

Jackson Campaign—Trap for Labor and Blacks

Jesse Jackson, Racism and the Democratic Party

Forge a Workers Party!

Let's get something straight right away. The Democratic Party is a racist party of racist American capitalism—they are no "friend" of labor and blacks. It was the Southern Dixiecrats who stood in the schoolhouse door to keep blacks out, the Northern liberals who knifed busing in Congress while the racists rampaged in the streets. From Wilson Goode who ordered the cops to drop a bomb on black Philly, to Tom Bradley who orders the LAPD roundup of thousands of black youth, black Democratic mayors are the overseers on Reagan's plantation. It was Democrat Carter who used the power of the state against striking coal miners and who prepared the plan for busting PATCO which Reagan carried out, while the pro-Democratic AFL-CIO tops left the air controllers hanging in the wind. And the Democrats vie with the Reaganites as rabid Cold Warriors. In the 1984 campaign Mondale called for "quarantining" Nicaragua; today Dukakis says



Democratic dwarfs dwindle: Jackson between the yahoos and the yuppies. AP

he is prepared to launch a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union.

Now there's a lot of energy going into the Jesse Jackson campaign. Young black college students and ghetto youth alike are proud to see a black man for the first time ever as a serious contender for president. "If America Is for Humanity... Then JJ Will Be Pres-

ident..." read headlines in the black press. Middle-aged white farmers, white ethnic hard-hats in the Midwest are voting for Jackson, because, as he says, "I've stood with them and they want to stand with me." But come this summer and fall, there are going to be a lot of upset people around when they figure out that "Jackson action" means being

herded to the polls as voting cattle for the same old Democratic Party of strikebreaking, racist terror and imperialist war.

The most conscious will look to those who told them the truth from the beginning. The Spartacist League warns that the Jackson campaign is a trap for labor

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When Zionist Fascist Shot Jewish Girl Pogrom Unleashed Against Palestinian Villagers



Palestinian homes in Beita blown up by Israeli army. AP

"Goyim kill goyim, and they immediately come to hang the Jews," sneered Menachem Begin five years ago, to divert attention from his responsibility for the massacre of more than 1,800 people in the Palestinian refugee camps of Shatila and Sabra in Lebanon. To the Zionist "master race" every Arab is an animal, a subhuman. So when one of these inflamed Zionist fanatics shot down a young Jewish girl who was in his line of fire as he was trying to kill Palestinian villagers, they sought "revenge" by going out to hang Arabs. Here was their "martyr" for the cause of an anti-Arab bloodbath.

The funeral for 15-year-old Tirza Porat was turned into a festival of blood, as 5,000 "mourners" armed with M-16 assault rifles and Uzi sub-machine guns screamed "Revenge!

Expulsion!" A fascistic spokesman ranted that the West Bank Palestinian village of Beita where she died "should be wiped off the face of the earth." Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir vowed that "God will avenge her blood." But it was the army that this arch-terrorist sent in to do the job. Beita was sealed off by Israeli troops, who proceeded to round up every male between the ages of 15 and 60, blow up 14 houses, gun down one 19-year-old and raze seven acres of olive trees. Six residents were singled out to be deported from the country. The anti-Arab rampage spread to the village of Beit Umar, where 70 shops and houses were bulldozed. And this was deemed "mild"—the fascistic "settlers" were looking for a bloody massacre, aiming ultimately for the mass expulsion of Palestinians from "Greater Israel."

Adapting the calculus of the Nazi Third Reich, the Zionist butchers proclaim that one Jewish life is worth hundreds of Arabs. Well over 140 Palestinian Arabs, many of them younger than Tirza Porat, have been shot down in cold blood in the last four months. Thousands more have been tear gassed, thrown into dungeons, tortured, buried alive. But the Zionist bloodlust remains unquenched. Following the Mafia-style murder of top PLO leader Khalil al-Wazir (known as

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Drug Companies Cave In to Moral Majority

Let American Women Have Safe Abortion Pill!

A safe and easy way to end pregnancy, the new "abortion pill" RU 486, will soon be available, but not in the United States. Developed by the French company Roussel-UCLAF, the new drug will be sold in Europe and China within the year. Worldwide, there are approximately 90 million births each year, and 40 to 50 million abortions, French researchers pointed out in a *New England Journal of Medicine* (18 December 1986) article reporting the successful results of their tests of RU 486. What a relief to millions of women it would be to have access to such a simple, safe and private way to end unwanted pregnancies! As a French midwife pointed out when news of the development spread in France over a year ago:

"When taken at home, the RU pill, above and beyond representing a substantial de-medicalization, contributes to making abortion a private decision, freed from institutional straitjackets, and thus leads toward greater individual autonomy. In this sense, the RU pill better corresponds to my image of a real right to abortion."

—*Libération*, 5 February 1987

Shamefully, this new medical breakthrough is being denied entirely to American women. So far American drug companies have refused to even apply for Food and Drug Administration approval to market RU 486 in the U.S. The reason is sordid and simple: Moral Majority blackmail. National

Right to Life and other groups have warned drug companies they'll boycott all their products if anyone dares market the new drug. Upjohn Company, which tried to develop abortion-inducing drugs several years ago, gave up the effort in 1985 in the face of such a boycott by National Right to Life.

It is precisely because this drug is genuinely private that the Moral Majority bigots are going crazy. If this really becomes viable, it means the whole question of pregnancy and abortion becomes genuinely a *personal* choice in which the government *cannot* intervene. Further, since most clinics perform abortions during the first trimester, the same time frame this pill works in, it means there won't be any more abortion clinics to picket and bomb. So the Moral Majority is going to be stymied—what are they going to do, recruit peeping Toms to climb into bathroom windows to stop women they suspect?

Since the initial French tests, researchers in Europe and China have found that RU 486, when taken along with prostaglandins, has a 95 percent success rate: Prostaglandins have been available in the U.S. for some time, but have painful side effects including cramping and nausea—however, the two drugs in combination appear to avoid this problem. Recommended for use within the first seven weeks of pregnancy (along with necessary medical follow-up to check effectiveness), the

drug works by blocking progesterone, a hormone needed to maintain pregnancy, thus causing a woman to start menstruating, in the course of which the tiny embryo is passed out of the body naturally along with menstrual fluids. This is a real breakthrough: no more need to go to a hospital or clinic, no anesthesia, no more possible risk of infection or punctures from the surgical procedures of vacuum suction or D&C (dilation and curettage).

RU 486 has other potential benefits as well, including possible use as treatment for some forms of breast cancer and endometriosis (a leading cause of infertility) and for a hormonal disorder affecting both men and women, as well as potential for opening the birth canal, which could enable many women giving birth to avoid Caesarean sections.

The *New York Times* (25 March), decked out as the champion of bourgeois liberalism; has come out with an editorial in favor of the abortion pill, pointing out "a large majority of Americans favor the right to choose abortion," so, "Clearly, then, there is an American market for RU 486. Now, where's the marketer?" The U.S. bourgeoisie wants this drug because they don't want blacks to have more kids, and then of course they don't want to be embarrassed by their own nubile young daughters coming home with the classic "Guess what, mommy..." line. So powerful forces are annoyed with the Moral Majority yahoos for messing up their lives.

For us, it has always been a simple matter that no woman—or girl—should be forced to bear a child she does not want. We have always fought for free, safe abortion on demand—and this new "abortion pill" holds out the promise that for the first time in history the technical means are there for this to become a reality.

The refusal of the drug companies to make this drug available in the U.S. shows that the reactionary miasma of the Reagan years is by no means dispelled. And years of social reaction have taken their deadly toll, in growing poverty, homelessness, disease and hopelessness. The U.S. has one of the highest rates of "out-of-wedlock" teen pregnancies of any industrialized country: more than a million teenage girls get pregnant every year, about half of them have

abortions. But this doesn't reflect the whole sad story: especially for the poor, overwhelmingly black and Hispanic, this society offers no options, not even the chance to learn to read and write.

Certainly, if pregnancy wasn't such serious business, there wouldn't be such social hysteria over the question. Taking this pill as a result of pregnancy is a



Sygma

Women in a New York City abortion clinic. For the right of free, safe abortion on demand!

gentle way to remind teenagers that sex does have consequences. But sex is an extremely powerful drive, not just a casual night's recreation. Indeed, Western "civilization" is rife with examples of the demented and bizarre practices of those who deny such urges, from the "nice, quiet boy next door" who turns out to be a multiple ax-murderer to peculiar religious habits of self-mutilation.

Modern science has opened up a new prospect, with this "abortion pill," for relieving women of much of the pain and trauma of ending unwanted pregnancy. But it will take a socialist revolution to rid the world of the reactionary hysteria and powerful social institutions which perpetuate women's oppression. ■



TROTSKY

rise up against the Kremlin oligarchy and return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky.

Stalin had to have very important reasons to stage this trial, to commit these murders. Indeed, a whole gamut of reasons, at different levels but closely interconnected. Stalin doubtless regarded this trial as a cunning and slick move which would signal very clearly to everyone the beginning of a new period, a period of still greater strengthening of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the final extermination of the Opposition. Heretofore, when Trotsky was still in the USSR, i.e., in the hands of the Thermidorian clique, which then did not yet dare to drag Trotsky to the guillotine, Stalin believed the best way to be rid of the implacable Bolshevik was a carefully engineered operation ending with banishment to a foreign land. In this he was mistaken, and it does not take a specially sharp eye to see how this failure torments him today. Today, as the Opposition keeps coming back and growing, Stalin has Bolsheviks shot in cold blood, former leaders of the party and Comintern, heroes of the Civil War. But this time, too, he will be mistaken, and very soon he will discover it. These terrible crimes, committed in cold blood, will rebound upon the head of their author.

—Leon Sedov, *Rotbuch über den Moskauer Prozeß*
(Red Book on the Moscow Trials, October 1936)

History Will Avenge the Crimes of Stalin

In 1936 Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son, comrade and fighter for the Fourth International, trenchantly exposed the Moscow Trials as the greatest frame-up in modern history. The victims of Stalin's terror, including Sedov himself as well as his father, the co-leader of the October Revolution and founder of the Red Army, will be avenged when the Soviet workers



LENIN

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Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

Abu Jihad), who had nearly 100 slugs pumped into him by six commandos in front of his horrified wife and daughter in their Tunis home, the Israeli army went on a rampage of terror against angry protesters in the Occupied Territories on April 16. The murder count at the end of that bloody day climbed to at least 16, the number wounded into the hundreds, as Israeli troops fired "horizontally into troops of fleeing protesters," according to a UN observer.

By all accounts, the events leading up to the death of Tirza Porat were aimed at provoking a bloodbath. Sixteen Jewish "settler" youth from the Gush Emunim village of Elon Moreh went on a "Passover hike" through West Bank Arab villages—in the middle of a virtual civil war—escorted by two "guards" (both with records of murderous attacks against Arabs) armed with an M-16 and an Uzi submachine gun. This was one of 48 such "hikes" through the West Bank countryside that day. Asked why they went, one of the young "hikers" later explained, "We have to show them [the Palestinians] that we are the owners of the country."

One of the guards, Romam Aldubi, a crazed supporter of Meir Kahane's fascist Kach party, pulled out his M-16 when they were met by some stone-throwing Arab youths near the village and shot one of them dead. Arab villagers intervened to defuse the situation and led the "hikers" into the village in order to extricate them. But when the body of her son arrived, the distraught mother started throwing rocks at the murderer. At that point, according to a leaked report by Israeli military investigators, Aldubi "had the hikers gather around him during the confrontation and used them as a shield while he fired at stone-throwing Arabs with an M-16 assault rifle" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 9 April). Shooting wildly, this cowardly fascist killed another Palestinian youth and one of his "shields."

Army chief of staff General Dan Shomron admitted that the only reason these would-be Hitler Youth got out of Beita alive was "because some villagers

between "good" and "bad" Arabs.

