

Dramatic Guerrilla Action in Lima

Peru: For Workers Revolution to Smash Fujimori Dictatorship!

JANUARY 6—Since their dramatic seizure of hundreds of high-ranking government officials, diplomats and businessmen at the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima on December 17, the leftist guerrillas of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) have focused worldwide attention on their cause. Having released over 400 of their hostages, some 20 members of the MRTA

led by Néstor Cerpa Cartolini now hold 74 captives, including the Japanese ambassador, several police and generals, cabinet ministers and the brother of Peru's blood-drenched dictator, President Alberto Fujimori. The president himself narrowly missed being seized,

having been delayed in his scheduled arrival at the house.

The MRTA's main demand is freedom for at least 400 of their comrades condemned to die a slow death in Peru's dungeons for political prisoners. In notorious Yanamayo prison, situated

over 12,000 feet high in the Andes, inmates are locked in frozen, six-by-six-foot cells with little or no food, clothing or blankets and windows open to the extremely harsh elements. Denied medical care, prisoners quickly succumb to diseases such as tuberculosis and pneumonia. International attention was drawn to the prisoners' plight following the 1995 arrest of

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Túpac Amaru: Reformists with Guns

General Strike Rocks South Korea

JANUARY 6—After a few years of relative quiescence, the militant South Korean working class has once again reared its head in a major confrontation with the giant *chaebols* (industrial conglomerates) and the capitalist state. Close to half a million workers brought the country to a screeching halt by December 27, the second day of the largest national strike in South Korean history. Auto factories, steel plants and shipyards were shut down solid, while transport, bank and hospital workers walked off their jobs. This followed a call for an "indefinite nationwide general strike," issued by the independent Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU) and later endorsed by the historically pro-government Korean Federation of Trade Unions (KFTU).

The strikes were called to protest passage of anti-labor legislation, which threatens gains won by the South Korean proletariat in decades of struggle against successive right-wing military regimes and most recently the government of Kim Young Sam. While the South Korean government proclaims itself a bourgeois democracy, in fact it is a virulent dictatorship. Demanding the "Overthrow of the Kim Young Sam government," tens of thousands of strikers, joined by student leftists, battled riot cops who launched tear gas volleys in Seoul on the weekend of December 28-29. In Ulsan, home to the Hyundai *chaebol*, thousands of leather-clad Hyundai workers rallied on motorcycles in a "honking protest."

National strikes have resumed following the New Year holiday period, with leaders of the KCTU vowing to extend them.

With the passage of the labor bills, and less publicized but equally ominous legislation strengthening the Agency for National



Mass rally of striking workers in Seoul, December 29. General strike against anti-labor law has drawn South Korean proletariat into battle against bloody, U.S.-backed Kim Young Sam regime.

Security Planning (NSP—formerly the Korean CIA), the South Korean state is gearing up to crush any challenge to its rule. International labor solidarity, particularly in Japan and the U.S., must be mobilized on behalf of the embattled South Korean working class. Japanese workers, particularly those employed in companies operating in South Korea, should organize solidarity strikes and other protest actions in defense of their Korean brothers and sisters. American workers must also fight for the withdrawal of the 35,000 U.S. troops from South Korea, whose military power props up the bloody Seoul regime and is a mortal threat to the bureaucratically deformed

workers state in North Korea and to working people throughout East Asia.

The strike action shaking South Korea points to a society on the edge of social explosion. Underlining its fear of the potential power of the working class, the government passed its anti-labor laws at a secret pre-dawn session of parliament which excluded opposition politicians. Within hours, strikes began to break out. The fact that the normally pro-regime KFTU labor federation felt the need to call out its 1.5 million members indicates both the draconian character of the legislation and the growing popularity of the independent unions.

The South Korean general strike is pit-

ting all sectors of the working class directly against the state. But worker militancy alone is incapable of leading the workers and oppressed to victory. The brittle regime in Seoul will not likely mollify the workers by co-opting independent union leaders, or by forming some sort of popular-frontist coalition government politically tying the labor movement to the capitalist exploiters and their state.

What is needed above all else is a revolutionary leadership which can organize the proletariat in its own class interests to shatter the bourgeois dictatorship in a fight for proletarian state power. The

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New Legal Papers Demand Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal

Attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal have filed new papers calling for dismissal of all charges against the journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party leader. The brief, filed on December 27 in Pennsylvania's Supreme Court, cites a Pittsburgh federal court's ruling last month that state and prison authorities violated Jamal's constitutional rights by illegally

opening and copying his confidential legal mail before and during his 1995 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) hearing in front of "hanging judge" Albert Sabo (see "Mumia Abu-Jamal Wins Ruling Against Prison Authorities," WV No. 658, 27 December 1996). The Pittsburgh ruling gives judicial recognition to evidence of gross state misconduct that has marked Mumia's case from the beginning. On this

basis, the new brief argues, the charges against Mumia should be dismissed.

In her ruling, U.S. District Judge Donetta Ambrose concluded that the tampering by state officials "interfered entirely" with the preparation of Jamal's PCRA petition to overturn his 1982 frame-up conviction and death sentence on false charges of killing Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner. Not surprisingly, Sabo ruled against the PCRA petition, while granting a stay of execution only weeks before the scheduled execution date. Jamal's attorneys have submitted the new brief for the state Supreme Court's consideration as part of their appeal of Sabo's 1995 ruling.

As the new brief for Mumia states: "The violation of Jamal's sixth amendment right to counsel is now a matter of judicial record. That Jamal suffered 'actual injury' bearing on the preparation and filing of his PCRA Petition is also a matter of judicial record." The brief continues:

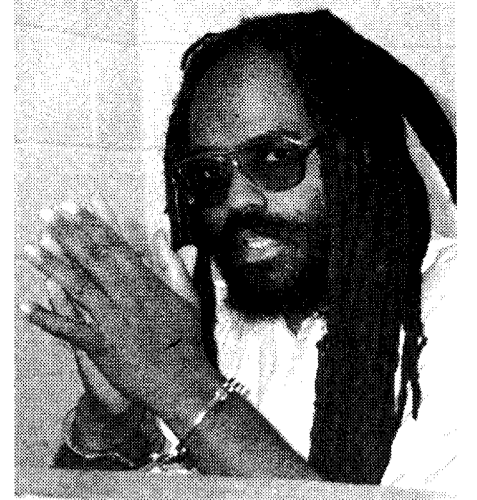
"The federal district court found that Jamal's 'actual injury' resulted from the fact that the Commonwealth's knowing interception of Jamal's attorney-client communications led to the issuance of Jamal's death warrant before he could file his PCRA Petition. This preemptive issuance of the death warrant then provided the justification for creating a pressurized atmosphere within the PCRA court which deprived Jamal his right to a full and fair opportunity to litigate his constitutional claims."

Countering the lying assertion of Judge Sabo and the Philadelphia district attorney's office that Jamal's attorneys had "delayed" the filing of the PCRA petition, the new legal papers note that the Pittsburgh ruling "exposes the fact that the death-warrant deadline, which operated to Jamal's detriment, was the direct by-product of the Commonwealth's sixth amendment violation." As the brief's summary statement concludes:

"Furthermore, the Commonwealth secured the added benefit of learning the detailed plans, concerns, thoughts, and strategies of Jamal's counsel. When viewed on the totality of this record, the unprecedented and unvarnished violation of Jamal's constitutional rights dictates that the charges be dismissed."

Speaking at a well-attended press conference in Philadelphia following the filing of Mumia's new brief, lead counsel Leonard Weinglass remarked, "We have reached the point now that this case is so tainted with extreme violations of prosecutorial misconduct that it should not be allowed to go forward in any court in the state." Mumia's co-counsel, Rachel Wolkenstein, who is also counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, noted that Judge Ambrose's decision was "extremely critical." Wolkenstein explained that "it gives us further confirmation of what we have been saying: that this prosecution was politically motivated and racially biased."

Detailing the vast scope of "law enforcement and prosecutorial misconduct at every layer of this case," the brief recounts how "from the outset of the investigation, law enforcement manipulated and coerced witnesses, suppressed evidence, and even concocted a confession. The trial process was so warped as to call into question the very premise that Jamal was even accorded a 'trial.'" At Jamal's 1982 trial, witnesses such as Veronica Jones were coerced by police into changing their testimony to fit the police/prosecution frame-up scenario. At a supplementary PCRA hearing in October 1996, Jones courageously came forward to present her original true eyewitness



WV Photo

Mumia Abu-Jamal

ness testimony, which corroborated that of four others who saw someone other than Mumia flee the scene of the shooting. For offering her powerful evidence of Mumia's innocence, Jones was dragged off the stand in Sabo's court and thrown in jail.

The entire history of the persecution of Jamal, a courageous fighter on behalf of the oppressed, underscores the fact that the cops, courts, prisons and government are joined by a thousand ties in a system of racist injustice. From the cop executions of youth in the ghettos and barrios to the "legal lynching" of the racist death penalty, the capitalist state exists to keep down the mass of working people and minorities in order to protect the rule of the exploiters.

This web of repression put Mumia in its sights from the time he was a young leader of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party in the 1960s, when he was targeted by the FBI's notorious "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) to "neutralize" radical activists. Police harassment and surveillance continued as Jamal became a widely known journalist whose radio commentaries and articles exposed the racist reality of daily life in Philly, and later when he became a supporter of the MOVE organization. It culminated in Mumia's being falsely convicted and sentenced to death in 1982.

As part of their plan to carry out Jamal's execution, the forces of the state have sought to silence his powerful voice against injustice. The prison authorities' justification for their illegal confiscation of Jamal's legal mail was that he was "running a business," that is, writing his book, *Live from Death Row*. Despite this victimization, Mumia has continued to write—his new book, *Death Blossoms: Reflections from a Prisoner of Conscience*, has just been issued by Plough Publishing House.

The continuing state vendetta against Mumia underlines that there is no justice for the oppressed in the capitalist courts. Key to staying the executioner's hand in 1995 was the wave of international protests which gave a taste of the kind of militant struggle needed to free Mumia. As Marxists, we look to the power of social protest centered on the labor movement in alliance with all the many victims of racist capitalism. Through such struggles, the working class can and must become conscious of its role as the only social force capable of doing away with the entire system of exploitation and oppression. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

To get involved in the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. To order Mumia's new book, *Death Blossoms*, write to Plough Publishing House, Farmington, PA 15437. Funds for Mumia's defense are urgently needed! Tax-deductible contributions should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. ■



TROTSKY

Italy 1920: Class Struggle and Revolutionary Leadership

A wave of revolutionary struggles swept Europe in the years following the Russian workers revolution of 1917. In Italy, workers throughout the country seized the factories in the biennio rosso (two red years) of 1919-20. However, unlike in Russia where Lenin's Bolshevik Party led a successful struggle to overthrow the capitalist state, the Italian working class sorely lacked a revolutionary vanguard party to lead a fight for power.



LENIN

The defeat of the revolutionary opportunity in Italy opened the road for Mussolini's fascist brownshirts to come to power two years later. The central lesson of these historic events—the need to forge Leninist parties in intransigent struggle against the workers' reformist and centrist misleaders—was driven home by the Communist International, including in the Fourth Congress resolution on the "Italian question," from which the following is excerpted.

At the close of the imperialist world war the situation in Italy was objectively revolutionary. The reins had fallen from the hands of the bourgeoisie. The machinery of the bourgeois State was broken. The ruling classes felt uncertain. The working masses were filled with indignation against the war and were in open insurrection in various parts of the country. Large sections of the peasantry were beginning to rise against the landlords and the State and were ready to support the working class in revolutionary struggle. The soldiers were against the war and ready to fraternize with the workers.

The objective prerequisites for a victorious revolution were at hand. The only thing missing was the most important subjective factor—a resolute, militant, conscious, revolutionary workers' party, that is, a genuine communist party, to assume resolute leadership of the masses....

The occupation of the factories by the Italian workers in the autumn of 1920 was a decisive moment in the development of the class struggle in Italy. The Italian workers moved instinctively towards a revolutionary solution of the crisis, but the absence of a revolutionary workers' party decided the fate of the working class, sealed their defeat, and prepared the present victory of fascism. Without an adequate revolutionary leadership, the working class, though at the height of its strength, showed that it was not resolute enough to seize power. Thus it happened that after the lapse of a certain time the deadly enemy of the working class, the bourgeoisie, in the person of their most energetic wing, the fascists, laid the working class low and established their dictatorship. The Italian example is of the greatest significance. Nowhere has it been more palpably demonstrated than in Italy how great is the historical rôle of a communist party for the world revolution. It has shown how the absence of such a party can turn the course of history in favour of the bourgeoisie.

