No Tiers
• Reindustrialization
• Black Liberation!

One Out, All Out!

No Tiers
• Reindustrialization
• Black Liberation!

Auto Bosses Destroyed It, Labor Can Rebuild It!

SEPTEMBER 22—For decades, the auto bosses have waged war against workers and made life hell for the people of Detroit—one of the most segregated and poorest cities in the U.S. Right now, the city’s population is on edge and has its eyes sympathetically set on the UAW’s next moves. At a basic level, everyone knows that a victorious outcome in this battle against the auto bosses would be a victory for them, too. Municipal services like street lights and garbage collection have been slashed, and whole chunks of the city’s infrastructure and housing are completely crumbling. Factories that could provide thousands of jobs stand empty and in ruin, while basic human needs like food, housing, medical care, transportation and education go unfulfilled, all because it is not profitable for the bosses. The UAW strike cannot afford to be limited to just an economic struggle, as Fain is doing. It must be a battle for all of Detroit and the whole Michigan region.

The bosses’ war against the workers and the oppressed extends well beyond Wayne County—from shuttered auto plants across the Midwest to Dow chemical spills in Midland to drugs and poverty in Saginaw to poisoned water in Flint. The situation is dire and someone needs to fix things. Workers must take matters into their own hands, rebuild the Midwest and make the bosses pay for it. To win this strike, the UAW needs to organize the masses of Detroit, all Wayne County and beyond on the front lines with them. It is necessary to call on all workers and the black community to join the UAW in a general strike to end tiers, reindustrialize and fight for black liberation. Shut down Motor City!

In order to mobilize the broadest possible forces for a general strike in Detroit, UAW members must elect strike committees to prepare this battle. UAW delegates must be sent to city workers, teachers, health care and other unions to mobilize their workforces to go out. All of Detroit—the unemployed, the marginalized, every union and even small businesses—have an interest in joining this strike and can be mobilized to do so on the basis of a program that actually speaks to their needs. To that aim, we are putting forward the following plan of action to organize this struggle:

• Organize the unorganized, all those who are subcontracted out by the auto bosses must be brought into the UAW
• Organize the unemployed, jobs for all with training and hiring programs that spread the available work among all at no loss in pay
• Fight for the highest union wages for every worker in Detroit, cancel all personal debt
• Fight segregation on and off the job, for integrated low-cost housing and decent living conditions for all
• Rebuild industry under workers’ control

Now the UAW contract has expired, and a strike is underway to fight for what UAW president Shawn Fain calls “audacious” demands. He says he wants an end to tiers, restored benefits, a huge pay raise and lots of other things workers desperately need…but he’s already backtracking. He lowered the wage demands, and now has shut down only a few plants. This “strategy” is a dive that weakens the strike, minimizing the impact on the bosses. The question is: What strategy is necessary to win and why is Fain backing down?

What Fain said he’d fight for sounds good, and if the UAW wins it, it’ll be a victory for workers everywhere. But winning the things Fain promised will require a hard battle that strikes at the core of the American economy while the U.S. ruling class is desperately trying to restore its economic dominance, and the car companies are struggling to compete internationally. The bosses won’t give up easily. In this context, the fight to significantly improve workers’ living standards must be organized for what it is: a fundamental clash of class interests.

Biden and Trump bicker over EVs in the lead-up to the elections, trying to dupe voters in industrial swing states. Neither will do anything to make things better for workers. Their job is to make sure the bosses can compete by squeezing workers and sending jobs to the “open shop” economy. Continued on page 6.

Only Tiers
• Reindustrialization
• Black Liberation!

SEPTEMBER 15—The bosses gutted the auto industry and left the workforce to die. For decades, once major industrial hubs have seen populations plummet and poverty rates soar. Remaining workers live in crumbling cities, working longer shifts in more dangerous conditions, while real wages stagnate and fall. Job loss and deindustrialization destroyed Midwest metropolises like Detroit and Flint and made life a living hell for their majority-black populations.

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LIBERALISM: OBSTACLE TO BLACK LIBERATION

In a 1935 document, Max Shachtman, then a leader of the Trotskyist movement in the U.S., took aim at liberals who voice support to black liberation while seeking to maintain a ruling class whose fundamental interests are bound up with the status quo. Against the liberals and reformist left, communists point out the way forward: fight the fascist regime from within the working class to overthrow capitalist rule.

The liberal wing of the bourgeoisie does not rise to greater heights than outright fascist terrorism. But I cannot accept the following in its entirety: "That's what happened. It's the main point of our hard-hitting piece unacceptable. Neely's death was not the result of racist action and it was an act of self-defense that ended in tragedy."

You want the article to state that Neely was "nowhere near as bad"—kill 11 to say, "I just use a white person and I am afraid"! There is much truth here. Taking a human life because you are afraid makes a better Liberal than any so well with whites. This is the real life effect of neophobia.

Don C. WY: replies: "It's not that you can't accept that, but it's that Neely's act was an act of self-defense that ended in tragedy."

Neely was arrested in a threatening manner and was said to have thrown trash at passengers. (my italics)

Juan Alberto Vasquez caught Neely's death on his phone and reported that Neely had shouted: "I'm tired already. I don't care if I go to jail and get locked up."

But I cannot accept the following in its entirety. Neely was a Marine veteran that was trained to kill, that's what they do. Perhaps his Marine training kicked in. However, I don't think anyone can say this is his intentions. The 15 minute chokehold was not simply excessive, it was deadly. The only verifiable fact here was Neely had a severe emotional breakdown that was horrible to witness; everything else is unverifiable. Now let me explain what I mean by "insane" or "in a different reason to take a human life. We are not in a war one is justified to kill first. The question is what did Neely really do to bring about his death in an act of self-defense by the killer?"

"Neely was arrested in a threatening manner and was said to have thrown trash at passengers. (my italics)"

In the name of liberal compassion! These words are so cavalier.

Workers Vanguard supplement 8 June 2023, Neely No Angel, Penny No Hero: a article was a well written article address ing a difficult subject and alarmingly painful incidence. I am sure riding a difficult subject and alarmingly preparing to hold, but a restraint for 5 minutes not 15 passengers, only had a serious meltdown. Neely was acting in a threat-
Our comrade Stephen Bloomer died on November 5, 2022 after a long battle with Parkinson’s disease. He was a long-time member of the New York City local, working in the Maintenance Department.

He first intersected the Spartacist League/U.S. in the late 1960s while studying engineering at Cornell University. He was then drafted into the army and stationed in Alaska during the Vietnam War, which politicized him. Our call that “All Indochina Must Go Communist!” really struck a chord with him.

In October 1971, beginning shortly before joining, he sent the party several contributions, once writing that the money came from “my first check from the Veterans Administration division of the rating class.” With these contributions, the party was able to set up its own offset print shop, which produced Spartacist pamphlets such as the first edition of Lenin and the Vanguard Party, Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam and The Fight to Implement Basing. Over the years, he regularly went above and beyond in providing financial support to the party, comrades and friends.

Steve joined the party’s youth organization in late 1971 while at SUNY Stony Brook and continued working inside Students for a Democratic Society as a member of its Steering Committee. Our party’s aim was to split the subjective revolutionaries away from the Progressive Labor reformists, who were also in the SDS leadership. While at Stony Brook, he helped lead an SDS campaign in support of WA-telecom strike in New York state. The campaign leaflet explained why workers should oppose the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, which tried to isolate the strike, and should broaden their economic struggle into a political strike against the Vietnam War.

Steve later transferred to Los Angeles. There he became a CWA member and actively participated in the successful 1973 campaign to defend the Milftant Action Caucus against the CWA bureaucracy’s fabricated charges and attempted anti-communist purge of MAC supporters. After transferring to NYC, he worked as a union electrician at Hartford Hospital for many years.