The initial army report lied that the girl had been killed by Palestinian stone-throwers, fueling the bloodlust of Zionist reaction. When Israeli papers, which were shut down for the two-day Passover holiday, carried the "revised" army account, the story was met with chauvinist hysteria against the army. Now the "settlers" are denouncing the army for being "soft" on the Palestinians, and Knesset (parliament) extremists like Geula Cohen of the HaTeiya Party are calling for Shomron's ouster. The 70,000 "settlers" in the West Bank are the vanguard of Zionist reaction, heavily permeated by the fascist Gush Emunim and the fascist Kach of Brooklyn-born Kahane (a.k.a. Michael King), many of them the scummiest dregs of New York's racist Jewish Defense League.

Among the homegrown American fascists who found their future in Israel are the infamous "Eli the Wolf," an ex-FBI informer who indiscriminately shot down Arabs in Hebron, and Nathan Nathanson, who went to Israel to fulfill his ghoulish personal "dream": catching young Palestinian children at random and breaking their arms with his own hands. To make clear that these psychopaths are part of the Zionist family, the government is planning to "celebrate" Israeli Independence Day by pardoning the last five members of the "Jewish underground" still in jail for carrying out anti-Arab massacres and plotting the bombing of Jerusalem's Muslim holy site in the early 1980s.

The settler movement is the political godchild of the "moderate" Labor Party, which initiated and encouraged it as a way of securing the 1967 conquest of the Occupied Territories. As then Labor prime minister Golda Meir said, "The frontier is where Jews live, not where there is a line on the map." Today the fascist settlers, committed to an apocalyptic "final solution" to the Palestinian question at any price, represent one of the extremes of an increasingly polarized Israeli society. The Palestinian uprising has demonstrated that the status quo is untenable. It has enormously increased the pressures, inherent in the logic of the Zionist state, for the mass expulsion of the Palestinians from the West Bank.

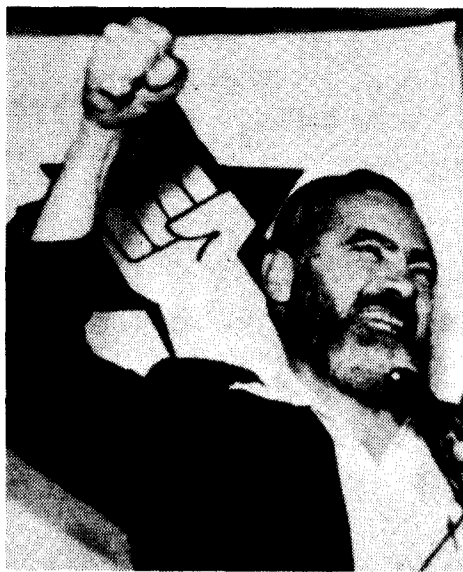


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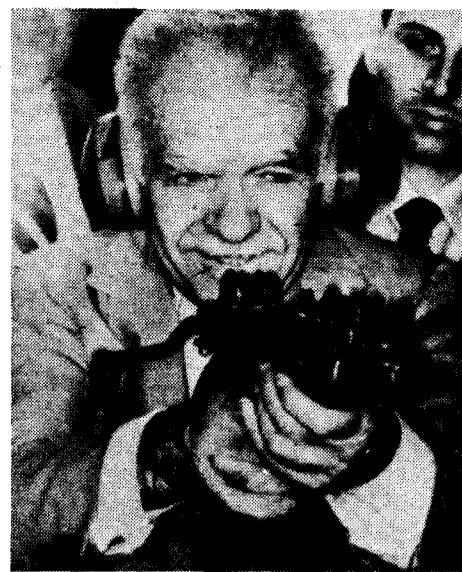
West Bank youth spearhead four-month Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation.

did not allow them to be harmed." In fact, any number of Beita's 4,000 residents could easily have overwhelmed them, but they didn't. This did not stop Shomron from having these same villagers "punished." Likewise the infamous massacre of Deir Yassin in 1947 was perpetrated against a village which had in the past hidden Jews from Arab anti-Semites. In their drive to establish that they are the "owners of the country," the Zionists make no distinction

However, strong elements in the Zionist establishment, including the army officer corps, have in mind a somewhat different solution to the Palestinian question. It is perhaps no accident that eleven former generals and senior intelligence officers are at the forefront of the so-called land-for-peace movement. These Israeli generals have not turned pacifist; they simply want to extricate the army from a no-win situation by creating a neutered Palestinian



Der Spiegel



Jerusalem Post

Zionist fascist Meir Kahane (left) and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir scream for Arab blood as armed settlers turn funeral of Tirza Porat into rally for "final solution" to the Palestinian question.



James Nachtwey

"mini-state," another variant of forcible expulsions.

At the same time, much of the officer corps looks forward to another war with the surrounding Arab states, hopefully ending in cheap victory, to restore Israel's fractured national unity. However, if the tide of battle goes against them, the Zionist madmen are prepared to blow up the entire Arab East—and with it, the world. A chillingly perceptive commentary by two Israeli liberals in the *Boston Globe* (3 April) takes note of Mordechai Vanunu's exposure of Israel's massive nuclear arsenal and warns:

"... Israel may not start a war, but it is hard to see how an Israeli government would not consider using nuclear weapons to try to end one. A longer, more drawn-out or inclusive regional war would mean thousands of Israeli casualties—a price the Israeli military will not want to pay. The Palestinian uprising has made Israeli military difficulties much sharper than ever before.... Many of the IDF's training programs have been disrupted by so much occupation duty. The uprising has undermined the deterrent forces of Israel's conventional forces."

From its very foundations, the Israeli garrison-state has been more like an army with a state than a state with an army. President Chaim Herzog warned the military's rightist critics, "To involve the army in political argument is very dangerous." As Israel's future direction is sharply posed, its economy gone to hell, this is reflected not only in a divided government but also in mounting pressure on the army. The always narrowly defined racialist "democracy" of Zionist Israel is today driven closer and closer to an outright bonapartist solution. And there are a lot of candidates for the role of the man on horseback waiting in the wings.

The U.S., meanwhile, is posing as the apostle of peace, as Secretary of State Shultz undertakes his bouts of "shuttle diplomacy." What hypocrisy! Both Democrats and Republicans denounce the PLO as "terrorists" while they all cheered as U.S. jets bombed a Tripoli

neighborhood, killing over 100 people in a failed attempt to murder Libyan leader Qaddafi. What Washington wants is not peace in this highly unstable region but an anti-Soviet "consensus" ... on the backs of the Palestinian Arab people.

While its troops were slaughtering Arabs, the Israeli state was grotesquely commemorating the Nazi genocide on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the heroic Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Herzog intoned: "Never again will there be another Holocaust, and the state of Israel is the guarantee of that." The state of Israel is preparing another Holocaust, this time directed against the Palestinian Arab people. It could not be clearer that the "promised land" is a blood-drenched charnel house for the Palestinian people and a deathtrap for the Jews. This barbaric Zionist regime must be exploded from within, through revolutionary class struggle linking the Hebrew-speaking workers to the oppressed Palestinian masses, championing the right of self-determination for both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Forge Trotskyist parties fighting for a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

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NYC Meeting on Moscow Trials Victims

Soviet Workers Will Restore Trotsky's Rightful Place in History

On March 19 a meeting was held at the New School for Social Research in New York City calling to "clear the names of all the accused in the Moscow Trials," the monstrous frame-ups in which Stalin had the remaining members of Lenin's Bolshevik Central Committee "liquidated."

The U.S. Moscow Trials Campaign Committee called the meeting, noting that the Soviet government had recently declared that Bukharin, Rykov and Rakovsky were innocent of the charges for which they were convicted and executed. The call added, "It is, however, very far from certain that a complete rehabilitation of all the defendants, including Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Radek, will take place, as the restoration to their rightful place in history as Lenin's lieutenants in the founding of the Soviet Union would raise the question of reprinting their writings, and making them available to all Soviet citizens."

Listed speakers at the meeting included Trotsky's grandson, Esteban Volkov Bronstein; noted civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn; the editor of *Jewish Currents*, Morris Schappes; Professor Paul Siegel; and Juliet Ucelli of the New York Marxist School. A message was read from George Saunders, translator of many of Trotsky's writings. Marilyn Vogt-Downey spoke on behalf of the Moscow Trials Campaign Committee, and the meeting was chaired by Naomi Allen. In the lobby there were literature tables of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, Socialist Action and the Spartacist League.

In response to a request by the international Spartacist tendency for a speaker, Joseph Seymour of the SL Central Committee was called on and offered brief remarks to the meeting. We reprint below the remarks by Joseph Seymour and Esteban Volkov.

Joseph Seymour:

We support the rehabilitation of the Old Bolsheviks killed in Stalin's terror,

and especially their greatest representative, Leon Trotsky. But this question is not primarily a juridical question. It is a political question. The tens of thousands of communist militants will not really be rehabilitated in the Soviet Union until the principles for which they lived, fought and ultimately died triumph in the Soviet Union. For that reason we do not appeal to Gorbachev and

Stalin to discredit Trotsky. He is presented as ambitious, as arrogant. Well, considering that his leading rival Joseph Stalin was a criminal psychopath, these are not such terrible qualities.

Why? Because deep within the Soviet political culture and subculture it is recognized that it is not Bukharin, it is not Zinoviev, it is Trotsky who is the anti-Stalin. It is Trotsky who fought

tion took place on this planet approximately 70 years ago. This triumph, based on the uprising of the Russian workers and peasants, was directed successfully by the Bolshevik Party, which was headed by men of great talent, boldness and indomitable faith in the socialist cause: Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev.

The monopoly and the centralization

Esteban Volkov, Trotsky's grandson, addresses New York meeting.



to Stalin's successors in the Kremlin. We appeal to the Soviet workers, collective farmers and leftist intellectuals as did Trotsky himself.

Now, we find that whenever the Kremlin bureaucracy for its own reasons attacks the crimes of Stalin, as Khrushchev did in 1956—and one should note that Khrushchev here showed rather more political courage than has Gorbachev—whenever the Kremlin bureaucracy tolerates a certain openness, the question of Leon Trotsky becomes a very hot issue. Bukharin, Tukhachevsky, Radek, all of these people may to some degree be rehabilitated, recognized, honored—but not Trotsky.

In fact there is a renewed, albeit more sophisticated, campaign under Gorbachev

to Stalin in the name of authentic Leninism. He lives in the consciousness of the Soviet people.

But the actual program of Trotskyism is unfortunately only vaguely known, and as a result of decades of Stalinist propaganda, in some ways distorted and misknown. Do Soviet workers know and understand Trotsky's call for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Kremlin bureaucrats and restore Soviet democracy? Probably not. Certainly not in its concretes. Therefore the struggle to reprint Trotsky's writings is key. It is key to any socialist renewal in Russia, because in Trotsky's writings the new generation of Soviet workers and intellectuals will find the revolutionary solutions to the very questions to which Gorbachev, for his own reasons, has called attention: the economic stagnation, the political cynicism and indifference, the social pathology of alcoholism.

But they will find more than that. They will find the revolutionary solution to the ultimate cause of these problems, namely the isolation and the encirclement of the Soviet Union by the hostile capitalist powers in the West. That is the program of permanent revolution, of bringing the Russian October to the West, to the United States. And that, comrades, is our task!

Esteban Volkov:

The original idea of socialism in its empirical form and later in its most articulate and scientific form, that is to say, Marxism, arose in response to the social conditions of exploitation, injustice and alienation of the human being. These conditions, which have prevailed in all societies accounted for by history and have taken their most sophisticated and extended forms in capitalist society, still persist unfortunately in post-capitalist and pre-socialist societies with their stultified economies under bureaucratic dominion.

The first triumphant Marxist revolu-

of power in the hands of the Bolshevik leadership, which previously had been a key element in the victory of the revolution, later opened the door for Stalin to establish and consolidate his dictatorship. In addition, there was the isolation of the revolution, the depoliticization and exhaustion of the masses, the weakening of the revolutionary leadership as a result of Lenin's death together with the fact that Trotsky was surrounded by the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy.

Stalin created the most implacable dictatorship and tyranny known in modern history, betraying the foundations and principles of Marxism. Instead of using the truth as a battering ram and revolutionary weapon, he imposed lies and falsification of history as his "modus operandi."

Instead of abolishing the exploitation of man by man, he sent from 10 to 15 million Soviet citizens to work as slaves in Siberian work camps.