It is not that in these decisive years there was no workers' party in Italy. The old socialist party had a large membership and seen from the outside a great influence, but it carried within it reformist elements who crippled its action at every step.... In all decisive situations the reformists and centrists acted as a leaden weight on the party. Nowhere was it so clear as in Italy that the reformists are the most dangerous tools of the bourgeoisie in the working-class camp. They left nothing untried to betray the working class to the bourgeoisie.

— "Resolution of the Fourth Comintern Congress on the Italian Question" (December 1922)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.



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Cesar Armendariz



WV Photo

1951-1996

It is with great sadness that we announce the death of our comrade, Cesar Armendariz, at the age of 45. On December 28, a tragic car accident left Cesar with fatal head injuries; he died on December 30.

Cesar never took the easy path in life. Born in Dallas, Texas into a Hispanic family and raised in El Paso, he fought his way through the barriers of racial bigotry to become a doctor. Cesar brought a rare humanity and empathy to a profession all too often marked by egotistical career concerns.

These are the qualities that Cesar brought with him in dedicating his life to a struggle against the oppression and degradation bred by capitalism. He joined the Spartacist League in 1979. As a doctor, he worked closely with the SL's medical commission, applying meticulous effort to finding the best, most humane treatment available for comrades and their loved ones.

Along with his medical responsibilities, Cesar was a multifaceted communist activist and organizer, carrying out much of his political work in the Washington, D.C. area, where he lived for more than a decade. In the course of organizing for a successful labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan from rallying in downtown Philadelphia in 1988, Cesar was instrumental in bringing a busload of black Howard University students—dubbed the "Frederick Douglass Brigade"—to the demonstration.

In the spring of 1990, Cesar stepped forward to become the organizer of the Washington, D.C. branch. He always paid particular attention to youth work—recruiting and training future party cadres. And he was as effective in speaking with workers as he was with youth, from distributing *Workers Vanguard* to shipyard workers in Norfolk, Virginia to bringing to the labor movement the cause of victims of racist repression. In June 1995, Cesar was instrumental in mobilizing trade unionists for a united-front protest in Washington against the impending execution of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Cesar was deeply committed to building a party that could lead a world socialist revolution. In 1989-90, he went to Berlin as part of the International Communist League's intervention aimed at providing a proletarian revolutionary leadership in the unfolding political revolution in East Germany. Last fall, while on vacation in Texas, he took time to distribute our press in the *maquiladoras*—an important concentration of industrial workers across the border in Mexico. In all aspects of his wide-ranging work in the party, Cesar exhibited a keen understanding of the need for Leninist collectivity, always ready to solicit the opinions of his comrades.

The loss of this remarkable man is a profound tragedy. We extend our heartfelt condolences to Cesar's family, his companion Michael and all those who were so dear to him. Cesar Armendariz was a rare man who touched us with his infinite compassion, his infectious humor, his tender manner and his determination. We will honor his memory in the continuation of the struggle. A fuller appreciation of Cesar's life will appear in a future issue of *Workers Vanguard*.

A memorial meeting will be held in New York City on the afternoon of February 1. Those who wish to join us in remembering his life should call (212) 732-7861 for more information.

Peru...

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an American supporter of the MRTA, Lori Berenson, who is held in her tiny concrete cell for all but 30 minutes a day.

Fujimori has declared: "There they will rot and they will only get out dead." Facing a life sentence under such barbaric conditions, many of these leftist prisoners are driven to attempt suicide by hurling themselves against the iron bars and concrete floors. We demand: Free all victims of Fujimori's terror!

Over half of Peru's 24 million people live in desperate poverty in the countryside and in sprawling shantytowns on the edges of the cities. While almost two of every three Peruvians have no steady income, a few thousand live in untold luxury. A youth in Peru today sees a bunch of lying politicians and bloodthirsty generals brutalizing the population, while guerrillas like the MRTA appear to be the only forces standing up against them. While the mouthpiece for American imperialism, the *New York Times* (25 December 1996), claimed, "In Lima Slum, No Support for Hostage Takers," in fact many of Lima's impoverished slum dwellers have responded with a certain glee to the sight of the rich and powerful being held under the guns of the MRTA. As one Lima resident exclaimed, "The government are worse terrorists than the MRTA."

The Túpac Amaru, named after a descendent of the Incas who rose in rebellion against Spanish colonial rule in the late 1700s, is a petty-bourgeois guerrilla group inspired by the Cuban Revolution and allied throughout the 1980s with similar Latin American guerrilla organizations. Hundreds of their members have been hunted down, tortured and thrown

in jail, including MRTA leader Víctor Polay. The guerrillas' bold seizure of the ambassador's residence—where among their hostages are despicable capitalist thieves and torturers who, by all reports, are being treated quite humanely—evokes strong sympathy from all those who side with the oppressed. However, the political program which engenders such desperate acts accomplishes nothing toward changing the conditions of life for Peru's impoverished workers and peasants. That requires building a Leninist proletarian party capable of leading Peru's workers and peasants in socialist revolution.

Down With the U.S.-Backed Fujimori Dictatorship!

In 1990, little-known Alberto Fujimori was elected president of Peru in part because it was expected that his Japanese ancestry would attract the financial backing of Japan Inc. And that has, in fact, occurred. Peru had the fastest-growing economy in the world in 1994 due to wage freezes instituted by the regime and massive privatization of state-owned industries, from mining and natural gas concerns to the phone company. In the process, Fujimori became one of Wall Street's favorite politicians in South America, which U.S. imperialism would like to turn into one giant "free-trade" zone.

Fujimori also intensified a relentless campaign of state terror, with his main targets guerrilla insurgencies by Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) and the smaller leftist MRTA. Although many of Shining Path's actions have been acts of deadly terror against workers, leftists and peasants, for more than two decades the Peruvian rulers' campaign against Sendero has been wielded to wage a savage war against the mass of the population. In

1983, former interior minister General Luis Cisneros stated: "In order for the security forces to be successful...they will have to begin to kill Senderistas and non-Senderistas alike.... They will kill 60 people and maybe three will be Senderistas, but they will say that all 60 were Senderistas" (quoted in Jo-Marie Burt and Aldo Panfichi, *Peru Caught in the Crossfire* [1992]). In 1992, both the MRTA's Polay and Shining Path's Abimael Guzmán were arrested and imprisoned. But this in no way lessened Fujimori's bloody repression: in the last 18 months alone, some 500,000 people have been detained in sweeps against "terrorists."

The "dirty war" was mainly fought in the Andes, where the wholesale racist massacre of Indian peasant villages could be covered up. More recently, government-backed DINCOTE death squads have begun to operate in the capital. But with the guerrilla action in Lima,

the former and current heads of the DINCOTE now find themselves hostages under the guns of the Túpac Amaru.

The Peruvian military and police have received millions of dollars of equipment, training and support each year from Washington under the guise of the "war on drugs." In remote areas like the upper Huallaga Valley, which has been a stronghold for Peruvian guerrillas, agents from the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) work alongside military units, supposedly looking for drug traffickers. A team of U.S. "anti-terrorist" operatives has now been flown into Lima for the hostage crisis. DEA and all U.S. forces out of Peru!

Reformist Nationalism and Guerrillaism

Throughout the 20th century, the workers and peasants of Latin America have

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Spartacus Youth Club Forum



For Workers Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

From Mexico to Peru: Guerrilla Struggle— Reformism with Guns

Speaker: Jorge Ramirez, Spartacist League

Thursday, January 16, 7 p.m.

UC Santa Cruz, Third World Lounge, UCSC Student Center

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Peru...

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been brutally exploited by U.S. imperialism. The local propertied classes—landlords, industrialists, bankers—are subordinated to and are often the paid agents of Wall Street and Washington. Only the proletariat, under the leadership of a communist vanguard party, can liberate Latin America from the chains of capitalist exploitation and imperialist subjugation through a social revolution. For such a revolution to succeed, the proletariat must mobilize behind it the peasantry, many of them deeply oppressed Indian peoples, and urban petty-bourgeois layers like small shopkeepers and student youth. Simply in order to survive, a workers revolution in any of these countries would have to struggle for its extension to the imperialist colossus of the U.S.

The mobilization of the Latin American proletariat in defense of its class interests has time and again been frustrated by its treacherous misleaders, who at every turn have sought to subordinate workers' struggles to class-collaborationist "unity" with "anti-imperialist" sectors of the national bourgeoisie. In the absence of a proletarian revolutionary leadership, disaffected young intellectuals in Latin America have often turned to the strategy of guerrillaism.

Inspired by the Cuban Revolution and the doctrines of its leading ideologist, Che Guevara, left-wing guerrilla insurgencies proliferated throughout Latin America during the 1960s. As we wrote at the time: "Sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and its intelligentsia struggle to lead the peasantry—itsself a huge petty-bourgeois mass—against the imperialist domination of their country. But, lacking historically a decisive relationship to the means of production, the petty-bourgeoisie is impotent to close forever what Marx and Engels called the 'pre-history' of humanity" ("Theses on Guerrilla Warfare," *Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968).

That petty-bourgeois guerrilla movements were able to come to power and carry out social revolutions in countries like Cuba and China was a result of historically exceptional circumstances—the extreme weakness of the national bourgeois ruling class and the absence of a politically active proletariat. Even at that, these guerrilla struggles could achieve at most the creation of deformed workers states, ruled by nationalist bureaucracies profoundly hostile to the struggle for international socialist revolution and requiring an additional political revolution to place the workers in power (see "Cuba, Castro and Che: The Mystique of the Guerrilla Road," *WV* No. 630, 6 October 1995). Furthermore, these victories were dependent on the existence of the Soviet Union as a counterweight to imperialism.

International Day of Action for Liverpool Dockers

LONDON—The bitter, 15-month struggle by Liverpool dockers against the union-busting Mersey Docks and Harbour Company (MDHC) has inspired solidarity actions in Britain and across Europe, North America and Australia. Now the dock workers have issued a call for an international 24-hour "Day of Action" to take place on January 20. At least 15 dockers unions along with the International Transport Workers Federation have declared their support to the Merseyside Port Shop Stewards' call "to all dock workers in all ports to join an international blockade of Liverpool cargo and of shipping lines using the scab port of Liverpool."

In September 1995, some 500 Liverpool dockers were locked out by the MDHC for honouring a picket line set up by their sacked union brothers from Torside, a private contractor on the docks. The dockers have repeatedly turned down MDHC's insulting settlement "offers" of a cash payoff and a

handful of jobs, demanding reinstatement of *all* the sacked workers. "Our fathers and grandfathers fought and died for jobs that we could be proud of," said one docker. "I did it for the young ones." By upholding the bedrock trade-union principle that picket lines mean don't cross, these militants received active support from dock workers in Sweden, Denmark and France this fall. And last winter, longshoremen in U.S. East Coast ports, Australia, New Zealand and Canada refused to work ships belonging to one of the struck companies.

However, the leadership of the dockers' own union, the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), Britain's largest, has given the workers the shaft, refusing even to sanction the strike. Prostrate before the government's anti-union laws, these misleaders now have their sights on a Labour Party victory in the upcoming general election. And with Labour leader Tony Blair deter-

mined to underline his anti-union credentials for the bosses, his backers in the TGWU bureaucracy are more committed than ever to not rocking the boat with even the slightest tremor of class struggle.

Union-busting, privatisation and "casualisation" have left the Liverpool dockers the last bastion of a once strongly unionised sector of the British working class. They must not stand alone! Truck drivers, rail workers and all transport workers should refuse to handle all shipments to and from the port of Liverpool. The TGWU should mobilise its million-strong membership for mass pickets to shut the Liverpool docks down tight, and dock workers around the world should refuse to handle diverted cargo. This kind of solidarity in action can fortify the unions against the capitalist offensive in Britain and internationally.

For international labor action to support the Liverpool dockers!