The most important thing for him was his party membership, and he closely followed the work of other ICL sections, particularly Spartacist/South Africa. A friend of many years and party sympathizer wrote about how Steve explained to her as a young member that the reformist left capitulates to U.S. and world imperialism not because they are “stupid” but because “they want capitalism to exist with just a more human face.”

Steve was generous to a fault. Although he had a wry sense of humor, he was reserved and rarely talked about himself. He was a passionate follower of college wrestling, loved learning about the latest scientific developments and had an extensive collection of LPs, particularly jazz. In his later years, he enjoyed bird watching in Brooklyn’s Prospect Park.

A comrade in Maintenance wrote: “One of the things I remember most about him is his revolutionary professionalism. He was a man of few words, always chosen carefully. Everything he did was precise, from main- tenance repairs to providing security at protests.” For Steve, there was no division between intellectual and manual labor.

Our comrade Linda Thurston died suddenly in her sleep on April 22 at age 73. A member of the Spartacist League/U.S. for over 45 years, Linda was first radicalized in the 1960s women’s movement in Boston. As a student at Boston University, she and a group of friends researched and raised funds to publicize a handbook titled Birth Control, Abortion and V.D., A Guide for the B.U. Student.

At the time, abortion was outlawed, and in Massachusetts, in 1945, Todd took some pride in the Québecois heritage of his father. While a student at Stony Brook University in New York in 1970, he was recruited to the Spartacist League. Mov- ing to New York City, he became the local treasurer, a post he held for ten years before moving to the Bay Area and becoming treasurer there in the early 1980s.

Being a party treasurer is not some routine accounting job. It is central to the existence and political func- tioning of a Bolshevik organization. Working together with the party leadership, the treasurer’s job is both to scrupulously maintain the party’s political and financial independence from state interference while ensuring our capacity to operate as an open, legal organization.

Todd was not only conscientious in handling the hard- earned funds from comrades and sympathizers who sup- port our political work, he deeply understood that this money was an expression of political consciousness.

From the early days of the SL/U.S., he played an impor- tant political role in establishing our financial norms; and as treasurer of our two biggest locals, he trained many party treasurer members. In her essay to Todd, a for- mer national treasurer of the SL/U.S. recalled his “gruff, grouchy, frequently barbed but always carefully consid- ered advice and training.”

Todd spent his working life in the printing/publishing industry, starting out in a hot-type print shop in New York City, where early issues of Spartacist were published. In the Bay Area, he worked for many years as a proofreader for the San Francisco Chronicle. A member of the Media Workers Guild, he was active in an eleven-day strike in 1994. Years later, in a 2009 report titled “For a Fistful of Dollars,” Todd described the support among co-workers for his intervention against a deeply concessional con- tract being sold by the union leadership.

Todd was also a very able amateur astronomer. The Hubble Telescope website features several color compo- sitions of different galaxies and nebulae by Todd. He also corresponded with the developers of the computer planetarium program Stellarium.

We salute his dedication to the party and will sorely miss his witty and cantankerous comradeship.
A golden opportunity has been spiked at UPS and the West Coast ports for labor to fight for itself and turn the tide of class struggle in its favor. Although 15-25 percent of Teamsters and ILWU members voted “no” on their recent contracts and many others did not vote at all, the trade-union tops managed to avert strikes in both industries. The UPS Teamsters leadership-sponsored militant talk, while the ILWU tops pledged not to strike, but both leaders hailed class battles and forced work- ers to surrender to contract bribes, shoring up Biden and the bosses. It’s no surprise the ILWU tops and the port bosses were honored at the White House, with Biden say- ing the contract is “a good deal” for workers, companies and the United States. This is the very “national unity” blackmail that the trade-union bureaucracy promotes and workers must reject to move their struggles forward.

For those workers who want to fight, the task now is to prepare for the battles to come. This means build- ing opposition caucuses within the unions based on a program explicitly opposing the losing strategy of the bureaucracy, which is clearly committed to not causing Biden too much trouble at the expense of the working class. A WV supporter argued against the contract at an ILWU Local 10 meeting, saying: “The crime is that the leadership of the ILWU and Teamsters refuse to take advantage of the government’s weakness. Why? Because they are in bed with the enemy. They sabotage any struggle in advance because they are committed to maintaining a system based on our exploitation.”

The program needed to advance labor’s cause is laid out in the articles below: “Labor Can Turn the Country Around! UPS, ILWU, Vote No!” and “UPS Workers: How to Win!”

July 24—A Teamsters strike against UPS would be the biggest strike against a single U.S. employer in history, at a time when the working class desperately needs to push back against the attacks of the ruling class. Since the pandemic, when the bosses and their government dealt devastating blows to living and working conditions, things have gotten worse for workers. Enforced sacrifice,スピード up and inflation have already pushed other “essential” supply chain workers, in rail and West Coast longshore, to try to fight back—and they are not even the worst off among the American working class. Teamsters must fight against poverty wages, deadly conditions and the tier sys- tem—issues plaguing workers across the country in many industries. But to win they must have a strategy that suits the situation they face.

Decades of deindustrialization and the disastrous response to COVID have weak- ened the domestic economy and interna- tional standing of the U.S. and, along with the U.S.-provoked war in Ukraine, put increased pressure on the supply chain. As a result, the enormous social power of supply chain workers has grown even greater. It must be used to fight for their needs and to open a broader counteroffen- sive against the bosses. The Biden admin- istration already banned the railroad strike and is attempting to bribe the West Coast longshore workers to prevent any disruption. The ruling class will use whatever means necessary to stop the Teamsters from making their increasingly unstable position even worse. Workers will only get what they want by wresting it from the bosses, and so they must be prepared for a real confrontation. They need a lead- ership and a program to win!

No Illusions in the Bosses’ State!

The enemy is not narrowly the “greed” of the UPS bosses, but the anti-worker political and economic interests of the whole capitalist class. This is a funda- mental clash of class interests! O’Brien says he is ready to fight, but he is not preparing union members for the hard- ship battle that is needed and will disrupt the supply chain. Especially with Biden seeking re-election, O’Brien has no desire to create a crisis that could imperil the campaign of the strikebreaker he calls the “most pro-union president in our lifetime.”

O’Brien can make tough speeches for cameras at practice pickets all he likes. But what these pickets reveal is that, if he doesn’t call the whole thing off at the continued on page 5

AUGUST 19—Everyone can see that there’s a crisis and that conditions in the U.S. are only worsening, from housing to health care. Pensions are basically nonexistent and working people have astronomical debt. The working class is being denied the chance to provide pay raises but it could change the total trajectory of this country. The purpose of the deals being dangled in the face of the workers is to prevent this. UPS, ILWU workers, vote “no”!

With economic crisis and a presidential election on the horizon, the bosses are try- ing to corral the workers movement (espe- cially supply chain workers) into submis- sion, either with a carrot in the case of these contracts, or with the stick, as with the crushing of the rail workers last year. These strategic workforces could cause the most trouble for the government. This is what lies behind the bribe of substantial pay raises being offered to the Teamsters and ILWU. The bureaucrats argue that the deals are a victory, but in actuality accepting these deals means that the labor movement surrenders! These offers are not a show of the strength of the union, they are a sign of the weakness of the enemy. Biden is very unpopular and is desperately trying to buy peace in the lead-up to the elections. Instead of tak- ing advantage of this opportunity, getting the most concessions, and changing the continued on page 7

Workers Need Class-Struggle Leadership

What Next for ILWU, UPS Teamsters

UPS Workers: How to Win!

