kind of economic leverage on a continental scale. A year or so ago, 3,000 workers in a brake manufacturing plant in the American Midwest went on strike and in two weeks all of GM's North American production ground to a halt. The huge Volkswagen plant in Brazil, for example, does not produce crucial parts for the autos made in Wolfsburg, Germany and sold throughout Europe. It assembles cars, with some parts imported from Germany, which are sold in Brazil and the rest of Latin America.

Reforge the Fourth International!

I want to conclude with the same point I started with. The security of foreign

investments is only as strong as the state protecting those investments. And that puts definite limits on the willingness of the imperialist bourgeoisies to "globalize" industrial production. In the mid-19th century, when Britain dominated the world market in manufactured goods, British capitalists and their ideologues proclaimed the doctrine of "free trade" as if it were the eleventh commandment handed down from Jehovah to Moses on Mount Sinai.

However, by the early 1900s German industrialists were out-competing their

tion of surplus value from the rest of the world.

"Globalization," or "neoliberalism" as it's also called, is a superficial and transient ideological fashion espoused today by the official spokesmen of finance capital represented by the IMF and the World Bank. But this is *not* the only kind of bourgeois ideology we encounter and will encounter. Not at all. It is important to keep in mind that the mass fascist party in France, Le Pen's National Front, is opposed to a common European currency as stipulated in the Maastricht Treaty. The foremost spokesman for the "respectable" far right in the U.S., Pat Buchanan—who would be quite at home in a clerical-fascist regime—is opposed to the North American Free Trade Agreement, which he denounces for impoverishing the American working people.

The mobilization of the working people of the United States, Germany and Japan for a new imperialist world war will not be made in the name of free trade, currency convertibility, the international mobility of capital or the globalization of production. It will be made in the name of nationalism, of racism, of "the right of power, the right of force." Working people will be told by their capitalist rulers that if they do not kill and rob other peoples, other peoples will kill and rob them. So we had better understand what we are going to be facing in order to combat it more effectively.

Particularly in the U.S., Germany and France, a major depression will make the program of the fascists and the far right more attractive to strata such as small proprietors, extremely backward work-



Cops attack Detroit press strikers' picket line, 1995. Abetted by AFL-CIO tops, U.S. bourgeoisie has increased rate of exploitation through massive wage cuts, anti-labor repression.

British rivals even in Britain itself. So the British ruling class started singing a different tune, with significant sectors now agitating for import protectionism. One of its advocates, W. S. Hewins, argued:

"Suppose an industry which is threatened [by foreign competition] is one which lies at the very root of your system of National defence, where are you then? You could not get on without an iron industry, a great Engineering trade, because in modern warfare you would not have the means of producing, and maintaining in a state of efficiency, your fleets and armies.... It is conceivable that under conditions of strict and ruthless international competition the great industries of England would be reduced to a very few. Why should not we all become financiers of one kind and another, because we can do financially better than other people? But you cannot make a nation or an empire out of financiers."

—quoted in Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise of Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860-1914* (1987)

Every issue of the *AFL-CIO News*, the official paper of the American labor bureaucracy, says pretty much the same thing. And this is true of other labor bureaucracies in imperialist countries, such as the French Communist Party. This is what Lenin called "social-chauvinism" or "social-imperialism," the doctrine that the working class has an interest in the strength of its "own" imperialist state, in the ability of its "own" imperialist state to maximize the extrac-

ers, unemployed and lumpenized youth. It would not surprise me at all if in the next period one sees fascists and far rightists protesting and perhaps more than protesting the likes of the World Trade Organization and the IMF as agents of the "international Zionist conspiracy." As August Bebel, founding leader of the Marxist workers movement in 19th-century Germany, said, "Anti-Semitism is the socialism of fools."

So what are we to do about it? Obviously, we want to support and advocate, and where feasible engage in, labor-centered mobilizations to defeat the fascists in the streets and international action at the trade-union level. But our response cannot be primarily at the level of trade-union militancy. We have to answer the "socialism of fools" with the "socialism of wise men." This means pushing our *full program*—a Socialist United States of Europe, a world socialist order, international economic planning based on the highest level of science and technology. There are today in Europe alone millions of well-educated youth who are unemployed. In a depression, huge amounts of productive resources will stand idle. Add to this the increasing threat of a new imperialist world war. Our answer—and the only answer—to all this is new October Revolutions on a global scale. And that is why we fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

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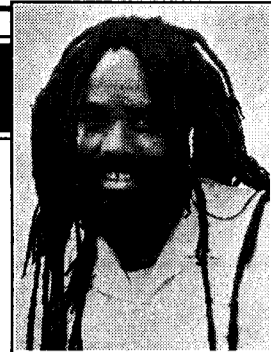
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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

MOVE prisoner Merle Africa died of unknown causes on March 13 in Pennsylvania's Cambridge Springs women's prison. Merle, who was in her mid-40s, was not known to be suffering from illness at the time of her death. We offer our condolences to the MOVE organization.