Today, in the aftermath of capitalist counterrevolution in the former USSR, the remaining deformed workers states face a greatly intensified threat of capitalist restoration.

In Nicaragua, the radical-nationalist Sandinista guerrillas came to power in 1979 by smashing the rule of the dicta-

U.S.-backed *contra* bourgeoisie in 1990.

All guerrilla movements are based on an ideology representing disaffected petty-bourgeois elements. But from the social base of the petty bourgeoisie one can get a wide spectrum of political tendencies, depending on the circumstances, ranging from self-declared "commu-

it was formed in the mid-1980s, its leaders declared as their aim "to struggle for revolution and for socialism." But in the past few years, the MRTA's demands have been simply for an end to "neo-liberal" economic policies and for a just, democratic society. In its move to the right, the MRTA has increasingly identified itself with the traditional heroes of Latin American bourgeois nationalism: Bolívar, San Martín and Martí. In a "Comunicado No. 1" released on December 17, the MRTA combined its demands for freedom for its comrades, safe passage back to the jungle and payment of an unspecified "war tax" with the ludicrous and utterly utopian demand that the Fujimori government "commits itself to change its economic course in favor of a model which aims for the well-being of the great majorities."

The Túpac Amaru is in the tradition of radical petty-bourgeois nationalism historically represented in the Peru of the 1930s by the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA). In fact, MRTA leader Víctor Polay is the son of a founder of the APRA, which has long since made its peace with U.S. imperialism. As Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in the late 1930s:

"APRA is not a socialist organization in the eyes of the Marxist because it is not a class organization of the revolutionary proletariat. APRA is an organization of bourgeois democracy in a backward, semicolonial country. Due to its social type, historical objectives, and to a considerable degree, ideology, it falls into the same class as the Russian populists (Social Revolutionaries) and the Chinese Kuomintang. The Russian populists were much richer in doctrine and 'socialist' phraseology than APRA. However, that did not hinder them from playing the role of petty-bourgeois democrats, even worse, *backward* petty-bourgeois democrats, who did not have the strength to carry out purely democratic tasks in spite of the spirit of sacrifice and heroism of their best combatants."

— "Ignorance Is Not a Revolutionary Instrument!" (January 1939)

While guerrilla movements like the MRTA are capable of occasionally striking out against the oppressor, the power to sweep away the murderously repressive, imperialist-backed regimes of Latin America lies with the working class of the region. As working people are increasingly ground down by imperialism and its local agents, strikes involving tens of thousands of workers have occurred in Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Colombia. What is needed are internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist parties armed with the program of permanent revolution, to lead these struggles to overthrow the neocolonial order in Latin America and extend the revolution to the United States, the belly of the imperialist beast. ■



Túpac Amaru leader Néstor Cerpa Cartolini (right) inside Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima following guerrilla takeover.

tor Somoza, whose family owned huge swathes of the country including more than 30 percent of its arable land. Ousting the despised Somoza gave the petty-bourgeois Sandinista rulers enormous latitude, including initial support from ruined sectors of the local bourgeoisie. But once the dictator was gone, the capitalists wanted political power back in their hands—and they got it, as the Sandinistas, pursuing a utopian "mixed economy," finally handed the country over to the

nists" to right-wing nationalists and religious fundamentalists. In that regard, there is a wide gulf between the leftist Túpac Amaru and Shining Path, whose actions generally merit nothing but revulsion.

Shining Path, despite whatever leftist rhetoric it may espouse, is known for its pathological violence, from publicly executing prostitutes to murdering its political opponents, including MRTA militants and union organizers. Among their victims was María Elena Moyano, the popular deputy mayor of the Villa El Salvador shantytown outside Lima, who was a member of the United Left. She was raked with gunfire and her body was then blown up with dynamite. This repulsive group appears to have parallels with Pol Pot's genocidal Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, with its primitivist, anti-urban ideology, cult of personality, and gangster operations.

For Proletarian Revolution!

Today, with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and prevailing "death of communism" ideological climate, even the more left-wing of Latin America's guerrilla groups have moved sharply to the right. Just last month, Guatemala's URNG rebels made "peace" with the military butchers who, aided and abetted by the Pentagon and the CIA, have killed at least 150,000 Mayan peasants, leftists and others in the last 36 years. A treaty of "national reconciliation" was signed on December 29, offering complete amnesty to these mass murderers.

One can see a similar political motion on the part of the Túpac Amaru. When

Spartacist

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South Korea...

(continued from page 1)

key to victory is the forging of a vanguard party like Lenin's Bolsheviks, who led the Russian Revolution of 1917. Armed with the Bolshevik program of international socialist revolution, such a party would champion the cause of all the oppressed, rallying deeply oppressed women, students and immigrants behind the power of the working class to seize the means of production and establish a socialist planned economy.

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea

The last major arena of the Cold War, the Korean peninsula is divided between two states based on the rule of different social classes. In the Korean War of 1950-53, which left two to three million dead, American imperialism sought to "roll back" Communism beginning with North Korea, but was thwarted by the intervention of the Chinese People's Liberation Army supported by the Soviet Union.

With the war's end, South Korea was stabilized as a highly militarized capitalist police state. The country remained largely agricultural and fairly poor until the 1970s, when the Seoul regime attracted increasing investment from U.S., Japanese and other industrialists and financiers. North Korea, totally devastated by the war and especially by massive U.S. bombing, initially experienced a higher rate of economic development and industrialization, a consequence of both its planned, collectivized economy and Soviet aid. At the same time, North Korean workers and peasants were saddled with the grotesque Stalinist regime of Kim Il Sung and his son and successor Kim Jong Il in Pyongyang.

Nonetheless, leftist student youth and many militant workers in South Korea look favorably on the North and yearn for national reunification. Consequently, South Korea's rulers see the spectre of "communism" behind all labor and social unrest and political protest movements.

Today the North Korean economy is in crisis, deprived of its major source of foreign aid and modern technology with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. The working-class upheaval in the capitalist South objectively poses an opportunity to link up with the increasingly desperate North Korean workers on the basis of an internationalist perspective. A fight for the *revolutionary reunification* of Korea—socialist revolution in the South combined with proletarian political revolution in the North—would inspire working-class struggle throughout Asia, from the social powder keg of Indonesia to the industrial powerhouse of Japan to the embattled working people of China who today face the dire threat of capitalist counterrevolution.

"Democrat" Kim Young Sam vs. Korean Labor

In 1987-88, a huge wave of student-centered protest forced the military dictatorship, then headed by Chun Doo Hwan, to allow direct presidential elections which, however, were won by another general, Roh Tae Woo. At the same time, the rise of the independent labor movement, breaking with the U.S.-backed and government-connected KFTU federation, ushered in a period of enormous working-class combativity marked by recurrent strikes and factory occupations.

The South Korean capitalist rulers and their imperialist patrons decided that the façade of a "democratic" government was the best available means of restoring social peace. They turned to a prominent liberal political dissident, Kim Young Sam, whose posture of supporting labor rights would supposedly give him credibility with the workers. In 1990, Kim merged his forces with the political apparatus of Chun, Roh and the other generals; when he took over the government in Seoul in 1992 Washington hailed this as a triumph for "democracy." However, as we wrote at the time, "Kim's election is

little more than a transparent 'democratic' veneer for the South Korean police state" ("Free Choi Il Bung and All South Korean Class-War Prisoners!" WV No. 574, 23 April 1993).

Furthermore, Kim came to power at a time when the competitive position of South Korean capitalism was weakening. Across the board, exports—the mainstay of the economy—have plummeted with the advance of other East Asian "tigers," such as Taiwan, which undersell South Korea on the world market, and with the spread of brutally exploited labor in countries like Indonesia and Malaysia.

In direct response to the demands of the *chaebols*, who want to raise their profits by driving down the workers' living standards, the new anti-labor laws allow for mass firings, layoffs and plant



U.S. imperialist chief Clinton at Demilitarized Zone separating North and South Korea. Defend North Korea against imperialism—U.S. troops out!

closures, together with speedup, elimination of safety standards and the imposition of massive amounts of unpaid overtime. Union members who are fired for any reason are barred from continued union membership, much less holding union office. Previously, as part of the agreements ending strikes, companies were forced to pay workers for the period they were on strike. The new legislation makes the "no work, no pay" principle law. Schoolteachers, historically a militant section of the working class, are prevented from organizing until 1999—even then they will be denied the right to strike.

In addition, a 1963 law banning more than one union in each enterprise is to be kept in place until 2000, thereby recognizing only the KFTU. Historically, the KFTU carved out its role as a government-linked labor federation after fighting pitched battles against strikers and organizing scabs during mass strikes in 1946-47. It has long been supported by the American AFL-CIO bureaucracy—the venal labor agents of U.S. imperialism—as well as the Korean CIA and its NSP successor.

It was the outlawed KCTU federation which launched the current general strike by calling out its 500,000 members in strategic companies like Hyundai, Daewoo, Kia, Asia and Ssangyong. Every action taken by the independent unions comes smack up against the naked power of the state. This was demonstrated the moment the KCTU was formed in 1995, when the government arrested union leader Kwon Yong Kil, placed many of the federation's leading members on the wanted list for violating labor and "national security" laws and seized their bank accounts.

To win against the giant *chaebols* requires a sweeping mobilization of workers power. United action by both labor federations is essential: that the KFTU broke out of its corporatist straitjacket is a good thing, and could mean that "labor relations" in South Korea will never be the same. But the union leaders' appeals to the International Labor Organization and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—set up and financed by the U.S. CIA in the 1940s—will only serve to derail working-class struggle.

While personally courageous, the leadership of the independent unions is limited to a perspective of liberal democracy. "We had expectations for Kim Young Sam. He was an opposition member, but he has stabbed us in the back," union leader Chun Sae Young told a rally of striking workers on December 28. But even as leader of the "opposition" during the strike waves of 1987-88, Kim was very clear about his loyalty to the maintenance of capitalism, railing against "violent action by workers" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 20 August 1987). Today, far from fighting for workers power, the KCTU leaders call for "the government to begin a new round of (genuine) democratic discussions involving all the political parties, government, employers and the unions" to enact a

leaning North Korean sympathizers." Some 4,000 army reservists deserted, refusing to join in the manhunt of North Korean sailors washed ashore after their submarine went aground. Now, under the guise of combating "subversion from North Korea," Kim Young Sam's new laws fortify the NSP's authority to investigate, arrest and interrogate any opponents of the South Korean state.

The "democratization" of South Korea trumpeted by bourgeois propagandists is a cruel hoax. Today's South Korean capitalist class emerged in large part from a layer of military officers who served as the willing agents of the Japanese during their brutal 35-year occupation of Korea. Following Japan's defeat in World War II, the South Korean bourgeoisie developed under the sponsorship and military protection of U.S. imperialism. This venal ruling class is incapable of carrying out even the most basic democratic tasks. Existing on half a peninsula, with a tainted native bourgeoisie, a huge and combative proletariat and radical student milieu, and with a deformed workers state to the north across a "Demilitarized Zone" manned by tens of thousands of U.S. and South Korean troops, capitalist South Korea can only function under a deeply repressive regime.

The Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution uniquely points the road forward: the mobilization of the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed in socialist revolution, which alone can provide a lasting answer to even the fundamental democratic tasks through putting an end to the brutal rule of capital. A revolutionary party in Korea would fight to win to its banner the doubly oppressed women workers, militant students and the growing numbers of South Asian immigrant workers.

Historically, the fate of Korea has been integrally tied to that of China, and in the modern era Japan as well. In a sense, Korea's position resembles that of Poland, which is situated between the dominant powers of Germany and Russia. This is the basis for the nationalism which is pervasive among today's Korean left. In sharp contrast, Marxist internationalists would seek to link the struggles of the Korean proletariat with those of their class brothers and sisters beyond the peninsula.