Labor Can Turn the Country Around! UPS, ILWU: Vote No!

New York, July 6: Workers wanted to strike but O’Brien organized practice pickets for PR campaign, not militant class battle, before calling off potential strike.
eleventh hour, he plans to run the strike like a PR campaign in the mold of bourgeois public opinion, and mor- tally shame the company into coughing up a couple of bucks. UPS workers are designed to give a platform to the bosses— politicians, like AOC, who crushed the rail strike in Chicago. In the past, it didn’t need to hear the speeches of these char- latans, they need to be politically prepared to suffer the strike with their children. Methods. Like the Trotskyists who built the Teamsters in the 1934 Minneapolis general strike, workers need to prepare to put the brakes on UPS and walk the picket lines without the bosses’ laws and wants a strike that is a peaceful, legal parade, one which won’t risk the lives of workers.

O’Brien presents the state as a neu- tral arbiter, rather than leading the union with the incendiary claim that the state is a tool of capitalist class domination. He rose to power with the endorsement of the TDU union-sued, who readily drag the union into the bosses’ courts, invit- ing the class enemy into workers’ affairs. Last year, O’Brienhim in a mediate mediation into the rail dispute, colluding with the White House to cook up a rotten deal, which would have allowed Biden moved to stop them from striking. O’Brien rolled over, doing nothing to fight back. In contrast, Biden was in it with the bosses to put the House with the majority that the adminis- tration didn’t intervene. Now, he smugly assures the workers that the House, if it’s not to intervene in a UPS strike, as though he can police the enemy that has already launched war.

Full-Time Work for All Who Want It!
O’Brien says he is fighting for the part-timers, and workers want to do that. Everyone knows the main “Massive raises and the union must fight for that. But this won’t fix the problem;”

A Program for UPS Workers to Win:

• No illusions in the bosses’ state! Shut down the company! Stop the scabs!
• Massive raises that outstrip inflation for all!
• Full-time work for all who want it! Organize the unorganized!
• Equal pay and benefits at the highest level for equal work!
• Full council, work force unions, UPS workers government! Spread the work
• For union control of hiring and scheduling! Spread the work
• With a leadership that will not cede ground to

The working class requires a leadership that can adequately prepare the battles to come. To chart a course forward, that leadership must understand the forces at play, the irreplaceability of the workers’ and bosses’ class interests, the role of the capitalist state and—most importantly—the necessity of the struggle for workers’ power. It is imperative that workers fight back against the present attacks and build a leadership that will not cede ground to the bosses.

The immediate task for socialists and union militants is to prepare the strike: build the union’s strength, educate work- ers in the principles of the class struggle, reinforce class unity and fight for strike committees. Building the strike doesn’t mean leaving the bosses untargeted: building the Teamsters in spite of O’Brien’s and his clique. Crucial to preparing the strike is saving the bosses and why the cur- rent leadership is undermining in every way the preparation of the imminent fight. But every so-called socialist group in this country lines up behind O’Brien, either through open cheerleading or tepid criticism. There are only sows illusions in his losing strategy.

Last Voice claims that because “expect- ations are always too low, workers will not be able to easily backtrack, even if he wanted to.” To call to “increase the involvement of rank-and-file UPS work- ers” and “develop democratic shop-floor organizations” as part of strike prepara- tions. But Left Voice’s purpose for these organizations is not to expose O’Brien’s strategy as an obstacle to winning the strike; it’s to build the bosses’ fron- tline. They draw no line against O’Brien’s dead-end approach. In fact, they defend the bosses’ system with the laughter of bosses’ government, stating: “The Team- sters leadership’s friendly relationship with the bosses is the only way that the government will be on our side.” No, the O’Brien bureaucracy’s “friendly relationship” all but guarantees that it will buckle when commanded by the White House. All of Left Voice’s actions build illusions that a pro-capitalist leadership only needs to be pressured to fight in the interests of workers.

Socialist Alternative has a similar pur- pose forpressing O’Brien, only one step removed. Their preferred vehicle is the TDU, which they state has “an espec- ially important role to play in holding O’Brien’s feet to the fire,” but only if the TDU “suffers the same fate” as the TDU is used to organizing a “struggle from below.” It is absurd to present the TDU as an alternate role to the O’Brien leader- ship’s strategy in O’Brien’s election and, according to SATA, “has unfortunately taken a completely inept approach to O’Brien.”

Pressuring the trade-union bureauucracy to be more militant is not a solution because trade-union betrayals are not caused by lack of militancy. Their methods and tactics flows from their allegiance to the capitalist state. The task of social- ists is to fight against all elements in the trade-union bureaucracy. Left Voice and Socialist Alternative have chosen an alternative leadership of the unions; they lend these pro-capitalist traitors truelaying down.
The battle at the Big Three is an acid test for those calling themselves socialists, who must choose whether to be useful or nonsensical. The job of socialists in the labor movement is to fight for a class-struggle leadership that understands the critical tasks that advance the immediate and historic interests of the working class as a whole. Class collaboration can only be won by workers away from the existing pro-capitalist union leaders, like UAW head Shank. The public leadership strategy may be used, but it is also possible to get a “fair share” for the membership without in any way challenging the bosses. The key to this, Fain's relative popularity among auto workers—he has not only raised demands that would reverse major union concessions of the past but also initiated a strike against all three automakers, even if he is rolling it out in stages. The problem, though, is that the conditions of the working class cannot be qualitatively improved while respecting the objectives of the U.S. ruling class to economically dominate the world. As a result, Fain’s brand of militancy can only be won through broadening the struggle, drawing in others to the struggle, and demonstrating the way to workers, not only for the bosses, but for the imperialist rulers and yes, I believe for the leadership of the American working class to:... UAW... (continued on page 10)

South. Fain sees the possibilities and the workers can mutually prosper. He shares the bosses’ goals of improving U.S. competitiveness, and takes a side with one of their parties—the Democrats—on how to do it. This class collaboration is at the core of Fain’s capitulation. Contrary to his outlook, it is the success of American business on the backs of workers that led to today's crisis.

The issue isn’t just that politicians are unreliable or corporations greedy, as Fain says, although they are. The problem isn’t just that companies price gouge and refuse workers their “fair share,” although they do. The problem is that the bosses’ class strategy is to use economic and political oppression. The bosses aren’t just greedy, malicious and dumb. They’re doing what they’re doing because capitalism requires it and the international situation gets more unstable. The acute pain felt by workers today is the sharpening class antagonisms of capitalism in decline. Fain builds illusions in reviving the “American Dream” and claiming a leadership strategy that can get us where we are in the first place. Instead, we need a leadership to organize struggles knowing the work is always precarious and the union a planned economy—not the preservation of this irrational system.

The bosses are strong. No matter how many demands are made, the bosses don’t accept them. Fain’s perspective is to negotiate with the bosses to get some concessions. His language is to the bosses and a planned economy—not the preservation of this irrational system.

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The UAW bureaucracy's record of dishonoring workers’ needs is a fundamental threat to the union. The existential threat to the union is its losing fighting force for black equality off the job as well. Black workers at Tesla, the battery plants and foreign plants of hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers struggle. The entire auto workers movement must fight to advance the position of labor, from the day-to-day struggles of thousands of unorganized workers at Tesla, the battery plants and foreign automakers to want to join the UAW. The local UAW officers in the South must fight to bring this about—a revolutionary strategy—one that is independent from class-collaborationist strategy.