Merle had been imprisoned as part of the frame-up of nine

Philadelphia MOVE members following the August 1978 police siege of their Powelton Village home. The racist vendetta against MOVE culminated in the police firebombing of their Osage Avenue home in May 1985, killing eleven, including five children, and burning down an entire neighborhood. We demand: Free all MOVE prisoners now!



For Merle Africa

For almost 21 years, this beautiful, courageous, principled soldier of the army of life, Merle "China" Africa, endured the small minded, petty, political persecution in unjust incarceration in the hellholes of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

On August 8, 1978, the City, the State and the Federal Government conspired to liquidate Merle and all other MOVE members in their West-Philly house. Today it appears they have

finally accomplished this task. The strong, committed, resolute minister and disciple of John Africa suddenly, inexplicably died this morning.

Merle should have been home with their babies, well over twenty years ago. But she and the remaining 8 MOVE political prisoners remained entombed in state prisons, simply for the crime of "being MOVE members."

Let our loss spark a fire that fuels the engine of freedom for all of the

remaining MOVE political prisoners. Let our hearts, spirits, voices and hands demand that they be freed from this unjust draconian political persecution. Let us truly work to free all MOVE political prisoners right now.

Long live the spirit of Merle "China" Africa.

LLJA! [Long Live John Africa!]

Ona MOVE

13 March 1998

© 1998 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers. To correspond with Jamal, write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Death Row...

(continued from page 12)

Although SCI Greene authorities backed off from the new rules on family visits and phone calls and on commissary purchases, they had already wreaked real damage on the prisoners. In a statement after the end of the hunger strike, Mumia wrote:

"We were told some things by administrators that, if applied, would be a step in the right direction; but, it ain't hardly a 'victory.' It's as if a man who was armed with a stick tied you up, looted your apartment of almost all your property, stole from your wallet to pay for its shipment, or destroyed it, and then returned two weeks later with a shoebox of some of your stuff and said you could have it, if you paid for it!"

Mumia is currently awaiting a State Supreme Court decision on the appeal of his death sentence and false conviction for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia policeman. In undermining death row prisoners' ability to pursue legal defense

efforts, the crackdown at SCI Greene was part of a broader effort by Pennsylvania authorities—and state and federal agencies nationwide—to speed up the rate of executions.

Among numerous protests condemning the crackdown at SCI Greene, Amnesty International secretary-general Pierre Sané issued a scathing report on March 11 dealing with conditions at the prison. Sané declared that when he visited the prison last November, he was "appalled at the inhumane manner in which death row prisoners are 'warehoused' pending their execution. I believed the conditions to be extremely debilitating and draconian. To learn that the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections have, for no apparent reason, cut back further on the few 'privileges' allowed to death row inmates fills me with horror."

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal exemplifies the barbaric, racist nature of the death penalty and the entire capitalist "justice" system. He was targeted

by the FBI, Philly cops and courts from the time he was a spokesman for the Black Panther Party in his teens on up to his later work as a crusading journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization. His only "crime" was to courageously speak out against police terror and on behalf of the oppressed and downtrodden.

The degradation and abuse meted out to the overwhelmingly black and Hispanic prison population, the massive speedup in executions, the curtailment of *habeas corpus* appeal rights—all are part of an intensification of racist state repression as the capitalist rulers, through the Democratic and Republican parties, carry out their war on working people, minorities and the poor. The labor movement must fight to abolish the racist death penalty and to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and all class-war prisoners as part of the struggle against the capitalist exploiters. We fight to forge a multiracial workers party to smash the hideous machinery of legal lynching and the whole apparatus

of capitalist repression through socialist revolution.

* * *

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. Contributions for Mumia's legal defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mailed 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. ■

Vanunu...