In particular, the fight for the revolutionary reunification of Korea is closely interlinked with the struggles of the Chinese workers and peasants, who face the encroaching threat of capitalist counterrevolution under the decrepit and totally corrupted Stalinist bureaucracy. A fight for power by the South Korean proletariat could spike imperialism's drive to bring back the horrors of capitalist exploitation to China, North Korea and also Vietnam, and help spark political revolutions to sweep away the ossified Stalinist bureaucratic regimes there. But even to survive, a workers revolution in South Korea would immediately have to seek its extension to the imperialist centers, above all Japan. This perspective requires the forging of internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties throughout the region as part of a reborn Fourth International. ■

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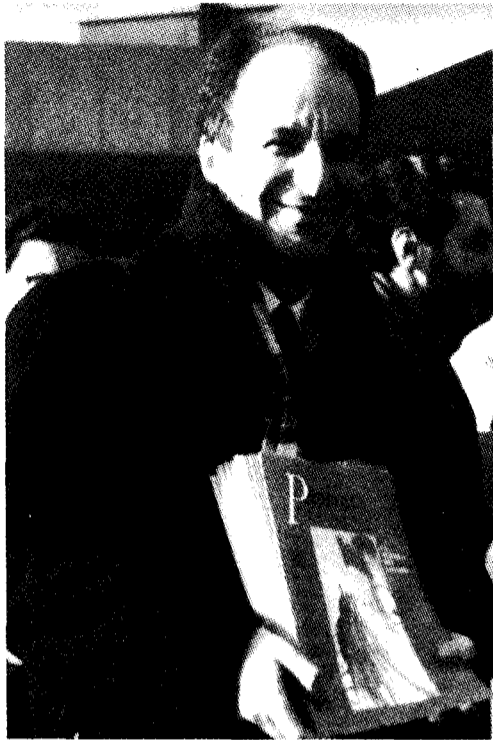
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Proposta: Left Tail of Italian Popular Front



Spartaco



Pesce/Master Photo

Franco Grisolia (left) of *Proposta* grouping inside Rifondazione Comunista provides left cover for Italian popular-front government of Romano Prodi (right). Above: RC leader Fausto Bertinotti.



Reuters

We reprint below a translation of the leaflet distributed by the International Communist League's (ICL) Italian section, the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, at the third national conference of Rifondazione Comunista (RC) on the weekend of 14-15 December in Rome. In the best traditions of the Leninist school of party building, the leaflet polemizes against the most left-wing elements of RC—those lashed together in a rotten bloc led by pseudo-Trotskyists around the journal *Proposta*—in an attempt to win the healthier elements to the fight to build a genuine Leninist-Trotskyist party. Almost a thousand copies of this leaflet were distributed, over 100 copies of *Spartaco* were sold and 10 conference participants subscribed to our press.

The RC conference formally stamped a seal of approval on the party's ongoing support to the popular-front government headed by Romano Prodi. Indeed, Prodi himself was in attendance in the front row of the conference, as were representatives of every bourgeois party except the fascist National Alliance and the fascistic Northern League. The historic symbol of communism—the *bandiera rossa* (red flag)—was barely in sight as RC made its bid to continue as the crucial parliamentary supporters of this bourgeois government which is viciously slashing the living standards of the workers and attacking women, youth and immigrants. This popular front is paving the road for the fascists who have taken to the streets in opposition to the Prodi government's "red austerity." Appropriately enough during the proceedings, as RC chipped away at its old veneer of "communism," the large hammer and sickle mounted at the podium came crashing to the ground!

At the conference, the right-centrists of *Proposta* played their role as the pseudo-left camouflage and safety valve for disgruntled members of RC. Marco Ferrando, the official speaker for the minority's "Motion Two," spoke for half of his 20 minutes about the need to break with the Prodi popular-front government. He described RC's role in supporting the Prodi government as being on board the train for Maastricht—the treaty dictated

by the German bankers for a Europe of anti-working-class austerity. Ferrando allowed that RC occasionally pulls an emergency brake on this train, but is nonetheless on board. But the second half of his speech was devoted to swearing *Proposta's* undying loyalty to RC. But no matter what political program was adopted by the party majority, *Proposta* made clear that in the interests of "unity" it would be the little red caboose on the Maastricht train. Thus while the *Proposta* centrists can spout left-wing rhetoric like water gushing from the fountain of Trevi, these parasites cannot live without their host organism. There is nothing the *Proposta* crowd fears more than the struggle for the political independence of the proletariat from their exploiters. That is why they consistently oppose the construction

of an authentically communist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

Motion Two was overwhelmingly defeated, garnering under 15 percent of the votes. Perhaps more significantly, the party majority passed a resolution banning any organized opposition within RC. But not even this bureaucratic move could uncouple the *Proposta* caboose from RC's right-wing leadership. On the contrary, *Proposta* doubled its membership (from two to four) on the RC national political committee. The entire performance by *Proposta* at the conference brought Trotsky's article, "Centrism and the Fourth International" (17 March 1934), to living color:

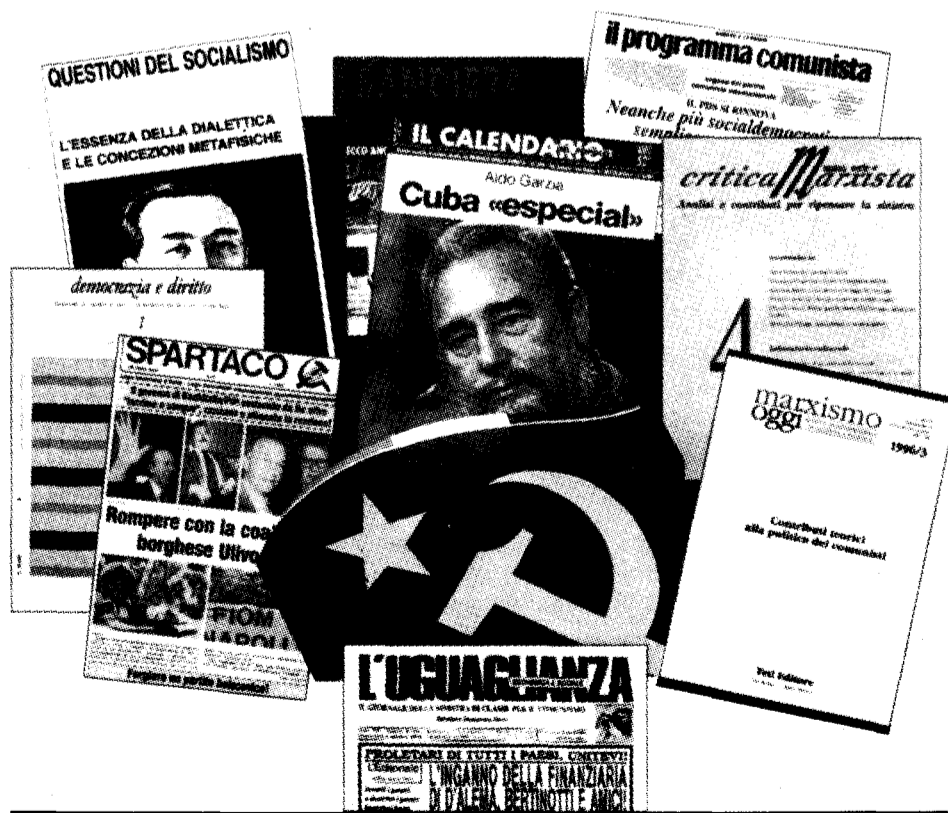
"A centrist always remains in spiritual dependence on rightist groupings, is inclined to cringe before those who are

more moderate, to remain silent on their opportunist sins and to color their actions before the workers."

On 12 December, Rifondazione Comunista will hold its third national congress. The purpose of this congress, as the leadership sees it, is to consolidate the party around the policy already being carried out—active support to Romano Prodi's government of capitalist austerity—and to elect a homogeneous leadership based on this policy while disciplining the party ranks. The banner under which this congress will be held is "the struggle against sectarianism," which RC leader Fausto Bertinotti sees as an obstacle "to reaching the leadership bodies of new forces." In other words, Bertinotti wants to purge—or make housebroken—any left-wing opposition which frustrates RC's ambitions for ministerial portfolios as the "left" face of a ruthless capitalist government of anti-working-class austerity and racist anti-immigrant terror.

The political context in which the congress is being held is determined by counterrevolution in the USSR and East Europe. This has emboldened the international bourgeoisies, who would like to erase the experience of the October Revolution, and has made the Stalinist parties and the left in general cave in to the lie that "communism is dead." No longer needing to maintain a common front against the now-defunct Soviet Union, the main imperialist powers—the United States, Japan and Germany—are engaged in sharpened economic competition and ever more aggressive trade wars, which inevitably lead to shooting wars for a redivision of the world's spoils. Supporting the capitalist masters of the Europe of Maastricht (for "monetary union"), the West European governments are carrying out all-sided attacks on workers' living conditions, cutting public spending, dismantling social programs, and brutally attacking the weakest sections of the proletariat: women, youth, immigrants and minorities.

In Italy, the capitalists' dirty work is being carried out by a popular-front government, a bourgeois government



Panorama graphic

In article on Italian left, *Panorama* magazine (19 December 1996) wrote: "The left Trotskyists (*Spartaco*) speak out against Rifondazione which supports Prodi; the right Trotskyists (*Bandiera Rossa*) criticize but are for the politics of the possible."

based on a class-collaborationist coalition which ties the working class directly to the representatives of the bourgeoisie. With the active and crucial support of Rifondazione Comunista, the Prodi government—which was sought by the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS, social-democratic successor to the Italian Communist Party [PCI]), sponsored by the Bank of Italy and blessed by the Vatican—has introduced some of the harshest austerity measures in decades, imposed a super-tax for Maastricht, and reached an agreement with the union bureaucrats and the industrialists' association to impose wage controls.

But within RC, support to the government has created an unstable situation. In order to increase its influence in administering the capitalist state, RC's leadership must continuously prove its trustworthiness to the bourgeoisie: thus, Maura Cossutta's recent acknowledgement "that [former PCI leader] Berlinguer was right on the 'break' with the USSR" and Betinotti's putting a question mark on even formal adherence to socialism and communism. At the same time, a large part of RC's base consists of the same social layers whose rate of exploitation the bourgeoisie wants to increase in its thirst for profits and on whom it seeks to impose the cost of the capitalists' crisis. A not insignificant portion of RC members—who danced under a giant red flag at RC's founding conference and mistakenly believed that this rehashed Stalinist party represented a genuine left alternative to the groveling and explicitly pro-capitalist PDS—are resisting the leadership's total capitulation.

In the current climate of a witchhunt against the left and with the Rifondazione leadership assuming direct responsibility



Workers demonstration in Milano, October 1993. Mass labor actions against capitalist austerity were derailed by reformist PDS and RC leaders seeking popular-front government.

their popular-front politics. That is what the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, section of the International Communist League, fights for.

Proposta: Tail of the Popular Front

The central point raised against the leadership by "Motion Two" is essentially to call on the party to go into opposition against the Prodi government: "The Rifondazione Comunista Party was the only force of class opposition against the Amato, Ciampi and Dini governments.... For this reason, our party has progressively gained the consensus of subordinate classes" (*Liberazione*, 24 September 1996). It is grotesque to say that RC rep-

defeat a fascist or reactionary candidate" (*Proposta*, January 1995). Ferrando is proud to have been the one to propose this non-aggression pact with the fetid remnants of the Christian Democracy, which was created by the CIA and Vatican and ruled Italy from the onset of the Cold War to the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

Even when, before Prodi, RC was not directly involved in government policy, it always sacrificed workers' interests on the altar of class collaboration. *Proposta's* "opposition" limits itself to arguing that it would be electorally more profitable for the party to continue this dirty work in opposition, while waiting for a "more leftist" popular-front government.



African immigrants in Florence protesting racist terror. LTd'I is only group in Italy to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and mass labor-centered actions to stop racist attacks.

for the government's attacks on the working class, some sections of workers and youth are turning to *Proposta*. This journal published by Marco Ferrando and Franco Grisolia has now put forward, in a bloc with the United Secretariat's Livio Maitan and others, "Motion Two" in opposition to RC's consolidation on a more explicitly right-wing program. In reality, the *Proposta* group has only a seemingly "more leftist" version of the same class-collaborationist politics carried out by the RC leadership. Far from being an alternative to the betrayals of Bertinotti & Co., *Proposta* represents an obstacle aimed at preventing the widespread discontent among RC's base from turning into revolutionary consciousness. The *Proposta* crowd excels at quoting Lenin and Trotsky out of context, the better to disguise their own opposition to the independent political mobilization of the proletariat acting as a class for itself and wielding its social power in defense of all the oppressed.