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The most recent example of "national unity" blackmail was during the Covid-19 pandemic, when union leaders sacrificed the workers to keep bosses rolling. The government and the supply chain up and running. Fain does not see the capitalist courts and cops as a tool of class domination, but rather as fighting against the bosses’ interests. In order to wage an offensive that wins, the unions must be run by a totally new political program and a militant negotiation with the bosses—disarming workers with illusions of amicable, peaceful solutions. Back when they were economic, workers got something. Back then squashed UPS Teamsters strike April 2022: Teamsters head Sean O'Brien with Biden at White House. According to the Independent Workers (IWU) later worked with government to quash potential rail strike, the squashed UPS Teamsters strike to avoid causing crisis for president. rejecting these deals which are meant only to prop up decpetit capitalists. Teamster and ILWU tops brag that their workers can now make up to and over 100K due to these contracts, but this would not change the fact that a black worker would continue to go back to his segregated, crime-infested neighborhood, have to take his children to crumbling schools, and still be at the bottom of his workforce and society. In pushing to accept these bribes, the union leaders are doubling down on the already horrible conditions of black life in this country and accepting degraded conditions for all workers.

What is needed to really make labor a force to be reckoned with and come on top is a united front of the ILWU, Teamsters, ALU, UAW, Hollywood workers and all others unions negotiating and striking to take on the bosses of this country together. In order to wage an offensive that wins, the unions must be run according to a totally different political strategy—one that is independent from capitalist politicians and in the interests of the working class—and fight to advance the position of labor, from the day-to-day struggles of thousands of unorganized workers at Tesla, the battery plants and foreign automakers to want to join the UAW. The local UAW officers in the South must fight to bring this about—a revolutionary strategy—one that is independent from class-collaborationist strategy.

Workers must fight to reindustrialize the economy in order to have jobs with good pay without being forced instead of fighting over crumbs. To expand industry to its benefit, the working class and oppressed. The task of fighting for class-struggle leadership is a fundamental threat to the union. The existential threat to the union is its losing fighting force for black equality off the job as well. Black workers at Tesla, the battery plants and foreign plants of hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers struggle. The entire auto workers movement must fight to advance the position of labor, from the day-to-day struggles of thousands of unorganized workers at Tesla, the battery plants and foreign automakers to want to join the UAW. The local UAW officers in the South must fight to bring this about—a revolutionary strategy—one that is independent from class-collaborationist strategy.

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The following was issued as a WP supplement, dated 8 June 2023.

Last month, Jordan Neely, a homeless, schizophrenic black man with a criminal history of violence, was among the 78 people who were OBSERVERED as passengers on a subway train and was choked to death for 15 minutes by a white man, Daniel Prude. These observations are concerns that working people who ride the subway face every day. Transit workers are terrorized daily on the job; riders are pushed on the tracks, mugged and killed. It is a basic right of working people to not be terrorized and to defend themselves. When it comes to the details—we are not indifferent to Neely’s killing. The 15-minute chokehold was excessive, and Neely did not deserve to die. But when confronted with the threat of physical harm, Penny had the right to defend himself and others against Neely.

When the case first hit the news, many working people—black, white and Latino—were sympathetic to Penny. Responses like “Someone finally stepped up to protect riders” and “if someone steps to me, I’m taking them down” expressed the brutal reality of what would have to be done if faced with the same situation. The multiracial proletariat, traveling to poverty-wage jobs with bosses who serve them on a silver platter to injury and death and back to rat- cock- and mold-infested project buildings, is the true enemy of this society, conditions that will be lived with by the people in that subway car on Monday. In the eyes of the passengers that day, Neely was the victim of a race-fueled crime, and Penny was a threatening manner and was said to have thrown trash at passengers.

This propaganda barrage only rein- forced the liberal narrative that Penny, himself a working person, was a threat to society, the people in that subway car on Monday will have to live with their apparent inac- tion and indifference.

TROTSKYST LEAGUE IN QUEBEC AND CANADA

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NEW YORK CITY SUBWAY KILLING

Neely No Angel, Penny No Hero

This moralistic blackmail completely absolves the capitalist ruling class that is responsible for the surge in the mentally ill homeless population and the overall rise in the societal conditions that produce many more Neely-and-Penny sit- uations. The only way to stop the decay of the urban centers is to disrupt the very victims they create. The prereq- uisite for the working class to struggle and win its basic needs is break- ing with the anti-racist liberal program pushed by the fake left, which serves as an obstacle to advancing its interests.

The disaster for working people that results from the left’s embrace of liber- ally on display during the pandemic. In an act of utter class treason, Left Voice and the overwhelming major- ity of the left supported the lockdowns, which exacerbated the recent explo- sion in housing insecurity, racism, and making up the “last hired, first fired” main obstacle to that is the liberal pol- itics of the urban centers and the rest of the city. This includes the anti- racist liberal program, amplifying the racial divide.

Many liberals and their tails like Left Voice claim that the Neely case has noth- ing to do with self-defense. Rather, as Left Voice puts it, “he was executed for being poor, black, and disabled,” painting Penny as a racist and any physical confrontation involving a white man defending himself against a black man as automatically driven by racism. These fake socialists write that “Jordan Neely brought joy to many working people—black, white and Latino—were sympathetic to Penny. Responses like “Someone finally stepped up to protect riders” and “if someone steps to me, I’m taking them down” expressed the brutal reality of what would have to be done if faced with the same situation. The multiracial proletariat, traveling to poverty-wage jobs with bosses who serve them on a silver platter to injury and death and back to rat- cock- and mold-infested project buildings, is the true enemy of this society, conditions that will be lived with by the people in that subway car on Monday. In the eyes of the passengers that day, Neely was the victim of a race-fueled crime, and Penny was a threatening manner and was said to have thrown trash at passengers.

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The disaster for working people that results from the left’s embrace of liber-
Dear comrades,

29 AUGUST 1985

[...] 9

... and against working-class interests—gets under this system. In fact, to resolve the issue of housing, unemployment and other societal ills are nowhere to be found under this system. In fact, to resolve the issue of housing, unemployment and health, we would require a massive confrontation with the ruling class.

But how would the working class be able to do it if this is completely disarmed and divided along racial lines by the bourgeoisie? The proposal program would make sitting ducks out of workers, leaving them unable to defend themselves against any attack by the state or its lumpenproletariat. That's what liberal compassion—which is completely divorced from class society and against working-class interests—gets workers, blackmailing them into "keeping the peace.”

We Marxists do not claim to be in Penny's head. But speculating that Penny would have acted differently if Neely had been white is just more of the same mess being pushed by the liberals. It's a way to cast doubt on self-defense and to convince the working class that the Neely case was automatically a racist attack because it involved a white man and a black man in a violent incident. This corrosive position can only serve the ruling class, as they profit off racial divisions in society.

The same goes for your line on “public retribution.” Almost two months after Neely was killed, another black victim, Ouedraogo, was killed by Jordan Williams. As it seems like the PDC is in a hiatus (?) I will hold off on those contributions temporarily.

In communist solidarity,
John D.

WV replies: Your criticism of our rhetoric signifies a squashedness not uncommon on the left. Marx effectively used the word “garbage” in the lumpenproletariat, and he was not being ironic at all. In The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon. Volume 1, Marx described how Bonaparte claimed “himself chief of the lumpenproletariat” and to include all classes the only class upon which he can base himself unconditionally. The lumpenproletariat of 19th century French society had been organized by Bonaparte to take from the working class, “benefitting themselves at the expense of the laboring nation.” It was a layer of society that the proletariat needed to defend themselves against, just as much as they needed to defend themselves against Bonaparte.

It is true that liberal compassion comes from a place of hypocrisy. But it's also the case that the mentally ill and homeless population needed a lot more than compassion. They need resources that will pull them out of the poverty and degradation imposed on them by the capitalist system. The resources necessary to solve the problem of homelessness, crime and the societal ills. That's why we would need a massive confrontation with the ruling class.

