

Bankrupt Stalinism Opens Floodgates to Capitalist Restoration

Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!

AUGUST 27—The working people of the Soviet Union, and indeed the workers of the world, have suffered an unparalleled disaster whose devastating consequences are now being played out. The ascendancy of Boris Yeltsin, who offers himself as Bush's man, coming off a botched coup by Mikhail Gorbachev's former aides, has unleashed a counter-revolutionary tide across the land of the October Revolution. The first workers state in history, sapped and undermined by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, lies in tatters. The state power has been fractured, the Communist Party—its bureaucratic core—shattered and banned from the KGB and armed forces, the multinational union is ripping apart as one republic after another proclaims secession.

But while Yeltsin & Co. now see a clear field to push through a forced-draft reintroduction of capitalism, *the outcome is not yet definitively decided.* As the imperialists rejoice and the pro-capitalist petty bourgeoisie exult, Soviet workers are facing a disaster of catastrophic proportions: every gain for which they, their parents and grandparents sacrificed is on the chopping block. An explosion of even greater nationalist strife is looming. The lash of capitalist exploitation being introduced amid universal economic dislocation threatens widespread hunger and mass unemployment in the coming winter. The Soviet proletariat, whose capacity for militant action was dramatically shown in the miners strike of the summer of 1989, has not been heard from. Opposition from the factories against the ravages of capitalist assault could

August 21—Pro-Yeltsin crowd in front of Russian "White House" (below). Bush and Yeltsin congratulate themselves earlier this year.

Spartacist



Laski/Sipa

throw a giant wrench in the works and prevent the rapid consolidation of counterrevolution.

Soviet Stalinism has breathed its pathetic last gasp. Even up to the coup, many of the most advanced workers,

who opposed Yeltsin's plans for wholesale privatization and Gorbachev's market reforms, looked to the so-called hardline "patriotic" wing of the bureaucracy. *There is no room anymore for such illusions.*

The coup's collapse and the ascendancy of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union buttresses, for the present moment, Bush's proclaimed "New World Order" militarily dominated by the U.S. Following its annihilation of Iraq, the triumphalist and vengeful American ruling class threatens to turn its wrath, unrestrained by the deterrent of a powerful USSR, against myriad peoples of the world. Cuba, in particular, is in Bush's cross hairs, and its defense is more than ever a duty of all opponents of Yankee imperialism.

From the time of Stalin's bureaucratic usurpation of power in 1924, Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition waged an unrelenting fight for the internationalist program of the Bolshevik Revolution. Under the deadly blows of Stalinist terror and slander, the Trotskyists persevered as the best and only consistent defenders of the remaining revolutionary gains. Today the International Com-

munist League (Fourth Internationalist) continues this struggle.

Stalinism was the political rule of a bureaucratic caste parasitically sitting atop the proletarian property forms created by the October Revolution of 1917. Whether during the bloody purges of the 1930s or the myriad "reforms" from Khrushchev and others, this system based on lies and repression of the working class not only blocked further progress toward socialism but clogged every pore of Soviet society. After decades of self-sacrifice extracted from the proletariat in the name of building "socialism in one country," Gorbachev's perestroika was the last desperate attempt of the Stalinist bureaucracy to preserve its position by adopting capitalist measures. But like Nikolai Bukharin's appeals to the rich peasants (kulaks) in the late 1920s to "enrich yourselves," perestroika fueled the forces of capitalist restoration which have now reached their fruition with Yeltsin's counter-coup.

Boris Yeltsin is not a "Westernizer"—he is an extreme Russian chauvinist who intends to *sell out* the Soviet Union to

continued on page 10



Red Square: Soviet tank facing the Kremlin during coup attempt.

Spartacist

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

"An Injury to One Is an Injury to All"

A decade of Reagan/Bush reaction: 1981, PATCO union leaders in shackles; 1985, Mother's Day bombing of Philly MOVE; 1991, precision bombing of a Baghdad civilian shelter. With their bloody victory over Iraq, and the broad

but thin patriotic fervor it unleashed, Bush & Co. stepped up their war on labor, blacks and Hispanics at home. Racist cop terror is epidemic, a national death penalty is in the works, segregated schools and school prayer are on the way



TROTSKY

Stalinism: Gravedigger of the October Revolution

More than half a century ago, Leon Trotsky warned that Stalinism was a mortal danger to the survival of the Soviet Union. Having usurped power from the Soviet workers by gutting the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, the nationalist bureaucracy headed by Stalin proceeded to undermine the gains of the 1917 October Revolution and sabotage revolutionary struggle worldwide. While demoralized "anti-Stalinists" simply wrote off

the first workers state, Trotsky's Left Opposition fought to restore soviet democracy and Bolshevik internationalism to the USSR. As Trotsky emphasized time and again, the only alternative to capitalist restoration was a proletarian political revolution to defend the remaining gains of October by ousting the treacherous bureaucracy. Now the utter collapse of Soviet Stalinism has opened up the floodgates of bloody capitalist counter-revolution. The key to defense of the Soviet working people against Bush/Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary onslaught is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party.

Under the conditions of the transitional epoch, the political superstructure plays a decisive role. A developed and stable dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes that the party functions in the leading role as a self-acting vanguard, that the proletariat is welded together by means of trade unions, that the toilers are indissolubly bound up with the state through the system of soviets and, finally, that the workers' state is aligned through the International into a fighting unit with the world proletariat. In the meantime, the bureaucracy has strangled the party and the trade unions and the soviets and the Communist International....

Which is closer: the danger of the collapse of the Soviet power that has been sapped by bureaucratism or the hour of the consolidation of the proletariat around a new party that is capable of saving the October heritage? There is no a priori answer to such a question; the struggle will decide. A major historical test—which may be a war—will determine the relation of forces. It is clear, in any case, that, with the further decline of the world proletarian movement and the further extension of the fascist domination, it is not possible to maintain the Soviet power for any length of time by means of the internal forces alone. The fundamental condition for the only rock-bottom reform of the Soviet state is the victorious spread of the world revolution....

Every political tendency that waves its hand hopelessly at the Soviet Union, under the pretext of its "nonproletarian" character, runs the risk of becoming the passive instrument of imperialism. And from our standpoint, of course, the tragic possibility is not excluded that the first workers' state, weakened by its bureaucracy, will fall under the joint blows of its internal and external enemies. But in the event of this worst possible variant, a tremendous significance for the subsequent course of the revolutionary struggle will be borne by the question: *where* are those guilty for the catastrophe? Not the slightest taint of guilt must fall upon the revolutionary internationalists. In the hour of mortal danger, they must remain on the last barricade.

Today the rupture of the bureaucratic equilibrium in the USSR would almost surely serve in favor of the counterrevolutionary forces. However, given a genuine revolutionary International, the inevitable crisis of the Stalinist regime would open the possibility of revival in the USSR. This is our basic course....

The problem of the world revolution as well as the problem of the Soviet Union may be summed up in one and the same brief formula: *The Fourth International*.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933)



LENIN

250

April 28, 1991

Governor Robert Casey
Main Capitol Building, Rm. 225
Harrisburg, PA 17124

Re: Mr. Mumia Abu-Jamal

Dear Governor Casey:

I am writing on behalf of 79,888 health care workers. Although we are not in a position to comment upon the guilt or innocence of Mr. Mumia Abu-Jamal, the reaction of the Governor...

REGION VI
ILLINOIS
IOWA
INDIANA
MINNESOTA
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COALITION OF BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS

939 SOUTH 2nd STREET • MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53204 • PHONE: (414) 645-2769
REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE — ROBERT CLARK

RESOLUTION TO ABOLISH THE RACIST DEATH PENALTY AND
SAVE THE LIFE OF MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

(Passed unanimously by the Region VI CBTU 27 April 1991.)

Labor support for Mumia Abu-Jamal grows. Power of labor must be mobilized in defense of all victims of capitalist state repression.

back, and now the city of Wichita is hostage to anti-abortion fanatics while poor women die from back-alley abortions. Workers, minorities, gays and women—we're all under the gun in this "New World Order." It is time for the organized working class to get off its knees to smash this onslaught against their rights, won through years of bitter and often bloody struggle.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. Launched by the Spartacist League in 1974, the PDC seeks to mobilize the power of labor in defense of all those targeted by capitalist reaction. Fighting for justice against the world's most dangerous capitalist power, we recognize a special responsibility to oppose our "own" government, which props up repressive regimes all over the world. So when American troops headed for the Gulf, the SL and PDC fought at home for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and in defense of its victims around the world. We defended all those whose civil liberties and rights were among the first victims of the war—Arab immigrants, antiwar protesters and GI "resisters."

When KKKer David Duke sought to carry his program of fascist terror north with a speech at Boston's Ford Hall Forum on March 28, a PDC-initiated united-front protest of 1,500 blacks, unionists, socialists, minorities, women, gay rights activists, students, Jews and Catholics turned out to say, "Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke!" The anti-

Duke protest, the latest of many labor/black mobilizations against fascist terror initiated and organized by the PDC and SL (Washington 1982, Philadelphia 1988 and elsewhere), was a small but important point of struggle against the reaction fueled by the Middle East slaughter.

Today's fighters against war, union-busting and racist reaction owe a special debt to those imprisoned in the struggle. In the U.S.' dungeons are dozens of political prisoners, thrown behind bars for standing up to racist capitalist repression. They must not be forgotten! We have been active in the campaign to free former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). As an expression of solidarity we send monthly stipends to 19 class-war prisoners: Geronimo and other former Black Panthers such as Mondo we Langa (David Rice) and Ed Poindexter, prison activist Hugo Pinell, members and supporters of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, and Irish Republican Socialist Party member Eddie McClelland.

A central focus of our recent work is the campaign to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Jamal—a former Black Panther Party spokesman, prominent radio broadcaster known as the "voice of the voiceless," well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists at the time of his arrest—was shot and framed up, charged with killing a cop in 1981. Long a target of Philly cop terror because he used his radio booth to speak for the poor, the homeless and

continued on page 13

Petition for New Trial Denied, Geronimo Still in "the Hole"

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), America's foremost class-war prisoner, was dealt a double blow by the courts of California. On August 15, just one day after receiving Geronimo's 284-page petition for a new trial, Judge Gary Klausner dismissed it as "without merit." Just days earlier, federal court judge Stanley Weigel refused to order Geronimo released from "the hole" (disciplinary confinement) at Tehachapi prison, where he was thrown on April 1 as he was preparing his state court petition for a new trial.

Geronimo, a victim of the FBI's racist COINTELPRO conspiracy to crush the Black Panther Party, has been locked away in California prisons for more than 20 years for a murder that the FBI, the cops and millions of people know he did not commit. The petition for a new trial presented new evidence concealed from Geronimo at trial and for almost two decades thereafter: statements from six former Black Panther Party members that Geronimo was with them in Oakland at the time of the 1968 Santa Monica murder; testimony from two legal investigators who saw

FBI wiretap logs proving Geronimo answered a phone at a Panther house in Oakland just before the murder; statements from former Panther Tyrone Hutchinson that in 1970 he reported overhearing two associates of FBI fink Julius Butler admit they committed the murder, but was told by the cops to keep his mouth shut. Butler, the witness on whom the government's frame-up rested, was an LAPD informant as early as 1966 and FBI fink by May 1969.

Lead attorney in the application for a new trial, Robert Bloom, said of the judge's cavalier dismissal of Geronimo's demand for a new trial, "In 25 years of practicing criminal law, I have never seen anything like this."

Because Geronimo remains true to his political beliefs, state authorities are determined to make his prison hell even hotter. Geronimo's disciplinary confinement was based on a bogus marijuana trafficking charge on the uncorroborated testimony of a jailhouse snitch. Federal court judge Weigel's ruling denying Geronimo's appeal of the marijuana frame-up

continued on page 13

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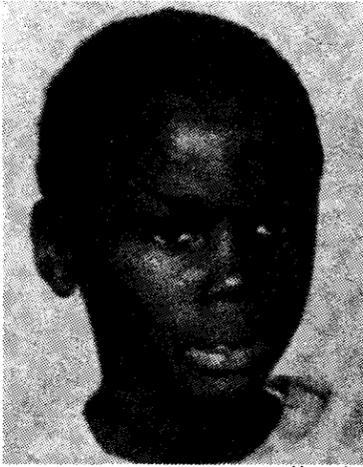
Cops, Nationalists, Zionists Fan Flames in Brooklyn

Death in Crown Heights

Gavin Cato, a seven-year-old black child from Guyana, and Yankel Rosenbaum, a 29-year-old Hassidic scholar from Australia, died on the streets of Crown Heights, Brooklyn, on August 19. They were strangers in a strange and increasingly ugly land. Gavin's father brought him here searching for a better life. Yankel, the son of Polish concentration camp survivors, came to study the pre-Holocaust world of Eastern European Jews. What they found here was death, their blood spilled on the dirty, cracked ghetto pavements. A reckless accident, a vicious murder, and if an evil witch had taken a sharp stick and stirred this city's steaming summer cauldron of ghetto misery and ethnic conflicts, the poisonous result couldn't have been any worse than the tragedy that exploded that August night.

Gavin Cato and his cousin Angela were playing on the sidewalk near their home, when they were struck by an out-of-control car. Gavin was crushed against a wall, his cousin's leg broken. The car was bringing up the rear in a small motorcade headed by an unmarked police car, escorting Rabbi Menachem Schneerson, world head of the Lubavitcher Hassidic sect, from his regular cemetery visit. The story quickly swept through the black community that the Hassidim were whisked away by a private Jewish ambulance service while the black children lay bleeding. Years of simmering resentment by the oppressed blacks against the Hassidim for their "special relationship" with the cops and city politicians came to an ugly head. Later that night, Yankel Rosenbaum was surrounded by a gang of young blacks and stabbed to death.

For the next three nights, young blacks hurled bottles, set fires, overturned squad cars, hit the "Sneaker King" shoe



Newsday
Gavin Cato (above) killed in tragic car accident. Yankel Rosenbaum, Australian student, stabbed to death hours later.



Paraskevas/Newsday

communal war in Crown Heights is dead wrong, deadly dangerous and must be stopped! The Jewish community is *not* the enemy of black people, despite the slanderous poison spread for years by anti-Semitic black demagogues like Louis Farrakhan, and most recently CUNY professor Leonard Jeffries (and despite that walking incitement to anti-Semitism, loudmouth racist ex-mayor Ed Koch).

Today Al Sharpton and his allies like Alton Maddox and Sonny Carson have stirred up murderous violence with their vile rhetoric around Crown Heights, as well as a provocative march against the Lubavitcher synagogue on Saturday (the Jewish Sabbath), August 24. The march was funneled at the last minute into a Sharpton-Maddox "United African Movement" meeting in a black high school. As they passed by Jewish homes and community centers, the marchers taunted, "Whose Streets? Our Streets!" Criminally, the supposedly socialist

mob) was beaten, and writer Vinette K. Pryce almost had her leg broken as she was roughly searched and shoved into a police van. White reporters got it from angry black mobs as well: veteran commentator Jimmy Breslin barely escaped, clad only in his shorts and his green press card. The same night Mayor Dinkins was surrounded and booed wildly by a crowd when he tried to visit the community.

The Politics of Death

There is a long history of communal violence in Crown Heights. Back in 1978, the police in Crown Heights murdered a black businessman—in broad daylight 15 cops clubbed Arthur Miller to the ground and then strangled him to death. In an unrelated incident two days later, a black youth named Victor Rhodes was jumped and beaten to a pulp by a small army of Hassidic goons patrolling against "outsiders." Then the Rev. Herbert Daughtry and a group of black nationalists consciously went after the Jewish community *instead of* the killer cops, instigating a march of jeering blacks through the Jewish areas of Crown Heights. Most leftist groups supported that anti-Semitic provocation. We of the Spartacist League warned that this was heading straight for race war, in which blacks would inevitably lose.

The Hassidim are not the oppressors. They are only a tiny minority community who want to recreate the sealed-off world of the 18th century Russian/Polish *shtetl* (village) in the middle of Brooklyn, not unlike the Amish in Pennsylvania. But in Crown Heights the *shtetl* meets the ghetto, and on top of the sharp economic contradictions, you have a sharp culture clash as black Caribbean Rastafarians with their long dreadlocks are thrown together with ultra-Orthodox Jewish men with their *payes* (sidelocks). But both blacks and Jews have the right to go about their lives and not be scapegoated or persecuted. The same goes for any other people or religion in the world.

One of the most vicious splits between Jews and blacks in New York City was the 1968 teachers strike. And much of the so-called "left" bears a lot of responsibility for that disaster. In '68 the same phony black militants like Jitu Weusi (Les Campbell), Carson and their left supporters used anti-Semitic slurs to mobilize Brooklyn blacks against the predominantly Jewish United Federation of Teachers (UFT), under the name of "community control." The liberal Republican Lindsay administration and Ford Foundation, ruling-class forces who wanted to break the teachers union for their own reasons, backed the

nationalists. And so did the opportunist "leftists."