Instead of a respectful and comradely treatment of Lenin's Bolshevik companions, he set up a monstrous parody of justice with his Moscow Trials frame-ups, as a result of which most of them were executed in the basement of Lubyanka or exiled to Siberia. Two years later, Leon Trotsky, the organizer of the Red Army and close collaborator of Lenin, was also murdered in Mexico City by a GPU agent. For "the dictatorship of the proletariat" he substituted "the dictatorship over the proletariat," penetrating and invading every area of Soviet life with an absurd and asphyxiating bureaucratic control. So that now, 70 years after the October Revolution, the Soviet Union is still trailing behind the rest of the industrial world in many scientific and technical fields as well as in housing and the general standard of living of its citizens.

And as a grand finale, he committed high treason against his own country, the land of Lenin, when in his paranoia,

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A Reply to CP's Jim West

Workers Revolution— The Only Road to Peace

Last December American Communist Party spokesman Jim West delivered a speech, subsequently turned into an article for the CP's *Political Affairs* (March 1988), at a Moscow symposium on "The Great October Revolution and the Contemporary World." Rehashing the usual Stalinist tripe about chasing "peace-loving" imperialists ("appeal to the common sense of politicians and statesmen..."), West goes out of his way to launch a diatribe against "U.S. Trotskyites":

"The Trotskyites, by nature incapable of any new thinking, still peddle the permanent revolution dogma of a here-and-now military showdown with capitalism. In utter disregard of the over-riding nuclear war danger, the U.S. Trotskyites [sic] blaze in their paper the headline: 'Gorbachev's Pipe Dream: Peace with Imperialism'.... Underlying this thinking is the Trotskyite dictum of 'permanent revolution' which would require that the Soviet Union carry out its revolution around the world."

The American Trotskyists referred to are, of course, the Spartacist League. But "a here-and-now military showdown" with U.S. imperialism? Several months ago West targeted the same *WV* headline by tarring us with the brush of right-wing imperialist warmongers (see "Yes, Gorbachev... Peaceful Coexistence With Imperialism Is a Pipe Dream," *WV* No. 444, 15 January). Now he tries to palm off the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution as, in effect, a call for a Soviet nuclear first strike. Who is West arguing against? Not only don't we have that position, nobody does.

The reformist Jim West obviously cannot conceive of a working-class revolutionary upsurge in West Europe or the United States. In the face of such an *internal* convulsion, hydrogen bombs and MX missiles are not very useful—especially if the military technicians deploying these weapons have become, at least in part, a component of the revolution. What prevented a proletarian revolution in France in May 1968 was not fear that de Gaulle would use the nuclear *force de frappe* against the workers but the sabotage and treachery of West's comrades in the French Communist Party.

Jim West clearly has a bee in his bonnet. And given the Moscow setting, this was hardly a spontaneous outburst. It's no secret that there is a significant current of dissatisfaction within the Soviet hierarchy—and within Soviet society generally—to the pullout of troops from Afghanistan (see "Gorbachev's Afghan Sellout: Some Russians Say *Nyet*," *WV* No. 449, 25 March). Lest those opposed to this cringing attempt at "détente" with U.S. imperialism should look to the path of class struggle instead of class collaboration, West dismisses the Leninist-Trotskyist program of world socialist revolution as tantamount to nuclear Armageddon.

Against the anti-Soviet "pacifists" whom the CP seeks to befriend, we Trotskyists have always defended the Soviet Union's right and responsibility to acquire whatever nuclear weapons it needs to defend itself. Does West object to that? Against the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, we uphold Lenin and Trotsky's perspec-

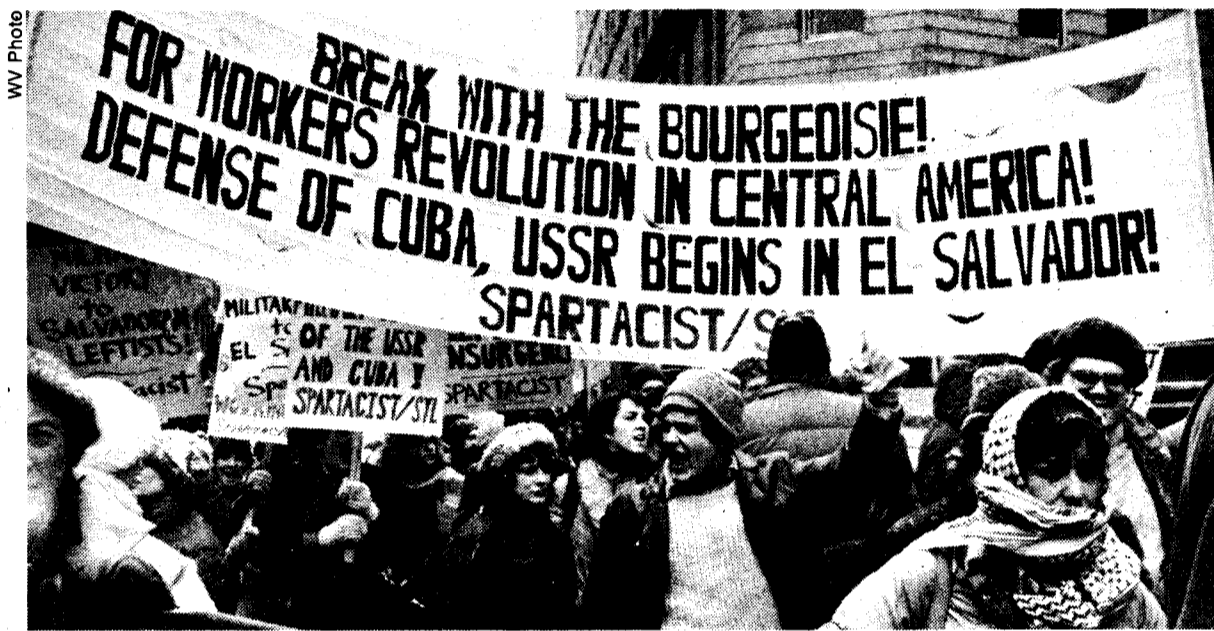
tive of world socialist revolution. As we stated in the very article whose "war-like" headline West vituperates against:

"The Soviet bureaucracy is genuinely frightened of nuclear war, and rightly so. They also reflect the mass sentiment of the people of the Soviet Union in a deep-seated, desperate desire for peace. But there is also a sense among elements in the Soviet officialdom, intelligentsia

school of falsification is alive and well in the CPUSA.

In fact, it is "peaceful coexistence" which is a utopia, and a deadly dangerous one. *It is precisely because a direct military confrontation with U.S. imperialism is so suicidal that "peaceful coexistence" is such a dead-end policy.* For when appeasement fails, the result is

Spartacist contingent in Boston protests Yankee imperialist intervention in Central America, February 1982.



and working people that appeasement, capitulating to the 'Reagan doctrine,' or allowing U.S. imperialism to isolate and starve heroic Vietnam and take over Afghanistan are *not* the road to peace....

"However, the answer to Gorbachev's version of 'peaceful coexistence' is not support to more hardline elements in the Kremlin, who will betray and weaken the defense of the Soviet Union in other ways....

"While Reagan is on the rocks, the thermonuclear-armed ruling class he represents is still in the saddle. The fate of the homeland of the October Revolution, the emancipation of the oppressed and toiling masses, and the very survival of humanity are inseparably bound to working-class revolution in the dominant imperialist countries, above all the United States. World revolution is no utopia but the only reality which can disarm the Pentagon."

—"Gorbachev's Pipe Dream: Peace With Imperialism," *WV* No. 424, 20 March 1987

Glasnost notwithstanding, the Stalin

military confrontation. The Kremlin seeks to placate a hostile imperialist enemy. But the imperialists only grow more emboldened by every sign of Soviet "weakness." They cannot be placated, short of liquidating the social foundations of the October Revolution upon which the bureaucracy itself rests. As Reagan's National Security Council Russia "expert" Richard Pipes threatened in 1981, the Soviets face a choice of "changing their Communist system in the direction of the West or going to war."

"While capitalism and socialism exist side by side, they cannot live in peace: one or the other will ultimately triumph," Lenin told party activists in 1920. Futile illusions of the USSR peacefully coexisting with imperialism are made even more dangerous by the development of nuclear arsenals. For despite all their talk of nuclear war being

"unthinkable," the real policy of the NATO imperialists is not the "deterrence" of MAD (Mutual Assured Destruction) but the mad program of a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. An exhaustive two-part report on "The Button," published in the *New Yorker* (1 and 8 April 1985), spells out Washington's longstanding policy:

"If there is a nuclear war, the United States will be the one to start it," an Air Force strategist who has worked on the United States war plan (known as the Single Integrated Operational Plan, or SIOP) told me.... Thus, contrary to all the statements about responding to a Soviet attack, the actual war plans, including all the versions of the SIOP that have been developed since 1960, give the United States the option of launching a first strike against the Soviet Union if war appears to be unavoidable."

The recent book *To Win a Nuclear War* (1987) by Michio Kaku and Daniel Axelrod documents 25 incidents between 1946 and 1980 in which the American rulers threatened or considered the use of nuclear weapons. More-

over, in 1948, 1954 and 1961 they were on the verge of launching a "pre-emptive" nuclear strike. And the Democrats are no less Cold Warmongers than the Republicans. Indeed, as Kaku and Axelrod observe, it was JFK who first made fighting a nuclear war official policy. It was Carter who issued Presidential Directive 59 calling for "decapitating" the USSR—i.e., killing the Soviet leadership.

On Revolutionary War

The only way to stop imperialist warmongering is to put the warmongers out of business through socialist revolution. It is this perspective which the Stalinists rail against. To do so, from Stalin on they have sought to portray the Leninist-Trotskyist program of international workers revolution as military adventurism. The Great Organizer of Defeats himself "renounced" the "export of revolution" in a famous interview with American journalist Roy Howard in 1936:

"HOWARD: Does this declaration of yours imply that the Soviet Union has in any way renounced its plans and intentions to bring about a world revolution?"

"STALIN: We never had any such plans or intentions.

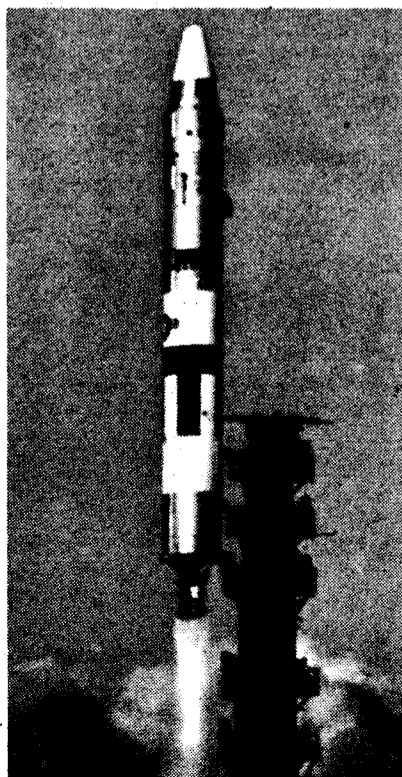
"HOWARD: It would seem to me, Mr. Stalin, that quite a different impression has been current in the world for a long time.

"STALIN: That is the result of a misunderstanding.... It is nonsense to try to make revolution an article of export."

Stalin declared the program of the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky a "tragicomic" mistake. Trotsky replied:

"We more than once proclaimed as the duty of a proletariat of a victorious country to come to the assistance of the rising peoples—with advice, material means, and, if possible, with armed force. All these ideas (incidentally, they bear the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht) are written down in the most important

continued on page 10



Crown Publishers



USSR Ministry of Defense

Pentagon has always planned nuclear first strike against the USSR.

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club Forum on Afghanistan

Anti-Soviet Psychos Foiled at Cornell

ITHACA, New York—In a satisfying victory for democratic rights, members and supporters of the Spartacus Youth Club spiked a bid by right-wing College Republicans to bust up our forum, "Soviets Must Win Afghan War!", at Cornell University on March 12. Our call to "Finish Off the CIA's Afghan Warriors!" enraged the campus contras who mobilized supporters from as far away as Pennsylvania in an attempt to turn our forum into a proxy war, targeting young communist students as "surrogates" for Red Army soldiers in Kabul. Strange, too, that on a Saturday night the Dean of Students was roused and carted along, together with anti-Soviet placards and a few policemen, including the chief of campus security, for this well-orchestrated "counterdemonstration."