(continued from page 12)

Arafat, as head of the petty-bourgeois nationalist Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), signed his pact with Israel on the White House lawn in 1993, we warned that this would mean "PLO cops, armed and paid by Israel, shooting down young Palestinian rebels on behalf of the Zionist state terrorists" (WV No. 583, 10 September 1993). A recent article in the *New York Times* (5 March) reports that Arafat's security forces have been receiving training from the CIA and FBI in "espionage, information-gathering, interrogation and other techniques of the trade." In the last four years 18 Palestinians have been tortured to death in Arafat's prisons.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

When Vanunu was convicted more than a year after his abduction of aiding and abetting "the enemy in time of war," we commented: "Who is the enemy? What war? To the Zionist nuclear madmen, it doesn't matter—they are at war with the whole world, everybody is the enemy" (WV No. 450, 8 April 1988). Vanunu's revelations made clear that Israel's capitalist rulers had enough nuclear weapons not only to incinerate every Arab capital, but to bomb major cities in the Soviet Union as well. Israel's nuclear arsenal was built up with the active support of the U.S. and other imperialist powers, as part of their war

drive against the Soviet degenerated workers state.

Particularly following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the U.S. has attempted to impose a "Pax Americana" in the Near East to secure its strategic interests in this oil-rich region. This was seen most clearly in the "Arab consensus" forged around the U.S.-led Persian Gulf War against Iraq in 1990-91, which was followed by the Israel-PLO "peace" accord in 1993. Today, Washington is increasingly open in expressing frustration with its war-crazed Israeli junior partners, whose repeated provocations in the Occupied Territories threaten to throw the region into turmoil and hindered U.S. attempts to secure support among Arab bourgeois regimes for an attack on Iraq last month. Netanyahu even snubbed and incited a mob attack on British foreign minister Robin Cook during a visit last week, when the imperialist politician made a point of protesting a new Zionist "settlement" in Arab East Jerusalem. At the same time, the Israeli leader has sought to mollify Washington by talking of an Israeli troop withdrawal from southern Lebanon and offering an apology for the army killing of the three Palestinian workers in Hebron.

In a recent book titled *Open Secrets: Israeli Nuclear and Foreign Policies*, courageous Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak notes: "The two crucial areas which Israel wants to maintain its independence from the U.S. are its nuclear power and its influence within the U.S. itself" (quoted in *Z Magazine*, Febru-

ary 1998). Against various "leftist" apologists for Arab nationalism, we have always insisted that Israel is not a puppet of U.S. imperialism but a regional capitalist power in its own right. In pursuit of their appetites for a "Greater Israel," the Zionist rulers are quite capable of launching a nuclear Armageddon. This was made clear during the U.S.-manufactured confrontation with Iraq last month when Israel's military chief warned that "the Iraqis know more or less what Israel is capable of doing, and I hope we will not need to retaliate" (*Jerusalem Post International Edition*, 7 February).

The Israeli garrison-state must be shattered from within, through workers revolution led by a Leninist vanguard party which unites the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab workers around their class interests. In the face of stringent austerity attacks by the Netanyahu regime and its equally Zionist and anti-working-class "Labor" predecessor, Israeli workers have demonstrated substantial economic militancy. But they must be broken politically from the stranglehold of Zionist chauvinism and won to active defense of Palestinian national rights. Indeed, as a Sephardic Jew from Morocco, it was Vanunu's own experience of discrimination at the hands of the Ashkenazi (European)-dominated Zionist ruling establishment that impelled him to take up the cause of the far more oppressed Palestinians and led to his alienation from Zionism. We also fight to win Palestinian militants from the dead end of petty-bourgeois national-

ism and the vile anti-Semitic and anti-woman bigotry spewed by Islamic fundamentalists like Hamas and Hezbollah.

It is from this internationalist standpoint that the Spartacist League has actively fought for Mordechai Vanunu's freedom from the outset. The Partisan Defense Committee, committed to the class-struggle defense of cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people, called for an international campaign to win his release. Numerous other organizations and individuals, including actress Emma Thompson, author Graham Greene and Nobel physicist Joseph Rotblat, have spoken out on behalf of Vanunu. In June 1987, Vanunu's former companion and spokesman, Judy Zimmet, joined Mumia Abu-Jamal's wife Wadiya in speaking from the platform of an SL forum in New York City devoted to international class-struggle defense. At that meeting, Zimmet quoted from a letter by Vanunu which said: "I did what I believe is good to do for peace and safety on this earth."

The only road to peace in the Near East—and the only just solution to the conflicting national claims of the myriad peoples of the region—lies through socialist revolution. It is necessary to forge Leninist-Trotskyist parties to lead the working masses—and behind them the poor peasants, women and other oppressed—in sweeping away the sheiks, colonels, kings and Zionist rulers as part of the fight for workers revolution internationally. Free Mordechai Vanunu! Defend the Palestinians! For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

Pennsylvania Prison Authorities Back Off

Death Row Hunger Strike Ends

Free Mumia! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

MARCH 24—The dramatic death row hunger strike which began on March 6 at Pennsylvania's SCI Greene prison complex ended on March 18 when prison officials rescinded some of the new regulations that touched off the desperate protest. As we reported in *WV* No. 686 (13 March), the new rules—no doubt adopted in retaliation against prisoners' lawsuits challenging conditions there—had drastically cut family

visits and phone calls allowed prisoners, while taking away all clothing except a single prison suit and two pairs of underwear and socks. Even the right to buy food at the commissary was eliminated. Moreover, prisoners had to hand over all personal belongings—including books and legal papers—that did not fit into a single storage box.