Today most of the connections that in more economically prosperous times linked the ghetto and the factory have been shattered, so that any social connection to a wider world is being lost. As the ghetto turns in on itself in desperation, there's a new focus on small-time local merchants as "the enemy," whether it's Sal's Pizza, or the Korean fruit stand, or the "men in long black coats" and their shops. In a narrow world bounded by garbage-ridden streets, where you can't get out because you have no job, nowhere to go, and no money to go there anyhow, that's all you can see (except for luscious, hopeless TV commercial dreams).

Hassidim, Hispanics and Blacks

The conflict between the Hassidic sects and the black and Hispanic minority populations in Brooklyn is compounded by economic conditions which place these communities at loggerheads. Complaints that the highly organized Hassidic community gets favored treatment from the authorities are not just a problem of perception, but a problem in reality.

In Williamsburg, where the Satmar Hassidic sect is concentrated, the surrounding Puerto Rican and Dominican community (Los Sures) is constantly being squeezed. The Satmars have been able to obtain city-owned land to build a 6,000-seat synagogue, a yeshiva and private housing on public redevelopment land. Legal services lawyer Martin Needelman, denounced as a "traitor" and "self-hater" by the local Hassidic leaders, has brought lawsuits against the city for preferentially renting public housing units to Hassidim (non-white minorities were kept to 25 percent). In 1986, through control of the community school board, the Satmars got a wall built through PS 16, to separate Hassidic girls from the Hispanic children in the rest of the school. In addition to this incredible piece of apartheid, close to 100 Hispanic students were to be pushed out of the grade school.

Also in 1986, the *Shomrim* (Orthodox "watch patrols") were initiated, vigilante gangs known to beat up blacks and Latinos suspected of robbery. These patrols receive \$10,000 in subsidies from Albany (*El Diario*, 29 March 1989). In Crown Heights, the aggressive vigilante patrols go back to the late '60s and the origins of the JDL. A lot of the tensions between Hispanics and Hassidim in Williamsburg are replicated between the black community and the Lubavitcher. Thaddeus Owens, Jr., a black community organizer and son of the judge who presided in the Yusuf Hawkins case, told how he grew up in Crown Heights, where his family got along well with Hassidic neighbors, sometimes performing tasks like turning off an oven for a family that could not do so because of the Sabbath:

"Mr. Owens said his feelings turned sour as he saw public housing in the area disproportionately allocated to Hassidim and the police took their side in confrontations with blacks. He also charges that Hassidic Jews attempted to redraw community board lines in their favor and gain control of the local school board."
—*New York Times*, 23 August

While blacks and Hispanics and, indeed, many Hassidic Jews in these communities are horribly downtrodden and impoverished, a wealthy layer of the
continued on page 15



Berman/Sipa
Rabbi Schneerson (above), power broker for right-wing Zionists. Rev. Al Sharpton, FBI fink and sinister demagogue.



Chris Gierlich

store, stormed a firehouse and fought running battles with the cops. They marched past the Lubavitcher World Headquarters on Eastern Parkway, bombarding it with rocks and grotesquely taunting this community of Holocaust survivors with chants of "Heil Hitler!" Black people should not so readily praise Hitler—they were included in his list of "*Untermenschen*" (subhumans). Hassidic vigilante squads and the fascistic Jewish Defense League, armed to the teeth, mobilized in response. These thugs stormed into buildings to get black youths who they claimed were throwing rocks at the policemen from the roof.

The explosion of hate broke out exactly two years after the murder of black teenager Yusuf Hawkins by white racists in Bensonhurst. And the steaming ethnic cauldron is boiling, bringing New York to the edge of race war. This inter-

group Workers World Party marched in this demonstration, which was *tantamount to a call for an anti-Jewish pogrom*. The Workers World banner read, "Stop the War Against Black America." There is a war against black America, but the Lubavitchers aren't running it—Washington and Wall Street are.

As the explosion built, an army of cops moved in, beating not only ghetto youth but reporters. Hundreds of black youths were arrested, although by the end of the week the police had also arrested over 40 Hassidic men. The cops, no doubt furious that a few of their number had actually gotten hit by debris and a few rooftop missiles, roughed up journalists, including from *Newsday*, the *New York Times* and the *Amsterdam News*. *Am News* photographer Chris Griffith (brother of Michael Griffith, murdered by a Howard Beach lynch

Intifada at an Impasse

Pax Americana Targets Palestinians

Fresh from its easy kill against Saddam Hussein's Iraq and the slaughter of more than 100,000 people, Washington is determined to forge a "New Order" in the Near East under exclusive U.S. hegemony. The Gulf crisis changed the political map of the region. The U.S. is now firmly implanted there, easing its reliance on Israel as its chief client state. Iraq's previous position as a military counterweight against Israel (and Iran) is gone. And Assad's Syria, erstwhile leader of the "rejection front" against any negotiations with the Zionist state and former "International Terrorist No. 1" in Washington's books, is now a close and compliant ally of the U.S. As Secretary of State James Baker shuttles from one Near East capital to another trying to lash together a regional "peace conference," it is clear to all that the big losers in this Pax Americana will be the Palestinians.

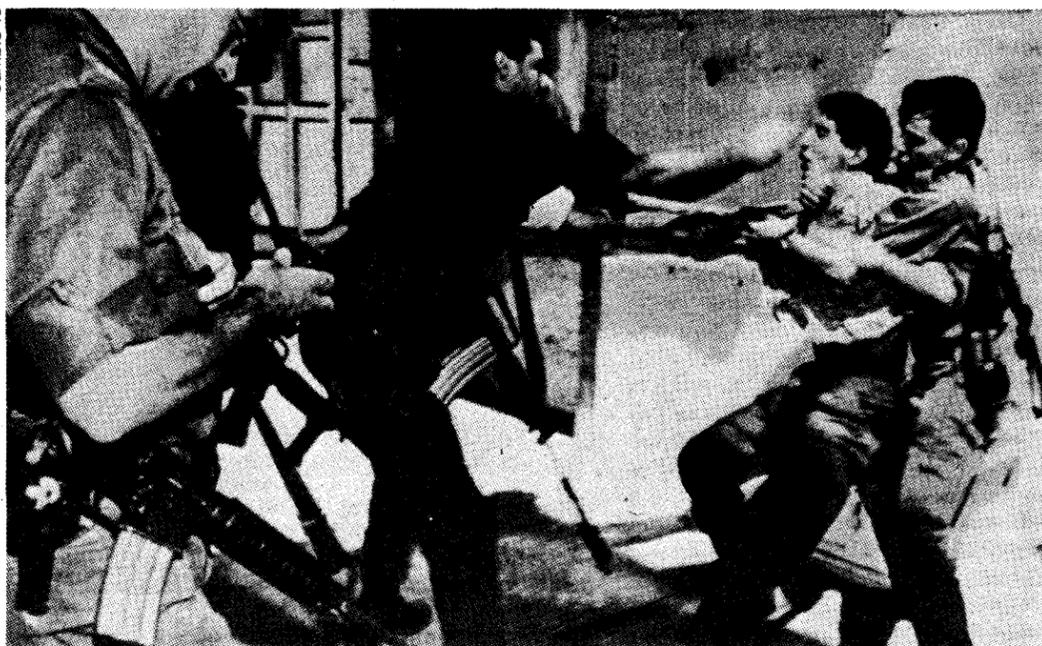
More than three and a half years after the start of the heroic popular uprising in the Occupied Territories, the *Intifada* is seemingly at a dead end. The Palestine Liberation Organization, which tried to exploit this courageous struggle as a bargaining chip to get the U.S. to pressure Israel into conceding some variant of a "mini-state" in the Occupied Territories, finds itself besieged on all sides. The war swept away the fictional distinction between "progressive" and "reactionary" Arab regimes, and both feudalist sheiks and bonapartist colonels have dropped even lip service to the Palestinian national cause. In their pursuit of American patronage, Syria and the other Arab regimes have acquiesced to even the most humiliating of Israel's demands as transmitted by Baker.

As proposed by the U.S. and agreed all around, the Israelis do not have to concede an inch of occupied territory as a basis for negotiations, Palestinian representatives will be vetted by Israel—no PLO allowed—and they may participate only as part of a Jordanian delegation. Some "peace" conference!

Meanwhile, key Israeli military and political leaders talk ever more openly of war with Syria. With Washington's blessings, Damascus moved to consolidate its hegemony over the perpetually feud-ridden statelet of Lebanon, codified in early June in a treaty of "brotherhood, cooperation and coordination" with Beirut. The Israelis marked the signing of the treaty with the fiercest bombing raids over Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon since the 1982 invasion. And when Baker says that continued Jewish settlement in the Occupied Territories is the "greatest obstacle to peace," Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir sneers in reply: "Settlement continues in all parts

Israeli police beat up Palestinian protesters in Jerusalem in aftermath of Al Aksa mosque massacre, October 1990. Zionists are aiming at "final solution" of "Palestinian question" through mass expulsions, mass slaughter.

Cambio 16



Israel Out of the Occupied Territories! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

of the country and will continue."

But there is one point on which Assad, Baker and Shamir are in firm agreement: going after the Palestinians and the PLO. Weeks after the Israeli bombing raids in Lebanon, Syrian-backed forces swooped down on the Palestinians from the north. Brushing aside PLO pleas for "negotiations," the Lebanese army disarmed and ousted the PLO from its bases in Sidon and Tyre, dragged off hundreds of fighters and restricted the rest to their refugee camps. Deprived of anti-aircraft weaponry, the Palestinians are now sitting ducks for further Israeli bombing raids. And with the camps surrounded and effectively defenseless, there are widespread fears that the Lebanese *Deuxième Bureau* (secret police) will resume its practice of raiding the camps to round up PLO activists.

The New Palestinian Catastrophe

At no time have the Palestinian people faced a crisis of such proportions. Driven from their homes and deprived of their land in the 1948 war, for more than 40 years the Palestinians have endured a seemingly endless nightmare of persecution, repression, isolation, despair. Forced into diaspora, they managed to become the chief labor force and economic backbone of Kuwait and the other oil-rich Gulf states. Tortured and tormented by Zionist repression, they

lashed back with the *Intifada*, thrusting Israel's brutal occupation and oppression under the international spotlight. When Saddam Hussein seemingly stood up to Israel's imperialist patron and struck into the Zionist heartland with Scud missiles, Palestinian youth cheered from the rooftops of their concentration camps and hoped that national salvation was finally at hand.

But the cheering soon evaporated. Washington's murderous war machine bombed Iraq back to a "pre-industrial age." Now, the "catastrophe of '48" is being played out again in Kuwait. Scarcely more than 100,000 of the 400,000 Palestinians who had lived and worked in the emirate remain, and those are subjected to a murderous reign of terror by the ruling family. The PLO's claim to be "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" has never had less legitimacy among the imperialist powers and their regional lackeys. The disarming of PLO units in Lebanon has put an end to the organization's last independent base of operations. And Arafat's refusal to toe the American line during the Gulf War has cost him \$250 million in aid from the oil-rich Gulf states. Now exultation by sections of the Palestinian movement over the short-lived Moscow coup against Gorbachev is being used to further isolate the PLO.

In the Occupied Territories, the young Palestinian fighters who have endured torture and imprisonment in Israeli camps, who have seen brothers and sisters gunned down by undercover army death squads or fascistic "settlers," survey a horizon which is bleaker than ever before. With nearly 60 percent of West Bank land already in Israeli hands, the Zionists have been "creating facts" aimed at making the "green line" (the pre-1967 border) a historical footnote, as Shamir's fascistic "housing" minister Ariel Sharon sharply escalates the expropriation of Arab agricultural lands and the construction and expansion of armed-to-the-teeth Jewish "settlements." The seven-week-long war "curfew" and draconian pass laws have driven an already impoverished population to the edge of starvation, with 50 percent unemployment exacerbated by a massive

loss in income from Palestinians who had been working in the Gulf states.

On the eve of Washington's murderous war on Iraq, we warned that "the massive influx of Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union has given Israel a pretext to launch a new drive for *Lebensraum* against the Palestinian people" (*WV* No. 518, 18 January). Israel seized on the Gulf War to intensify its drive toward a "final solution," planning an air and land sweep through Jordan which would have meant driving the Palestinians out of the West Bank (*New York Times*, 7 March). The military operation was shelved under American pressure. But designs for mass expulsion were not. A Jewish American artist living in a West Bank Palestinian area in late March wrote: "People are now discussing mass deportations as if they were commenting on the price of bread" (*Palestine Focus*, July-August 1991).

After more than a thousand Palestinians martyred and many tens of thousands more injured or arrested, the *Intifada* has seemingly ground to a halt, caught in its own crisis of perspectives. If young Palestinian fighters sense despair, it is with good cause: their people today face more persecution, more repression, more isolation and even less prospect of a homeland than before. Over the decades, all the options offered by nationalism have been tried and all have failed—from impotent "armed struggle" to respectable United Nations resolutions, from reliance on the Arab bourgeoisies to direct appeals to the imperialist powers.

The petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO, not for the first time, is being crucified by the very forces it has looked to for redemption over the years. While loudly proclaiming their support to the dispossessed Palestinian nation as proof of their anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist credentials, in fact the bourgeois Arab regimes have been no less ruthless than Israel in suppressing the Palestinians. The PLO's reliance on various kings, sheiks and colonels has more than once led to a bloodbath of the Palestinian people. Its insistent appeals to the U.S. and other imperialist powers to broker a deal with Zionist Israel are now being realized—at the expense of the Palestinian



Palestinian representatives Faisal Husseini (left) and Bethlehem Mayor Ella Freij meet with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Jerusalem.

people. The PLO finds itself cut out and at a dead end. It is the dead end of nationalism.

Islamic Fundamentalists on the Offensive

In the wake of Iraq's defeat, the PLO has been rent with anguish over Arafat's support to Saddam Hussein during the Gulf War. Referring to "new conditions prevailing in the world," top Arafat aide Abu Sharif now talks about the need for "pragmatic" leadership. Palestinian businessmen are complaining that the frequent commercial strikes which have been a principal aspect of the *Intifada* are ruining them. And Arafat's chief supporters among "the wealthy Palestinian elite... have been persistent in persuading him to give in to American demands" (*Middle East International*, 28 June). Despite Washington's refusal to hold out even a fig leaf of Palestinian statehood, an "unofficial" PLO delegation—including prominent figures like Faisal Hussein and Bir Zeit University professor Hanan Ashrawi—has met several times with Baker. Faced with sharp criticism from Palestinian militants, Ashrawi replied: "If we are excluded from the meetings with Baker, we'll be excluded from the peace process."

Combined with the growing economic desperation in the Occupied Territories, seething frustration at the base has led to a sharp rise in support for openly anti-Jewish Islamic fundamentalist groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad, who are apparently behind the escalation in killings of "collaborators" (many simply for being "irreligious") as well as the recent wave of stabbings of Israeli civilians. Candidates identified with Hamas won six out of eleven seats in chamber of commerce elections in the West Bank town of Hebron in June.

Quietly backed for years by Israel as a weapon against the PLO, Hamas now receives Kuwaiti and Saudi money which formerly went to the PLO. While the bulk of the resistance against the Zionist occupation forces during the *Intifada* was organized by secular forces, notably the Palestinian Communist Party and the left-nationalists of George Habash's Popular Front and Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front, Hamas devoted its energies to a campaign of terror against Palestinian women. For the first time in decades the majority of women in the Gaza Strip (and, increasingly, in the West Bank) have been forced to return to the veil (see "Palestinian Women and the *Intifada*," *Women and Revolution* No. 39, Summer 1991). In Gaza today, as the *New York Times* (22 August) reports: "Only a tiny handful of women venture outdoors without some head covering." Yet the PLO, particularly Arafat's Fatah organization, turned a blind eye to Hamas terror.

Now Hamas has taken to direct attacks



Syigma

PLO leader Yasir Arafat embraces Jordan's King Hussein, butcher of 10,000 Palestinians in infamous 1970 Black September massacre (right).



Der Spiegel

against the PLO. On June 2, Hamas and Fatah engaged in a bloody shootout in the streets of Nablus. Hamas thugs then broke into the hospital where one of the wounded Fatah supporters had been taken, stabbing him repeatedly as he lay on the operating table. Angry Fatah activists fumed: "Arafat wanted national unity and asked us to accommodate them and now look how they are acting." But "national unity" with the Islamic fundamentalists is not only the watchword of Fatah. At the start of the *Intifada* the Palestinian Communist Party pledged

on recruiting *fedayeen* guerrillas in the refugee camps of Jordan and Lebanon in the 1970s, the Palestinian CP (which was part of the Jordanian CP until 1982) established a mass base through organizations like the General Federation of Labor Unions and the Union of Working Women's Committees. By the time of the *Intifada*, the CP could lay claim to taking "the initiative in establishing the popular and patriotic committees" which directed the uprising. But as Political Bureau member Naim Ashhab conceded, the *Intifada* could not "defeat the invad-

latest drive against the Palestinians. Even so, the PLO "welcomes" Assad and embraces Hussein, just as yesterday it embraced the Kuwaiti ruling family, whose fabulous wealth was largely created by Palestinian labor.