The whole chanting cabal was met at the door to our forum by several convincing defenders of democratic rights, including a labor defense squad whose leader told the dean, "either you keep these guys quiet, or we will" (*Cornell Daily Sun*, 14 March). Because the forum's defenders were well-organized and visibly determined, the right-wingers' intended violent intimidation of the participants fizzled. The College Republicans, without their picket signs, were admitted and seated near the door so that the forum by Spartacist spokesman Miriam McDonald would proceed without interruption even if they tried to violate the ground rules. An orderly meeting ensued, concluding with Spartacist supporters with raised-fist salutes singing the *Internationale*. A baffled Dean Kramer conceded to the campus paper, it "was obviously different from the typical classroom participation," [but] the Spartacus Youth



Young Spartacus Spartacus Youth Club members and friends thwart ultrarightists' corridor "counterdemonstration" aimed at breaking up our public communist meeting.

Club has the right to direct its events."

When their counterrevolutionary scheme went bust, one bitter yahoo griped that "the dean is a quisling idiot for letting the forum happen." The College Republicans also lodged formal charges against us for "discriminatory seating"! (Actually, with Cornell's eco-faddists enforcing "no smoking" zones all over the campus, we thoughtfully established a buffer of clean air between our forum participants and the stinking ultrarightists.) The strikebreaking Cornell administration, no friend of left-

ist student organizations, nevertheless threw out this patently ludicrous charge at a meeting where the SYC and sympathetic faculty presented evidence of the Republicans' antics, from threatening and tearing flyers out of the hands of a young woman student to writing letters to the campus paper complaining that the forum went on as scheduled because the ultrarightists were "denied effective protest" (*Cornell Daily Sun*, 15 March). The miserable fake "left" like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which on the Russian

question sleeps in the same sheets as the right wing, refused to take a side in our defense. But a broad spectrum of students were pleased to see a victory over these Reaganite thugs.

Not Just Harmless Nerds

Far from being mere envelope stuffers and doorbell ringers for Republican Party electoral candidates, the College Republicans are a central component of a nationwide network of right-wing shock troops on the campuses. Their bedfellows include groups like Accuracy in Academia, the Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles (Moonies), and a string of slander sheets (including the *Cornell Review*) godfathered and financed by Nixon-era treasury secretary William Simon.

The flagship paper in this chain, the *Dartmouth Review*, is infamous for its attacks on blacks, gays, Jews and Native Americans. And not just in print—most recently the *Review* made headlines when three staff members were suspended for racist harassment of a black music professor, William Cole. Several hundred students protested this new outbreak of disgusting bigotry, and even the Dartmouth president was moved to condemn the *Review* as "irresponsible, mean-spirited, cruel and ugly." That's putting it mildly: ten *Review* staffers led a potentially deadly sledgehammer attack on an anti-apartheid shantytown while it was occupied by student protesters.

The rightists' brethren at Cornell also stand for racist violence. Consider one Robert Palmer, no apple-cheeked youth, who led the attempted disruption of our forum. He also served as bodyguard for Nicaraguan contra jefe Jorge

L.A. Times Retracts Deadly Libel

The Spartacist League has again won the retraction of a deadly libel against us. In a 24 January piece on the joys of student life at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), *Los Angeles Times* reporter Philipp Gollner wrote that "...the Spartacus Youth League and the [Progressive Labor] International Committee Against Racism, have had violent confrontations with campus police trying to monitor political demonstrations." This was a consciously false and deadly dangerous smear—people accused of "violence" against police have a way of being killed by the cops.

Times reporter Gollner should have known better. His accusations stemmed from a protest initiated by the Sparta-

cus Youth League at UCLA in 1984 against the Salvadoran ambassador of death, Rivas-Gallont—which Gollner himself reported on for the *UCLA Bruin*. The SYL led some 150 students who appropriately greeted Rivas-Gallont with chants of "Butcher!" and "50,000 dead!" Four SYLers were dragged from the hall, arrested and handcuffed by the campus cops who tried to force "democracy" Salvador-style down students' throats. No charges of "violence" were ever brought against the SYL.

A demand for retraction by Spartacist League General Counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, who detailed numerous successful battles in defense of our good name against more formidable forces,

For the Record

In a Jan. 24 article about student groups at UCLA, The Times inaccurately stated that the Spartacus Youth League and another campus group "have had violent confrontations with campus police trying to monitor political demonstrations."

The statement was based in part on an incident on March 5, 1984, in which four Spartacus Youth League members were arrested for disrupting a speech at UCLA by Ernesto Rivas Gallont, the Salva-

wrested a full retraction printed by the *Los Angeles Times* (28 February). This violence-baiting "libel that kills" is one that has been pushed against us and others who protest this government's war drive. Over the years, we have won victories in defense of democratic rights for ourselves and on behalf of all of those targeted for victimization by repeatedly fighting instances of slander.

Los Angeles Times —28 February 1988

doran ambassador to the United States.

The individuals were removed by University of California police because the demonstrators' shouting violated UCLA policy forbidding disruptions of speeches held on campus.

There was no evidence that Spartacus Youth League members physically assaulted campus police during the demonstration, and no charges or allegations of violent confrontations between the Spartacus Youth League and campus police were made.

We've fought and won against former California attorney general (now governor) George Deukmejian, the sinister Moonie cult's *Washington Times*, the FBI, and most recently, Reagan's junior McCarthyites in "Accuracy in Academia."

The workers party has a right to organize—and we steadfastly assert and defend that right! ■

UMass Amherst Student Elections

CP Youth Barred from Office

Seat the Elected Reformist!

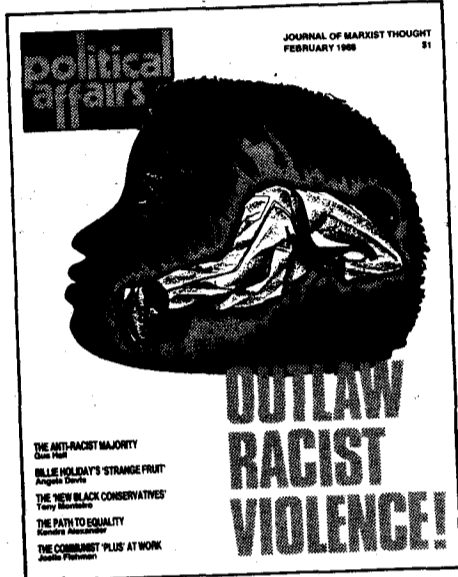
Remember all that crap shoved down your throat in grade school about "freedom, democracy and the American way"? A lot of students at UMass Amherst are learning that they can't even vote for what they want in a small-time student election without the powers that be coming down on them like a ton of bricks. The "supreme court" of the Student Government Association (SGA) ruled that Young Communist League (YCL, youth group of the Communist Party) leader Jason Rabinowitz and his non-Communist running mate Shari Silkoff cannot be elected as SGA co-presidents even though they won the March 15 election by a wide margin.

Nobody's fooled by the SGA's flimsy pretext of a small-print and contradictory clause allegedly prohibiting co-candidacies. The very provocative, crazed ultrarightist and racist junior McCarthyites at UMass are committed to purging the campus of communists, blacks and just about anyone else who is a perceived "home-front enemy" of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

The far right has been riding high in the saddle of the student government at UMass for two years. But students are fed up with the spate of racist attacks on campus. In February, black students held a six-day building occupation which drew substantial support. YCL member Rabinowitz, a prominent figure in the anti-racist protests, forged a reformist electoral coalition appealing

to the administration to respond to student outrage against racist attacks. The right-wing yahoos ran an ugly redbaiting campaign that would make even the slimiest bourgeois politicians blush.

Stickers reading, "Jason Rabinowitz is a Communist. He is President of the Young Communist League. Don't vote Communist, March 15," were posted by incumbent College Republicans associated with the reactionary *Minuteman* crowd (whose hero is the indicted Con-



CP calls on capitalist government which breeds racist terror to "outlaw" racism. Real reds mobilize labor/black power against fascists.

tragate crook, Ollie North). Fraudulent posters, allegedly from the "Third World community," denouncing Rabinowitz, as well as a forged endorsement from the YCL, cropped up. Michael D. Ross, president of the College Republicans, filed absurd charges against Rabinowitz and Silkoff for tearing down these posters, sniveling that "students have a right to read" reactionary forgeries and lies! Last November Ross led a failed attempt to violently break up a forum given by Communist Party leader Gus Hall (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 443, "Campus Contras Assault Gus Hall Meeting").

The campus rightists' accusations aside, YCLer Rabinowitz did not run for office as a revolutionary communist. Just as the CP fosters illusions in the class enemy by appealing to the racist, capitalist ruling class to pass anti-racist laws, Rabinowitz derails militant student and labor struggle by appealing for action from an administration which is committed to maintaining UMass Amherst as a safe haven for racists. Recently, 100 students and campus workers protested the administration's "sentencing" of racist thugs to an alcohol treatment center for attacking an interracial couple in February! As if booze rather than brazen bigotry were the issue here!

While Jason Rabinowitz pushes the CP's line of asking Reagan, Meese & Co. to "outlaw" racism, the junior Reaganites and assorted campus contra twits are busy trying to outlaw him! Part of what the right wing is obsessed with is the \$8,000 student budget at the SGA



Rathe/Boston Globe
YCL member Jason Rabinowitz has the right to take office!

president's disposal. Unlike the YCL, the Spartacus Youth Clubs run openly on a communist program and refuse the budget allocations that the union-busting, pro-capitalist university administrations use to support sandbox socialists on campus. He who pays the piper gets to call the tune.

As communists who fight to mobilize students in alliance with a fighting workers movement, we would not counsel a vote to the star-spangled, pro-Democratic Party Young Communist League. But Rabinowitz and his running mate won that election fair and square and the call for new elections is a blatantly undemocratic and anti-communist maneuver. We say, let the elected reformist take office! ■

Rosales at Cornell, threatening students who showed up to protest the mercenary contra scum. Martin Schmelkin, vice president of the College Republicans and "ad salesman" for the *Cornell Review*, was chief goon for the Zionist fascist Meir Kahane's appearance at Cornell last November. Schmelkin sports a T-shirt of the terrorist Kach Party whose American cohorts in the Jewish Defense League are under investigation "in connection with bombings, homicides, extortion and kidnapping," including the October 1985 pipe-bomb murder of Alex Odeh, an official of the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (*Village Voice*, 24 November 1987). Kahane and Kach spell genocide.

The Russian Question Pointblank

Afghanistan has been a battle cry for Democrats and Republicans alike. Congress has gleefully funded the opium-smuggling feudalist Afghan insurgents to the tune of billions of dollars, because it's the one place in the world where every dime goes toward killing Russians. When the Soviets intervened in Afghanistan in December 1979, we Trotskyists said "Hail Red Army!" because defense of the gains of the Bolshevik October Revolution and the possibility of extending them to this hideously backward country were posed. By contrast, phony "socialists" wailed about "poor little Afghanistan" and leapt to support the CIA-backed "freedom fighters" who insurrected when the Soviet-allied government in Kabul lowered the bride price!

Before the Bolshevik Revolution, the areas now comprising Soviet Central Asia were as wretched as Afghanistan, where women are bought and sold like

chattel slaves, swathed in dozens of yards of black cloth (the stifling *chador*) and kept in a state of enforced illiteracy. Today the border between Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan is not measured in kilometers but centuries. The Bolshevik Revolution broke the power of the reactionary mullah caste, landlords and exploiters, and created a new world for women and all the oppressed national minorities.

Only a victory of the Red Army could have broken the social power of the mullah cutthroats in Afghanistan. However, the Kremlin bureaucracy, still pursuing "détente" with U.S. imperialism, refused to commit the forces or carry out the strategy needed to secure victory in the Afghan war. And now Gorbachev is pulling out of Afghanistan

while the imperialists are crowing that the Soviet Union has suffered a "historic defeat." No matter how much the bureaucrats capitulate and sell out, the imperialists will not be reconciled to the Soviet Union.