Among those subjected to the crackdown was prominent journalist and political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was forced to hand over 16 boxes of material, including legal documents critical to his defense. Jamal, who joined the hunger strike in its second week, reported that 38 prisoners were

engaged in the strike at its peak, out of the 111 on SCI Greene's death row (which we incorrectly reported last issue as the number on strike). In a March 13 column, Mumia skewered the new regulations as exemplifying:

"the intentional premeditated assault on the meager 'privileges' accorded Death Row inmates, designed to plunge them over the brink of despair.

"To a man or a woman faced literally with months or weeks of life, a visit with a loved one who must travel hundreds of miles, is hardly a frivolous thing.... When the State systematically seeks to secure the death of hope, it reveals its true underlying object—the death of men."

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WV Photo

Death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Free Mordechai Vanunu!

Israeli Nuclear Technician Revealed Zionist Doomsday Machine

On March 12, Mordechai Vanunu was released from solitary confinement in an Israeli dungeon after enduring more than eleven hellish years in a six-by-nine-foot cell. A technician who had worked at Israel's top-secret Dimona nuclear facility for ten years, Vanunu was kidnapped in Rome by the Mossad secret police days before the *London Sunday Times* (5 October 1986) published his story revealing that Israel had up to 200 nuclear weapons. After a secret "trial" in a sealed courtroom, the Zionist rulers vindictively sentenced him to 18 years for revealing the scale of Israel's nuclear doomsday machine.

Until last week, Vanunu was denied any human contact except with the guards who fed him and with his two broth-

ers, who were allowed to visit him every other week. He remains in the Ashkelon maximum-security prison where he has been incarcerated since late 1986. As we wrote shortly after his arrest: "For his courageous act, the working people, indeed all of humanity, owe Vanunu a tremendous debt of gratitude.... Vanunu acted in the cause of humanity. Now the international working class must champion his cause" (*WV* No. 429, 29 May 1987). *Freedom now for Mordechai Vanunu!*

Meanwhile, Israel's torture chambers are filled to the brim with Palestinian Arabs, many of whom were imprisoned without even the fiction of a trial, and often without even being formally charged. A week before Vanunu's release

Mordechai Vanunu after abduction and arrest by Mossad secret police in 1986.

Landau/Jerusalem Post



from solitary confinement, the Israeli Supreme Court announced a ruling which justified the continued imprisonment of 21 Lebanese men for as long as 12 years on no other grounds than their utility to the Zionist state as potential "bargaining chips" for hostage exchanges with the Islamic Hezbollah militia. *Free all victims of Zionist state repression!*

Defend the Palestinian People!

Even as the Clinton administration tries to pressure Israel into reviving the U.S.-sponsored "peace process" with Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority, the Zionist rulers have stepped up their war of terror against the Palestinian people. On March 10, soldiers at a checkpoint near the West Bank city of Hebron fired automatic rifles at a van carrying Palestinian construction workers, killing three and wounding two others. These cold-blooded murders, coming atop a whole series of recent racist provocations, triggered widespread protests in Hebron, Ramallah and elsewhere. Israeli troops firing rubber-coated bullets killed a 13-

year-old boy and injured more than 50 other protesters.

Emboldened by the "hardline" stance of Likud prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu's right-wing coalition government, fascistic "settlers" are out to foment a full-scale pogrom in Hebron. Four years ago, an American-born fascist massacred over 30 Palestinians praying in a Hebron mosque. Since then, the "redeployment" of Israeli troops promoted by the "peace" accord has divided the city in two, allocating fully 20 percent to several hundred "settlers" and sealing the Arab population of 400,000 into a ghetto ringed by army units. On March 13, some 40 armed fascists stormed through Arab parts of the city, while Israeli soldiers fired into crowds of Palestinians trying to defend their homes and families. *Defend the Palestinians—All Israeli troops and "settlers" out of all the Occupied Territories now!*

Aiding the Zionist butchers in their repression of the Palestinian population is Arafat's Palestinian Authority. When

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Hollander/Reuters

Israeli troops terrorize Palestinian population in West Bank city of Hebron.