Dancing to the nationalists' tune, the Stalinists uphold the "national integrity" of balkanized states carved out by the imperialists. In 1975, the Lebanese CP, which had hundreds of Christian members, forged a bloc with "left" Muslim clan leader Kamal Jumblatt, aborting the prospect of a plebeian upheaval which could have cut across communalist divisions. In a September 1988 Political Bureau statement, it pledged its allegiance to the "unity" and "Arab affinity of Lebanon." LCP general secretary Georges Hawi denounced the "Palestinian resistance" for turning the country into a "playground" (*Al-Nida*, 27 September 1987). And a joint statement by the Jordanian, Palestinian and Israeli CPs called for "a combat alliance of Syria, the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese patriotic forces" (*Al-Talia*, 26 November 1987). What they got was a "combat alliance" against the Palestinians! Yet the Israeli CP nonetheless hails the shotgun "agreement signed between the Lebanese army and the Palestinian forces" (*Zo Haderech*, 10 July).

To counter the Zionists' annexationist "Jordan is Palestine" line, the Jordanian CP echoes the British-installed Hashemite monarch in arguing that "the Palestinians living in Jordan are Jordanians" (Central Committee statement, 7 August 1988). So the Jordanian CP denies the national rights of the Palestinians inside the artificial Hashemite state, the Lebanese CP denounces Palestinian affronts to their bourgeoisie's integrity, and the Palestinian and Israeli CPs invite the butcher Assad into Lebanon! This is what these "fraternal" Stalinist parties call internationalism.

What passes for a Trotskyist alternative in the region is exemplified by the Revolutionary Communist League in Israel, affiliated to Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, whose erstwhile enthusing over "Arab revolution" guerrillaism gave way to outright liberalism as the USec moved right and the PLO shifted gears. An RCL statement on the Gulf War prominently called for "an immediate end to the bombardment of population concentrations in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Israel and Lebanon." Behind this "evenhanded" pacifist statement was a blatant capitulation to the Zionist warmongers' hysteria over the Iraqi Scud missile attacks on Tel Aviv. Despite its claim to stand "against the American war, against the American peace," the RCL joined the Stalinists in pacifist pleading for a "cease-fire" and fostering illusions in a Pax Americana with a call for "an international conference... for the solution of all the open political questions, including those of Kuwait and Palestine."

For Trotskyist Parties in the Near East!

This region is a powder keg in more ways than one. While military expenditure worldwide went up 40 percent between 1960 and 1986, in the Near East it shot up 600 percent. Imperialist

continued on page 13



Gamma

Palestinian youth cheer Iraqi Scud attacks against Israel.

"cooperation" with "religious currents." Graffiti in Gaza read: "The Communist Party calls on our brothers in Hamas to use a democratic dialogue." Next to it is Hamas' bloodcurdling reply: "Communism is a cancer inside the nation's body and we will cut it out." These Islamic fundamentalist cutthroats are right in tune with Bush's "New Order."

Stalinists Sign Up for "New World Order"

Despite the collapse of Stalinism in much of the world, the Palestinian CP continues to have considerable popular support, particularly in the West Bank. While Fatah and the radical-nationalist PFLP and DFLP focused their efforts

ers and expel the Israeli army, the most powerful in the Middle East; it will take a miracle to do that" (*Information Bulletin*, February 1989). The miracle the Stalinists pray for is "to make Israel and the United States accept the idea of an international conference."

If anything, the Palestinian CP has been more cringing than Arafat in its appeals to imperialism. It was the PCP which, beginning in the mid-1970s, pushed for the PLO to adopt its bantustan "mini-state" line. For years, the Stalinists have focused on the call for an international peace conference. Now the Stalinists have become open apologists for a Pax Americana. Calling for support to a petition campaign in favor of the American proposal, the Hebrew-language weekly of the Israeli CP says: "Even if the organizers of the petition support an American solution... the most important thing is to join them and to help them get as many signatures as possible" (*Zo Haderech*, 5 June).

In swearing fealty to the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people," the Palestinian CP codifies its subordination of the workers and peasants to the would-be ruling class of a Palestinian Arab capitalist state. The Palestinian bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders in turn place their faith in their class brothers among the Arab regimes. As the price for support, first by Nasser's Egypt in the 1960s and then by Kuwait and others, the PLO promised "non-interference in the internal affairs" of the Arab states—even when it meant the slaughter of Palestinians.

The first fruit of this policy was the 1970 Black September massacre of 10,000 Palestinians by Jordan's King Hussein, forcing the PLO to move its military operations to Lebanon. Six years later, it was Syria's turn to attack the PLO there, foreshadowing Assad's



UPI

Rabbi Levinger, leader of fascist "settler" movement in West Bank. Zionist expansionists "create facts" in the Occupied Territories by escalating creation of armed-to-the-teeth "settlements" aimed at driving Palestinians out.



Syigma

Young Spartacus

Are You Now Or Have You Ever Been... "PC"?



Racism and Witchhunts on Campus

George Bush at University of Michigan commencement bewails supposed "censorship" of campus racists like the murderous thugs who destroyed occupied anti-apartheid shanties at Dartmouth.

Kruwicz/NY Times

Peter Blakely

In May the President of the United States donned cap and gown to deliver a commencement address to the graduates of the University of Michigan, a speech which grabbed headlines across the nation. Fresh from the slaughter of 100,000 Iraqis, George Bush declared war on "the enemy within." Ludicrously, in the present climate of right-wing triumphalism, he railed against the "notion of 'political correctness'" as an "inquisition," "censorship" and "bullying." "Political extremists roam the land," Bush claimed, "abusing the privilege of free speech, setting citizens against one another on the basis of their class or race." The University of Michigan, like so many other campuses across the country, has been rocked by violent attacks against blacks, gays, Jews and other minorities—and Bush came to give the presidential seal of approval to the race-haters and spur the witchhunt against the new all-purpose bogeyman, the "PC monolith."

What is "PC"? If you want to fight against racist attacks, abortion clinic bombings, union-busting and imperialist war, then maybe you're "politically correct" and a dangerous enemy to Western civilization. Among rad-lib academic circles "PC" used to be a self-conscious

and jocular term by which one leftist challenged another's "politically correct" credentials. Some of the most humorless may go a bit overboard—typically this milieu rests on ladies with four legs ("chairpersons") and is served by restaurant workers from outer space ("waitrons"). There are some politics too—an ivory tower battle to undo the real and hideous history of racial, sexual and class oppression through sectoralist and triumphalist glorifications of "mystory." Over the last year however, the term "PC" has become what one writer aptly called "the bloody shirt" of the right wing.

It's also a big-time Big Lie campaign. A mighty media wurlitzer has churned up a mountain of magazine cover stories, op-eds and books screaming that the campuses have been seized by "tenured radicals" and leftist "thought police" subverting wholesome American youth with satanic verses of "multiculturalism." Yet, as anyone who has set foot on a campus in the last five years knows, America's colleges are hardly communist valhallas. In a country with a shrinking economy and a growing non-white population, with "death of Communism" ideologues and yahoos riding high, the campuses have become nasty havens for

aggressive racists who've been attacking minorities with alarming intensity.

It is on behalf of these bruising bigots that Bush, whose administration just slapped an anti-abortion gag order on clinic counselors; now grotesquely claims the mantle of "free speech," to incite every retrograde punk to violence by championing their "right" to hurl fighting words like "N----r!" Other prime targets are the few professors and courses in black and women's studies departments, slim gains remaining from the big civil rights and Vietnam antiwar struggles of the '60s.

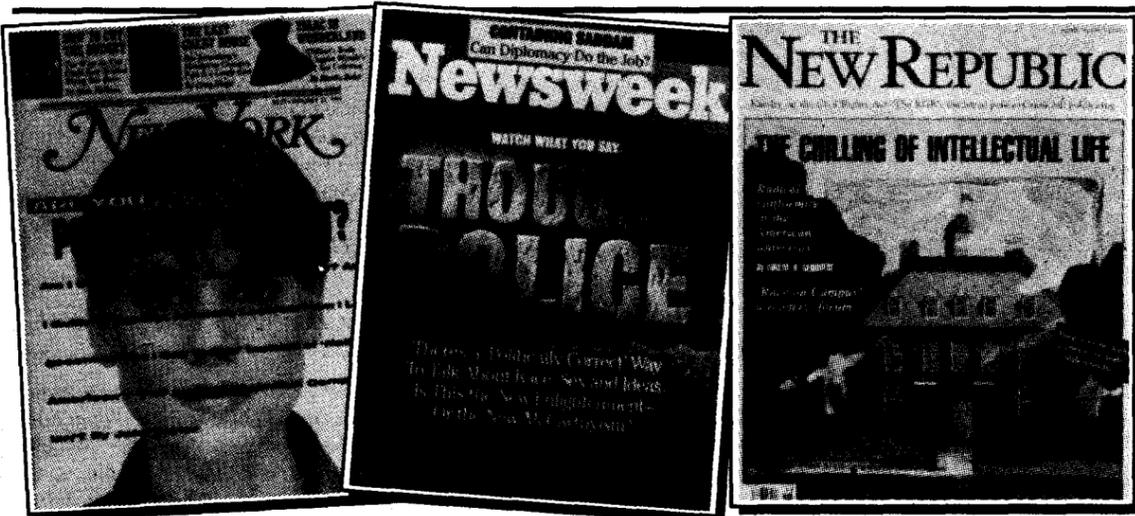
During the Vietnam War the campuses were organizing centers of political protest, "breeding grounds of subversion" in the eyes of the White House/Pentagon/CIA. Then anti-imperialist youth chanted, "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?" This time around, Bush & Co. want to ensure that the universities are brought firmly into line with the "New World Order," with mobs chanting "USA! USA!" and showering confetti on the soldiers and their war criminal commanders. New Left illusions to the contrary, petty-bourgeois students are not inherently radical but can swing all the way to the fascist far right. To mold this generation, the bour-

geoisie's agenda includes weeding out anything remotely pink from the curriculum, purging '60s leftovers from the faculty, driving minorities out of higher education in the name of "maintaining standards" and inciting straight-out racist violence. Hitler had a similar program for universities in his "New Order"—*Gleichschaltung*—the forcible repression of independent thought and action, a lockstep march to total conformity.

In effete Harvard Yard, just days before the fascist David Duke rode into town this spring, an ultra-conservative creep hoisted the Confederate flag of slavery to challenge the "tyranny" of the "politically correct." In April, three student members of the University of Chicago Gay and Lesbian Alliance received death threat letters covered with a lethal neurotoxin absorbable through the skin. In Long Island, Jermaine Ewell, a black high school youth, was beaten within an inch of his life by a posse of white Hofstra students for talking to a white girl. On and off campus, this is the real face of the anti-"PC" crusade.

Just what is it that these "PC" hunters who rail about constraints on their "free speech" (yet rule the country and own the media) want to say? Take the case of Douglas Hann, who was recently expelled from Brown University after he stood in a courtyard screaming a string of vile racial epithets at blacks, Jews and gays. He threatened one black woman, telling her that "My parents own you people." Sure enough, less than two weeks after Hann's outburst, racist graffiti and white-supremacy leaflets began appearing around campus.

We shed no tears for the expulsion of this pig, but neither do we call for speech codes or reliance on university administrations to fight racism, as many misguided leftists do. Ninety-nine out of a hundred times, speech codes will be used against the left and anti-racists. Reinstating Hann has become a reactionary cause célèbre, uniting right-wing Senator Henry Hyde (author of the amendment that cut off Medicaid funding for abor-



The Big Lie campaign: bourgeois media whips up witchhunt to drive rad-libs off the campuses.

tions) with "civil libertarian" *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff, who says Hann needs to be "educated." The kind of learning Hann needs is a tête-à-tête with the ground, not via the Socratic method that Hentoff has in mind.

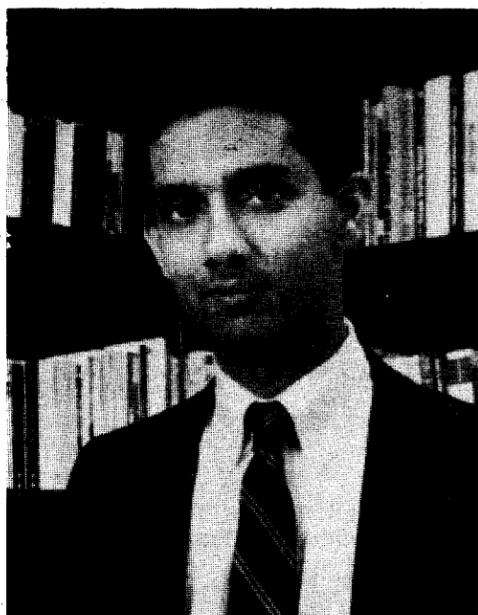
"PC"-Bashers: A Who's Who

The opening salvo in the anti-"PC" crusade was fired by Allan Bloom with his 1987 bestseller, *The Closing of the American Mind*. Bloom and other dim stars in the far-right firmament see that their beloved canon, the traditional "Western Civilization" course, has undergone a minor facelift at a few schools like Stanford. For them it is high treason that a small number of courses are being taught by profs who don't see history as a glorious struggle of white Europeans and Americans to fulfill their manifest destiny. A sampling from Bloom's book: "[The] exploration and discovery of the New World produced, among other wonders, the United States.... For the poor, the weak, the oppressed—the overwhelming majority of mankind—it is the promise of salvation." The controversy further heated up this spring when the Smithsonian had the chutzpah to buck Custer's "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" credo in the narration to an art exhibit on "The West as America."

Dinesh D'Souza, author of *Illiberal Education*, is presently one of the most widely quoted of the "PC"-bashers, all of whom like to falsely portray themselves as under siege in the ivory towers. According to D'Souza, this is the result of a "victims' revolution" which is lowering academic standards and resulting in college admissions where "race-based preferences often have the effect of misplacing black and Hispanic students into academic environments where they are dramatically outmatched by their classmates, and this contributes to extremely high dropout rates among these groups." To bleach the campuses of "misplaced" dark-skinned students, native of India and WASP wannabee D'Souza embraces direct hit methods. D'Souza is a founding editor of the *Dartmouth Review*, the flagship newspaper of the campus ultraright whose staff made headlines for slamming sledgehammers against anti-apartheid activists occupying a symbolic shantytown on the Dartmouth Green.

D'Souza's editorial achievements include publishing an interview with a "former" KKK leader (illustrated with a staged photograph of a black man hanging from a tree on the Dartmouth campus) and an article on affirmative action written in what was supposed to be a parody of black speech ("Now we be comin' to Darmut and be up over our 'fros in studies, but we still be not graduatin' Phi Beta Kappa"). For these collegiate efforts D'Souza made it into the big leagues and was hired as a policy analyst by the Reagan administration and as Bush's presidential campaign "director of Catholic votes."

Scratch the surface of this crowd and you find a global web of Nazis, death-squad terrorists, their academic apologists, and their CIA moneybags. D'Souza and Bloom are both on the tit



Susan Muniak

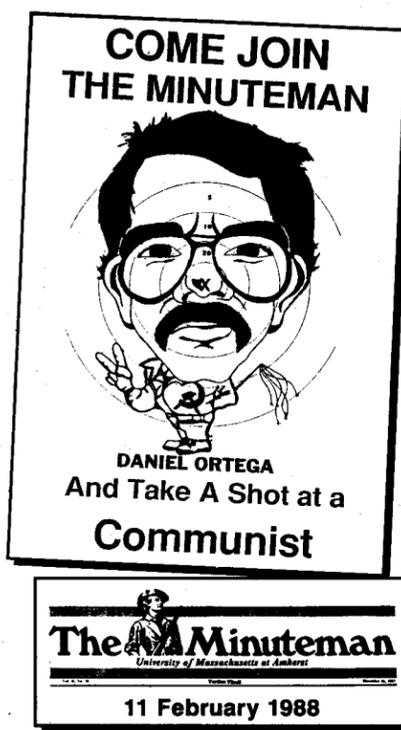
Dinesh D'Souza, founding editor of *Dartmouth Review*—flagship publication for campus contras like UMass Amherst's *Minuteman*.

of the Olin Foundation, whose goal is fighting "the creeping stranglehold that socialism has gained here." The Institute for Educational Affairs is another source of cash, and intelligence agency and big business connections. IEA is a creature of William Simon and Irving Kristol (who has been exposed as an "indirect" recipient of CIA monies). They overlap with Accuracy in Academia (AIA), which is allied through its parent group (Accuracy in Media) with the Moonie-owned *Washington Times*. Their leader, Reed Irvine, networks with the World Anti-Communist League, an outfit that brings together fascists and right-wing militants from Taiwan and South Korea to Salvadoran death squads. In June AIA sponsored a snidely titled "Politically Incorrect: Fighting the Campus Thought Police" conference with special invited guest Dinesh D'Souza and topics like "Give War a Chance" and "The Truth Hurts" by white-supremacist (and tenured) Berkeley anthropology professor Vincent Sarich.