But how would the working class be able to do it if this is completely disarmed and divided along racial lines by the anti-racist liberalism? Well, it wouldn't. The proposal program would make sitting ducks out of workers, leaving them unable to defend themselves against any attack by the state or its lumpenproletariat. That’s what liberal compassion—which is completely divorced from class society and against working-class interests—gets workers, blackmailing them into “keeping the peace.”

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The Crisis of Germany’s Liberal Order
A Communist Answer

by G. Perrault

The following document, submitted for discussion on 14 June 2022, is translated from Spartacist (German-language edition) No. 21 (May/2023), journal of the International Executive Committee.

In the 30 years since the counterrevolutionary dissolution of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), German imperialism has been on the offensive. By grinding down the working and living conditions of its working class, it has extended its economic stranglehold over all of Europe. Now, the revolutionary socialist and post-Soviet liberal blueprint of the world around them. Every indignity of the working class has already made two attempts at world domination. While it doesn’t currently have the economic and military might to challenge the U.S. directly, it has room to maneuver in the transatlantic alliance and has options outside of it. However, for the time being, the German ruling class has been overwhelmingly in favor of maintaining its partnership with the U.S., accepting that this means playing second fiddle. This orientation must be seen in the broader context of the post-Soviet order, which was aptly described by comrade Jim Robertson in 1999: “We and many others note that the “post-Soviet world” has become like the pre-1914 period. The idea of a world in which the exception of no gold standard for the world markets. No, politically—because there are no counterposed developing alliances of the several great powers. Rather we continue to see, for now, a disunited hierarchy with the U.S. very much on top. These observations have a considerable bearing on the timing of renewed major inter-imperialist conflicts.”

A central reason for the stability of post-Soviet Europe is that its configuration has been extremely beneficial for Germany. With the U.S. paying the military bill, German capitalism could focus its resources on industry and foreign investment. The EU gave easy access to new markets and cheap labor. The euro artificially depre-
ciated the deutschmark, boosting exports. After pilaging the DDR and turning the screw on its working class, German imperialism has had an open field to strangle the rest of Europe economically. In this context, the entire political, economic and military strategy of Germany has been to avoid confrontation and take full advan-
tage of Pax Americana, which enables it to export goods and capital across the world with relative ease and in a propor-
tion that far outweighs its military might. As the strategic interests of German imperialism changed, so did the dominant ideology. Marx explained in The German Ideology that “The ruling ideas are not
thing more than the ideal expressions of the dominant material relations, the dominant material relations grasped as ideas; hence of the relations which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance.” Having accomplished its stra-
tegic aim of “defeating Communism,” the ruling class adapted the ideology it used to justify its economic dominance to the requirements of its new policy of “peaceful” economic plunder. Instead of burying its past crimes, the German bourgeoisie claimed it had “learned the lessons of his-
tory” and that it is precisely the experiences of two world wars, the Holocaust and two dictatorships (the Stalinist and Nazi versions) that made Germany the most modern and progressive democracy in the world today. This placed on Germany’s shoulders the duty to guide the world toward the light of liberal democracy. Its newfound mission: to preach the Good News of democracy, pacifism, open borders, free trade, ecology and Christian charity.

Bourgeois ideologues have written reams of self-congratulatory essays explaining that it is because of a profound moral regen-
eration rooted in the experience and study of history that the German ruling class traded its Prussian-spiked military helmets for the technocrat’s suit. But the source of this change lies in the pocketbook, not the history books and moral scriptures. Milit-
ary and diplomatic entanglements are
The Subordination of the German Workers Movement to Liberalism

While the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz swears that it has morally regenerated and petty-bourgeois ideologies fully embrace this grotesque propaganda, the pill is harder to swallow for those who were and remain the victims of German imperialist exploitation. Crucially for the capitalists, German Social Democracy and pseudo-Marxists have been the staunchest converts to its new moral mission and have been more than happy to do the groundwork for its liberal crusade. Through propaganda, class collaboration and bribery, the German capitalists have rallied the labor movement to their objectives. This has been a crucial aspect of Germany’s economic success and political stability over the course of the last decades.

As the strategic interests of the German ruling class changed after 1989, so did the role and policies of the left. During the Cold War, the SPD loyally played its part in marshaling anti-Communism in the workers movement to the Soviet Union and served as the Trojan horse for counter-revolution in the DDR. The rest of the workers movement followed the SPD’s counterrevolutionary footsteps or capitulated to Stalinism (the Maoists succeeded in doing both). The exception was, of course, the SPdA, which at the decisive moment fought against capitalist counterrevolution and the unification of Germany through socialist revolution in the West and political revolution in the East. The defeat of this perspective—for which the leaderships of the workers, East and West, held central responsibility—led to capitulation to liberalism and the destruction of the Soviet Union.

This defeat had catastrophic consequences for the workers movement. In the East, the working class was demoralized and largely destroyed, in the West, it has faced a constant barrage of attacks on its living standards. A secondary consequence of the counterrevolution has been to change the center of gravity in the left, moving it away from the Russian question. During the Cold War, the splits within the workers movement in Germany (both between East and West and within the West) reflected the conflict of two antagonistic German states with rival modes of production. This is obviously no longer what explains divisions within the workers movement. Having a positive view of the DDR today—which much of the left has—is no longer a sharp dividing line because the DDR has been removed as a living threat to German capitalism. The Linkspartei is symptomatic of this change. It is a fusion of disinterested left-wing SPD members and the remnants of the Stalinist bureaucracy. While many of their leaders stood on opposite sides of the Cold War, they are united today around a common program of left-liberal social-democratic reformism.

The destruction of the Soviet Union and the DDR means the final rollback of the split between Communists and Social Democrats in Germany. In 1919, the founding of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) represented the division between the program of reform and the program of revolution. The split was maintained under the Stalinist Comintern, although it no longer embodied the program for revolution but the foreign policy of the Soviet Union’s bureaucratic caste. Hitler’s seizure of power in 1933 without any resistance from the KPD decisively showed that the party was dead as a revolutionary factor. When it was abolished following the victory of the Allies in World War II, the KPD was divided along the same lines as “Germany.” In East Germany, it became the main component of the ruling party. In West Germany and West Berlin, the KPD played a double role; it was on the one hand an agent of the DDR bureaucracy and on the other a minor component of the labor bureaucracy loyal to German imperialism. In West Germany, no matter how low the KPD (later renamed the DKP) stooped before German nationalism, it could not be reconciled with social democracy because of its connection to the October Revolution—a connection which lived only through the subsidies it received from the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. In the post-Soviet period, this cumbersome obstacle has been removed, enabling the entire German workers movement—extending all the way to leftists of the Stalinist bureaucracy—to have a cozy spot along the right-left continuum of liberal reformism.

The leadership of the workers movement in Germany, whether it is the SPD, Linkspartei or trade union bureaucracy, has been fully committed to the liberal orientation pursued by the German bourgeoisie in the last 30 years. The KPD had been its new center of gravity. Underpinning the entire perspective of these organizations is that liberal bourgeois democracy and the post-War II order are the essential guarantees against repeating the disasters of the 20th century. It is this deadly illusion that has served as the main propaganda tool to subordinate the proletariat to the interests of the bourgeoisie. The major policy changes made by German imperially established states in the post-war period in Ukraine have somewhat changed the contours of German liberalism but have not moved it away from its key pillars.