What is needed is to forge a party armed with a revolutionary *internationalist* program which fights for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie. This can only be achieved through complete class independence and by fighting *against* the current reformist leaderships of the workers movement and

resented "the only force of class opposition against the Amato, Ciampi and Dini governments." Just remember RC's campaign to support the "Progressives" who supported former Bank of Italy prime minister Ciampi and RC's crucial rescue operation to save the successor Bank of Italy government of Prime Minister Dini and his financial bill. This policy of supporting popular-front coalitions has not only been continuously pursued by RC but has been systematically supported by *Proposta*. When the "Progressives" who supported Ciampi stood in the 1994 elections, *Proposta* (March 1994) appealed to RC members to "participate in the front lines of the party's electoral campaign and in the crucial fight against the right" and goaded more reluctant elements to campaign for the popular front: "Important sectors of our party, even outside the second motion, are unfortunately tempted to abstain from participating in the electoral campaign. Naturally, this is an error." In the following year's elections, *Proposta* (May 1995) continued, "The fight against Berlusconi's right wing is and remains the main task of communists."

The group around Grisolia and Ferrando even went so far as to call for a vote to the Vatican's Popular Party "in particular situations where it is necessary to

If there are any doubts as to whether Ferrando & Co. seek an alliance with the bourgeoisie, just remember how RC's so-called "left" grabbed the opportunity in October 1995 to show the bourgeoisie that it too, and not only the majority, was completely trustworthy. When the right wing presented a motion of no confidence in the Dini government, the RC

leadership was initially prepared to take responsibility to let the government fall. It was the *Proposta* members inside the leadership who fought to win over the majority and save the government (*Corriere della Sera*, 24 October 1995).

In order to support their appeal for a return to the class-collaborationist past in opposition, *Proposta* is forced to invent a supposedly recent qualitative "turn" in the party's politics. "The passage from opposition to being part of the government majority...marks a turn in RC's orientation, in contradiction to the reasons for our existence, the social interests that we represent, the perspective of being an alternative" (*Liberazione*, 24 September 1996).

It's pure and simple mystification to argue that RC degenerated in the last two years. From the very beginning, RC made no secret of wholeheartedly continuing the politics of the old PCI, which pursued a constant policy of class collaboration during the postwar period. And the PCI was in opposition throughout this time, since the Italian and international bourgeoisies were committed to keeping the largest Communist party in West Europe out of top government positions in this country with a militant and combative working class. But when given the opportunity, the PCI proved its loyalty to the bourgeoisie and its treachery to the proletariat—as in the 1946 popular front when, with Togliatti as Minister of Justice, the partisans were disarmed and the fascists set free [see "Resistance and Betrayal: Italy 1943-45," WV No. 525, 26 April 1991; and "The CIA in Cold War Italy," WV No. 554, 26 June 1992]. The PCI also served as loyal handmaidens to the bourgeois government from the outside, as with the 1976 "national unity" government. Acting as the bourgeoisie's bloodhounds, the PCI supported the "Special Anti-Terrorist Law" and actively collaborated with the police forces in the "anti-terrorist" witchhunt. In 1980, it stabbed the 35-day strike at Fiat in the back. These are the "glorious" Stalinist traditions RC harks back to.

Contrary to the nonsense pushed by *Proposta*, the real turn came not in Rifondazione in 1994-96 but with the Stalinist degeneration of the USSR. January 1924 marked a political counterrevolution which by 1935 had led all the Communist parties belonging to the Stalinized Communist International to adopt the policy of the popular front, which subordinated the working class to its national bourgeoisie. This was the corollary of Stalin's policy of "socialism in one country."

In France, the popular front disarmed the working class and prevented it from taking power in June 1936. The betrayal by the Stalinists and the social-democratic SFIO ultimately brought about the dissolution of the popular front, which handed power over to the Vichy regime, ally of the Nazis. In Spain, the popular front opened the road to Franco's fascist troops (supported by Hitler and Mussolini) after having bloodily repressed the heroic Barcelona uprising in

continued on page 8

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Italy...

(continued from page 7)

1937 and decimated the most combative sectors of the Spanish proletariat. In Chile, Allende smashed strikes and nominated Pinochet as a head of the armed forces who would "respect" the Constitution...one week before the bloody coup in which this butcher overthrew Allende and massacred tens of thousands of workers and political oppositionists.

In 1994, when Bertinotti proposed a "popular front such as that of Léon Blum in France and of the Spanish Republicans in the thirties or of Allende in Chile in 1973" (*Corriere della Sera*, 19 March 1994), he was doing nothing more than confirming the continuity of the tradition of those Stalinist betrayals. *Proposta* at the time called for a vote to the "Progressives." We, on the other hand, warned that the popular front in government would be anti-worker, anti-woman and anti-immigrant and that it would open the way to reaction (see *Spartaco* No. 44, September 1994).

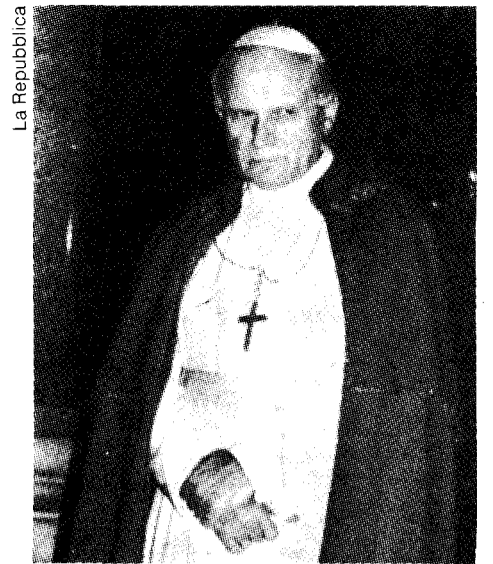
Popular-front governments arise in situations where the bourgeoisie is so crisis-ridden that it requires the formal presence of a mass workers party in the government to keep the working class in line. That is precisely what has happened in Italy, and just as throughout history this popular-front government has dangerously opened the road to the fascists. In the autumn of 1994, Italy was rocked with a militant strike wave and student mobilizations. When fake Trotskyists like the *Proposta* crowd called for "an unlimited general strike," we exposed this rhetoric as nothing but camouflage for their "fight the right" tailing of the PDS and RC. Their aim was to replace Berlusconi with a popular-front government. In contrast, the LTd'I intervened in these struggles with a program posing the need for the working class to fight for power. We insisted that the crucial instrument to win workers to the revolutionary understanding that those who labor must rule is an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist party, whose aim is not the futile perspective of "reforming" racist capitalism but the proletarian overthrow of the whole rotten system. While exulting in calls for an "unlimited general strike," *Proposta* et al. never posed the crucial question of leadership—because their aim all along was to cynically exploit the working class as the ox to pull the cart of their parliamentary ambitions.

The PDS, RC and their left tails like *Proposta* got what they wanted: Berlusconi out and a bourgeois government—the Prodi popular-front coalition—in, supported by RC and viewed "with satisfaction" by *Proposta*. But this government is so determined to prove itself to the Italian bosses, the City of London, Wall Street and the Deutschebank that this "popular front" is massively *unpopular* and is rapidly paving the way for fas-



Spartaco

Milano, March 1995: LTd'I calls for free abortion on demand, including for minors and immigrants, and for defense of doctors who perform abortions in face of vicious persecution fueled by Vatican.



La Repubblica

cist reaction. While the workers are told to tighten their belts by the "socialist" parliamentarians, Fini's National Alliance fascists have taken to the streets in cities all over the country to condemn the "red austerity" and Bossi's Northern League racists have unleashed a paramilitary group, the so-called "National Guard of Padania," which threatens to deport immigrants without visas.

It is only through total class independence and by fighting for a revolutionary perspective that the proletariat can pose a credible social alternative for the impoverished layers of the petty-bourgeois masses. Contrary to this, the popular-frontist politics of RC and *Proposta* only exasperate the petty bourgeoisie and push it into the arms of the fascists, who have an easy time showing that the "left" is an ally of big capital.

Thoroughly chained politically to the bourgeois state, RC/*Proposta* wouldn't dream of mobilizing its proletarian base to combat the fascist threat. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program:

"The petty bourgeois democrats—including Social Democrats, Stalinists and Anarchists—yell louder about the struggle against fascism the more cravenly they capitulate to it in actuality. Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands. The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory—and ends in the street. Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. *Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army."

Sections of the ICL have fought for mass mobilizations of the trade unions and oppressed minorities to smash the fascist threat in the streets. Thus, in the United States our comrades initiated powerful labor/black mobilizations that stopped the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis cold in Washington, D.C. in 1982 and in Philadelphia in 1988.

The most commonly used argument to make the working class swallow the politics of capitulating to the bourgeoisie has been to substitute for the defense of the proletariat's class interests the "need to

fight the right." To this day, *Proposta* keeps on playing this little refrain. The PCI used this same kind of argument to smash the socialist aspirations of the World War II partisans and hand power back to the bourgeoisie. As we have repeatedly insisted, in communist politics it is necessary to use class criteria and not to limit oneself to the framework of "progressives" vs. "reactionaries," "right" vs. "left." Popular-front coalitions are bourgeois governments, and the working class will never be able to emancipate itself if it is shackled politically to its capitalist exploiters.

The ICL/LTd'I has always been opposed in principle to any type of popular front, whether a right-wing or "left-wing" one, whether in government or in opposition, whether support for it is open or hidden behind "critical electoral support." For this reason, we opposed voting for either the PDS or Rifondazione in the last elections and in previous elections. As an alternative to the Ulivo (Olive Tree) coalition's rightist popular front, *Proposta* proposes a "leftist" popular front as an "alternative." But *any kind* of popular front is a betrayal of the interests of workers, minorities and all the oppressed. The October Revolution of 1917, the only victorious revolution of the working class, was made *in counterposition* to Kerensky's popular front—a popular front much to the left of that proposed by Grisolia and Ferrando—which issued out of the February Revolution and was supported by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries. This is how Trotsky described it in the 1930s:

"In reality, the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism. For it is often forgotten that the greatest historical example of the People's Front is the February 1917 revolution. From February to October, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, who represent a very good parallel to the 'Communists' and Social Democrats, were in the closest alliance and in a permanent coalition with the bourgeois party of the Cadets, together with whom they formed a series of coalition governments. Under the sign of this People's Front stood the whole mass of the people, including the workers', peasants', and soldiers' councils. To be sure, the Bolsheviks participated in the councils. But they did not make the slightest concession to the People's Front. Their demand was to *break* this People's Front, to destroy the alliance with the Cadets, and to create a genuine workers' and peasants' government.

"All the People's Fronts in Europe are only a pale copy and often a caricature of the Russian People's Front of 1917."

—"The Dutch Section and the International" (July 1936)

Proposta: Blind Faith in the Bourgeois State

The *Proposta* group is a centrist group. One of the classic definitions of centrism is "revolutionary in words, reformist in deeds." And it is exactly on the central questions that *Proposta* goes no further than the limits of reformism, sometimes spiced with "militant" syndicalism. The program for RC presented by "Motion Two" as an alternative to that proposed by the leadership is proof of this:

"In this context, the communists present their own counter-budget—i.e., a proposal to overturn the class nature of the

politics of the budget—which outside and against the criteria of Maastricht and of capitalist compatibility assumes as its only point of reference the needs of the working masses and proposes an alternative solution to the crisis: progressive taxation of large property, profits and earnings, aided by the abolition of banking and commercial secrets; a drastic reduction in transfers from the public sector to private enterprises...[and] the drastic reduction of military spending; the reintroduction of wage-price indexing; the progressive reduction of working hours at equal pay; a social wage for the unemployed, a broad plan to upgrade the land and the environment; a massive subsidy for the development and renewal of the South."

Proposta's "Motion Two" is old reformist garbage in a new pail. Like the German Social Democrat Eduard Bernstein, who believed capitalism would fall from a tree like an overripe fruit, *Proposta* proposes a gradual "rationalization" of the inequalities of the distribution of wealth in capitalist society, a "counter-budget" of "progressive taxation" and "cuts in military spending." But Grisolia, Ferrando and Livio Maitan were not born yesterday nor are they today's overripe fruit—they're cynical pseudo-Trotskyist charlatans who are putrid and rotten to the core.