A few years back Accuracy in Academia rang the bell for a new McCarthyite witchhunt on the campuses. AIA wildly claimed that 10,000 Marxist and 35,000 liberal professors were busy polluting the highly impressionable minds of college students. AIA focused on the campuses as the "final redoubt" from which pinkos "will have to be dragged one day, kicking and screaming" (AIA's *Campus Report*, September 1986). They also libeled the Spartacist League as "cop killers," for which we took this sordid outfit to court in 1987 and forced a full retraction of their deadly lies. AIA functioned as privatized Reaganite witch-hunters in the '80s. Now, in the wake of his big kill of Iraqis, Bush is personally leading the charge for an open governmental assault against domestic opposition, beginning on campus.

The Destruction of American Education

Bloom and other rightist ideologues blame the left for "growing illiteracy



among undergraduates entering the university." What bunk! Columnist Russell Baker quipped on the multicultural curriculum dispute, "The question is not what bias should be applied when teaching history, but why our schools seem incapable of teaching any history at all, biased or otherwise." The last half-serious effort to improve education in this country came after the Russians launched Sputnik in 1957, when a wave of government-sponsored hysteria produced a concerted effort to teach more

to attack public school teaching of evolutionary science, to bring school prayer into public schools, to get tax credits for parochial schools and to ban textbooks these bigots didn't like. After a decade of this mean-spirited racist and anti-scientific indoctrination, no wonder American schoolchildren ranked second to last in a survey by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement comparing ninth grade science students from 16 countries.

In 1987, Reagan's Department of Education discovered the dreaded "PC" in a widely used high school course on the Holocaust, pulled all funding for the project and canned the curriculum. What was wrong with it? "UNFAIR TO NAZIS" blared the *New York Daily News* (20 September 1987) in a front-page exposé and revealed the review panel's findings that the course failed to present "the Nazi point of view" or "that of the Ku Klux Klan." The "PC"-bashers want to abuse the right of "free speech" by claiming that genocide is just another point of view. Indeed, a motto of D'Souza's *Dartmouth Review* was, "Genocide is never having to say you're sorry."

Reagan's education secretary, William Bennett, made his debut in office by announcing that too many people go to college and slashing children's school lunches. Following the example of their brethren in Washington, the chairman of the Bicentennial Commission for the U.S. Constitution in California got the Commission to sponsor a textbook that called American black slaves "pick-



University of Wisconsin, November 1987: hundreds protest racist attack on black and Jewish students.

math and science. But any commitment to educating the population went down with the decline of the American empire, particularly its losing dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, a president whose decisions were apparently made by his astrologer, signaled a renewed assault on education. Back then the "PC" demon was known as "secular humanism." Fundamentalists and other yahoos were funded and encouraged by the Reagan administration

aninnies" and claimed slaveowners were the real victims of the system.

All across the domestic front Reagan and Bush's vigilante squads scrutinized public school districts for the use of textbooks with so-called "atheistic" and subversive deviations. Tennessee fundamentalists sued a school board for reading "heathen" stories like *Goldilocks*, *The Wizard of Oz* and *Cinderella* in classes. In California, *Little Red Riding Hood* was pulled from the shelves in one school district because a heroine who scampers off to grandmother's house with a bottle of wine in her picnic basket conveys "the wrong message" about alcohol to children! In Mobile, Alabama a judge banned 45 textbooks and declared "secular humanism" a religion, so the religious and racist dogma of creationism must get equal time in "science" classes.

This racist, right-wing indoctrination has provided fertile soil for the growth of ignorance and bigotry. The National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence reports soaring racist attacks on American campuses: 250 incidents in 1988 and over 300 in 1989, and that's just what's reported. A survey released earlier this year by the National Opinion Research Center questioning racial attitudes among non-black respondents showed the extent of prejudice:

continued on page 8

Spartacus Youth Club Forums

Bankrupt Stalinism Opens Floodgates to Capitalist Restoration

Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution in USSR!

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, SL Central Committee

Saturday, Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m.

UC Berkeley
126 Barrows

For more information: (415) 839-0851

Thursday, Sept. 19, 5:30 p.m.

SF State University
Student Union B112

For more information: (415) 777-9367

Friday, Sept. 6, 7:30 p.m.

Barnard College
Lehman Auditorium, Altschul Hall
(#1 IRT Train to 116th/Broadway)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

OAKLAND

SAN FRANCISCO

NEW YORK CITY

"PC?"...

(continued from page 7)

53 percent thought blacks were less intelligent than whites, 56 percent thought blacks were more violence-prone, and 78 percent thought they were more likely to "prefer to live off welfare" and less likely to want to be self-supporting!

"PC" Muddleheads Run Amok

This is the ugly background to the restrictive "speech codes" and "sensitivity training" that "PC" academics and anti-racist students have campaigned for and instituted at many universities. The problem with this strategy is it disarms the victims by fostering illusions in the supposed "neutrality" of the racist university administrations and the cops. It gives enhanced power to those institutions to act against, for instance, leftists who might rightly protest Colin Powell or Schwarzkopf and call these imperialist pigs "imperialist pigs." What's more, *this strategy doesn't work.*

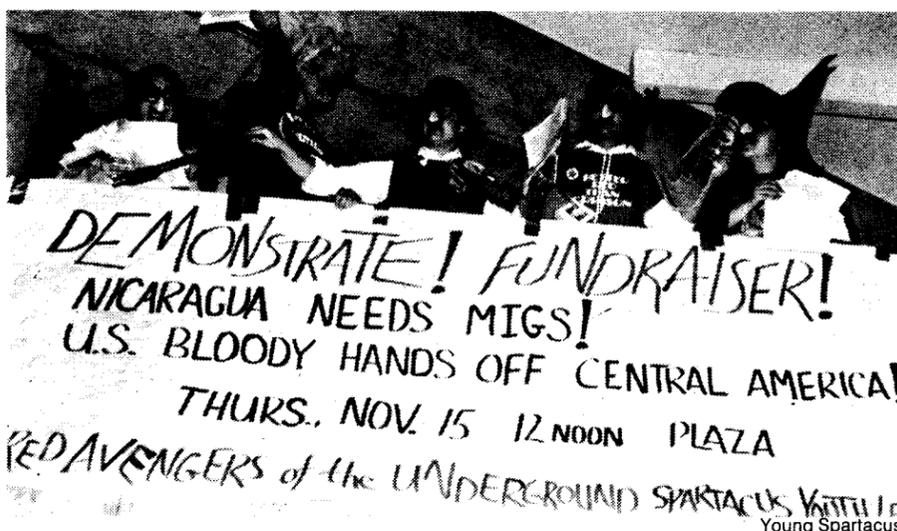
In 1987 at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, where frat rats had their "fun" holding mock slave auctions and partying in blackface, mass student outrage and opposition to these creeps was channeled into calls for suspension of three malefactors and enforced sensitivity training. After passing a preachy tolerance seminar aimed at modifying their behavior they were reinstated—and celebrated their return by immediately beating up black and Jewish students! The Spartacus Youth Club participated in campus demonstrations against these scum, calling for mobilizing students and labor in militant action to drive the race-terrorists off campus. As we said at the time, "If one of these Nazi-inspired punks were nabbed and displayed naked with a yellow stripe down his back it would do more than a thousand 'race relationship workshops'."

By dealing with racist violence like it's just a bad idea they can "ban," the "PC" crowd has given ground to the right wing on the issue of free speech. Although this milieu is attacked as "Marxists," they are basically liberals whose politics run to hard *anti-communism* at times, and they make some strange bedfellows. "Radical" feminists ape Moral Majorityite Jerry Falwell in the crusade against "pornography." For that matter, "PC" comes straight from the tradition of Stalinism, from enforcing puritanical sensibilities, to persecuting and silencing *left* opposition—in the service of a "popular front" with sections of the bourgeoisie. So we do appreciate the case of columnist Alexander Cockburn, who wrote in an excellent article against the "PC"-bashing rabble that he himself was gagged by "PC" guardians of the podium at Reed College.

Like *Workers Vanguard*, Cockburn has denounced the anti-day-care hysteria and its false, lurid claims of child abuse that have ruined innocent people's lives and which aim to remove women from the workplace by closing day-care centers. Cockburn wrote in the *Nation* (27 May):

"The left in Portland tends to our definition of the P.C. side of the ledger, and not long before the date of my speech I got a call from one of the event's organizers saying there was an uproar about my analysis in these pages ['Beat the Devil,' February 12, 1990] of the day-care hysteria.... I was told that I had been insufficiently sensitive to 'the reality of ritual abuse,' which was certainly true since, re day care, I denied its existence. So the Reed folk said I could no longer make a speech.... I did end up in Portland that weekend and found what it was like to be deemed politically incorrect. Even an invitation to sit on a panel discussing the victory of UNO in the Nicaraguan elections, which had occurred only days earlier, was countermanded by David Linder and associates 'because of the controversy'."

Only the right wing, which seeks to purge and silence all opposition, can



Most definitely not "PC": Red Avengers of Underground SYL lampoon feminist-led witchhunt of Trotskyists at San Francisco State University.

benefit from such idiotic and cowardly censorship. There is a proud tradition—with which we openly solidarize—of scathing argument and even rude polemics in the history of the revolutionary movement. It is through such clash of opinion that one actually learns something. We've certainly enjoyed our decade-long political scrap with Cockburn over vital issues for the left and labor movement, such as why Marxists must oppose imperialist sanctions and defend Iraq against the American bourgeoisie (see, e.g., "Pinko Journalist Turns Yellow," *Workers Vanguard* No. 518, 18 January). Ten years ago, Cockburn's more polite reference to us was "Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism" when we enraged the popular-front left by our un-"PC" call for the military victory of Salvadoran leftists and opposition to a negotiated sellout. Poor Alex just ran afoul of the same foul crowd, and we can't help asking, "Who's 'bonkers' now?"

Workers Vanguard, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs are most assuredly *not* "PC." For our hard commie politics, e.g., our forthright defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counter-revolution, our opposition to the craven, Democratic Party-ensconced "left," our opposition to government intervention into the Teamsters union, we too have earned the enmity of muddleheaded "PC" rad-liberals.

In 1984 at San Francisco State University we were "banned" by "PC" bean-sprout totalitarians. Campus feminists led by Julianne Malvaux couldn't tolerate our Marxist politics and deemed our constant exposure of their support to the loser Democrat Mondale an "assault." We offered a lesson in dialectics, asking: "What is the business end of a female great white shark? The answer depends on whether one is a horny male great white shark or a deeply committed feminist skindiver." They wanted a red-hunt...and in willful mockery of their efforts we gave them one, going underground as the "Red Avengers" and surfacing in disguise to hold fund-raising rallies for embattled Nicaragua to procure Soviet MIGs. In the end we defeated these would-be McCarthyites, as we promised we would in our first underground communiqué:

"The Spartacus Youth League of San Francisco State University has been driven underground by gestapo persons and rabid doberman pinschers of the female persuasion crawling between the toes of the FBI. We go underground because sinister elements in the student government and the Women's Center, bookburners inspired by sentiments at bottom not different than those of CIA tool Pinochet of Chile, leave us no recourse if we are to distribute our Marxist literature.... Venceremos!"

Marxism vs. Idealism

"PC" thinking is a form of idealism, a false consciousness that obscures the material basis of oppression. The current trend among leftist academics, particularly now that many are "rethinking Marxism" (the title of one voguish journal) is to advance a sectorial study of one's own sexuality or ethnicity.

"Deconstructionists" seek to expose the injustices of Western civilization as presented in classic texts. Feminists write "herstory" and black nationalists write "Afrocentric" curricula. An example of how "PC" tinkering serves to mask the hideous reality of capitalism is seen in the current debate over use of the word "slave" vs. "enslaved person" in school textbooks. In a debate on this question in *Newsday* (16 August), Henry Louis Gates Jr. wrote:

"...if your class has a tendency to think of slavery as an elective vocation, I suppose the longer phrase might help them. But there's a trade-off. After all, a powerful tradition of abolitionist rhetoric turned on the awful fact that the condition of slavery truly negated one's very personhood. 'You have seen how a man was made a slave,' Frederick Douglass famously wrote, pouncing on the contrast; 'you shall see how a slave was made a man'."

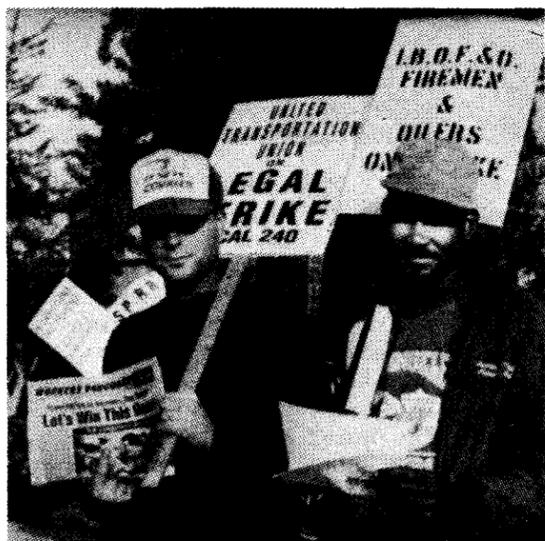
As Marxists our aim is to change reality, not merely the perception of it. Thus as opposed to empty "sensitivity training" for racist thugs, we have initiated united-front labor/black mobilizations, enrolling the power of the integrated union movement, that have stopped fascist terrorists like the KKK and skinhead/Nazis in their tracks. And to fight the injustices of the present it is important to understand the past—a history of *class struggle*. To that end we publish a pamphlet series on *Black History and the Class Struggle* so that today's fighters can reclaim the lessons that are deliberately omitted by the educational system to perpetuate bourgeois ideology and the racist status quo.

A pernicious aspect of the "PC" curriculum debate is the tendency for each oppressed constituency to elevate its own particular race, sexuality or ethnicity above all others. Since chattel slavery, the ideology of race has been the white-supremacist justification for a whole system of exploitation where blacks are integrated into production but kept forcibly at the bottom. For Third World nationalists and their rad-lib cheerleaders to present racial differences as fundamental and insurmountable is to provide a "PC" gloss on the ethnic polarizations fueled by the white ruling class to keep the producers of the wealth of this country divided.

As Leninists, our aim is to unite the entire working class to fight the special oppression of blacks, women and other minorities. As an example, when the Nazis threatened to storm the Gay Pride Day parade in Chicago in 1982, we mobilized steel workers, Holocaust survivors and the black community to defeat their common enemy and defend themselves through a united-front action. The battles at hand require the leadership of a multiracial workers party that will act as a "tribune of the people" in championing the cause of all the oppressed, fighting to achieve black liberation through revolutionary integration in a socialist society. It is by joining the struggle to build such a party that radical-minded students and campus workers (and even professors) can help to unify the working class to overthrow this whole rotten system and open the door to human freedom. ■

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Furor Over CUNY Prof. Jeffries

White Racist Backlash Against Anti-Semitic Demagogue

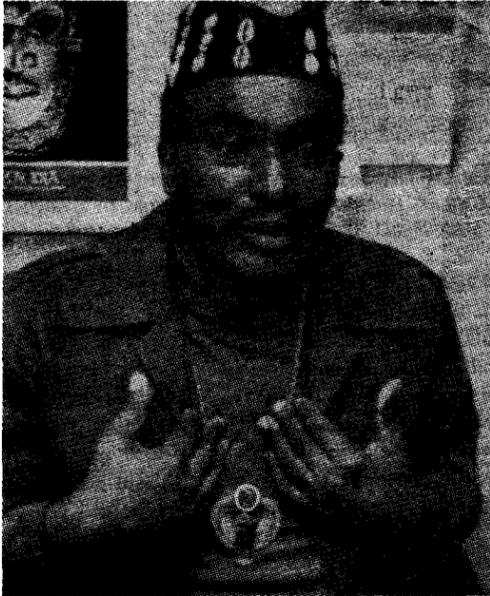
As New York City continued to fester during this long hot summer, becoming ever more racially polarized, the tabloid gutter press seized upon the anti-Semitic statements of Leonard Jeffries, chairman of the African-American studies department at City College, to fuel white racist fear and loathing of black people. Indeed, counterrevolution in the Soviet Union was the only news to push Jeffries off the front page.