On the domestic level, the constitu- tion is viewed by the organizations of the working class as the ultimate guarantee against “authoritarianism.” Unlike countries such as France or the U.S., where the left is often highly critical of the constitu- tion, in Germany it is considered a sacred document. In fact, the SPD, Linkspartei and the pseudo-Marxists generally present themselves as the true defenders of the constitution. The false lesson pushed by these organizations is that the fight against fascism starts by stopping the incremental erosion of democracy in the state and society. Thus, fascism is under- stood not as a paralyzing mobilization of the petty bourgeoisie against the working class and minorities but as anything that is in the right of (former chancellor) Merkel-liberalism. The programmatic conclusion is generally to call on the state to crack down on the right wing and fascists within the state and in society. The bourgeoisie and its agents have been very effective in mobilizing anti- fascist sentiment in the working class to rally support for “progressive” bourgeois forces in order to electorally defeat the “right.” These “fight the right” politics have been the political basis for multiple populist-front governments and a key prop for the stability of German imperialism. Unlike in France and Spain in the 30s, or Chile in the 70s, the recent German popular fronts have not constituted the content page 12
line of defense for the bourgeoisie before an imperialist attack has been a mere liberal coalition governments. Thus, it has been cheap for the left (and the working class) to refuse to support such governments. They have done so while at the same time capitulating to the "other side" and supporting the bourgeois parties. For example, in 2017 the SPD youth group advocated that the SPD, by refurbishing its position as a government party, could better stem the rise of the Alternative for Germany (AfD). The SPD’s "Grand Coalition" campaign accepted this premise, adding only leftist rhetoric. Such examples show how the left can side with an imperialist front in the current German context—while necessary—is not inherently revolutionary. Labor misleaders are among the most fanatic defenders of the EU. They raise the most strident cries for "saving the German government" when new immigrants arrive from other EU countries—especially those opposed by German imperialism—that do not come from the EU. The left is stunned and disoriented. The crucial task is to break the bourgeoisie from the politics of the populist and from its social-democratic leadership. To do this, it is necessary to show how liberalism is itself one of the principal causes for the growth of reaction and how it paralyzes any working-class fight for its own independent interests.

In the foreign policy, the leaders of the workers movement present the Euro- pean Union as the guarantor of peace in Europe. However, the workers’ fight against imperialist exploitation but as proof that Germany has transformed into a benevo- lent power in the region, and that the labor misleaders are among the most fanatic defenders of the EU. The left is stunned and disoriented. As the left looks over the European proletariat. As the left looks over the European proletariat. As the left looks over the European proletariat.

(continued from page 11)

A prevailing illusion in the social-democratic left is that Germany could somehow withdraw from the transatlantic alliance without major consequences. It could thus play a more peaceful role internationally and could get out of the geopolitical cross fire by becoming nonaligned. Longtime SPD politician Klaus Von Dohnanyi argues along these lines in his bestselling book National Interests: "Ultimately, Europe’s goal must be a position of neutrality towards alliances. For those who can no longer defend themselves effectively against a stronger party, it is always safer not to get involved in the conflicts of larger powers and also not to be bound by an alliance." The DKP’s version of this is reflected in its call for "Peace with Russia! Out of NATO!" Although the war in Ukraine has temporarily poured cold water on such proposals, it should be clear that certain sentiment toward breaking the link with U.S. imperialism. But it took two world wars and the Cold War for the U.S. to establish its dominance over Europe; to think it would simply let a German working-class front take out of its control is pure naivety. And to think all of "Europe" would want to follow the Germans down this path is a romantic fantasy. The U.S.’s military supremacy in Europe has been the only thing stopping the continent from becoming a war zone. Any deep change in the nature of the transatlantic alliance is sure to have dramatic and violent consequences.

The liberal-nationalist myth underlying views such as those expressed above is that Germany-led alliance, unlike the U.S.- led one, would be a force for peace. One would think that two attempts at conquer- ing Europe militarily would lead most to be wary of this, but for German ideologues it is precisely this fact that is used as the main argument for militaristic adventures! Germany has, after all, "learned from history." Hergert Münkel tried to give a realist twist to this liberal drivel in his book Power in the Center: Pax Americana has been the founda- tion of social conflict. Attacks against the more dynamic power they gather, the more their power is justified. Put simply, the German bourgeoisie can afford to pay for complex class-collaboration schemes, which have enabled it to drive down working conditions with a minimum of social conflict. Attacks against the Left can be won by more and more imperialists to redivide the world inexorably leads to war. Moreover, the fractured nature of Europe—divided into myriad capitalist states with conflicting eco- nomic, political and national interests—gives conflicts on the continent a particu- larly explosive character. As the relative power of the United States in the world declines, the tensions within Europe will increase. As before, Germany will find itself in the eye of the storm.

Pax Americana has been the founda- tion stone on which postwar—and, in par- ticular, post-Cold War—German imperi- alism built up its dominance of Europe. As explained earlier, it enabled relative political stability in Europe and the world, allowed for increasingly open markets for goods and capital and minimized the competition on the world market. In this context, the transatlantic alliance has been extremely beneficial to Germany. However, this positive dynamic has now begun to revert, and Germany is being increasingly squeezed and constrained by the requirements of international capitalism.

For one thing, the cost of the U.S. call- ing the shots has been increasing for Ger- many. The burden of American conflicts is being shouldered disproportionately by Germany. Trump’s cancelation of the Iran deal meant European firms lost a lot of money, while the Americans were basic- ally unaffected. The conflict in Ukraine, while previously superpower secret, is now so come, at a much greater price to Germany than to the U.S. The increasing tensions with China will also come at a relatively greater cost to Germany, which is more reliant on the Chinese market than the U.S.

On top of this, the weakening of U.S. hegemony means the benefits it accorded Germany will be reduced. Protectionism and supply-chain breaks are on the rise and will probably increase much more. This is obviously bad news for an economy centered on exports. Political instability in the world will also continue to increase dramatically in the coming years, meaning Germany can no longer get away with a minimal military budget. As the costs of the transatlantic alliance increase and the benefits decrease, Ger- man imperialism will once again start feeling the costs of not having a place in the sun—knowing full well how high the costs of failure are.

A prevailing illusion in the social- democratic left is that Germany could somehow withdraw from the transatlantic alliance without major consequences. It could thus play a more peaceful role internationally and could get out of the geopolitical cross fire by becoming nonaligned. Longtime SPD politician Klaus Von Dohnanyi argues along these lines in his bestselling book National Interests: "Ultimately, Europe’s goal must be a position of neutrality towards alliances. For those who can no longer defend themselves effectively against a stronger party, it is always safer not to get involved in the conflicts of larger powers and also not to be bound by an alliance." The DKP’s version of this is reflected in its call for "Peace with Russia! Out of NATO!" Although the war in Ukraine has temporarily poured cold water on such proposals, it should be clear that certain sentiment toward breaking the link with U.S. imperialism. But it took two world wars and the Cold War for the U.S. to establish its dominance over Europe; to think it would simply let a German working-class front take out of its control is pure naivety. And to think all of "Europe" would want to follow the Germans down this path is a romantic fantasy. The U.S.’s military supremacy in Europe has been the only thing stopping the continent from becoming a war zone. Any deep change in the nature of the transatlantic alliance is sure to have dramatic and violent consequences.