Anyone with a basic Marxist understanding of economics knows that what is inherently unjust and unreformable in a capitalist economy is the *private ownership of the means of production*. That is the source of the fundamental conflict between social production by labor and the private accumulation of wealth and profit—labor's surplus value—by the capitalist class. There will be no "democratization" of capitalism nor a more equitable distribution of wealth through phony "tax the rich" schemes. To redress the fundamental inequalities of capitalist societies requires a proletarian class struggle by those who create the wealth of this society to rip it out of the hands of the capitalist exploiters and build an egalitarian socialist society where those who labor rule.

In contrast to the reformist conception of the state as proposed by *Proposta*, Lenin unambiguously explained the Marxist conception of the state in *The State and Revolution*: the state is made up of "special bodies of armed men" and is an "instrument of class rule, an instrument for the *oppression* of one class by another." Citing Marx and the experience of the 1871 Paris Commune, the first proletarian revolution, Lenin emphasized that "the working class cannot simply take control of the pre-existing state machinery, making it function for its own use" and that the liberation of the working class cannot occur "*without destroying* the apparatus of state power created by the ruling class." The capitalist state, "the 'special force of repression' used by the bourgeoisie to suppress the proletariat," must be replaced "by a 'special force of repression' of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie (the dictatorship of the proletariat)."

Proposta calls for a "drastic reduction in military expenditures." This classic social-democratic demand for "more butter, less guns" is counterposed to a quote from Engels published in the same *Proposta*: "Our program is an authentically



Popular-front government paves the way for growth of neo-Nazi scum who now take to the streets against "red austerity."

socialist program. Our first demand is for the socialization of all the means of production. We accept everything that a government concedes, which we don't feel minimally indebted for. We always vote against all budgets and against every request for money for the military" (*Proposta*, October 1996; emphasis added). *Proposta*, while declaring itself to be opposed to the professional army, saying that "armies of this kind are less permeable to the intervention of class forces as opposed to the traditional conscript army, and have a greater potential for international punitive expeditions, not to mention internal repression and control" (*Proposta* No. 2, December 1993; original emphasis), scandalously never says anything against the draft army! So much for "butter, not guns"—in the guise of "democracy" and opposition to a professional army, *Proposta* supports the conscription of youth who will be used as cannon fodder for the bourgeoisie's imperialist wars overseas and to break strikes or to evict immigrants on the home front. We Spartacists fight in the tradition of Karl Liebknecht, who raised the slogan, "Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist army!" We too fight against conscription, but if drafted we will go, and seek to win other young working-class conscripts to a political program of opposition to their own ruling class. The main enemy is at home!

Proposta's "Motion Two" also bows to the bourgeois state in dangerously subordinating the organizations of the working class—the trade unions—to state intervention under the guise of "guarantee[ing] a real representation for all the workers." They supported the 11 June 1995 referendum on the trade unions, which called for the entire population—including priests, landlords and bosses—to decide which trade unions must be recognized by the bourgeois state in negotiations. We are opposed in principle to bourgeois state intervention in the workers movement and fight for industrial unions to represent all the workers in a particular industry.

Proposta's Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Woman, Anti-Internationalist Pop-Frontist Politics

It is a characteristic of the popular front that—aside from how more or less "leftist" its rhetorical declarations are—it is the bourgeoisie which determines the political terms. In carrying out its frontal assault on the workers, the bourgeoisie today sees as important weakening the proletariat, dividing it along the lines of sex, skin color, nationality, age and North vs. South. Therefore, the first to pay for the capitalist crisis are immigrants, subjected to daily racist terror and the never-ending threat of deportation; women, first to be thrown out of the workplace and pushed once again into the slavery of the "domestic hearth"; youth who have no freedom and no jobs; and other minorities: homosexuals, Rom [Gypsies] and the homeless, who are systematically marginalized, deprived of

their rights and repressed.

It is the absolute duty of a communist party to bring to the fore the defense of these particularly oppressed sectors of the population. Lenin maintained that the revolutionary party must be "the tribune of the people." "Motion Two," on the contrary, while presenting itself as a general political platform, says hardly anything on the question! It literally limits itself to posing "the need to fight prejudices, which also exist among workers, and to fight racist and xenophobic outbreaks." For women, it calls for "a clear demand for autonomy and self-determination, not only regarding personal choices in life and one's place in society, but also in political direction, to the point of questioning political behavior inside class organizations and the party." That's all! A couple of statements which even the Pope would accept. For *Proposta*—reared in the white, male, nationalist milieu of RC—questions such as the racist Dini decree against immigrants which was "critically" supported by RC, the daily anti-immigrant terror and deportations, the attacks on abortion rights are not worth being included in a political program; nor are such demands as separation of church and state and abolition of the Concordat [the 1929 treaty between Mussolini's fascist state and the Pope]. It's better to avoid such issues when you're joining in electoral campaigns for the Vatican's PPI or the anti-abortion Prodi or open racists like Diego Masi.

Proposta has done nothing to mobilize against racism. As detailed in a *Spartaco* leaflet [excerpted in *WV* No. 620, 7 April 1995], in February 1995 LTd'I comrades organized a successful protest in Milano when the cops tried to pull three immigrants off buses destined for an anti-racist demonstration in Rome. After LTd'I supporters organized 250 people from the buses to picket the police to demand freedom for the immigrant comrades, Grisolia—who had neither organized nor fought for the protest—went inside the police station along with other trade-union bureaucrats to bargain with the cops. The bureaucrats then tried, unsuccessfully, to "cool out" the protest; unmoved, the protesters continued their struggle until their comrades were released.

We fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants and their families and for worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash racist terror and stop deportations. Immigrants must be organized into the unions and get equal pay for equal work. Particularly here in the homeland of the Vatican, a key force for women's oppression, we call for the complete separation of church and state, we fight to smash the Concordat and to expropriate the Vatican's assets, we want the church out of the schools. The "conscientious objection" clause for doctors, one of the many concessions to the Catholic church which the PCI made in the context of its class-collaborationist politics, has practically rendered useless the partial right to abortion included in "Law 194," particularly in the South.

We fight for free abortion on demand, including for youth and immigrants. The bourgeoisie, supported by the Catholic church, is carrying out a campaign in defense of "family values"—i.e., of the institution in which the oppression of women and youth is carried out *par excellence*—and attacking any kind of behavior which puts the family in question, from the sexuality of youth to homosexuality.

We say that sexuality is a private matter in which the only question is that any relations are consensual—state and church out of the bedroom!

"Motion Two" suggests that women and immigrants "self-organize." *Proposta* calls for "support to the self-organization of these groups (women, gays, lesbians and immigrants) and for the formation of rank-and-file control committees against discrimination." This sectoralist appeal, widespread inside RC,

RC continues in tradition of Stalinist gravediggers of revolution. Communist Party (PCI) leader Palmiro Togliatti (second from right), PCI "lefts" Pietro Secchia (right) and Luigi Longo oversaw disarming of Italian partisans to prop up capitalist rule after World War II.



is nothing other than a call to create ghettos where women discuss "female questions," immigrants discuss "problems concerning immigration," etc., while the "party" carries out "real politics"—which include selling out the rights of these groups. The call for "self-reliance" lets the leaders of RC and the unions off the hook for their refusal to mobilize the big battalions of the proletariat to defend such doubly oppressed sectors. Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie attacks those targets it perceives as vulnerable—such as immigrants, youth or gays—as a spearhead to break the power of the organized working class as a whole.

We communists recognize that women's oppression is rooted in the institution of the family, the social and economic unit which is an integral part of capitalism, the principal means for passing on the inheritance of private property. We fight for women's liberation as an inseparable part of the struggle of the entire working class against capitalism. This can only be achieved through socialist revolution and the ending of private property. For communists, the defense of the rights of specially oppressed sectors of the population is an integral part of this perspective, and it stands at the forefront of the entire party's program. We say that it is the organized working class which must mobilize to defend these sectors of the population. The "Women and Revolution" pages inside *Spartaco* are in the tradition of the experience of the Bolshevik publication, *Rabotnitsa*, and of the Communist International's *Die Kommunistische Fraueninternationale*. The *Spartaco* "Youth Pages," of which we are proud, are another proof of this perspective.

Proposta: A History of Pabloite Liquidationism

Proposta comes out of the bad political tradition of Pabloite liquidationism. Michel Pablo emerged after World War II as the leader of the decimated forces of Trotsky's Fourth International. Deeply impressionistic, he liquidated the political program and purpose of Trotsky's International. Incapable of understanding the postwar transformation of East Europe, Pablo believed that the Stalinist parties could approximate a revolutionary role, predicted "centuries of deformed

workers states" and pursued a policy of deep entry into the Stalinist and Social Democratic parties. This is *Proposta's* political heritage, and similarly, Grisolia & Co. have consistently rejected the need for an independent proletarian vanguard because they have no confidence in the working class to act consciously as a class for itself. If you give up on the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat then of course there is no need for a proletarian vanguard party.

Trotsky wrote, "Centrists talk a lot about the 'masses,' and always end up orienting themselves towards the reformist apparatus." Therefore, just like Russian *matryoshka* dolls, over the last 15 years *Proposta* has carried out "entrism" in Maitan's Revolutionary Communist League, which in turn entered Proletarian Democracy, which liquidated into Rifondazione. When *Corriere* asked Ferrando if he thought of leaving Rifondazione, his peremptory reply was, "I wouldn't dream of it!"

In 1976, the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), precursor of the International Communist League, broke relations with Grisolia and Ferrando, who were then the Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Italy (GBL), precisely over their capitulation to the popular front. This is what the GBL wrote to *Workers Vanguard*, newspaper of our American section: "It is to be noted that your organization has the bizarre position that giving electoral support to a workers party which participates or is implicated in a Popular Front, or which wants to form one, means capitulating to the Popular Front" (see *Spartaco* No. 3, 1981). We argued that the popular front is itself a bourgeois formation, which pledges in advance to "respect" the limits of capitalist property and the capitalist state. This earlier position was the precursor of *Proposta's* support today to the Ulivo, including their appeal to vote for the openly bourgeois PPI. During the 1970s, the class collaboration expressed in "unity against terrorism" produced, among other things, the "national unity government" supported by the PCI. It was exactly to this "anti-terrorist" witchhunt which the GBL capitulated, while we called for "freedom for all jailed leftist militants."

During the Cold War campaign of the
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Chicago...

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evidence and present false testimony in the frame-up of Rolando Cruz. Cruz spent nearly a decade on death row before his conviction was finally overturned in November 1995.

Meanwhile, last month a police review board exonerated three Chicago cops who had killed a Hispanic man, Jorge Guillen, in October 1995, in a case that even the Cook County medical examiner had ruled a homicide. An outraged crowd of over 100 people packed a December 12 Police Board meeting to denounce the white-wash of the killer cops. A spokesman for Neighbors Against Police Brutality denounced the board's decision, saying, "You, too, are murderers because your decision has given other police a license to kill" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 13 December 1996). One week later, in the most recent scandal over police corruption, seven cops in the Austin District were arrested on federal charges of conspiracy to commit robbery and extortion after



Chapman/Chicago Sun-Times

Rolando Cruz, framed up by cops, spent almost a decade on death row before false conviction was overturned.

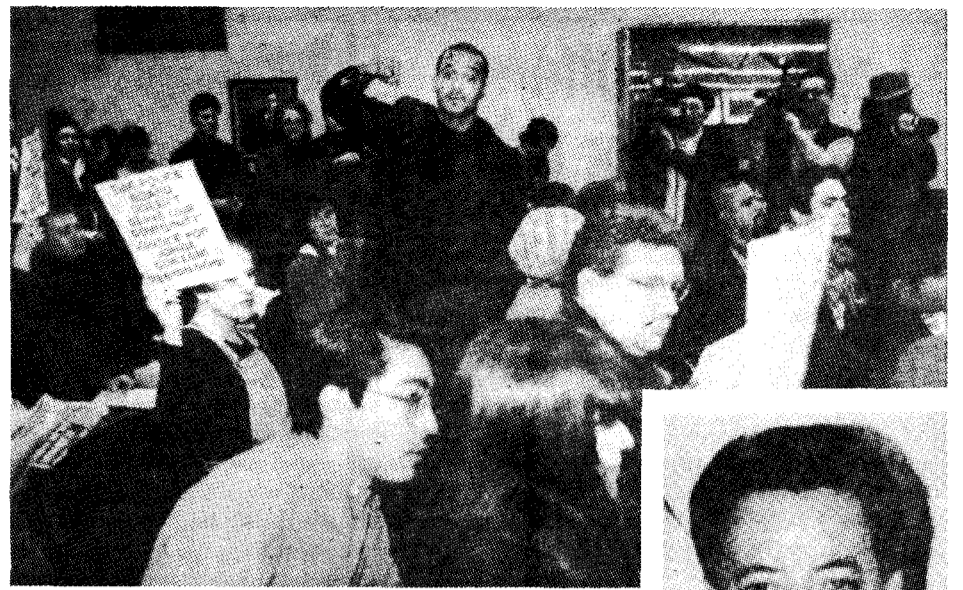
shaking down undercover agents they thought were drug dealers.