To withdraw from Afghanistan now, handing the CIA's fanatics a victory right on the border of the USSR, also means abandoning women, leftists, schoolteachers and workers to a horrible bloodbath by Islamic fundamentalists. As Trotsky pointed out, the defense of the Soviet workers state requires international revolution to defeat the imperialist war makers by ending their exploitative class rule, combined with workers political revolution to oust the conciliatory, parasitic bureaucracy. Return to the road

of Lenin and Trotsky!

We are Marxists, Trotskyists, who stand unconditionally in defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. Here at home the anti-Soviet war drive has meant union-busting, attacks on the democratic rights of blacks, women, homosexuals and others, and the immiseration of millions as society's wealth and productive capacity are poured into instruments of destruction aimed against the USSR. The enmity we have earned from crazed ultrarightists is not surprising. We stand on the opposite side of the barricades from the proponents of capitalist oppression and violence, including their junior buddies fueling racist and anti-communist attacks on the campuses. How sweet it is to make them eat it. ■



Young Spartacus
Bloody mujahedin (right) shoot and skin women schoolteachers. Protected by campus cops, College Republicans (left) boast of support to mujahedin. Kill a "commie" in Kabul, wear a smile in Cornell quad.

Jesse Jackson...

(continued from page 1)

and blacks. The urgent task is to break the chains that bind the black masses and workers to their capitalist masters through the Democratic Party. The only road to black liberation and the emancipation of the working people is the road of socialist revolution, led by a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed.

Racist Democrats' Dilemma

As the primary race comes down the home stretch, it has finally dawned on the Democratic Party tops that they "have a problem." The party which poses as the "people's party" of American capitalism and which in the 1984 elections revealed that its bedrock voting base is majority black, now has a black front-runner. Jesse Jackson is tied for the lead with the technocrat Democrat, Michael Dukakis, a man described by Richard Nixon as having all the pizzazz of a word processor. The pols were even more distressed when a poll for the right-wing *U.S. News & World Report* said a Dukakis-Jackson ticket could beat George Bush, the former head of the CIA and colorless Reagan clone most Americans wouldn't want in their living rooms. The Democrats, wrote the *New York Times* (29 March), "were in a quandary, wondering if there was a way to confront the growing movement toward Mr. Jackson without appearing to be racist" (answer: no).

The "anybody but Jackson" move really got going after the bombshell of the Michigan primary, where Jackson beat the pants off Dukakis by nearly 2 to 1. Jackson not only carried black Detroit by 95 percent, but took cities like Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, and Saginaw—white working-class areas which went for George Wallace against McGovern in 1972. The Democrats' horror over Jackson's Michigan triumph was matched only by their "relief" that Dukakis won Wisconsin, with Jackson "only" pulling a quarter of the white vote. Democratic Party professionals described their situation with words like "crisis, disarray, disaster, consternation, mess, and wacky."

What really upsets the Democrats is not that Jackson has such tremendous black support. He also had a lot in '84. As Jackson's campaign manager, California House Speaker Willie Brown, says, they intend to "market" Jackson as a party builder. "He excites voters. He brings voters back into the fold, and they're all loyal Democrats" (*Washington Post*, 10 April). The consummate broker, Jackson wants to go into the Atlanta convention as kingmaker. He will deliver the delegates to the highest bidder, and a lot of black people will get the shaft. But now Jackson is winning



Higgins/NY Times

Bureaucrats and Democrats: New York labor fakers hold fund-raiser for Jackson, April 11.

white support, and on the basis that he is seen as the voice of a revived Rooseveltian "New Deal."

But the Democrats do not want to run on a program of new New Deal liberalism. Even the cynical election promises of yesteryear are gone—with the economy shaky, "tightening the belt" of the workers and poor has replaced the "war on poverty." And above all the Dems do *not* want to run a black man for president. The whole strategy after '84, when Mondale-Ferraro were routed, was to cease being the party of "special interest," (i.e., labor and blacks). That's what Super Tuesday was supposed to prove—conservatives like Gore and Gephardt would out-Reagan Reagan, pander to the racists and take back the South. Instead, Super Tuesday was won by two liberals, Jackson and Dukakis, not border Bourbon Al Gore and his cultural fascist wife Tipper who wants to take the sex out of popular music (what's left?).

What's Behind the "Stop Jackson" Reaction

So now there's a "stop Jackson" movement in full swing. The stopper was supposed to be Mario Cuomo, but the liberal Democratic governor was unwilling to be used for a baldly racist maneuver, and announced he would not accept a draft. The "stop Jackson" action runs the spectrum of the party. Resident bleeding-heart liberal on the *New York Times*, columnist Anthony Lewis, came out with a sharp warning: "Jesse Jackson is not going to be elected President. The notion that he can be is a romantic delusion—one of exactly the same kind that has repeatedly undermined the Democratic Party in recent years." When Lewis writes that the "Democrats have a genius for self-destruction," he is reflecting the real contradictions of a party so torn between blacks and racists that it can't elect a president. And the American bourgeoisie does not want a government permanently split between a Democratic Congress and Republican presidency.

The anti-Jackson movement is now redbaiting the black candidate, point-

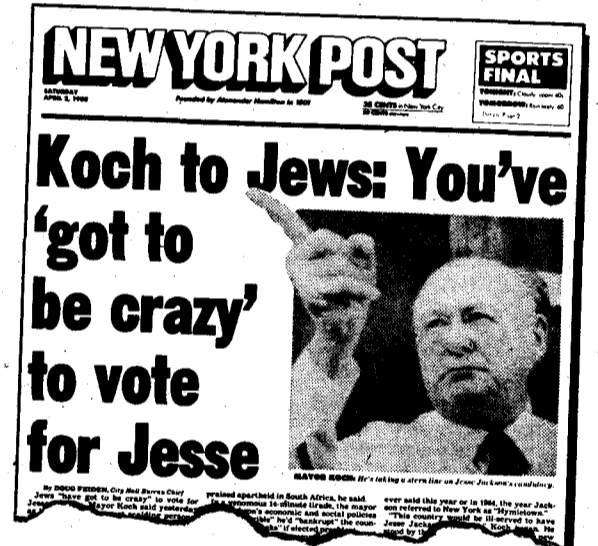
ing to his embracing of Fidel Castro and especially Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat. They're trying to paint Jackson as soft on the "enemies of America." Leading this pack against Jackson is the racist Zionist mayor of New York, Ed Koch. "Koch to Jews: You've 'got to be crazy' to vote for Jesse," was the *New York Post* front page that shook the Big Apple. Koch got down and dirty to open the New York primary wars, waving the checkered kaffiyeh like a red flag, branding as Arab symps and self-haters all Jews who vote for the man who hugged Arafat. It was "East Side, West Bank," wrote *Daily News* columnist Lars-Erik Nelson. Koch endorsed Gore, who was the only Democrat granted a meeting with Yitzhak Shamir on his trip to Washington, and who denounces even Reagan for being soft on the Arabs.

Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel snapped back at Koch, "How dare

didate! So now the Democratic Party professional politicians are opining that caucuses and maybe even primaries are too dangerous. It tells you something about "American democracy"—even when the mood of the masses increasingly matches the politics of Jesse Jackson, no party will run him because he is black.

Jackson and Labor

In the 1972 Democratic Party primary, arch-segregationist George Wallace carried Michigan. Sixteen years later Jackson swept the state, not only with black votes, but with those of white unionists. Even a few AFL-CIO building trades councils endorsed him. But this is no "rust belt" rebellion or labor insurgency. In Michigan Jackson's support came from key figures in the popular front of labor bureaucrats and Democrats who ran labor-black Detroit into the ground. In New York, the same



Koch's open call for bigotry incites racist violence. Jackson told reporter Jimmy Breslin: "We've had to cancel a lot of meetings because of bomb threats. We went all across the South and we never had the threats that we've had here in New York since Koch started."

this man declare himself king of the Jews?" NYC Teamsters leader Barry Feinstein told the press that Koch does not "speak for the Jews": "He does not speak for me and I'm as Jewish as any Jew who ever lived," Feinstein said, accusing Koch of "taking a dagger and sticking it into the heart of the city." Jackson told Koch he wasn't "healing": "Given the tension in New York around matters of race—[Tawana] Brawley case, Howard Beach, subway shootings—it's a tinderbox on the question of race."

Ed Koch is running for re-election as mayor of New York against Jesse Jackson. He baits Jackson with the spectre of the sinister anti-Semite Farrakhan. Koch's hypocrisy is boundless, denouncing Farrakhan's demagoguery while the mayor is whipping up race war and his cops are mowing down blacks. Koch "celebrated" Purim 1984 by parading through Queens with Ariel Sharon, the butcher of Palestinian refugee camps Sabra and Shatila. This year, Koch would have liked to "celebrate" Israeli "40th Independence Day"—two days before the primary—by dancing the horah on Palestinian graves.

But all the redbaiting of Jackson runs up against a shift to the left in the mood of the American populace. Every poll shows it: the population is 3 to 1 against an invasion of Nicaragua; 2 to 1 against contra aid; more than a few say Mikhail Gorbachev would make the best can-

labor bureaucracy which sent city labor down the Big MAC rat hole and bailed out Wall Street and the banks is now pushing Jesse Jackson. It's a cheap way of looking pro-black, pro-union, and keeping their constituencies within the Democratic Party. And it sends a "message" to the Democrats: You can't take us for granted forever.

Jackson took Detroit over the opposition of black mayor Coleman Young, a Dukakis supporter. He piled up worker votes in hard-hit auto company towns like Flint and Saginaw, and won in every city in Michigan. United Auto Workers president Owen Bieber was officially neutral (while giving the nod to rabid Japan-basher Gephardt). But key UAW International and local bureaucrats, like Chrysler Department head Marc Stepp, campaigned for Jackson. Stepp is the traitor who rammed through the massive givebacks at Chrysler, buying top labor cop Doug Fraser his seat on the Chrysler board in exchange for thousands of jobs and billions of dollars in concessions. In Kenosha, Wisconsin, where Chrysler plans to throw 5,000 workers on the scrap heap in September, Jackson flew in to denounce "corporate rape" and receive the UAW endorsement. As Chrysler closes plants, once again the union tops' message is *don't fight, vote Democrat*.

In New York the labor bureaucracy is the backbone of Jackson's campaign. Jackson headquarters is the union hall

SHOW COMMUNITY ACTION
"RALLY FOR AMERICA"
RALLY FOR COMMUNITY JOBS WITH JUSTICE
JOIN WITH JESSE JACKSON
AT LOS MEDANOS COLLEGE
MARCH 19, 1988—10:00 a.m.
(see map on back)

Anti-Japanese chauvinism pushed at Northern California labor rally featuring Jesse Jackson. Recalling World War II battle of Iwo Jima, unionists are shown raising American flag.

of the heavily black and Hispanic hospital workers Local 1199. The unions have been key to drawing Hispanic support for Jackson. As *Time* (18 April) noted, "New York's Puerto Ricans have a greater affinity with blacks than do the Mexicans of Texas or the Cubans of Florida." Today city workers, hospital workers, hotel workers, garment workers and transit workers are all heavily black and Hispanic. Even the white ILA tugboat workers, on strike against a vicious union-busting campaign, came out for Jackson and appealed to him for support in their strike. TWU Local 100 president Sonny Hall hasn't lifted a finger to defend black and Hispanic transit workers against the racist cops. He's running as a Jackson delegate even as he rams binding arbitration down the throat of bus and subway workers.

Jackson shows up at picket lines, from Midwest meatpackers to California cannery workers, to *strengthen* the chains that bind labor and blacks to the capitalist Democratic Party. He carries a slick soft-core protectionist message: "We're caught between cheap labor at home and slave labor abroad, in South Korea, Taiwan or South Africa. The workers of the world must unite [!] because slave labor anywhere is a threat to organized labor everywhere." This fake "solidarity" talk is a cover for protectionism to "save American jobs" and put South African black miners and Mexican auto workers out of work.

Capitalism fosters nationalist divisions just as it gives rise to racist hatred. While many black workers who have lost their jobs at the heart of American industry as American corporations "run away" to the Third World still "buy" protectionism, they are nervous about it being linked to racism. Even Jackson, at a New York labor rally, made reference to the 1982 protectionist murder of Vincent Chin by a racist auto foreman in Detroit.