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On top of this, the weakening of U.S. hegemony means the benefits it accorded Germany will be reduced. Protectionism and supply-chain breaks are on the rise and will probably increase much more. This is obviously bad news for an economy centered on exports. Political instability in the world will also continue to increase dramatically in the coming years, meaning Germany can no longer get away with a minimal military budget. As the costs of the transatlantic alliance
be achieved by making sure Germany upheld liberal values and pacifism. Such a strategy would make the working class and the unions, who are the main issue: Fain's economism of the labor bureaucracy and its left misleaders of the working class have faced little pushback in mobilizing behind German imperialism in the Ukraine war. However, as the conflict drags on, and the costs to the working class pile up, this unity is bound to crack. Though significant, the war in Ukraine is only one of many factors leading German imperialism into its familiar corridor. In order to counter the left's multiple fronts. Tensions within the EU are bound to erupt anew once the initial political impact of the Ukraine war has diminished and the economic crisis hits again with a vengeance. Although largely ignored in the immediate context of the current conflicts in the Sahel, the Near East and Libya, as well as the impending famine throughout Africa, which have necessarily deep political repercussions in Europe. It will also be impossible to stay clear of the fallout from the growing conflict between the U.S. and China.

On the economic front, the situation is gloomy. The European economy was already in a bad state before the pandemic, due to the rise of inflation and the war in Ukraine. Germany is far behind its competitors when it comes to digital technology. Its heavy industry sector, which has been at the heart of its success, is starting to lag as well. For example, German car manufacturers are scrambling to catch up with the Americans and Chinese in the production of electric vehicles. The latter have made good use of their economic ties with Germany to copy a number of its industrial techniques and technology. Thus, a new competition is occurring in a context where Germany has committed most of its resources toward the military and the far-right government. As the best-case scenario is low growth. The Chinese market, which has been Germany’s main prospect for growth in recent years, has become much more restrictive and is not growing as quickly as before. Looming over all of this is the decade-long policy of major central banks of “solving the economic crisis” by pumping huge amounts of cash into the financial markets. During the pandemic, they did this on an even larger scale to compensate for the shutdown of the economy. Sooner or later (probably sooner), the resulting financial bubbles will burst. Already, inflation is raging, and it is only a matter of time until the crisis evolves into a full-blown economic crash. Confronting this economic situation, the German capitalists’ only available option will be to further tighten the screws on their working class and on the rest of Europe. Domestically, this will put the normal workings of class collaboration under increased pressure. There will be fewer cushions available to brige the progressively shrinking upper layers of the working class, potentially leading to a major confrontation with the powerful and well-organized German proletariat. Additionally, by being complicit for decades in the fragmentation and intensified exploitation of large parts of the working class, social democracy and the unions have been undermining the source of their political influence. This has already led to a gradual decline in electoral successes of the SPD and Linkspartei. It also leaves large sectors of the working class unorganized and highly exploited. This could prove a volatile and explosive situation in the context of a renewed capitalist offensive. Another factor of political instability is the grinding down of the petty bourgeoisie and the lumpenization of whole swaths of the country. This process has been longstanding and has now been accelerated by the pandemic and inflation. This will bring oil to the fire of right-wing populism. The AfD is in the best position to benefit from this, given that it has been the only real opposition to the liberal status quo.

On the international level, Germany will have to squeeze the rest of Europe to compensate for its own hardships. If the euro crisis already showed, this will undoubtedly provoke resistance from the oppressed countries of Europe as well as from the other imperialist powers, centrally France. However, Germany can do this only so much before the EU starts to shatter. If economic blackmail does not work, Germany will be confronted with the choice of either suffering economic and political blows or using military means to ensure its interests. Before the looming tidal wave of economic chaos, class conflict, war and famine, the reformist left is running toward the shore hoping to convince the wave to recede peacefully. Their hope is that with a bit of economic struggle and pacifist and anti-racist demonstrations they can convince the German bourgeoisie to remember its commitment to liberalism and class collaboration. With every blow to the liberal status quo, the left has responded by holding on ever more fanatically to the coattails of the supposedly progressive bourgeoisie, proposing adjustments that could make capitalism a little better. The SpAD has been complicit in promoting such reformist illusions, responding to the growing political turbulence and reaction by advocating for a more militarized anti-imperialist and trade-union bureaucracy. In direct opposition to this course, the Spartacist tendency in Germany has focused on the increasingly obvious bankruptcy of liberalism to bring about the demise of the capitalist system. This is being pushed by the left, the fundamental lesson of the 1930s is that all must unite against Fascism. Just as German imperialism needed war and fascism to break through the pressures coming from its powerful proletariat on the one side and from its second-tier place in the imperialist hierarchy on the other. As the pressure on Germany increases once more, the alternative faced in the past will loom ever closer. Again, the question facing the proletariat is going to be: Can the working class power and put an end to German imperialism or will barbarism once more be the answer? The objective situation will push the working class toward revolution. However, this movement alone will not suffice. What history shows is that to fulfill its role as gravedigger of capitalism, the working class needs to liberate itself from the ideological hold of liberalism and break politi- cally with social democracy. Just as it was necessary in 1914, the working class must once again revolutionize the German state and force a new revolutionary party. The workers' vanguard must be consciously led by a class-struggle leadership, connect this to the working class needs to liberate itself from the ideological hold of liberalism and break politically with social democracy. The sooner such a pole can be established, and the deeper its political impact, the better. It will be the outcome of the upcoming struggles in Germany and internationally.

Berlin-Treptow Park, 30 December 1989: Protest against deification of Soviet memorial. Spartacists exposed SPD as spearhead for counterrevolution, warned against betrayal by Stalinist rulers. Fight for revolutionary leadership is decisive!

Left... (continued from page 6)

That said, the IG’s polemic against Fain’s history of collaboration with the capitalist state, the reformist trade union, and the political and cultural combat on the main issue: Fain’s economism. Union-suing is the outgrowth of the openly pro-imperialist agents in the labor bureaucracy and its left misleaders of the working class have faced little pushback in mobilizing behind German imperialism in the Ukraine war. However, as the conflict drags on, and the costs to the working class pile up, this unity is bound to crack. Though significant, the war in Ukraine is only one of many factors leading German imperialism into its familiar corridor. In order to counter the left’s multiple fronts. Tensions within the EU are bound to erupt anew once the initial political impact of the Ukraine war has diminished and the economic crisis hits again with a vengeance. Although largely ignored in the immediate context of the current conflicts in the Sahel, the Near East and Libya, as well as the impending famine throughout Africa, which have necessarily deep political repercussions in Europe. It will also be impossible to stay clear of the fallout from the growing conflict between the U.S. and China.

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Berlin-Treptow Park, 30 December 1989: Protest against deification of Soviet memorial. Spartacists exposed SPD as spearhead for counterrevolution, warned against betrayal by Stalinist rulers. Fight for revolutionary leadership is decisive!

Spartacists intervene into UAW strike rally on Sept. 15.
Lo siguiente es una traducción de la declaración del Espartaquista (ver página 16) de la Spartacist League/U.S.

Por el antiguo "crimen" en el racismo y en el paternalismo se ha quebrado a un hombre negro que acereca demasiado a una mujer blanca. Seis policías de Mississippi, autodenominados "Goon Squad" (escuadrón de matones), infligieron horas de perversas y racistas agresiones sexuales a un hombre negro para lograr que para lograr la igualdad de los negros hay que abolir el estado capitalista. Pero, como dice: ¿Por qué hay que tener un puente que nos lleve del estado capitalista a las riberas de una sociedad de igualdad de género? Hablar de policias ante un caso de violación de una mujer debe ser una denuncia de la violación del derecho a la autodefensa de las personas que denuncian sus violaciones.

Lo siguiente es una traducción de la declaración de la República Popular de Bélgica (ver página 16) del Grupo Espartaquista de México.