While ostensibly addressing the controversy over "multicultural" textbook revision at a conference in Albany on July 20, Jeffries seized the opportunity to rave about a "conspiracy, planned and plotted and programmed out of Hollywood, where people called Greenberg and Weisberg and Trigliani and what-not...had a particular control over the movies" and together with "their financial partners, the Mafia, put together a system of destruction of black people." While citing just about every ethnic group for the horrors of the slave trade, Jeffries singled out Jews for their role as a merchant class. (He whitewashes any mention of the African kings who got their cut selling their own and other African peoples.) Denouncing right-wing Assistant U.S. Secretary for Education Diane Ravitch as a "sophisticated Texas Jew," who had "blinded us on the attack coming from the Jewish community—systematic, unrelenting," Jeffries blamed the Jews for black oppression.

Leonard Jeffries is an anti-Semitic bigot. But the people hounding him are even more virulent bigots, and they have the prerogatives of state power. Following the *New York Post's* 5 August "exposé" of Jeffries' remarks, an enormous outcry was raised by everyone from Senator Al D'Amato (a racist pig who called blacks "animals") to Governor Cuomo, to the *New York Times*, to State Education Commissioner Thomas Sobol, calling for disciplinary action against Jeffries. The fascist Zionist Jewish Defense League (which cut its teeth as a paramilitary anti-black organization in Brooklyn) demonstrated against Jeffries and lynched him in effigy at JFK airport upon his return from Ghana two weeks ago.

A City College faculty committee criticized Jeffries but recommended that no action be taken against him—however, final word rests with the university officials and trustees. State or university disciplinary action against Leonard Jeffries would not only be wrong, but obscene. City College is also home to Professor Michael Levin, a white-

Professor Leonard Jeffries fuels racial polarization in NYC. Supporters and JDL opponents met him at Kennedy Airport (right).



supremacist who claims that "the average black is significantly less intelligent than the average white" (*New York Observer*, 7 May 1990), and calls for black youth to be herded into segregated police-patrolled subway cars and barred from white-owned stores. Levin raises only a few eyebrows and receives not a fraction of the tabloid outrage directed at Jeffries.

Leonard Jeffries' method is to put a plus where Levin puts a minus. But let's face it, Jeffries' whacked-out theories about melanin conferring biological and intellectual superiority on "sun people" of African descent would never get that wide a hearing. Now the white racist backlash has caused many blacks to close ranks and rally 'round him, and that's too bad—because *Leonard Jeffries is an enemy of black struggle*. For all his talk of a conspiracy against black America, he hobnobs with the police, the armed fist of the racist ruling class, and last week addressed the National Black Police Officers Association in Newark.

Jeffries has degenerated from a crackpot cultural nationalist to an anti-Semitic demagogue. When in 1982 the Spartacist League initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the threatened KKK march in Washington, D.C., Professor Jeffries enthusiastically endorsed our call to action, both individually and on behalf of the African-American Studies Department. Yet by 1988, when approached by the Partisan Defense Committee for endorsement of our call to action against the Klan and skinheads' "White Pride Day" in Philadelphia, Jeffries disgustingly retorted that the KKK was "a white man's problem." Fortunately, large numbers of trade unionists, blacks, Jews, gays and others didn't buy this lie, and the Klan did *not* ride in Philly on November 5th.

The ridiculous belief, expressed by Jeffries and other pork-barreling black nationalist demagogues, that the American ruling class is comprised of Jews and Italians, is a testimony to the pathetic state of what passes for black leadership today. The *real* stagemasters of racist oppression, as George Herbert Walker Bush himself could tell you, do not even allow Jews or Italians into their social clubs.

In the absence of a revolutionary socialist alternative, the preachers of nationalist despair play upon the increasing frustration of the black population, fueling murderous ethnic violence

such as what's boiled over in the streets of Crown Heights against the Hassidim. Jeffries is one more voice in the chorus that's leading this city to race war—a war in which the oppressed black population in a racist white country can only lose. Leaflets went up all around Harlem declaring that "the Black community would hold the *Post* and Jewish people responsible for any threat, misquotes, slander or acts of violence" against Jeffries. The *Amsterdam News* fulminated that:

"In order to discredit the leadership of Jesse Jackson, call him an anti-Semite for referring to New York as 'Hymietown.' Cast Louis Farrakhan as an anti-Semite for referring to the 'gutter religion of the Jews.' Repudiate Jeffries for referring to Metro, Golden, Mayer [sic] as Jews. In the world of anti-Semitism, it is a sufficient act of anti-Semitism to call a Jew a Jew."

This stuff is anti-Semitic—and more grist for the Zionist propaganda mills. Historically, American Jews were represented in great numbers in the labor movement, the Communist Party, and in the front lines of the black freedom struggle. It was people with names like Schwerner and Goodman who joined with black youth like Chaney and gave

their lives to fight Jim Crow in Mississippi. But times have changed. Particularly in the aftermath of Israel's 1967 war against its Arab neighbors, American Jewry has lurched to the right and Zionism is now politically dominant. As we wrote about Jesse Jackson's disgusting "Hymietown" remark:

"American capitalism tended to set the Jewish and black communities against one another. In a number of U.S. cities the black ghetto exists today where the Jewish ghetto of East European immigrants existed yesterday. Thus, a black ghetto dweller often identifies Jews with his landlord or shopkeeper...the oppression of blacks and Jews in the U.S. is fundamentally different. Jews in the U.S. today are generally well-off and comfortable, while blacks are impoverished, miserable, brutalized by the cops and forced to live in ghetto hellholes. At the same time, Jews, even if relatively privileged, have a deep sense of historic oppression."

—WV No. 351, 30 March 1984

It is a measure of the terminal decay of American capitalism that communists are the *only* people fighting for integration of the schools and any semblance of equality, while bigotry and preachers of pseudo-scientific racial supremacy take hold on the campuses. ■

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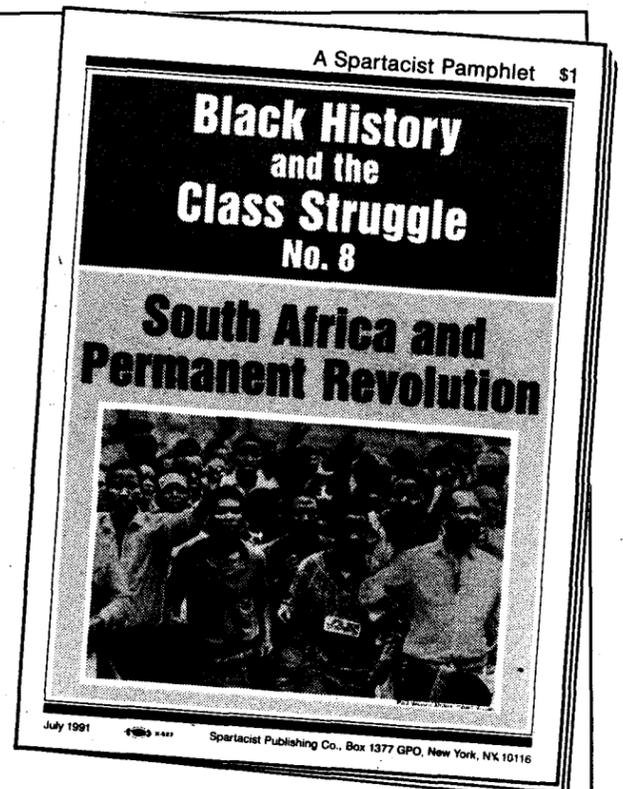
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Soviet Union...

(continued from page 1)

the West. He is connected to a far-right, racist outfit in the U.S. called the "Free Congress Foundation" (whose East European operatives include notorious Nazi collaborators) which takes credit for "training" him and his staff on how to seize power. His laws are being drawn up by advisers supplied by the U.S. government. One of Yeltsin's first acts as Moscow party chief in the mid-'80s was to legitimize the anti-Semitic Pamyat fascists when they emerged from their ratholes. While he promises working people that the free market will bring them prosperity, in fact it will lead to the elimination of what every Soviet worker considered a right until recently: a stable job, free health care, an education for their children—gains which all rest on the collectivized economy.

The alternatives posed before the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state have always been: counterrevolution or Trotskyism. Today Stalinism is dead. The key to frustrating the bloody plans of Bush, Yeltsin and their counter-revolutionary cohorts is the early forging of a Trotskyist nucleus in the Soviet Union, regrouping those elements in the workers movement, the army and throughout society who would fight for the program of October.

Perestroika Coup Fiasco

As the crowd of yuppies, students and assorted Russian nationalists, including fascists and priests, gathered at the start of the coup outside the Russian parliament, Yeltsin's "White House," a call on Moscow workers to clean out this counterrevolutionary rabble was in order. Yet the coup plotters not only did not mobilize the workers, they ordered everybody to stay at work and at home. The working class did, and Yeltsin's call for a protest strike fell flat. But the free-enterprise "cooperativists" and petty-bourgeois self-styled "democrats" intoxicated by the allure of dollars and D-marks thronged into the streets. And the impotent "state of emergency committee" (GKChP) did nothing. Any class-conscious Soviet worker who saw the urgent need to halt the capitalist-restorationist forces would certainly have been against Yeltsin, but critical of the coup—which wouldn't stop Yeltsin, and was therefore doomed to failure.

The ineptitude of the coup plotters astounded even imperialist commentators. It was reported that they had ordered 250,000 handcuffs from a factory in Pskov as well as stacks of blank arrest orders, but they failed even to seize the man who would clearly be the focus for a pro-imperialist counter-coup. Washington spokesmen ascribed this failure to follow the first rule of coup-making and arrest Yeltsin to a "miracle." They didn't even cut off his phones, and incredibly allowed TV to report Yeltsin's appeals for soldiers to disobey their orders! But these apparent stupidities were no mere oversight. The coup



Anatoly Sapronyevkov
Hardliners of the OFT labor federation brandish portrait of Stalin during May Day parade this year. Illusions that any sector of Stalinist bureaucracy would resist counterrevolution are now brutally exposed.

authors staked everything on a neutral acceptance of the coup by the imperialists, hinting that Gorbachev might be brought back and leaving Washington's darling Yeltsin untouched. The GKChP's statement vowed to "support private enterprise" and to observe every treacherous commitment to the imperialists by Gorbachev. Its chief economic spokesman Tizyakov insisted that "the policy of the reforms toward a market economy will not be reversed." There was no mention of "Marxism-Leninism," "communism," or even "socialism."

For this was a "perestroika coup." For months there had been calls for a crackdown coming from hardline Stalinist/nationalist "patriots" like the "black colonels" of Soyuz. But what moved the coup leaders, all of them Gorbachev appointees, to action was the imminent signing of a new union treaty, which would have ceded significant central powers to the republics. The coup was not so much by the military, which largely stayed out of the fray, but by top administrative and party hacks of the central apparat whose bureaucratic fiefdoms were threatened. Their avowed program was martial law to keep the USSR from breaking apart, which comes down to perestroika minus glasnost: the introduction of the market but not so fast, and shut up. Thus one of the "gang of eight," Prime Minister Pavlov, was the Gorbachev regime's main spokesman for the new law allowing widescale privatization of industry, and was notorious for tripling food prices last spring. At the time, he told a British journalist:

"I must be very firm and say that privatisation has always been on the agenda of economic reform, and it was always, for obvious reasons, very closely linked with the liberalisation of prices.... We want to bring about the normal situation of capital as in other countries."
—London Independent (18 April)

Not exactly a program to inspire Soviet workers to support the plotters' bid for power! The coup leaders conspicuously avoided any mention of the October Revolution, or for that matter

even the "Great Patriotic War." Instead they looked to the traditions of the tsarist empire—which Lenin called a "prison house of peoples"—declaring: "Our multinational people have lived for centuries, proud of their Motherland." But in appealing to Russian nationalism, Yeltsin held the stronger hand.

Nor did the coup organizers manage to assuage Washington and Wall Street. As soon as Bush took a hard line backing Yeltsin (and incidentally demanding Gorbachev's return), the coup began



Reuters
Coup organizers' press conference: (from left) Tizyakov, Starodubtsev, Pugo, Yanayev and Baklanov.

unraveling. In the aftermath, there has been a lot of hoopla about the outpouring of popular support for "democracy." While up to 150,000 (out of a city of ten million), undoubtedly including many workers, turned out at one point to hear Yeltsin, the fabled barricades outside the "White House" were purely symbolic, generally having only a few thousand hanging around them. "They were mainly young ones, like myself, students, intellectuals, professionals," said one participant. In addition to a couple dozen Russian republic police, Yeltsin's bodyguards were rent-a-cops from a private security company (like the strikebreaking Pinkertons in the U.S.). At most there were a dozen tanks, dispatched by pro-Yeltsin commanders, in front of the building. Speaking of a possible assault, a Yeltsin "commander" said: "Of course, we could not hold them off for more than five minutes." But there was no serious assault.

Emboldened by the paralysis of the coup leaders, the reactionary mob heaved Molotov cocktails at young tank drivers. And then, barely two and a half days after the action began, the army withdrew. At this point frenzied Yeltsinites began rampaging through the city. A lieutenant colonel who attended the demonstrations was shocked: "I am surprised by how many of the young are thirsting for blood." Their first target was the statue outside KGB headquarters of Feliks Dzerzhinsky, a Polish Communist and founder of the Cheka, the Bolshe-

viks' fighting arm against White Guard subversion. The next day they toppled the statue of Yakov Sverdlov, a Jewish Communist (and first president of the Soviet republic). There, the pro-Hitler NTS distributed a leaflet that called for the very measures that Yeltsin decreed the next day. The Russian Orthodox Patriarch presided over the burial of three who died assaulting the tanks. British TV reported, "The images today were of old Russia, pre-revolutionary, a country throwing itself back 75 years."

In the wake of the botched coup, Yeltsin, the former bureaucratic hack turned capitalist-restorationist, moved quickly and ruthlessly against his opponents. In the best tradition of Stalin, Yeltsin dragged the politically enfeebled Soviet "president" Gorbachev before jeering members of the Russian parliament to crudely humiliate him. Aping the tsar, the "democratic" Russian president Yeltsin haughtily issued a *ukase* (decree) banning activities of the Communist Party on Russian soil and outlawed *Pravda* and other CP newspapers. The CPSU Central Committee and Moscow offices were sealed and surrounded by bloodthirsty gangs. Flaunting his power over Gorbachev, Yeltsin named the new head of the Soviet army, KGB and interior ministry, who promptly outlawed Communist Party activity in these pillars of state power. The next day Gorbachev not only resigned as general secretary of the CPSU but called for dissolution of the disintegrating party and confiscation of its property.

Yeltsin may wield the pen and the



Reuters
Uniformed Pamyat fascists burn Soviet flag outside Communist Party headquarters.

microphone, but his orders came on the direct line from the White House on the Potomac to the "White House" on the Moskva. Less than 24 hours after Bush expressed dissatisfaction with Gorbachev's appointment of General Moiseyev as the new defense minister, Moiseyev was out. The Russian demagogue Yeltsin is portrayed as a great hero of "democracy." This "democrat" is calling for the formation of a new Russian army, the "National Guard," whose first decoration would be the Order of St. George—the tsarist emblem and banner of the Russian fascists. A former White House official called Yeltsin "a Slavic edition of Huey Long" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 August), the right-wing Louisiana demagogue who in the 1930s used populist rhetoric to build up a personal, authoritarian regime. Even many pro-Western, "free market" intellectuals in the Soviet Union fear Yeltsin as a potential dictator who will ride roughshod over them. Like Poland's Lech Walesa, admirer of the nationalist dictator Pilsudski, he will try to use his popularity to impose capitalist "shock treatment" on the workers.

The imperialist media are exultant, hailing "The Second Russian Revolution." The *New York Times* sneeringly refers to V.I. Lenin as "little more than a demagogue with a lisp." (The *Times* is so intent on portraying a counterrevolution victorious that its copious coverage never once mentions the Soviet workers.) But in the Soviet Union, even some of the more liberal Yeltsinites are begin-

ning to get nervous about reaping the whirlwind they have sown. *Ogonyok* editor Vitaly Korotich is now warning of a "third force, which may be represented by certain young people of the fascist persuasion." The leaders of the "democratic revolution" are already promoting the tsarist watchword of "Russia, one and indivisible." Leningrad mayor Anatoly Sobchak lambastes centrifugal forces pulling apart the USSR: "This is insanity. We are a nuclear country." Yeltsin aides talk of destabilization of the economy and warn Ukrainian secessionists that "these lands were settled by Russians."

Meanwhile, thousands of Muscovites have been lining up to visit the Lenin mausoleum, worried that this may be their last opportunity to pay their respects to the founder of the Soviet state.

Fight Capitalist Enslavement!