Nonetheless, the Jackson campaign, especially among labor, is exploiting protectionist poison. Thus he spoke at a "Rally for America" called by the longshore and construction unions in Pittsburg, California on March 19, where anti-Japanese jingoism was the theme (see *WV* No. 449, 25 March). This was made hideously graphic in a flyer showing unionists hoisting the stars and stripes over Iwo Jima, while Jesse Jackson cheers them on! Today, the Democrats push economic nationalism as their answer to labor's woes—like FDR in the 1930s, when beggar-thy-neighbor tariff wars led to imperialist war with Japan.

"Popular Front" of Class Collaboration

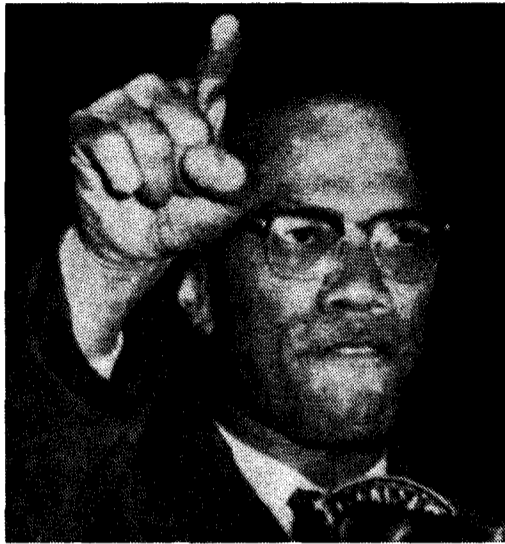
For the left, the Jackson campaign has become *the* issue of the American popular front, the vehicle for class collaboration which ties the working class to the bourgeois parties. A front-page *Village Voice* (19 April) editorial endorsing Jackson captures the mood of the rad-libs who are marching into the arms of the Democrats:

"And for progressives of all stripes, only Jesse Jackson embodies their agenda—our agenda—bringing together in his campaign the disparate strands of a grassroots movement to make democracy more than just a hollow promise,

and to make the Democratic party, once again, the party of hope."

A look at the headlines shows how the bulk of the left has piled on behind: "President Jackson?" (*Guardian*); "Winning Jesse's Way" (*Frontline*); "New Worker Unity Seen in Jesse Jackson Upsurge" (*Workers World*); "Jackson Campaign Inspires Millions Across the Country..." (*Unity*).

The Jackson people said they had no use for the "S-word" (socialism), but the social democrats are pushing Jackson to beat the band. The Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), through its ties to the liberal wing of the labor bureaucracy, has brokered the New York labor bloc for Jackson. (Not without internal wrangling, as the Zionist DSA mouth-



piece *In These Times* opposed endorsing Jackson.) DSA leader Michael Harrington says baldly: "Jackson is not a socialist and his campaign is not a socialist campaign"... so he supports him, just like this "socialist" supported Kennedy. At the very time the U.S. Army was hip-deep in the swamps of Vietnam, Harrington was braintrusting the JFK/LBJ "war on poverty" to defuse black militancy on the home front.

The granddaddy of them all is the Communist Party. The CP wants no "lame ducks" this time around. For the first time in 24 years, the CP is not running presidential candidates, to bring its supporters a clear message: "Vote Democratic." Gus Hall made it explicit in his report to the CP convention in Chicago last August, saying the Democratic Party nominee was the "vehicle through which the all people's front, the forces of political independence in particular, could wage an all-out campaign against the Reaganites." Hall added:

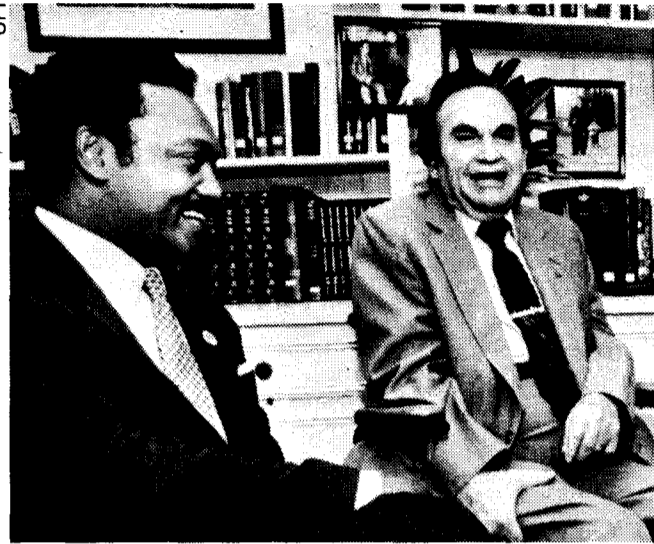
"It is obvious to all realistically minded people that, in practical terms, defeating the Republican presidential candidate in 1988 means electing a Democrat."
—*People's Daily World*,
20 August 1987

Angela Davis, in an interview in the *Canadian Tribune*, specifically acknowledged that the reason the CPUSA is not running is to boost the Jackson campaign: "As a Communist, I cannot endorse a Democrat. But I would certainly encourage people to get involved in Jesse Jackson's candidacy." The CP is going all out to reconstruct the old FDR coalition, whose historic role was to chain the rising CIO unions to the Democrats in the 1930s, and head off a developing insurgent workers movement.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) are the soft-core popular-frontists. The SWP is running a presidential slate whose propaganda does not even call for a labor party nor contain a single word of criticism of the Jackson campaign. In '84, the SWP tried to feed off Jackson's popularity without specifically endorsing him, by calling on Jackson to "break" from the Democrats. Today the Morenoites of the Internationalist Workers Party play this role. The IWP's *Working Class Opposition* (July 1987) issued "An Appeal to the Rainbow Coalition" to "break from the Democratic Party and run Jackson as an independent," as if there was any way this could possibly happen when Jackson's whole purpose in running is

is the "war on drugs" and it is evidence of the desperate conditions of blacks that this old sawhorse has widespread black support. The drug trade has always flourished in the ghetto, and, like "crime in the streets," it cannot be wiped out until the pounding oppression which spawns the whole social pathology of ghetto misery is smashed. Whether it's Nancy Reagan or Jesse Jackson, capitalism's "drug crusade" means bringing the black community tighter under police control.

Today, 20 years after the ghetto explosions in which black people tore this country apart in their anger against the lies of the preachers and Democratic pols, a proliferation of studies show the widening social gap within the



Malcolm X said:
A vote for the Democrats is a vote for the Dixiecrats.
Jackson courts George "Segregation Forever" Wallace.

exactly the opposite. As for the "Rainbow Coalition," it never was anything but Jackson's Democratic Party machine—and it has disappeared in '88, the Jackson campaign having long since transcended the need for a radical sandbox to scoop up leftists.

Blacks in America

As the Democrats gear up for the convention in Atlanta this July, black mayor Andrew Young is straining to keep the lid on this 70 percent black city. Angry residents in the projects "ambush" the mayor and pelt police squad cars with bottles, in outrage over the wave of wanton police killings of black people. Black city workers, grossly underpaid by the mainly black city council, are threatening a job slowdown during the convention. The full weight of the state's repressive apparatus will be brought out to safeguard the convention. This means that the "at least 1,000 Klansmen" who have threatened to show up will be protected while blacks are fair game.

Cop terror in the black community, homeless in the streets: that's the black condition in capitalist America. This giant capitalist country was built on the bedrock of slavery and racist oppression—it will take a monumental social upheaval, a socialist revolution, to root it out. Yet Jackson hustles black people with the cynical lie, "stay in the system and you can win." School integration, self-defense against racist attack, opposition to the racist death penalty—Jackson has buried or opposed every effort at *black struggle* during the Reagan years.

His single "program" for black youth

black population. "Black Middle Class Has Grown But Poor Multiply," headlined the *Los Angeles Times* (2 April), reporting that since 1969, the year after M.L. King was shot, the proportion of black men earning less than \$5,000 a year soared from 8 percent to 20 percent, although the number of black men earning more than \$30,000 a year jumped from 8 to 14 percent. Almost half of all black children are now living in poverty.

Class divisions are sharpening within the black population, marked by the gulf between a thin layer of black professionals, who poured through the gates forced open by the civil rights movement, and the massive "black underclass" of the permanently unemployed, swollen through the devastation of American industry in the '70s and '80s. As Spartacist League spokesman Don Alexander pointed out in a Black History Month speech at the University of California at Berkeley February 26:

"You've got these reformists running around beating the drums for Jesse Jackson, pushing illusions in his Rainbow Coalition, a rainbow which has Tom Metzger at the other end! So Jackson says that racist violence in this country has come to an end—he opposed blacks fighting for integration to defend busing in Norfolk, Virginia in 1983 and has embraced Southern racist demagogues like George Wallace.

"What we Trotskyists say is that we need a class-struggle revolutionary workers party in order to lead the blacks, Hispanics and working class in this country in a struggle for power.

"It's not in the interest of working people and the oppressed to support and put their energies into putting a few more black faces in high places while the masses rot below. There might be a few people that say, 'Why can't we have black leaders who are making it because if they succeed, then we succeed?' There's three things to say to that: bunk, baloney and bullshit. It's a question of an integrated working-class struggle for power, a question of fighting for a class-struggle program, not in furthering illusions that a few more black slave drivers will remove the whips from our backs and the chains from our legs.

"For the black people in this country—hemmed in by prejudice daily, pounded and executed—there is no other road forward except through the struggle for black liberation through proletarian revolution. Anyone that wants to change this system has got to be a communist. You have to be part of a multi-racial Trotskyist vanguard party fighting for a socialist future. We don't have to live this way. We must not live this way. We must try to gather those forces that are going to change this world." ■

<p>A Spartacist Pamphlet 25c</p> <p>Black History and the Class Struggle</p> <p>25c (16 pages)</p>	<p>A Spartacist Pamphlet 75c</p> <p>Black History and the Class Struggle No. 2</p> <p>On the Civil Rights Movement</p> <p>75c (32 pages)</p>	<p>A Spartacist Pamphlet 75c</p> <p>Black History and the Class Struggle No. 3</p> <p>Massacre of Philly MOVE</p> <p>75c (32 pages)</p>	<p>A Spartacist Pamphlet 75c</p> <p>Black History and the Class Struggle No. 4</p> <p>Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military</p> <p>75c (32 pages)</p>	<p>A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1.00</p> <p>Black History and the Class Struggle No. 5</p> <p>Finish the Civil War!</p> <p>\$1.00 (32 pages)</p>
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Reply to Jim West...

(continued from page 5)

programmatic documents of the Bolshevik Party and of the Comintern. Stalin has proclaimed that all this is a misunderstanding!"

—"The Stalin-Howard Interview" (March 1936)

Stalin and his epigones to the contrary, permanent revolution is not a program of "exporting" socialism on the bayonets of the Red Army, but of *international workers revolution*—including with the military aid of existing workers states. In the preamble to the military section of the 1919 program of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Lenin emphatically rejected the "philistine illusion of petty-bourgeois democrats" in "disarmament under capitalism" and called instead for "fighting until victory over the bourgeoisie of the whole world is achieved both in civil wars at home and in international revolutionary wars."

The most famous example of an attempt to spread the revolution by the action of the Red Army was the Polish campaign of 1920. After Pilsudski's forces attacking the Ukraine were beaten back, Lenin was in favor of pursuing a revolutionary offensive onto Polish territory, while Trotsky was opposed. Both agreed on the urgent need to link up with the German workers: the only issue in dispute was whether a revolutionary war against Poland at this juncture was likely to succeed. In the event, the Red Army's Polish offensive failed, in part due to Stalin's treachery on the Southwestern Front, as well as French military aid to Pilsudski, and in part because the Pilsudskites were able to rally much of the population around Polish nationalism, especially given the recent memory of oppression at the hands of tsarist Russia.