Police Suppression of Political Dissent

All throughout last summer, this apparatus of police repression was employed by city officials to suppress political protests around the Democratic convention in order not to upset Clinton's renomination. The clampdown on protests is part of the increasing attacks by the capitalist state on fundamental democratic rights in the face of the deepening gulf between the handful of filthy rich at the top and the mass of working people and oppressed.

Back in 1968, when the Democrats last met in Chicago, cops rampaged against thousands of anti-Vietnam War protesters in the full glare of the international media. At the time, tumultuous struggles against the imperialist war and racist oppression made the police attacks in Chicago impossible to ignore. This time, the bourgeois media and politicians crowed about the lack of any such turmoil. Nevertheless, the state machinery again went into high gear against demonstrators, with cops rounding up radical activists and pepper-gassing and beating protest marchers.

On August 29, Chicago cops raided sites used by the Active Resistance, a protest conference organized by local activists drawing over 700 participants. A report by the CounterMedia news service described the police raids: "Without a warrant and without arrests at either location, the police were able to successfully turn people from all over the world, terrified and without their belongings, out into the night streets." In addition, five protesters were arrested on charges of "inciting to mob action" as well as trumped-up counts of aggravated battery of police. The trial of the "DNC 5" is scheduled to begin on February 7. Also facing bogus charges are six supporters of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) arrested during a West Side neighborhood demonstration against Clinton's axing of welfare. Repeatedly beaten by cops upon their



Martinez Monsivais/Chicago Sun-Times

Angry protest at Chicago Police Board meeting, December 12, following exoneration of cops who killed Jorge Guillen (inset).



Chicago Sun-Times

arrest, these six face charges of "armed violence" which carry a mandatory six-year sentence. We demand: Drop all charges against the DNC and PLP protesters!

Defense of the right to engage in political protest, and to organize against the racist terror of the KKK, is crucial for the labor movement, blacks, Hispanics, youth—all those who oppose the exploitation and oppression of this society. The PDC has called a united-front rally for the Anti-Klan Three for January 23, when the defendants will be back in court. Among the dozens of organizations and individuals who have already called for dropping the charges against these anti-racist activists are Chicago's Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10 in San Francisco, *Black Scholar* editor Robert Allen, and labor and left organizations internationally such as the Fire Brigades

Union in Scotland and the South African Communist Party.

All out to defend the Anti-Klan Three—Drop the charges! Be there on January 23, 8:30 a.m., outside Cook County Circuit Court, 1340 South Michigan Avenue.

* * *

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

Italy...

(continued from page 9)

1980s, Grisolia and Ferrando of the GBL (which then changed its name to Revolutionary Workers League) capitulated to the reactionary anti-Soviet drive, expressing their intent not to break with class collaboration and to maintain their links with the labor movement bureaucracy. This was at a time when the Western Communist parties, in particular the PCI, were called on to show proof of their loyalty to their bourgeoisies. Thus, the PCI condemned the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and supported the Polish company "union" Solidarność. The predecessors of *Proposta* naturally also lined up against the USSR, screaming "solidarity with Solidarność," even as the bulk of the Italian working class refused to strike in support of the CIA and Vatican's Polish "union."

Unlike Cossuta, Bertinotti and other present-day leaders of RC, who at the time slavishly supported the Kremlin bureaucrats with their bankrupt nationalist line of "building socialism in one country," we Trotskyists asserted that the Soviet Union could be defended only through world socialist revolution. We fought for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy which undermined the gains of the October Revolution. This was premised on unconditional defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Therefore, unlike Grisolia and his ilk, we staunchly opposed capitalist-restorationist elements like Lech Walesa and Boris Yeltsin.

In 1981, when Solidarność attempted a power bid, the iSt said, "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!" and defended

Jaruzelski's counter-coup, while calling for the forging of a Trotskyist party to lead a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. When the USSR intervened in Afghanistan, we said, "Hail Red Army!" and called to "Defend, complete and extend gains of the October Revolution to the peoples of Afghanistan," stressing that the Soviet Army was playing a fundamental role in defense of Afghan women against Islamic reaction. When the Kremlin bureaucrats decided to withdraw from Afghanistan, we denounced this betrayal and wrote to the Kabul government, which was encircled by the fanatical Islamic *mujahedin*, offering to organize an international brigade against the CIA's cutthroats. History has well proven who was correct. Solidarność was the motor force of counterrevolution in Poland. And in Afghanistan, the Taliban are forcing Afghan women who have survived their massacres to live secluded inside their homes, by physically attacking those women who go outside without a "chador."

Build a Bolshevik Party!

The main reason the Russian Revolution was victorious is the fact that Lenin and the Bolsheviks had in the preceding years forged a politically and organizationally cohesive party which was armed with a revolutionary program. This cohesion was achieved through continual fights against all forms of opportunism inside the workers movement. Comparing the victorious Russian Revolution of October 1917 with the defeat of the German revolution in 1923, Trotsky concluded that what the German proletariat lacked was "a party, a party and once again a party" ("The Lessons of October"). In the Transitional Program, he stressed that "The historical crisis of humanity reduces itself to the crisis of

revolutionary leadership."

We fight for a new October Revolution. But there is a great disproportion between this purpose and the current political consciousness of the working class, youth and the left internationally. Across West Europe, the working class has fought back in some of the largest and most militant battles in years, yet for the first time since the Paris Commune, the masses of workers in struggle do not identify their immediate felt needs with the ideals of socialism or the program of proletarian revolution. Today, even most subjective leftists view as rather esoteric the idea that a proletarian revolution, like that successfully pursued by Lenin's Bolshevik Party in Russia in 1917, is the key to the liberation of mankind. This is due in no small measure to the crimes of the Stalinists, and the social democrats before them, who made a mockery of the program and ideals of revolutionary Marxism.

Buying into imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism," fake-left groups like *Proposta* are rapidly repudiating even any pretense of Leninism, seeking "regroupment" in larger reformist formations together with social democrats and ex-Stalinists. Our small revolutionary international is hardly immune to the disintegrative pressures of this period of post-Soviet reaction. But unlike our centrist and reformist opponents, who wallow in their opportunism while glibly denying any internal problems, we strive to be candid in assessing the tasks and difficulties facing us.

Failure to recognize the period we are in and the necessary relationship of a small Leninist vanguard to the proletariat generates disorientation, demoralization and appetites to look elsewhere for the "answer." As Trotsky observed in his 1937 article, "Stalinism

and Bolshevism":

"Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions, the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow; it must swim against the current...it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly purchased experience of the past. Fools will consider this policy 'sectarian.' Actually it is the only means of preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the coming historical tide."

We fight to complete the task begun by Lenin and Trotsky when they led the working class to victory in Russia in 1917—to pursue the class struggle to a victorious conclusion, with state power embodied in workers councils around the world. *Proposta* has nothing to offer women, youth, immigrants and minorities and wants to ghettoize them. We want to build a Leninist party, a "tribune of the people" which actively mobilizes the working class to fight all forms of special oppression. *Proposta* maintains that Rifondazione must be reformed. We recognize that Rifondazione Comunista is the kind of party which Lenin described as a bourgeois workers party, whose base revolutionaries seek to split away from the leadership. *Proposta* argues for a policy of class collaboration on the national terrain and leaves international questions to Sunday speechifying. We are part of a politically and organizationally cohesive international, based on the lessons of the first four congresses of the Communist International and on Trotsky's Fourth International. *Proposta* wants to tie the working class to the bourgeoisie's cart. We fight for socialist revolution throughout the entire world. Join us! ■

Geronimo...

(continued from page 12)

was in fact an informant for the LAPD, Butler answered, "No, I was acting as an informant." Yet two days later, under well-rehearsed cross-examination by the D.A., Butler tried to deny having said this.

Butler is not the only man with something to hide. The dirty hands in Geronimo's case reach high up, and all the state agencies involved are desperately trying to put a lid on the facts that persist in coming to light. The FBI, with court sanction, has refused to turn over their uncensored files to Geronimo's legal team. Kalustian, while admitting that as D.A. he should have turned information over to the defense, denies having had any information. Bowles claims he never worked with Butler and can't explain why his name appears on D.A. office documents as his contact. Clayton Anderson, the man in charge of the D.A.'s intelligence unit in the 1960s and '70s, claims Butler was a "source" but not an "informant"—and then revealed that the file on the case was *destroyed* even though everyone in the D.A.'s office knew there was an ongoing legal battle. The mutually contradictory handwashing has been so blatant that on December 31 the presiding judge, Everett W. Dickey, remarked, "It is always unfortunate when the court has to conclude that someone is deliberately lying on the witness stand."

"It All Started with the FBI"

What has emerged at the current hearing is confirmation of an all-sided collusion to frame up Geronimo because he is a fighter for black rights and above all because he organized resistance to the deep racial oppression inherent in capitalist America:

- Butler was a longtime friend of LAPD sergeant Duwayne Rice, beginning when they both worked for the L.A. County sheriff's office. In September 1969, Butler gave Rice a letter which fingered Geronimo for the murder. Rice testified in 1972 that Butler had been his informant for one week, even though Rice had earlier told the FBI that he had had a "professional relationship" with Butler for four years.

Rice had introduced Butler to his captain, Ed Henry, sometime in 1969. Henry testified last week that given what he knows now, he agrees that Butler met the definition of an agent provocateur and that he was "technically but not morally an informant." When the D.A. tried to fix this statement under cross-examination by asking whether Butler was simply trying to protect both sides, Henry said, "I don't think he cared what happened to the Panthers."

Following the delivery of Butler's letter fingering Geronimo to Rice, Butler turned over to Rice and Henry weapons that Butler claimed belonged to the Panthers. Henry told the hearing that he and Rice had gotten permission from higher-ups to file false police reports removing Butler's name as the informant.

- Butler had had 33 contacts with the FBI in the 18 months prior to and 18 months after Geronimo's indictment in December 1970. The FBI referred to Butler as "Provisional Racial Informant—Ghetto." Rice had told Kalustian before the 1972 trial, "It all started with the FBI"—a statement never disclosed to Geronimo's attorneys. Both Kalustian and Butler now finally admit that they knew that two FBI agents were present when Butler delivered his letter to Rice.

- Evidence supplied earlier this year revealed the existence in the D.A.'s office of three "Confidential Informant" cards in Butler's name and that Butler had been given an informant number. Anderson testified that only he created such cards, and that he did so only when the D.A.'s office expected ongoing and reliable information from the informant. Kalustian admitted that as district attorney he was fully aware that Butler illegally carried a concealed weapon but did

nothing about it even though he knew Butler was a convicted felon.

- Former D.A. investigator Fred Willis testified that he had been introduced to Butler by another D.A. investigator in late 1969 or early 1970. Over the period of time that Willis was in contact with Butler, Willis considered him a confidential informant.

Willis had been instructed by his superiors to check with FBI agent George Akin prior to contacting Butler "because he belongs to George." Willis testified he had consulted Akin at a meeting of a group called the Los Angeles Intelligence Unit, a gathering of law enforcement agencies in Southern California which met up to four times a year to exchange information. Anderson testified that the D.A.'s office regularly passed on tips from the LAPD and FBI, and vice versa.