For decades, the Stalinists and imperialists have joined together in identifying the system of bureaucratic rule installed by Stalin and his henchmen in 1924 with Leninism. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky carried out the October Revolution as the first step of the world socialist revolution. Backward Russia, the "weak link" of imperialist rule, was the scene of the first workers revolution, but it had to be completed by the proletariat in the advanced imperialist countries if it was to sustain itself and lead to socialism, a society of equality based on abundance. It was on the basis of the defeat of the European revolutions, centrally in Germany, in the 1918-23 postwar period, that the usurpers Stalin/Bukharin "discovered" the profoundly anti-Marxist notion that it was possible to construct "socialism in one country." Trotsky denounced this nationalist dogma as writing off the world revolution, and predicted it would be the undoing of the Soviet Union if the bureaucracy was not swept away by the resurgent working class.

In his decisive analysis of Stalinism, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), Trotsky asked prophetically, "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat?" In developing this, he elaborated the program of proletarian political revolution led by a Bolshevik party to re-establish Soviet democracy. The planned economy would be subordinated to the will of the workers, freeing it from the arbitrary zigzags of the faceless, grey bureaucrats. And instead of the conservative anti-revolutionary policies of Stalin's Kremlin, the Soviet Union would again become the headquarters of international socialist revolution. He also spelled out the bleak alternative:

"If—to adopt a second hypothesis—a bourgeois party were to overthrow the ruling Soviet caste, it would find no small number of ready servants among the present bureaucrats, administrators, technicians, directors, party secretaries and privileged upper circles in general. A purgation of the state apparatus would, of course, be necessary in this case too. But a bourgeois restoration would probably have to clean out fewer people than a revolutionary party. The chief task of the new power would be to restore private property in the means of production. First of all, it would be necessary to create conditions for the development of strong farmers from the weak collective farms, and for converting the strong collectives into producers' cooperatives of the bourgeois type—into agricultural stock companies. In the sphere of industry, denationalization would begin with the light industries and those producing food. The planning principle would be converted for the transitional period into a series of compromises between state power and individual 'corporations'—potential proprietors, that is, among the Soviet captains of industry, the émigré former proprietors and foreign capitalists. Notwithstanding that the Soviet bureaucracy has gone far toward preparing a bourgeois restoration, the new regime would have to introduce in the matter of forms of property and methods of industry not a reform, but a social revolution."

Every Soviet worker, collective farm-

er, pensioner and soldier will immediately recognize that this process of counterrevolution is well under way. The state monopoly of foreign trade has been scuttled, the planned economy abandoned. In their stead, imperialist corporations from Pepsi-Cola to Chevron oil have made encroachments on the Soviet economy. The Russian federation's new "land reform" lays the basis for destroying the *kolkhoz* collectives, promising rural poverty for the many and riches for the new kulaks. "Cooperative" profiteers and black market speculators have grown explosively in the vacuum of the collapsed distribution system. But this is only the beginning. Yeltsin now intends to ram through capitalist restoration at breakneck pace. Yavlinsky, co-author of the Harvard-designed "grand bargain" to sell out the Soviet Union to the imperialists, is now in charge of the economy. But for the Soviet working masses, the "magic of the marketplace" holds the promise of hunger and homelessness. In an insiders' newsletter, the major Wall Street brokerage firm Merrill Lynch hints at the truth being hidden from the Soviet masses:

"Although there is likely to be a surge in optimism among the Soviet people as a new political order emerges, expectations about the new order's ability to turn around the economy are likely to exceed what is realistically possible. If the experience of eastern Europe is any indication, the next several years will be painful for the Soviet economy as workers lose lifetime jobs and state-owned enterprises are restructured."

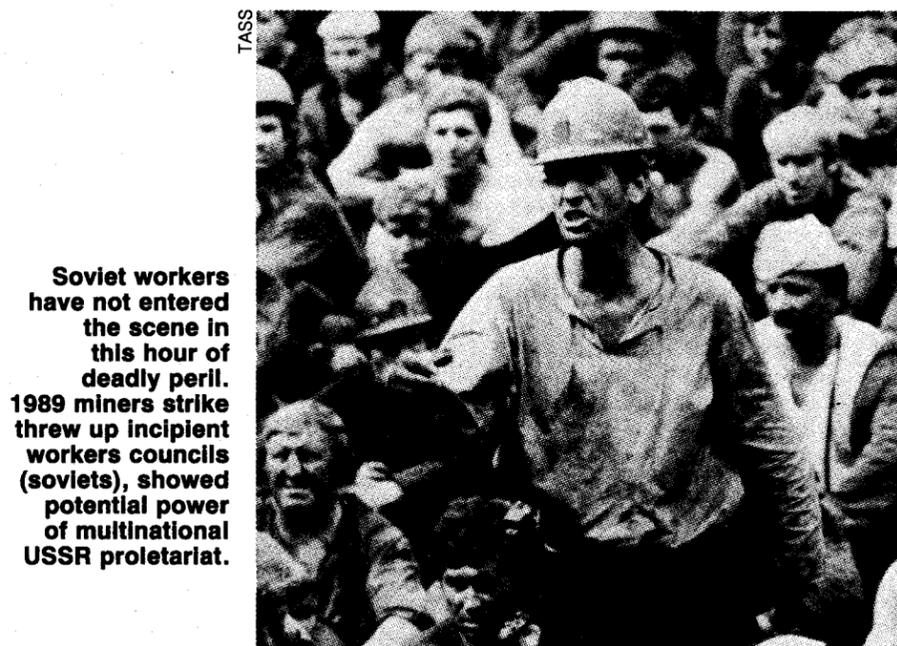
—*Wednesday's Global Report*,
21 August

Up until now Yeltsin has been able to blame the economic chaos and immiseration of perestroika on Gorbachev's "half-measures" and the sabotage of the old Stalinist apparat. The Russian demagogue talks out of both sides of his mouth, visiting strikers one week and approving anti-strike laws the next. But now Yeltsin will seek to implement his real program, to impose brutal capitalist austerity on the Soviet working class. He will be held responsible for closing down "unprofitable" enterprises, throwing millions of workers into the streets, raising rents and the price of food, shutting down childcare centers and attacking Soviet working people in all ways. At the same time, it will be very difficult in the next several months to use the army, KGB or police to break strikes or break up popular protests.

Despite Yeltsin's present ascendancy and the mood of anti-Communist hysteria among the petty bourgeoisie, it will not be that easy to carry out a capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. In fact, one might expect a higher level of strike action than took place under Gorbachev's perestroika. During this period the Soviet working class has been politically disoriented and confused by the ever-shifting lineup of Yeltsin vs. Gorbachev vs. the "hardline" Stalinists. Now the lines of battle are hard, and raw. But the absence of genuinely com-



Leon Trotsky shortly before his assassination by Stalin's agents in Mexico, 1940. Left Opposition intransigently defended USSR against threat of capitalist restoration. Right: Trotsky's 1935 article, "Where Is the Stalin Bureaucracy Leading the USSR?" in *Bulletin of the Opposition*.



Soviet workers have not entered the scene in this hour of deadly peril. 1989 miners strike threw up incipient workers councils (soviets), showed potential power of multinational USSR proletariat.

munist leadership represents the greatest obstacle, leaving the working class prey to confusion, false polarizations and defeatism in the face of their class enemies.

Both the Yeltsinites and the "hardliners" compete on the terrain of counterrevolutionary Russian nationalism. Starting with Stalin himself, vicious Great Russian chauvinism has characterized the bureaucracy, undermining the multinational USSR. The Pamyat anti-Semites' rise was protected by sections of the Gorbachev bureaucracy, in particular Yeltsin's wing. Meanwhile, the nationalist secessionists—mostly from the better-off republics—yearn to be pawns of imperialism today, as many of their forefathers were for the Nazis. In the last fight of his life, Lenin insisted, against Stalin, that the revolutionary Soviet state be a voluntary union based on equality of nations.

It is urgently, indeed desperately necessary for the working class to now establish organizational forms to mobilize its power to resist and overthrow the forces of capitalist counterrevolution.

● As every hustler is out to "get theirs," workers will be anxious to protect their own threatened livelihoods. *Independent workers committees* must be formed in factories, mines, railroad yards and other enterprises to prevent layoffs and privatization by taking over the plants and controlling production. Such workers committees can be the basis for genuine *soviets*, drawing into their ranks collective farmers, oppressed minorities, working women, Red Army soldiers and officers, old-age pensioners—all those who will be victimized by the "new order."

● Yeltsin & Co. have already begun purging the officer corps of the military. This has nothing to do with democracy. He wants to turn the Soviet army which defended the Soviet people against the Nazi scourge into a compliant tool for internal repression in the interests of the new capitalist masters. *Committees of*

soldiers and officers must be formed to oppose the purges and prevent the army from being used to attack the workers' interests.

● The anti-Communist mobs are the shock troops of a budding fascist movement, the future strikebreakers, jailers and torturers of militant workers and leftists. Already the NTS, former WW II quislings of the Hitlerite invaders, have raised their heads at the Yeltsinite mobilizations. The blackshirts Pamyat fascists are burning red flags. Next they will be staging deadly anti-Semitic pogroms. *Workers militias* must be formed, aided by Red Army officers and soldiers loyal to socialism, to defend against and crush the lynch mobs and pogromists.

● Illegalization of the Communist Party will be used as a precedent to ban all groups claiming to stand for socialism or communism. The red purge will be used to victimize militant workers who lead strikes against layoffs and privatization. *Down with the witchhunting ban on the CP! Don't let them drag away Jewish or Communist coworkers!*

● The escalating nationalist secessionist movements in the various republics are fueling fratricidal slaughter among the deeply interpenetrated Soviet peoples. It is urgently necessary to organize *multi-national defense guards* to ward off communalist butchery. As Leninists, i.e., proletarian internationalists, we stand for full equality of all nations and nationalities in a genuinely socialist federation.

Working women, who have suffered most under perestroika's economic misery, must be in the forefront not only of the battle to stop the closures of childcare centers, but in the forging of a genuinely communist nucleus. In Poland and the former DDR (East Germany) women are being driven from their jobs and abortion is considered a criminal act. Reawakened women workers of the Soviet Union—who have the most to lose under capitalist counterrevolution—must play a leading role as their grandmothers and great-grandmothers did in the Bolshevik Revolution.

The youth, many shocked into political awareness for the first time in recent days, must find their way to the program of revolutionary internationalism. Reversion to the Slavophilic backwardness of Yeltsin & Co. precludes the genuinely open intellectual and artistic climate that so many young people yearn for. Make no mistake: life for youth in the West does not resemble a music video! The reality for working-class youth under capitalism is a nightmare of uncertainty, unemployment, hopelessness with the very real prospect of being cannon fodder in the next imperialist war. The young Soviet republic in the days of Lenin and Trotsky fought for women's emancipation, for every kind of social emancipation, against censorship, for freedom from state intervention in one's personal affairs.

Workers and soldiers soviets (councils) must orient to defeating the

continued on page 12



Soviet Union...

(continued from page 11)

counterrevolutionary Yeltsin regime and establishing a government based on soviet democracy such as was established by the October Revolution of 1917. In this hour of dire need more than ever, the key to successful defense of the Soviet proletariat is the forging of a new, authentically communist vanguard party of the working class. Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!

For Revolutionary Regroupment!

With the evident and total collapse of Stalinism, there is a crying need for regroupment among the numerous would-be communist groupings on the left fringe of the CPSU. Many of the most communist-minded workers have had illusions in the "patriotic" elements of the Stalinist bureaucracy, who frequently appealed to Great Russian chauvinism and conciliated or embraced outright anti-Semites, fascists and tsarists. But for example Soyuz leader Colonel Viktor Alksnis denounces Gorbachev not for introducing the market, but for introducing "democracy": "My model is the market first and democracy later." This is known as the "Chilean option," modeled on the bloody Pinochet coup, whose vaunted fake "economic miracle" was built on the corpses of tens of thousands of leftist workers and peasants.

In late July activists from the "patriots" milieu initiated a workers conference in the capital which drew over 500 delegates from 400 major Moscow-area plants. A representative of the International Communist League addressed this gathering:

"Today the imperialists and the native restorationists strive to dismember the USSR by splitting, paralyzing the Soviet proletariat with nationalism. This is their greatest weapon. But the proletariat has its own weapon—internationalism. We need to forge a party that mobilizes against all forms of discrimination, nationalism and anti-Semitism!"

—WV No. 532, 2 August

During the coup, the Moscow workers council which came out of this July conference issued a call to: "Form workers militias for the preservation of socialized property, for the preservation of social order on the streets of our cities, for the control of the carrying out of the orders and instructions of the State Committee on the Emergency Situation." There was not one word of criticism of the GKChP. A call for workers militias to smash the counterrevolutionary Yeltsinite demonstrations was certainly in order. But if the Emergency Committee had consolidated power, it would have attempted to disband any such workers militias, which would otherwise have inevitably and rapidly escaped its political control. The last thing these degenerate Stalinists wanted to see was the independent mobilization of the working class.

Those communist-minded leftists who looked to the "patriotic" wing of the Communist Party and armed forces are now understandably in a state of political trauma. They cannot understand what happened. In fact, they cannot understand what has happened since Gorbachev became leader of the CPSU in 1985. The economic chaos and miseries of perestroika, the abandonment of East Europe, the endorsement of the American destruction of Iraq in the name of Bush's "New World Order"—these are not simply a result of spinelessness, corruption or stupidity on the part of Gorbachev and his collaborators. They are the legacy of more than six decades of Stalinist perversion of the October Revolution: the bureaucratic usurpation of workers rule, the high-handed bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy, the Great Russian chauvinism at the expense of national minorities, the stifling of free expression and creativity, the political demobilizing

of the working class.

After the relative stagnation of the last Brezhnev years, in their own way the dominant sections of the Kremlin bureaucracy came to recognize there can be no "socialism in one country," that the Soviet Union must be integrated into the world economy as part of an international division of labor. Since the core of the Stalinist ideological outlook is the rejection of socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, this meant integration into the world capitalist system. The intent of Yeltsin and Gorbachev—who both began as typical young, up-and-coming apparatchiks under the Brezhnev regime—to sell the Soviet Union to Wall Street and Frankfurt is the logical culmination of the Stalinist doctrine of "socialism in one country." Gorbachev's neo-Bukharinite "market socialism" was the antechamber to counterrevolution.

Despite the anti-Communist hysteria now raging in the Soviet Union, there are large numbers of workers and even a few intellectuals who want to defend socialism and communism. They must



Spartakists Initiated 250,000-strong anti-fascist mobilization in defense of Red Army monument at Treptow Park, East Berlin, January 1990.

understand that Trotskyism is the genuine expression of Bolshevism today, that a Trotskyist party must be built to lead the struggle against the counterrevolution. Stalin's first step in consolidating his regime, aided by Bukharin, was to purge and persecute the Left Opposition, and eventually to murder the entire surviving Old Bolshevik cadre, the leaders of October.

The disastrous effects of "socialism in one country" on the world revolution and on the USSR soon made themselves felt. Stalin/Bukharin collaborated with the British social-democratic labor bureaucracy who then sabotaged the 1926 General Strike. They supported the Chinese nationalist general Chiang Kai-shek, who then drowned in blood the revolutionary proletariat. As the 1927 *Platform of the Opposition* stated: "The defeat of the revolution in China, following the defeat of the British General Strike, has inspired the imperialists with the hope that they may succeed in crushing the Soviet Union." Only a few years later, the German CP, on Stalin's orders, allowed Hitler to come to power unchallenged.

Having rejected Trotsky's call for a principled workers united front to defeat the fascists, as Nazi Germany became an obvious threat to the USSR, Stalin called for a "popular front" with the so-called "democratic" imperialists of France and Britain. In the name of this "popular front," the Stalinists sabotaged a prerevolutionary situation in France and strangled the revolutionary Spanish working class, paving the way for Franco's victory. Then, by beheading the general staff of the Red Army during the bloody 1936-38 purges and relying on his "non-aggression" pact with Hitler, Stalin was directly responsible for the

catastrophic losses in the initial stages of World War II.

More than 20 million Soviet citizens were killed defending the homeland of October and liberating all of Europe from the nightmare of Nazism. On the basis of the Red Army's destruction of the Third Reich, subsequent threats to the USSR by nuclear-armed American imperialism led the Kremlin to undertake bureaucratically deformed social, i.e., anti-capitalist, transformations in East Europe as a defensive measure. But now East Europe is being handed back to the imperialists.

We Trotskyists Have Defended the Soviet Union

Today the Soviet Union faces being dismembered and its constituent republics turned into neocolonies of Washington, Berlin and Tokyo. The present collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracy has its immediate origins in the renewed Cold War offensive launched by American imperialism after its ignominious defeat in Vietnam. In every key battleground of Cold War II—Afghanistan,

opposed capitalist reunification.