Following the defeat of the Soviet forces on the banks of the Vistula, there arose a current within the Red Army general staff, centered on M. Tukhachevsky, which argued for a constant policy of bringing "revolution from without." Trotsky was the principal Bolshevik spokesman *against* Tukhachevsky's doctrine of offensive revolutionary war in all circumstances. He insisted that "military intervention from without must have only an attendant, assisting, auxiliary function" and that the primary agencies for extending the Bolshevik Revolution to the rest of Europe were the Communist parties based on their *own* working classes. (For a discussion of the 1920 Russo-Polish war and the ensuing Tukhachevsky debate, see "The Bolsheviks and the 'Export of Revolution,'" *Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1980.)

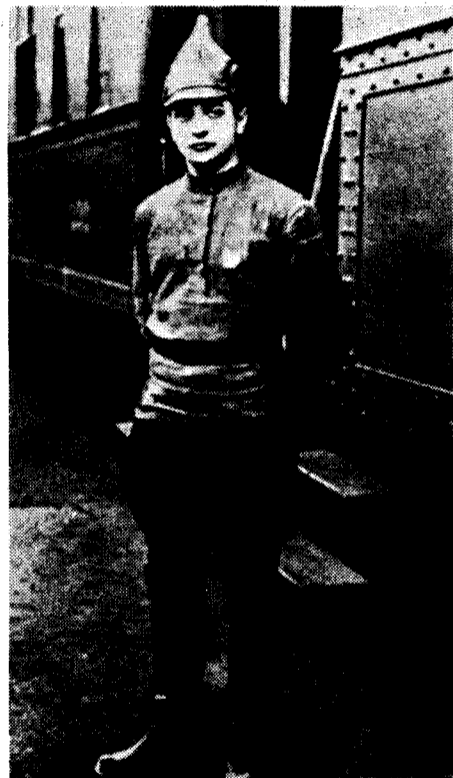


Heikes/U.S. News & World Report

Gorbachev, pursuing "détente" with warmonger Reagan, is abandoning Afghanistan to CIA-armed Islamic fanatics.

While Tukhachevsky was wrong and his position was repudiated by the Bolshevik leadership, he remained a valiant and dedicated Communist committed to the defense of the Soviet state until he finally fell victim to Stalin's blood purge (see "In Defense of Marshal Tukhachevsky," *Spartacist* No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88).

The initial Bolshevik debate over revolutionary war was focused on Poland, a relatively advanced bourgeois nation-state. Indeed, this was a fundamental reason why the Red Army offensive failed. On the other hand, in the feudal backwaters of Central Asia with its mosaic of pre-national peoples in the grip of medieval mullah reaction, revolution



Ullstein

Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Red Army general in 1920 Polish campaign.

lutionary war proved to be the only means to extend the Bolshevik power.

A recent article in the Soviet women's journal *Rabotnitsa* (November 1987) describes a courageous mass action by 10,000 women in the region who tore off their veils on International Women's Day, 1927. What the article neglects to mention is that the following day hundreds of these women, including Communist militants, were massacred by their reactionary kinsmen for their "crime" (see "Early Bolshevik Work Among Women of the Soviet East," *Women and Revolution* No. 12, Summer 1976). It was only the armed might of the Red Army which was able to crush the Islamic terror and bring social progress to this region. And that is precisely what is at stake in Afghanistan today.

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Jim West begins his speech by saying, "Seventy years have passed since the party of Lenin said 'Yes!' to the questions which involved the very existence of the beleaguered, young, first socialist republic: can socialism be built in one country? can capitalism and socialism peacefully coexist?" But Lenin and the Bolsheviks resoundingly answered "No!" to those questions—otherwise they would have been incapable of leading the workers to power in backward Russia! For the CPUSA Stalinists today the October Revolution is a dead historical question; for the Trotskyists it is our lifeblood. And those incapable of even *conceiving* of socialist revolution in the imperialist heartland are equally incapable of defending the homeland of the first workers revolution in history.

These "reformists of the second mobilization" of the Stalinized CPs were the product of the increasing

degeneration of the USSR. For the conservative bureaucracy with Stalin at its helm which consolidated power through political counterrevolution in 1924, imperialist encirclement became a given. The Stalinist dogma of building socialism in the Soviet Union alone meant writing off the European revolution. The Comintern had become a vestigial organ long before Stalin finally gave it the coup de grâce in 1943. Instead of seeking the overthrow of the bourgeoisie through proletarian revolution, he sought to ally with and prop up the "peace-loving" imperialists.

As we wrote in an article on the recent fusion of the Tribune Communist group, coming out of the "anti-opportunist" milieu around the French Communist Party, with the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the international Spartacist tendency:

"The catastrophe of 1933, when Hitler's fascists came to power unopposed by the powerful German workers movement, was not just an 'error' or a defeat, even a defeat of enormous proportions which paved the way directly for world war; it was a crime, generalized and underscored by the Stalin-Laval pact [with French imperialism] and the adoption at the Comintern's Seventh World Congress of the 'People's Front' line which sanctified consistent class collaboration in the name of an 'alliance' with the 'progressive' imperialist bourgeoisies."

—WV No. 450, 8 April

"Socialism in one country" means the popular front everywhere else.

Ultimately, Stalin's nationalist program led to the strangulation of social revolution in the West as a means of winning "friends" among the imperialists. When Spain was rocked by civil war in the late 1930s, the Stalinists sought to behead it. Stalin wrote to Largo Caballero to warn against any talk of socialist revolution, which would only frighten the bourgeoisie. And while the bloody purge trials were killing off Lenin's former comrades-in-arms in Moscow, in Spain GPU killers were slaughtering anyone who even made a pretense of fighting for socialism. The end result was the defeat of the Spanish Revolution, directly paving the way to Operation Barbarossa—Hitler's invasion of Russia.

In the Soviet Union, meanwhile, Stalin liquidated the entire general staff of the Red Army who wanted to prepare for war with Germany. Stalin even swallowed Nazi forgeries implicating Tukhachevsky—all in the name of the "fight against Trotskyism." The General Secretary instead placed his trust in securing the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact with Nazi Germany. Recognizing how Stalin's policies were endangering the USSR, veteran Soviet military intelligence agent Ignace Reiss broke with the "Father of the People" and declared for Trotsky's Fourth International. Reiss was repaid by the Stalinists for his

Moscow Trials...

(continued from page 4)

he decapitated the Red Army by executing its most experienced and brilliant generals and officers only a short time before the Nazi invasion, putting the survival of the Soviet Union in peril. The list of Stalin's crimes is too long and varied to waste more time on.

It is shameful for humankind, that in our time, we have had to witness political regimes such as Stalin's. They have to be openly denounced and wiped out of any future page of history.

If Gorbachev and his leadership really want to succeed in achieving *perestroika* and *glasnost* and return to the road of authentic socialism, it is a *sine qua non* that light should be cast on all of the crimes of the Stalinist era. All the names of the innocent victims have to be made known and must be cleared. The historical truth must be re-established. Among this long list of victims, we have

to emphasize once more the indomitable Russian revolutionary and Marxist theorist Leon Trotsky. He was a key protagonist in the triumph of the Russian Revolution and afterwards he became its fiercest defender in a deadly fight against the Stalinist counterrevolution. Leon Trotsky became the most calumniated and persecuted revolutionary of the planet. Until now, *glasnost* has not succeeded to free him from all these calumnies and neither has it allowed the publication of his writings and free discussion of them inside the Soviet Union.

Leon Trotsky will show us how far *glasnost* will advance. The avalanche of lies, falsifications and calumnies that have covered the Soviet Union and the other Communist countries for more than half a century have to be exposed and eliminated forever! Free and open discussion has to be re-established as it was at the beginning of the Bolshevik Party.

In history there is little place for experimentation. Most of the events

have to be solved as they occur. That's when one understands the extraordinary force and richness of the open, direct and violent polemics that took place within the ranks of the Bolsheviks during Lenin's time, when ideas emerged as incandescent iron ingots which were impetuously hammered out by the blacksmiths of the revolution, forging the tools for its victory. This was the great secret of the Bolsheviks' strength and success. The mediocrity of Stalin's court of adulation came later.

The last pages of history have shown us that the abolishment of private property over the means of production is not a magic formula that will automatically take humanity into an earthly paradise. A second element of great importance to reach socialism is the solution of the equation of power. The same as property, it has to be shared by all the working sector of society. If the power is only in the hands of one social group, chances are that this group will sooner or later keep the best and the most of what society offers and will not have

very much concern about what is left over for the remaining groups. The third important factor is to establish an adequate level of abundance, which will permit the fulfillment of all human needs. Scarcity will always generate stratification of society with inequalities on a national and international scale. The fourth factor will be the prevailing of internationalism. Socialism behind national borders will always be a potential source of conflicts and wars.

Man came out of the cave semi-naked. He has reached the moon, has freed the energy of the atom, developed the supercomputer and has created the new science of genetic engineering. Is he then unable to create a more just and harmonic social organization on this earth? Or has human history reached its last page?

Until the present, the train of history has not reached its final destination: authentic socialism. It has to make a previous stop in an inhospitable desert. Fortunately, little by little, the train is resuming its forward motion. ■



Roger Viollet

Workers' barricades in Barcelona, 1936. Stalinist-engineered Popular Front suppressed the Spanish Revolution, paving way for Franco's victory.

loyalty to the world revolution with a bullet to the head, as were tens of thousands within the USSR.

While Stalin's terror is no more, the policy of the popular front remains. And the American Communist Party is a prime practitioner of this program of defeat. To the extent that the CPUSA has any existence today, it is as a carbuncle on the ass of the Democratic Party. This year they are not even running their usual fig-leaf presidential campaign as a cover for backhandedly supporting the Democrats. Pushing the "all people's front" against Reagan at last August's CP convention, Gus Hall admitted that, "in practical terms, defeating the Republican presidential candidate in 1988 means electing a Democrat" (*People's Daily World*, 20 August 1987).

Seeking to put a "left" face on this class collaboration, Jim West intones against "the idea that the class interests of the working class have to be subordinated to the demand to end the nuclear war danger." Who do you suppose might hold such "wrong concepts"? Could West be polemicizing against CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev, the author of *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World*, who says of Lenin that "More than once he spoke about the priority of interests common to all humanity over class interests"? According to Gorbachev's "new thinking," the development of nuclear weapons has effectively ruled out the class struggle; he even removed the point in the CPSU program referring to "peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems as a 'specific form of class struggle'."

In his speech, West lauds the "peace-loving" credentials of the American labor fakers, whom "the pseudo-Left sectarians dismiss as fully beholden to U.S. imperialism's goal of world domination." He notes that at last year's AFL-CIO convention, "delegates defeated the attempt of the CIA-controlled International Department of the AFL-CIO to place the trade unions in support of aid to the Contra terror-

ists against the Nicaraguan government." Well, the CIA didn't shed many tears: the same resolution also demanded an end to Cuban and Soviet aid to the Sandinistas, reaffirmed the AFL-CIO's boycott of the "communist-controlled" World Federation of Trade Unions, supported Polish Solidarność and "sharply condemned Soviet expansionism and genocide in Afghanistan."

This is the Democratic Party's foreign policy, and the pro-Democratic Party AFL-CIO tops—dominated by right-social-democratic ideology—are in some cases more virulent Cold Warriors than your average Republican. Yet this is what passes for the CP's "road to peace." Whether coming from the pen of Gorbachev or from the mouth of an unreconstructed Brezhnevite hack like West (who praises the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia as a "peacekeeping measure"), Stalinist politics amount to the subordination of the working-class struggle to the bourgeoisie. Yet as the American Empire declines, its rulers only grow more dangerous, underscoring the need for international workers revolution.

Putting Afghanistan on the chopping block today will no more ensure peace than did strangling the Spanish Revolution in the '30s. As Lenin explained more than 70 years ago, imperialist capitalism is a system driven to war. In repudiating and suppressing revolutionary struggle, the Stalinist bureaucracy not only signs its own death warrant, but undermines the survival of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Fortunately, they do not have the last say in the matter. The world party of October will be reforged, under the banner of the Fourth International, in the struggle to restore Lenin and Trotsky's revolutionary internationalism to the Kremlin through political revolution, and through socialist revolution to implant it wherever capitalism remains.

Ultimately either the organized proletariat led by its authentically communist vanguard will destroy capitalism, or capitalism will destroy the world. ■



Foreign Languages Publishing

1920 poster looks to Communist International to combat imperialist attacks on Russia: "Workers stand firm! The proletariat of the West is coming to your aid!"