La situación de la mujer en México es simplemente horrible: violencia doméstica, violaciones, desapariciones forzadas, asesinatos. Tal es el caso de Milagros Monserrat, que fue apuñalada y se desangró hasta morir en las calles de León, Guanajuato, a plena luz del día el pasado 10 de agosto. Es claro que el llamado ur gente de las mujeres es por acabar con esto. Pero, ¿cómo? Nosotros llamamos por pistolas para las mujeres! como una demanda inmediata para protegerse de la violencia cotidiana brutal, si no el monopolio de la violencia por parte del estado capitalista mexicano —la policía, las circulares, el ejército y los tribunales— que sirve para mantener el dominio y las ganancias de la clase explotadora. Su interés no está en luchar por la liberación de la mujer, sino en perpetuar la opresión. El arma a las mujeres daria una respuesta inmediata a la epidemia de ataques violentos contra ellas, pero no resuelve la cuestión. La abrumadora mayoría de los casos de violencia contra las mujeres viene del abuso doméstico, pero el movimiento BLM se or ganiza en el suelo de Mississippi, los hombres y mujeres en el transporte y en las marchas, rogarle al gobierno que sea reemplazado, enarbolan la bandera de BLM y en respuesta plantean que lo que hacen falta es una lucha que una vez fuerzas más amplias posibles para elevar el sueño. Para empezar, nuestra propuesta para reconstruir el movimiento es una propuesta para reconstruir el movimiento.

Una propuesta para reconstruir el movimiento...
for the Right of Self-Defense

Printed below is a translation of an August 19 supplement of El Antimperialista, publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, the ICL’s Mexican section.

The situation of women in Mexico is simply horrible: domestic violence, rapes, forced disappearances, murders. Such is the case of Milagros Monserrat, who was stabbed and bled to death in broad daylight in the streets of León, Guanajuato last August 10. It is clear women are urgently calling for an end to this. But how? We call for guns for women as an immediate demand for women to protect themselves from brutal daily violence. Women being armed would have a direct impact on the number of attacks by making potential aggressors think twice before acting. As they say: God created man and woman, and Samuel Colt made them equal.

They say: God created man and woman, from brutal daily violence. Women being demanded for women to protect themselves for Women’s Liberation! For a Communist Movement for Women’s Liberation!

Drop All Charges Against Uhuru!

For backing Russia against U.S./NATO and protesting against black oppression, three members and supporters of the African People’s Socialist Party (APSP) and the Uhuru Movement—APSP chairman Omali Yeshitela, Penny Joanne Hess and Jesse Nevel face five years in federal prison on spurious charges of conspiring to act as “agents” of a foreign power—Russia. They also face an additional five years for failing to register as “agents” for 81-year-old Yeshitela and 77-year-old Hess would be a death sentence. This racist witchhunt is a dangerous attack on the rights of free speech and association and a threat to labor, black people, socialists and anyone who opposes U.S. imperialism. It must be stopped. We call on all workers, civil rights, civil liberties and anti-imperialists, who chain black and workers today, its main targets always have been the fascist Proud Boys and Oath Keepers cop terror now, while exposing liberal misleaders, who chain black and workers struggle to defend black people against capitalist exploitation have long by imperialist subjugation of the entire country’s social backwardness, which is caused only through a struggle against imperialism and capitalism. If it is understood that the struggles for social, national emancipation of women’s emancipation are inseparable, it is clear that male workers are essential to failure. This is exactly what the feminist program promotes; it divides society along gender lines, not class lines. Feminism is an obstacle to women’s liberation because it breaks up class unity. The situation of women can truly be improved only through a struggle against imperialism and capitalism. If it is understood that the struggles for social, national emancipation of the workers themselves. The struggle to achieve the social and national emancipation of the workers themselves. The struggle to unite the broadest possible forces to advance the struggle for black freedom and against capitalist exploitation have long been victims of government repression and cop terror. This is all the more reason to fight to open all police archives. Our campaign (see back page) seeks to unite the broadest possible forces to advance the struggle to defend black people against cop terror now, while exposing liberal misleaders, who chain black and workers struggle to a section of the ruling class. Class-struggle defense of Uhuru and all those, who chain black and workers struggle to a section of the ruling class.

For the Right of Self-Defense

Publication del Grupo Espartaquista de México

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Trotskist vs. Populism

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To order in the U.S., see page 9.

San Diego, May 27: Marching racist witchhunt against Uhuru/APSP. Three members and supporters face prison on trumped-up charges of conspiring to act as “agents” for Russia.

Drop All Charges Against Uhuru! Hands off Uhuru! Hands off Africa!

No less than Trump and the Republicans, Biden & Co. are desperate to re-define the population behind U.S. designs abroad and quash class and social struggle at home. The Uhuru prosecution is part of the drive to resurrect long-dormant police-state measures from the McCarthy era and earlier to bolster the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state. Upon taking office, Biden seized on the 6 January 2021 Capitol riot to revive prosecutions under the “seditionary conspiracy” law. Although this law is wielded against the fascist Proud Boys and Oath Keepers today, its main targets always have been and will be workers and oppressed people engaged in struggle, e.g., striking government workers, trade unionists hot cargo- ings shipments of munitions to Ukraine and students occupying state university buildings. The rarely invoked Registration Act, under which Uhuru is being prosecuted, has its roots in the Espionage Act of 1917, which was used to send Socialist Party leader Eugene Debs to prison for speaking against the imperialist First World War. Obama-Biden invoked this law more often than all prior administrations combined, including to punish those like Chelsea Manning who exposed the crimes of U.S. imperialism.

Since the FBI’s early-morning raid on Yeshitela’s home in St. Louis, Missouri, in summer 2022, the APSP has received statements of support from black nation- alist, socialist and community organiza- tions. Despite our vast political differ- ences with Uhuru, we recognize the vital importance of stopping this witchhunt dead in its tracks through mass protest by the labor movement and left. Organizations fighting for black freedom and against capitalist exploitation have long been victims of government repression and cop terror. This is all the more reason to fight to open all police archives. Our campaign (see back page) seeks to unite the broadest possible forces to advance the struggle to defend black people against cop terror now, while exposing liberal misleaders, who chain black and workers struggle to a section of the ruling class.

For the Right of Self-Defense

The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle legal and social defense organ- ization associated with the SL, has con- tributed $1,000 to Uhuru’s legal defense. We encourage other unions and organizations to contribute to Hands off Uhuru! Hands off Africa! Defense Campaign at opencollective.com/handsoffuhurudonate.
Mississippi Atrocity Only Tip of the Iceberg

Everyone can see that the struggle against police brutality is at a standstill. Three years ago, there was an enormous swell of anger, with millions protesting against racist cop killings. Yet today, there is no real fightback. So, what happened? The BLM movement was organized on the basis of a slogan that was an empty sentiment that could be endorsed by anyone with absolutely no consequences. Everybody could say Black Lives Matter, keep calm and carry on. From Bezos to Biden to U.S. banks, all fly the BLM banner while they continue to exploit black people, the working class and the oppressed here and across the world. For decades, every movement against innumerable police atrocities has fallen flat on its face—they have all pushed schemes to do: they planted drugs on their victims. Earlier this month, in what seems like an anomaly to most, the six white cops pled guilty to assaulting Michael Jenkins and Eddie Parker.

Make no mistake, it’s not a matter of a few bad apples, rogue racist cops or isolated instances confined to the “red states” of the South. The entire capitalist state is the goon squad for the racist capitalist rulers and commits crimes like this on a regular basis. Recall that it was five black cops that tortured and murdered Tyre Nichols in Memphis. Two weeks ago, cops of various backgrounds were busted in Antioch and Pittsburgh, California, for hunting down and siccing dogs on black people and others for “fun.” The same Fulton County Jail in Georgia where Trump’s mugshot was taken is notorious for the many gruesome deaths of mainly black prisoners. These and countless other examples show that what was exposed in Mississippi is only the tip of the iceberg: Enough! The true crimes of the capitalist state must be exposed to all!