Within the Soviet Union representatives of the ICL have fought for a revolutionary internationalist perspective. Thus at a coal miners congress last October in Donetsk, we helped block the effort of right-wing, Yeltsinite forces advised by the American "AFL-CIA" federation to enlist Soviet miners in the international anti-Communist witchhunt against British miners leader Arthur Scargill. The imperialist rulers hate Scargill because he led the 1984-85 British miners strike—which Soviet workers generously aided. This momentous class battle gave the lie to the self-serving Stalinist myth that workers in advanced capitalist countries are incapable of hard-fought class struggle.

We urgently seek to bring the program of Trotskyism to the Soviet proletariat and socialist-minded intelligentsia with our Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin*, containing in addition to key documents of the ICL the section on the USSR from Trotsky's Transitional Program. In recent months, we analyzed the mounting crisis in our article "Where Is the Soviet Union Going?" (WV Nos. 520, 521 and 522, 15 February, 1 March and 15 March), including a program of struggle for genuine soviet power.

It's Desperately Necessary to Fight

Writing in 1935 on "The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism," Trotsky noted: "The inevitable collapse of Stalinist Bonapartism would immediately call into question the character of the USSR as a workers' state." This has now occurred. He added: "The fate of the USSR as a socialist state depends upon that political regime that will arise to replace Stalinist Bonapartism." The imperialists and their flunkys such as Yeltsin want to accelerate the consolidation of a capitalist state. But it will not be so easy. This is not East Germany, a compact, homogeneous country which was taken over by the existing German bourgeoisie, which simply moved in its state apparatus, laid waste to the DDR economy and put half the working population on welfare. When the cost turned out to be higher than expected, Bonn kept pumping in billions of D-marks.

The Soviet Union, in contrast, is a huge country, with over 100 nationalities, a tremendous potential for chaos and no one to finance a capitalist takeover. The U.S. could probably buy the country for a few tens or hundreds of billions of dollars, but the American ruling class is as ideologically opposed to that as it is to financing a decent social welfare or health care system in this country. Soviet petty-bourgeois yuppies believe in a utopian capitalism, dreaming that they will suddenly achieve a standard of living like Scandinavia. In fact, economically and politically their fate under capitalism would be more akin to Mexico, or worse, with deep impoverishment of the masses presided over by an authoritarian state. The forces backing Yeltsin would like to be a capitalist class, but they are not yet one. Even in Poland, where the state is capitalist from top to bottom, a capitalist class has not yet coalesced because they lack...capital.

And there are additional obstacles: for one, the Soviet economy is organized on an all-Union basis and the departure of major components, particularly if the Ukraine pulls out, will wreak havoc. Moreover, many Soviet workers believe that the country belongs to them, and they have a deep reservoir of commitment to egalitarianism which must be rooted out for capitalism to be implanted. Thus although events are moving at breakneck speed, these factors may allow enough of a window for the Soviet proletariat to go into struggle before the counterrevolution consolidates. Should that happen, revolutionaries must seek to intervene to provide leadership, seeking above all to cohere a new revolutionary vanguard party, the necessary instrument for victory. ■

Palestinians...

(continued from page 5)

balkanization created an overlapping and interpenetrating patchwork of national, communal, ethnic and religious groupings. Inside any given state boundary, one of those groupings is dominant, and the rest victimized, while women are horribly oppressed everywhere. The national/religious fratricide strikes hardest at the working class, which in most countries of the Near East is multinational. The Gulf states and Iraq were host to millions of workers from other Arab countries and South Asia. Millions were displaced as a result of the Gulf War: many of the one million Egyptians working in Iraq, 700,000 Yemenis in Saudi Arabia, hundreds of thousands of Kurds and Palestinians.

What's desperately needed is an *internationalist* proletarian leadership. Despite their nationalist, popular-frontist subordination to bourgeois forces, the Stalinist parties have exercised an attraction not least because they represent the only political haven for oppressed minorities and others who reject the reigning nationalist chauvinism. Thus all of the three communist formations which arose in Egypt in the 1940s were founded and led by Jews who were militantly anti-Zionist. The mass Communist Party of Iraq was based heavily on Jews and Kurds in the 1940s. Even in the difficult terrain of British imperialist repression, Zionist colonization and recurring race riots, the original Palestinian CP managed to build a binational Arab-Hebrew organization.

But the Stalinists squandered this con-

siderable authority derived from the heritage of Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International, instead prostituting themselves to the national bourgeoisies. Under Stalin, the Palestinian CP capitulated alternately to Zionism and Arab nationalism, boosting the anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi Mufti of Jerusalem in the 1930s and supporting the creation of the Zionist state a decade later. These treacherous zigzags tore the party apart along nationalist lines, into a Jewish organization which tailed Zionism and an Arab National Liberation League which blocked with the Palestinian Arab bourgeoisie. Likewise the Egyptian CP liquidated lock, stock and barrel into Nasser's movement in the mid-1950s.

Breaking the stranglehold of national oppression and economic backwardness imposed and enforced by imperialism requires the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution: the independent mobilization of the proletariat—leading behind it the impoverished peasant masses—which alone is capable of sweeping away imperialism and its bonapartist and feudalist satraps. In this region, genuine proletarian internationalism is an iron necessity for any real working-class struggle. And a key litmus test for an internationalist perspective is the call for revolutionary Arab-Hebrew class unity. While the Hebrew-speaking working class of Israel is presently thoroughly inundated by Zionist chauvinism and anti-Arab racism, only through joint Arab-Hebrew class struggle can the nuclear-armed, war-crazed Zionist ruling class be swept away.

And with the mass influx of Soviet Jews straining the already bankrupt Israeli economy (dependent on massive

U.S. handouts), as unemployment and inflation soar, and skyrocketing rents drive thousands out of their apartments to become homeless in the "promised land," the class contradictions in Zionist Israel can't be papered over forever. An outbreak of revolutionary proletarian struggle elsewhere in the Near East

could well shatter the popular Zionist consensus in the bankrupt Israeli garrison state. The tiny racist Zionist state—surrounded by hostile Arab countries and ruled by a war-crazed gang who glory in a suicidal Masada complex—is, as Trotsky predicted more than 50 years ago, a deathtrap for the Jewish people.

The West Bank has neither the social nor economic wherewithal to provide a base for a successful national uprising, much less a socialist revolution (a phrase the various CPs consider taboo). Any meaningful expression of the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people which does not come at the expense of the national rights of the Hebrew-speaking people requires at least the overthrow of the Zionist capitalist state and its Hashemite neighbor. Palestinians constitute a sizable majority of Jordan's population, more so now with the postwar influx of refugees.

In cutting Palestinian workers off from the possibility of joint struggle with their class brothers and sisters, the Stalinists and nationalists cut the throats of the Palestinian people as a whole. As a result of their dispersal throughout the Near East by the Zionist-imposed diaspora, the highly educated, politicized and cosmopolitan Palestinian working class can play a vanguard role in revolutionary class struggle throughout the region. In that role, Palestinian workers could be the key not only to securing national rights for their people but in achieving the social liberation of all the toilers of the Near East. Above all, that requires forging Leninist-Trotskyist parties which actively struggle as tribunes of the oppressed against all the nationalist butchers of the region. ■



WV Photo

Spartacist League in Boston protest against U.S. war moves in Persian Gulf, 15 September 1990.

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

disenfranchised minorities, today Jamal is fighting for his life on death row in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

The campaign to save Jamal, launched by the PDC three years ago, has taken on international dimensions. Over 40,000 people have signed petitions demanding Jamal not be executed. On July 8, the PEN American Center, an organization of over 2,500 writers, wrote to Governor Casey to prevent Jamal's execution, and trade unions representing millions more have taken a stand in his defense.

Most important is the increasing labor support for Jamal's struggle, particularly among black workers, for whom Jamal's

fight against the racist death penalty has become the Scottsboro case of today. This spring the Midwest Region and New York chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) voiced their support for Jamal. In late May the national CBTU, representing members of 76 international and national unions, adopted a resolution to support Jamal. The black caucus of the Amalgamated Transit Union voted to send a letter of protest against Jamal's death sentence and to form a "Committee to Save Jamal." National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200 in Pasadena, California and Hospital and Health Care Workers Union Local 250 SEIU, representing 29,000 workers in California, are among the other unions who have recently come on board.

The fight to defend our rights won't be won by voting for Democrats or pe-

tioning Congress. Workers and minorities need a mass organization of class-struggle defense. We look to the heritage of the International Labor Defense under its first secretary, James P. Cannon. In the ILD's campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti from the electric chair, Cannon elaborated the strategy on which we fight:

"One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale...."
—"Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?" *Labor Defender*, January 1927

We encourage all readers of *Workers Vanguard* to join the work of the PDC. Help provide assistance and solidarity to the class-war prisoners. Get involved in the campaign to free Geronimo. Join the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Write us for petitions, leaflets and more information on how to join the international campaign. You can read more about the activities of the PDC in our newsletter *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *CSDN*. For more information, contact: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Geronimo...

(continued from page 2)

came in the latest stage of a lawsuit, brought by Partisan Defense Committee attorney Valerie West in 1989, challenging the punitive mistreatment of Geronimo and demanding the removal of false and life-threatening charges in his prison file.

For 20 years the California prison authorities have acted with impunity on the assumption that because Geronimo was a Black Panther Party leader they can peddle any lie about him and do anything they want to him. Lies, such as that Geronimo "conspired to kill Folsom

guards with poison darts" and to "kidnap children of Folsom guards," were deemed bogus by a jury in the 1976 *Pratt v. Rees* case. But they remain in his file today, along with later fabrications which set Geronimo up for victimization and undermine his chance for parole. In a significant ruling on July 18, the judge granted Geronimo and his lawyers access to the confidential portions of his 4,000-page prison file, and two weeks later set up a process for negotiating Geronimo's demand for the removal of false and damaging documents.

Despite leaving Geronimo in "the hole," Weigel has recognized the state's vindictive mistreatment; declared Geronimo's life-threatening transfer to Folsom prison in 1989 an unlawful retaliation for his exercise of First Amendment rights; persuaded prison officials to remove Geronimo from cell conditions which exacerbated medical problems stemming from his Vietnam War wounds; and, although he upheld the marijuana frame-up, the judge restrained prison authorities from "imposing punishment, penalty, or other reprisals because of plaintiff's exercise of his rights." Without explanation, prison officials reduced Geronimo's term in the hole, which would return him to the general prison population in October.

There has been an increased outpouring of support for Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt. Actor Danny Glover, Rev. Ben Chavis and numerous clergy spoke out for him from the steps of the federal courthouse in San Francisco on July 26. Reflecting the growing labor support for Geronimo, on July 30 the 70,000-member Central Labor Council of Alameda County stated, "It is the position of this Central Labor Council that Pratt was framed during the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO campaign." The next hearing in Geronimo's lawsuit against prison harassment is scheduled for November 1.

Geronimo's legal struggles cost lots of money. We are up against the vast financial resources of the state. Send contributions earmarked "Geronimo Pratt Defense" to the PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. Join the fight to free Geronimo! ■

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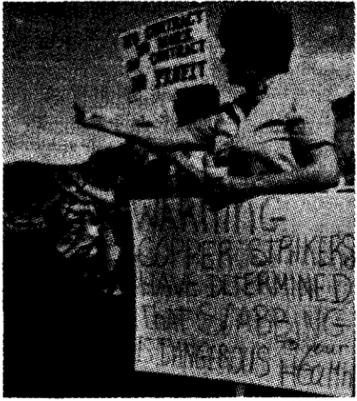
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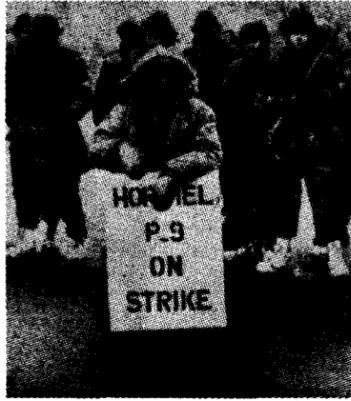
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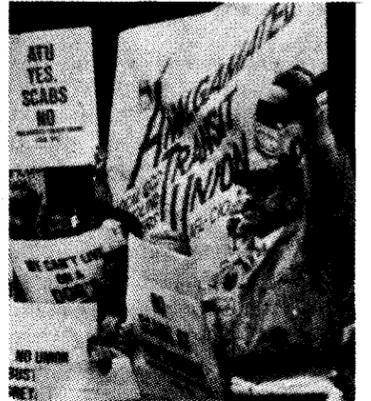
WV Photo



Levison/Minneapolis Star and Tribune



Taylor/Compix



WV Photo

A decade of workers' struggles isolated by Democratic Party-loyal labor bureaucrats who played by the bosses' rules.

Labor...

(continued from page 16)

and forge a leadership that has the program and determination to wage a down-the-line fight for a workers government that will undertake the socialist reindustrialization of America.

Labor's Giant Step—Backwards

Strikebreaking and union-busting have been a bipartisan affair from the get-go. When Reagan fired 14,000 PATCO members and mobilized military air controllers as scabs in control towers across the country, he was following a plan worked out by the Democratic Carter administration. In August 1983, it was the Democratic governor of Arizona, Bruce ("Scabbitt") Babbitt, who called out the National Guard to disperse the militant picket lines of striking Phelps

plant occupations. What counts is power." But the union tops are not interested in winning—their first allegiance is to their capitalist masters' profit margins.

Look at the UAW. Iacocca pleads poverty after years of the Big Three looting their own companies? "Sacrifice House" says fine, hands over \$5 billion to the auto bosses and enforces the closing of dozens of plants, turning Detroit and Flint into industrial ghost towns. UAW acquires a new meaning: "U Ain't Workin'." Still can't meet the Japanese competition? The chauvinist union tops demand quotas and "local content" laws, setting American workers against their international class brothers and sisters. They can't even organize Japanese-owned auto plants in the U.S., blowing the union organizing campaign at Nissan in Smyrna, Tennessee. Now they're using the same protectionist poison against the North American "Free Trade Agreement," instead of organizing inter-

let the strikers starve and shiver on picket lines watching scabs go in for a year or so; then they can crawl back to their old jobs at half the pay after the union chiefs sell them out. The way to stop scabs is the way it was done in the sit-down strikes of the '30s.

The 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which allowed the U.S. president to issue sweeping injunctions against strikes deemed not in the "national interest," came into existence because the union tops refused to break their ties to the Democrats and bust this law in action. And the CIO carried out a red purge that drove out many of the most militant unionists. Democrat Truman, elected with labor support, invoked the Taft-Hartley law no less than 61 times by the time he left office.

It has become a truism in American labor that the unions should have "done something" when Reagan canned the PATCO air controllers. The Spartacist League called at the time for solid strike action to shut down the airports. That would have required strike committees elected in opposition to do-nothing bureaucrats, from CIA overseer Kirkland to "socialist" Winpisinger. It would have meant mass picket lines prepared to confront the repressive power of the state. It would have meant union leaders going to jail, not for the first time in American history.

George Meany used to brag that he had never walked a picket line. Under Carter, Reagan and Bush, the current crop of union misleaders have participated in the destruction of their own union organizations, with billions of dollars in givebacks, "two-tier" wage schemes which leave the new generation of workers rightly bitter, and slashing health care. They truly are the "labor lieutenants of capital." Similar to the black Democratic Party mayors, put in to keep the ghettos in line, they are the enforcers of capitalist reaction, open company cops.

With the Democrats near-comatose today, some left-talking bureaucrats are talking up a "labor party movement" (organized by OCAW secretary-treasurer Tony Mazzocchi and an array of reformists). Their purpose is to keep workers tied to the Democrats, reminiscent of the pro-FDR "American Labor Party," created to keep the union militancy generated by the battles which formed the CIO

from escaping the bounds of the Democratic Party.

What's urgently needed is a workers party that will lead labor and the oppressed in class struggle—to sweep the racist KKK and Nazis off the streets, to defend abortion clinics against reactionary thugs, to fight for labor political strikes against imperialist war. Despite our small forces, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee have built exemplary mobilizations of labor/black power to interdict the fascist killers when they ventured into integrated working-class centers, like the successful 5,000-strong mobilization of 27 November 1982 which prevented the Klan from marching through Washington, D.C.

It means opposing the imperialist war machine head-on. Over 40 years ago, at the start of the Cold War, General Electric chief C.E. Wilson pointed to the targets of U.S. imperialism: "The problems of the United States can be captiously summed up in two words: Russia abroad, labor at home." Ever since 1917, war on the unions and war on the Soviet Union have gone hand in hand. Jimmy Carter fired the opening shots in Cold War II with the anti-Soviet Pentagon buildup and his use of the Taft-Hartley slave labor law against the 1977-78 miners strike. Reagan railed against the Soviet "evil empire" and opened up with both barrels on the unions in this country.