- For his efforts, Butler was well rewarded. Two months after Butler delivered the letter to Rice, even though Butler had been found guilty on four felony counts in the 1969 beating of one Ollie Taylor, he was kept out of state prison and instead given probation and a \$200 fine. Rice wrote to Butler's probation officer that Butler was "cooperating with the police." Three days following Geronimo's conviction, Kalustian interceded on Butler's behalf to have his fine reduced. A year and a half later, Kalustian himself went to court to have Butler's criminal record cleared so that he could pursue a career as a lawyer.

Geronimo's Innocence Is Proven—Free Him Now!

As revolutionary Marxists who have fought for well over a decade in defense of Geronimo, we welcome the opportunity provided by this hearing to confront those who connived in the FBI/LAPD frame-up. While the hearing is serving to further rip the thin veil of democracy off the face of the racist capitalist "justice" system, our expectations for a favorable



1969 police raid on L.A. Black Panther Party headquarters. 1970 FBI document calls for "neutralizing PRATT" as part of murderous COINTELPRO vendetta against black militants.

outcome are guarded. Even while Geronimo has been kept locked behind bars for the last quarter-century, every element of the state's "case" against him has been proven to be nothing but fabrications in the service of the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO operations. Evidence of Geronimo's innocence includes testimony that government wiretaps showed that Geronimo was 400 miles away at the time of the murder, the identification of another man by the victim's husband over a year before he saw a photo of Geronimo, and the identity of the likely real killers. Yet Geronimo has been denied parole 14 times, while four previous attempts to overturn his conviction were dumped by the courts.

In the capitalist courts, the concepts of guilt and innocence have little to do with justice and a lot to do with protecting the interests of the ruling class. This is amply demonstrated by the fact that, in a period of bipartisan efforts to beef up police

L.A. Rally: "Free Geronimo Now!"

LOS ANGELES—Demanding "Free Geronimo Now!" an integrated, militant united-front protest of 50 people took place on December 17, the day after the start of a court hearing on the request for a new trial for Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). The demonstration was held at the L.A. County Criminal Courts building, where Geronimo's 1972 frame-up trial took place.

Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, the protest was endorsed by a broad range of labor, minority, student and leftist organizations and individuals, including L.A. SEIU service employees locals 399 and 660, ILWU warehouse Local 6 in Oakland and the Associated Students Inc. from California State University at Long Beach. Speakers included representatives from the Four Winds Student Movement, Workers World Party, the PDC, Spartacist League and L.A. Spartacus Youth Club.

SL speaker Jane Kerrigan linked the defense of Geronimo and other victims of racist capitalist injustice

with the fight for an egalitarian socialist society:

"We seek to unite the multiracial, multiethnic working class in struggle in defense of all of the oppressed. This demonstration in defense of Geronimo ji Jaga is part of that effort. "There's a lot of groups that call for the government to give more money for education, for health, for jobs for all. Those are pretty good demands, but if you want to get the money to pay for these things, you have to smash the power of the ruling class in this country. To do that, you need a revolutionary workers party—a party that says we created all of the wealth in this society, it's ours and we're going to take it."

Kerrigan concluded, "When the working class has wrested the rule of this society from the hands of the oppressors, it will signal the beginning of the construction of a society based on human justice and freedom. Let us make sure that Geronimo ji Jaga, Mumia Abu-Jamal and all those behind bars for their defense of the working class and oppressed are around to savor that sweet day."

powers and incarcerate ever-higher numbers of the black population, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1993 that new evidence of the innocence of Texas death row prisoner Leonel Herrera was not sufficient grounds to stop his execution. As "hanging judge" Albert Sabo—the man who presided over the railroading of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal—told a Philadelphia court during a 1995 hearing for Mumia, "Justice is just an emotional feeling."

Unlike Sabo's kangaroo court, which has reveled in its blatant bias against Jamal and its abuse of his defense team, Judge Dickey has taken great care to preserve the trappings of impartial justice

ing that he was guilty.

The government's frame-up of Geronimo, an innocent man, has repetitively been proven. Yet he has been locked away for 26 years, his entire adult life. Like the case of Tom Mooney, there is no way to rectify the vicious actions of the ruling class and its state against him—injustice has been irrevocably committed. Geronimo doesn't need a new trial; he needs his freedom. The only criminals here are the FBI, the LAPD and the district attorney's office...and their kept fink, Julius Butler.

That this current hearing to overturn Geronimo's conviction is taking place at all is testament to the substantial support on his behalf among significant layers of

EAU OF INVESTIGATION

DATE	6/26/70	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	5/16/69 - 5/21/70
REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY	JL BCS
CHARACTER OF CASE			

LA 157-3436

It is noted that PRATT's photograph is included in the Black Nationalist Photo Album.

For the information of the Bureau, in view of PRATT's adroit expression of hatred toward law enforcement personnel in general, no consideration is being given to reinterview PRATT for the purpose of development as a PRI. It is noted, however, that constant consideration is given to the possibility of the utilization of counterintelligence measures with efforts being directed toward neutralizing PRATT as an effective BPP functionary.

It is noted that the investigation was conducted by...

during the current hearing for Geronimo. But we understand that the courts, like the cops, are part of the state, which is not a neutral body but exists to administer the capitalist system of exploitation of the many by a few who own the wealth in this society and to punish those who, like Geronimo, dare to challenge the capitalist rulers.

In some ways, Geronimo's case bears similarities to that of Thomas J. Mooney, a Socialist trade-union organizer who was framed up in 1916 for allegedly bombing a pro-World War I demonstration in San Francisco. Mooney's intransigent opposition to the imperialist war made him the target of the union-busting, chauvinist ruling class. Mooney was sentenced to die, but an international defense campaign won a commutation of the death sentence in 1919. He remained behind bars for another two decades even though the people who kept him in prison had long since quit even pretend-

the California trade-union movement, black groups and civil libertarians. We must continue to fight on Geronimo's behalf by translating this opposition into an active mobilization of the power of the organized working class, to send a signal to the rulers of this country that it is not worth their while to keep this man behind bars.

The fight for Geronimo's freedom is not simply a matter of protesting injustice but of self-defense. What American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon, the founder of the International Labor Defense, said in 1942 about the case of Tom Mooney applies equally well to Geronimo: "They kept him in prison for revenge and for a warning to others." Geronimo's freedom would be a tremendous blow against the institutionalized state repression which has been and will continue to be used against all those who struggle for the rights of working people and the oppressed. ■

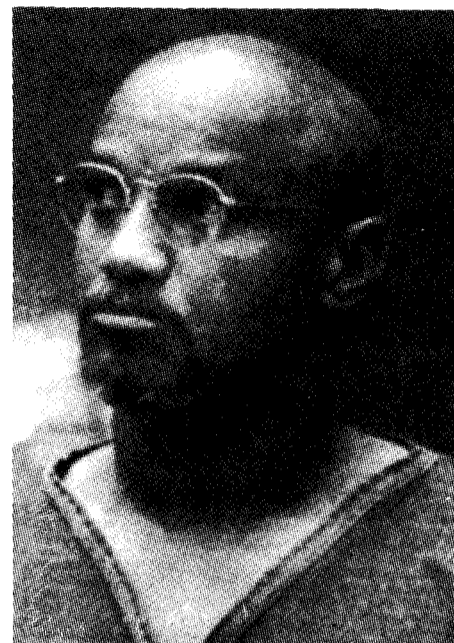
WORKERS VANGUARD

FBI/LAPD Fink Julius Butler Exposed on Stand

Geronimo Must Go Free!



December 17 rally for Geronimo at L.A. courthouse.



Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)

JANUARY 6—Julius Butler—a lawyer and chairman of the board of the First AME Church in South-Central Los Angeles, who is touted as a pillar of the black community for helping to quell protest in the ghetto in the aftermath of the L.A. cops' beating of Rodney King—built his career by aiding the frame-up of a young militant fighter for black rights. Now, for the first time in the 26 years since his lying testimony secured the conviction of Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) for a murder the government knew Geronimo did not commit, Butler has been called to account for his role as an informant for the FBI, the Los Angeles Police Department and the L.A. district attorney's office. His testimony is a central focus of a hearing that began on December 16 in Santa Ana, California to determine if Geronimo will be granted a new trial.

Butler was the prosecution's "key witness" against Geronimo in 1972, testifying that Geronimo had confessed to a murder in 1968. In early 1969, the L.A. office of the FBI had designated Geronimo, who was at the time a leader of

the Black Panther Party, a "Key Black Extremist," targeting him for "neutralization" as part of its Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) provocations against radical black activists. In December of that year, an LAPD S.W.A.T. team tried to gun down Geronimo in early morning raids on his home and on Panther headquarters. Having failed to murder him, the government then framed him up. And Butler, who had an ax to grind after being expelled by Geronimo from the Panthers on suspicion of being a fink, was the willing instrument.

While facts documenting Geronimo's innocence and Butler's role as an FBI/LAPD informant in the frame-up have been revealed over the course of the last 17 years, court after court has refused to grant Geronimo a new trial. Then last summer came the revelation that Butler was also an informant for the dis-

trict attorney's office before and during Geronimo's trial. At that trial, Butler's informant status was hidden from both Geronimo's attorneys and from the jury. In response to a question from Geronimo's lawyer, Johnnie Cochran, Butler swore he was "never in the world a snitch." The D.A.'s office now claims that this unambiguous evidence of collusion in Geronimo's frame-up would have been of little significance to the outcome of the trial. But at the time, the prosecuting attorney, Richard Kalustian—afterward promoted to an L.A. Superior Court judgeship—told the trial court, "If the jury believes Julio Butler...Mr. Pratt is guilty." Three jurors have since stated that if they'd known the main witness against Geronimo was an informant, they would have voted to acquit.

Since first exposed as an informant, Butler has sought to protect his now

"respectable" image as a champion of the black community by continual denials of his role as a government fink. In an interview this past spring, he claimed he was just a "liaison between the Black Panther Party and law enforcement." (Such a self-description was once used by the Kapos, those Jews who assisted the Nazis in the administration of concentration camps in the hope of saving themselves.) At the same time, Butler admitted that he had been given the money to buy a gun by the D.A.'s office. Meanwhile, Morris Bowles, a D.A. investigator who Butler claims was his "liaison," testified in the current hearing that Butler had complained to him after an exposé appeared in *GQ* that LAPD sergeant Duwayne Rice had "given him up" as an informant.

In the current hearing, confronted with page after page of FBI memos detailing Butler's FBI contacts, Butler admitted to having fingered both Geronimo and Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver to the FBI. Finally, when asked by Cochran whether he could dispute the connotation that he

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Mobilize to Defend Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

A critical court date is approaching for three anti-Klan protesters who face trumped-up charges stemming from a demonstration against a KKK race-hate provocation in Chicago's Daley Plaza on June 29. The Anti-Klan Three were arrested after protesters thwarted a violent Klan attack against the rally, which had been initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Struggle League. Last month, a Chicago Circuit Court judge granted the three defendants an evidentiary hearing, scheduled for January 23, based on a defense motion to dismiss the charges (see "New Legal Papers Document Cop Vendetta: Defend Chicago Anti-Klan

Illinois Cop Frame-Up Machine Revealed

Three—Drop the Charges!" WV No. 657, 6 December 1996).

The legal papers filed for that motion demonstrate that the prosecution of these anti-racist activists is a blatantly malicious act by the city government and Chicago Police Department aimed at justifying the cops' attack on the anti-Klan protesters. In addition, the papers show that the police assault on the demonstrators on June 29 was one of a series of attempts to suppress social protest in the months leading up to the Democratic National Conven-

tion (DNC) in August. The Anti-Klan Three—Jeffrey Lyons, Dennis Glass and Gene Herson—still face prison terms of up to two years.

The victimization of these anti-racist activists is the cops' retaliation for the defeat suffered by the KKK on June 29. The anti-Klan demonstration successfully defended itself against the Klansmen, who had marched in wielding bolt-studded shields and long, heavy "flagpoles" as weapons against the protesters. But the KKK scum soon found themselves sprawled on the

pavement. The cops intervened to protect the Klan terrorists, and later launched a series of attacks against the anti-racist protesters. Several were hit with clubs, while others were pepper-gassed. Police particularly went after demonstration organizers and minority youth.

The attempt to railroad the Anti-Klan Three to prison takes place amid a spate of revelations of police frame-ups and corruption which have recently seized headlines in Chicago. The most sensational involves the indictment of three former prosecutors and four sheriff's deputies by a special grand jury for conspiring to fabricate

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