Victory to the Writers Guild Strike!

For six weeks, the 9,000-member Writers Guild of America (WGA) has been on strike against movie and television producers in New York and Los Angeles. Unlike the 1985 strike, when TV writers crossed the motion picture writers' picket lines, this time WGA members are united in opposing the rollbacks in residuals (payments for rebroadcasts) demanded by the movie and TV moguls.

But 110,000 actors and announcers for television and radio commercials who walked out two weeks into the WGA strike went back as the SAG signed a separate pact. Actors scabbed to pick up their Oscars at the Academy Awards, delivering their own lousy lines. Too often, the individual unions in the entertainment industry—actors, writers, technicians and stagehands—have been left to go it alone, with disastrous results.

The technical unions, who are next on the studios' hit list this summer, must stand with the writers strike. Picket lines mean don't cross! Victory to the Writers Guild!



WV Photo

Geronimo Pratt...

(continued from page 12)

the entire seventeen years I have spent in prison I have never escaped, nor have I ever been charged with escapes."

It is no accident that this latest vicious assault on Pratt comes as he faces yet another major turning point in his years-long battle for freedom in California. He was again denied parole in May 1987, and is now appealing his conviction before the federal Ninth Circuit Court in California. A new parole hearing is scheduled for next month. Overwhelming evidence that Pratt was framed up, including a former FBI special agent's revelation that FBI wiretaps showed Pratt was 500 miles away at the time of the killing for which he was framed, came to light almost four years ago. FBI special agent Swearingen said specifically that "Pratt was set up." Last November millions saw evidence of Pratt's obvious innocence on the CBS-TV documentary "60 Minutes."

So they're trying everything in their power to silence this courageous man. The three-judge panel of Nixon and Reagan appointees on the Court of Appeals has announced its plan to keep Pratt locked up for the rest of his life, using the legal technicality that his notice of appeal was filed a few days too late—it came up with this excuse more than 15 months after a district court

judge had already waived the late filing! On February 19, the Court of Appeals ordered Pratt's lawyers to "show cause why this court should not dismiss this appeal for lack of jurisdiction."

The sinister and sleazy Ed Meese and his boss Reagan may be reluctantly preparing to leave Washington with their spoils, but they are determined to keep their victims rotting in prison hell-holes. Meese oversaw the state of California's campaign to wipe out the Black Panthers when Reagan was governor. Pratt narrowly escaped being murdered in a massive 1969 LAPD assault on Panther headquarters in Los Angeles, though his bed was riddled with bullets. So they jailed him on charges of "conspiring to assault police." He was acquitted but they kept him behind bars on a weapons rap. Then in 1971 came the FBI's frame-up murder charges. Seventeen years of Geronimo Pratt's life—including eight years in solitary confinement—have been stolen. And COINTELPRO continues today, as groups including Maryknoll nuns, peace activists and trade unions have been subjected to FBI investigations and disruption for opposing the U.S. dirty war in Central America.

Geronimo Pratt today is America's foremost class-war prisoner. He is still in prison *only* because he continues to stand up to racist capitalist oppression. His freedom is vital to all who fight that oppression, not only for the justice of his case, but for the memory of his fallen comrades. Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Geronimo Pratt Put in Chains

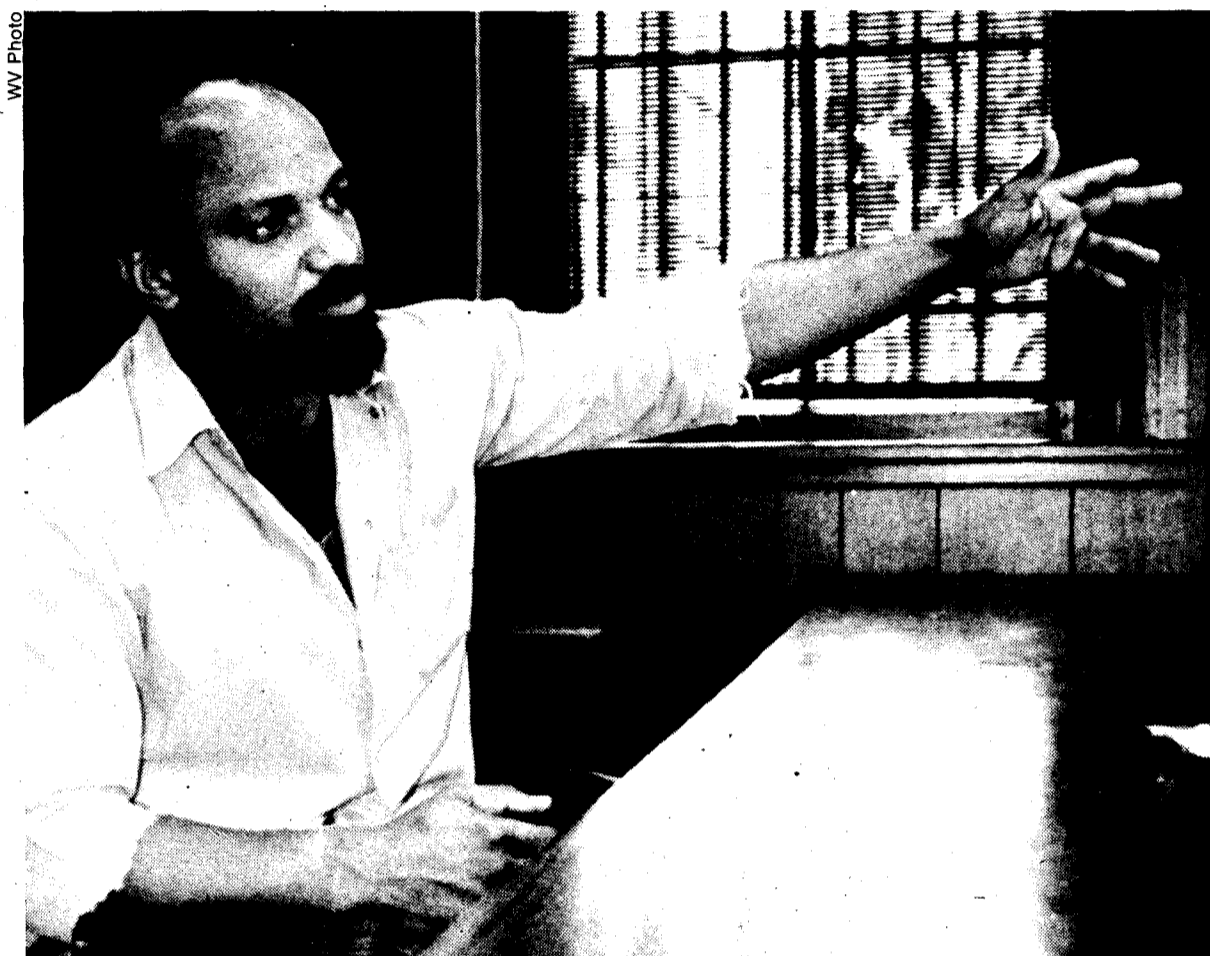
In a harrowing five-day ordeal, Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, the former Black Panther Party leader and victim of a COINTELPRO frame-up, was dragged across the country in shackles last month. Transported in prison planes through a string of Southern prisons, Pratt was chained hand and foot and forced to carry a 20-pound weight, denied access to showers or a change of clothes or even the opportunity to brush his teeth. His legal documents were seized, and he was thrown into solitary confinement at every stop. Most dangerously, throughout the agonizing journey, including hours of driving along Southern roads, the federal government had him tagged with the deadly and baseless label of being a "prison escapee"—a charge designed to set him up for official murder!

This vindictive treatment, all too familiar to many American prisoners, was inflicted by U.S. Marshals in the course of "transporting" Pratt, currently serving a life sentence in California's San Quentin prison, to testify as a defense witness in the government's ongoing dragnet RICO trial of Mutulu Shakur and Marilyn Buck in New York City. Pratt came to testify about the government's COINTELPRO campaign of disruption and murder directed against the Black Panther Party and other political opponents of the government's policies.

Upon hearing of this brutal and life-threatening "transfer" from Pratt and at his request, the Partisan Defense Committee's staff counsel moved quickly to file a lawsuit on his behalf against U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese, FBI director William Sessions and the warden of the Metropolitan Correctional Center (MCC) in New York. The suit demanded that the false and deadly charge of being an "escapee" be deleted from his file, that this brutal mistreatment be stopped, and his papers returned.

On April 6 a federal district judge, acknowledging this dangerous situa-

Former Black Panther Hounded by Meese Police



AP Photo
America's foremost class-war prisoner, Geronimo Pratt, speaks from San Quentin, 1985.

tion, restrained the warden of MCC from moving him. In court the government was forced to admit there are no escape charges on Pratt's record, yet they had labeled him "violence prone" and an "escape risk" on his transport record. Pratt's attorney in the lawsuit, Rachel Wolkenstein of the Partisan Defense Committee, announced on April 12 that Pratt settled the suit. The settlement was sealed by the court, at the government's insistence. Wolkenstein stated that "on the basis of the settle-

ment, we believe that Geronimo will return to San Quentin with some modicum of safety and protection." The PDC is continuing to fight for the return of Pratt's legal papers.

Pratt's affidavit described the degrading treatment he suffered at the hands of U.S. Marshals:

"I left San Quentin on March 3, 1988 and it took five days to travel here. The entire time I was kept in both leg-chains and wrist-waist chains that contained an oppressive 'black box' which weighed about twenty pounds. While traveling I was chained to my seat, and the slightest movement gave me excruciating pain, particularly given my wounds from service as a U.S. Army paratrooper in Vietnam. The chains were not removed, even when I went to the bathroom, or during hours stop-overs. Thus I was forced to sit upright for lengthy periods of time. Nor was I able to wash, shower or even brush my teeth during this five day period. I was not allowed any phone calls, to my attorneys or to my family.

"From San Francisco I was first held over in Denver, Colorado. Then I was taken to the F.C.I. [federal correctional institution] at El Reno, Oklahoma where I was placed in the 'hole' [solitary confinement] and kept there for three days. After that I was taken to El Paso, Texas, and from there to Houston, Texas, then on to Miami, Florida, and from Miami on to F.C.I. at Talledega, Alabama where I was taken by bus back and forth to the airport in Birmingham which consisted of a ride of about two and a half hours each way. From Birmingham/Talledega, I was flown to an airport in upstate N.Y. and then finally transported by van here to M.C.C. At each detention center I was placed in 'the hole'."

The government treated Geronimo Pratt as though he were an escaped slave on an antebellum plantation, loaded down with ball and chain and carted on a sadistic journey through the South. This racist state and its cops viciously groove on the slavocracy image of

blacks in chains—remember Bobby Seale, Angela Davis, the Los Angeles Black Panthers and so many others chained up by this barbaric state. In Atlanta recently, prominent black lawyer Chevene B. King Jr. was seized, paraded through the streets in handcuffs and chains and then hauled before a judge by federal marshals simply because he couldn't reschedule a court appearance! When Reagan smashed the PATCO air controllers union as one of his first acts, they made sure that white PATCO leaders too were put in chains and shown to photographers.

Because Geronimo Pratt continues to fight steadfastly against the government's bloodsoaked COINTELPRO vendetta that took the lives of so many black militants and consigned him to life imprisonment, the government is determined to try to break him by any means. Or worse—remember black militant George Jackson, framed on charges of killing a prison guard at Soledad, paraded through the courts in chains, then set up in a phony "escape attempt" and shot down by guards. (The Soledad Brothers were later acquitted of the frame-up, after Jackson's murder.) Thirty-eight members of the Black Panther Party were slaughtered in the government's war against militant black radicals.

As Pratt pointed out in his affidavit, "The source of any allegations concerning escape attempts must be the FBI, a continuation of government persecution of me." Accusations of being an "escapee" couldn't have come from his current records in California, where he's been allowed to work outside the prison walls and to have family visits. He's been married for the past 12 years and now has two children. Pratt stated, "During

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Capitalism chains blacks and labor: Black Panther George Jackson, murdered by the state in 1971; leaders of PATCO air controllers strike, 1981.