Just as we defend the Teamsters, despite their corrupt, pro-capitalist leadership, against the vendetta by the bosses' state, we Trotskyists have defended the bureaucratically deformed workers states against counterrevolution. The socialized planned economies are historic gains of the working class, however much they have been undermined and mismanaged by the Stalinist misleaders, who repeatedly tried to sell out to the imperialists under the watchwords of "peaceful coexistence" and the "popular front." The AFL-CIO fakers have sought to destroy the Soviet Union just as they have joined in the destruction of the unions at home.

The workers built this country, so take it, it's yours! Seize the factories from the capitalists before they turn it into one giant rust belt. Sweep out the sell-outs and build the revolutionary workers party that will fight for a socialist America. ■



Cleveland Plain Dealer

The politics of capital's labor lieutenants: UAW bureaucrats' lobby pressures right-wing Democratic Leadership Conference, pushing poisonous protectionism against Mexican workers, begging millionaire Congress to stop scabs.

Dodge copper miners. Two and a half years later Governor Rudy Perpich, another "friend of labor," sent troops into Austin, Minnesota to break the meatpackers strike of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9. And this last spring it was the overwhelmingly Democratic Congress which voted to order railroad strikers back to work one day after they walked out.

Every one of these battles could have and should have been won. Strikers were killed on the picket line with impunity: Greyhound drivers Ray Phillips and Robert Waterhouse, OCAW member Greg Goobic, phone worker Gerry Horgan. The striking workers fought their damndest. But they were hogtied by their own leaders. When workers attempted to stop scabs with mass pickets, union leaders ordered them to obey strikebreaking injunctions. Instead of union workers refusing to handle struck goods ("secondary boycotts"), labor bureaucrats promoted diversionary and toothless consumer boycotts and publicity stunts ("corporate campaigns").

PATCO chief Robert Poli had it right when he said in 1981: "The only illegal strike is a strike that fails." Or as we put it in our *Workers Vanguard* supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win": "Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket lines, in

national solidarity against this imperialist rape of Mexico.

Labor: Break the Shackles!

According to Kirkland & Co., workers' struggle is impossible because all the legal shackles on the labor movement prevent a "fair fight" with the bosses. H.R. 5 is supposed to "level the playing field" by protecting workers' jobs. What a crock. This "anti-scab" bill doesn't even pretend to outlaw scabbing, only the permanent replacement of strikers. It's the perfect union piecards' proposal:



Wide World



Pat Oliphant

In 1977-78 strike, miners burned contract and told Democrat Carter to shove his Taft-Hartley injunction.

Report from El Paso: Hispanic Labor Struggles

EL PASO, Texas—With the Free Trade Agreement barreling down the “fast track,” capitalists here are salivating at the thought of fat profits from exploiting Mexican workers. But Hispanic labor and community organizations like UTAF (Unión de Trabajadores Agrícolas Fronterizos) farm workers and the women garment workers in La Mujer Obrera are waging union battles which could reverberate throughout the U.S. Southwest and northern Mexico. In a display of working-class solidarity, UTAF held an international protest against the FTA, bringing out over 200 workers on May 5 to the Santa Fe International Bridge between El Paso and Ciudad Juárez and issued a joint statement with the Democratic Campesino Front of Chihuahua.

Over the past year, the Chile pickers organized in the Union of Border Agricultural Workers have led some impressive struggles. These farm workers face brutal superexploitation. When we visited in early August, UTAF leader Carlos Marentes told us that their real wages have dropped by half over the last decade. They must gather on a street in downtown El Paso around midnight, to be picked up by labor contractors and trucked for up to *four hours* to the fields in New Mexico. They are paid only 50 cents per box of chiles, working in fields where they are exposed to deadly pesticides and without toilet facilities or drinkable water. To avoid the long journey to and from El Paso, many pickers sleep under bridges near the fields. One grower would mark a number on workers' forearms, calling them by number for their pay at the end of the day.

A year ago UTAF organized and struck. After a work action in an Arrey, New Mexico field owned by Lloyd Anderson, 700 farm workers met in a

general assembly at midnight in El Paso. After they refused to board the buses of the labor contractors and rallied at the site, the Border Patrol and El Paso cops charged the strikers. One group of workers was pushed toward the Mexican border. The stoppage continued, with workers from both sides of the border massed at the site to prevent buses from leaving for the fields. After months of struggle and over 20 work stoppages, including

Street, where the struck shops ACC and DCB are across the street from each other. The average worker is a Mexican-born woman with 10 to 15 years experience in garment work. Many worked in the *maquiladora* sweatshops in Juárez. A handful came out of the 1972-74 Farah strike. Almost everyone puts in a full shift on the picket line. The strikers are very poor, a small strike fund stipend allows only a meager existence. They

hunger strike. Although Teamsters and other unions are respecting the picket lines, Díaz is moving goods with his own drivers and Ryder rent-a-trucks. Pickets told WV they were instructed by union organizers not to stop scabs or the trucks! Because of leaky picket lines, Díaz has been able to continue operations with a scab force at three shops, including his lucrative dyeing and coloring work at ACC. Strikers told us they feel isolated and frustrated at the ILGWU's failure to mobilize support from other unions to stop the scabbing.

Strikers are determined to beat this sweatshop king. Díaz' contracts are drying up. The ILGWU organizers say he will have to sign a contract or close the four factories. Some strikers said that while they may lose their jobs, their struggle will aid the 15,000 other garment workers in El Paso. So far, the

Jose Luis Cerrato/El Paso Times



May 1—Over 100 garment workers picket DCB Apparel. Far right: after four months on strike, workers and supporters rally in downtown El Paso.



WV Photo

a day of solidarity for the farm workers in Ciudad Juárez, Anderson was forced to recognize the union. In April, the grower signed the first contract in history for a farm workers union in Texas or New Mexico.

Meanwhile, the strike by women garment workers which WV has been reporting on is in its fourth month. About 50 pickets are always present on Bassett

hate the sweatshop king Andrés Díaz, they told of the horrible working conditions, and let loose a hail of cuss words at his scabs (“*¡pinche esquiroles!*”).

Sonia's, site of the plant occupation and hunger strike which ended three weeks ago, is empty, with only a union (ILGWU) guard present. Eustolia Olivas, the worker we interviewed, is at home, still sick from the effects of the

strike has remained isolated because the ILGWU tops have stuck to the losing “strategy” of consumer boycotts and begging the bosses. But it can be won, and stand as an example of militant labor organizing to workers on both sides of the border. Broaden the strike to organize and bring out workers in the more than 100 garment shops in El Paso, and extend it across the river! ■

NYC...

(continued from page 3)

Hassidic community—based in the diamond trade, garment sweatshops and electronics—lords over the rest. And indeed, the Hassidic community in Crown Heights and Williamsburg sits above their black and Hispanic neighbors. They are also about the only whites living in these ghetto areas.

The Lubavitcher hierarchy has a far-flung international establishment of “social” and “educational” institutions with a reported annual budget of \$100 million. In 1990, Grand Rabbi Schneerson acted as kingmaker in the Israeli elections when he prevented two of his followers from joining the Shimon Peres cabinet, because it would not categorically refuse to give up an inch of the Occupied Territories. “No Land for Peace” is their line, from the Golan Heights to Crown Heights.

The Lubavitcher treat their black neighbors like they're Palestinians on the West Bank. And with their tight political voting blocs, passed down from the Grand Rabbi as God's word, they exercise inordinate influence over local politicians. The Lubavitcher are not without political clout in Washington as well. On Rebbe Schneerson's 90th birthday, he got 90 senators and Congressmen to hold a birthday party at the U.S. Capitol. (The Satmars, in contrast, are vehemently anti-Zionist and their political vehicle Neturei Karta even demonstrates with pro-PLO signs.)

Nevertheless, while the perceived sense of discrimination is based on real experience, sections of the black and Hispanic communities have become caught up in viciously racist, anti-Semitic hate mobilizations against this marginal community. The anger directed against the Hassidic owners of 47th Street Photo would be better directed against the capitalist moguls of Citibank. The betrayal of the city labor bureaucracy, in squelching integrated class struggle against cutbacks which have devastated the minority poor, has stoked the fires of racial explosion.

The establishment capitalist media are piously wringing their hands with concern about the explosive situation in Crown Heights, but they do so from their ruling-class vantage point. Thus the *New York Times* (23 August) quoted a law professor claiming, “If the defendant ran a red light, and if he's in a motorcade where the lead car has lights flashing, he's arguably privileged to go on through the light.” Whatever the culpability of the driver in this particular case, this is an astounding piece of bourgeois hauteur. The *Times* goes out of its way to assert the “right” of the bigwigs to go careening through the city in their limos. But the family of Gavin and Angela Cato and their neighbors see it differently.

As for the Rev. Sharpton, what does he get out of his provocations? In 1978, the Brooklyn black minister Herbert Daughtry led the anti-Semitic marches. Having made his mark, he's now “Mr. Community Harmony” for Mayor Dinkins. Sharpton, who's pushing the same

stuff today, has always had his connections, from racist Senator Alphonse D'Amato to the FBI, for whom he wore a wire and spied on black politicians. This June Sharpton was at a \$1,500-a-plate Republican fund-raiser in Washington where George Bush was the main speaker (*New Yorker*, 26 August). The only forces served by Sharpton's demagogic filth are his ruling-class masters.

It is important that not everybody is falling for the garbage Sharpton and Carson are shoveling. A lot of black people in Crown Heights are not anti-Semitic, and greatly resent Sharpton, Carson & Co. coming into their community to whip up a racist pogrom. The *Times* (25 August) ran what for it was a quite unusual article, “For Young Blacks, Despair and Rage,” documenting how many black youth they interviewed said they came out during the explosion because they hated the cops: “For many, the greatest enemy of all are the police, because they are considered the symbol of a repressive and hostile white society,” the article reported.

“This isn't against the Jews. It's against the police,” said one young black man in Crown Heights who has read some Malcolm X. Interethnic battles only play into the hands of the real masters of society, the capitalists. The people who really run New York City—and it sure isn't figurehead mayor Dinkins—would be perfectly happy if somebody dropped a big bomb on everybody in the ghetto, from the Lubavitchers and Caribbean blacks in Crown Heights to the Puerto Ricans and Satmar Hassidim

in Williamsburg, the whole splintered “mosaic” of peoples now at each other's throats.

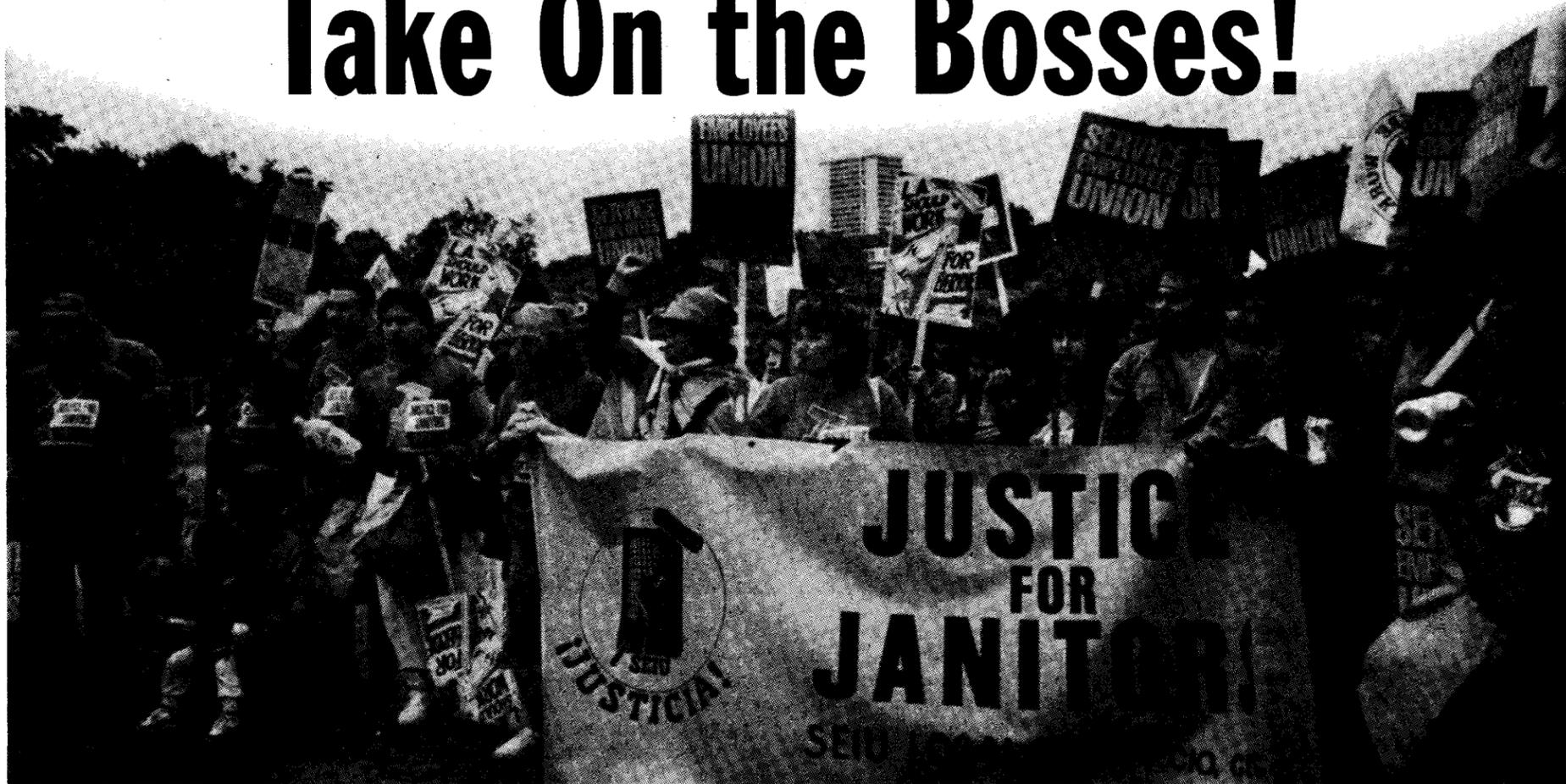
As American capitalism is going down, the brutal swath of the police, vigilante squads and racist terrorists is increasingly evident. And increasingly the capitalists are “privatizing” their repression. The use of rent-a-thug “security guards” (in addition to hundreds of city police) by the *Daily News* against strikers was one example. Another is the violent “SSI Patrol Services,” operating out of East New York, which is hired by landlords to intimidate tenants and supposedly go after drug dealers. “SSI Patrols” is owned by Herschel Weber, a Hassidic rabbi from Williamsburg, who staffs his squads with black Muslims, including many who learned their violent trade in the drug world and the prisons before they underwent jailhouse conversions to Islam.

Neither the city nor the state nor Washington has any intention of doing anything to relieve the hopeless frustration of ghetto kids with no future. The nightstick, the prison cell, and the death penalty are the offerings at hand. Every kind of social relief possible has already been slashed to the bone to pay Wall Street and to buy more cops and jails. When they got together, all Cuomo and Dinkins wanted to talk about was whether or not to send in the National Guard. It's going to take hard class struggle and a revolutionary workers party to defend the myriad communities which make up this country, and to win a future for an entire generation of youth. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Chained to the Democrats, Knifed by AFL-CIO Tops

Labor: Throw Out the Sellouts, Take On the Bosses!



Militant Latino janitors in L.A. struck in June 1990, won union recognition.

WV Photo

Don't Beg Congress—Stop Scabs with Picket Lines!

Every worker who comes to "Solidarity Day II" in Washington knows that the labor movement is reeling. The AFL-CIO tops say the purpose of this rally is lobbying Congress to pass the so-called "Workplace Fairness Act" to stop employers from permanently replacing strikers with scabs, as well as pushing national health care and civil rights bills. But ten years of defeats for the unions and minorities won't be changed by begging this Congress of millionaires, who are no "friends of labor" but, in fact, the *enemies of labor*. In reality, Lane Kirkland & Co. are trying to line up unionists, blacks and Hispanics as foot soldiers for the bosses' Democratic Party in '92, a party so moribund it can't even get it together to put up a candidate against Bush.

You're going to hear a lot of nickel-and-dime BS from the stage August 31. The truth is: *what this country needs is a revolution, and a revolutionary workers party to lead it.*

It's been ten years since the first "Solidarity Day" demonstration, when half a million workers poured into Washington because they wanted to defend the PATCO air controllers. But while letting PATCO strikers get hauled off in chains, the "AFL-CIA" bureaucrats funneled millions of dollars into Reagan's favorite

"union," Polish Solidarność. So PATCO was smashed...and now Polish workers are being starved by Lech Walesa's Solidarność government acting for the Western banks. Today Kirkland wines and dines Bush's stooge Boris Yeltsin

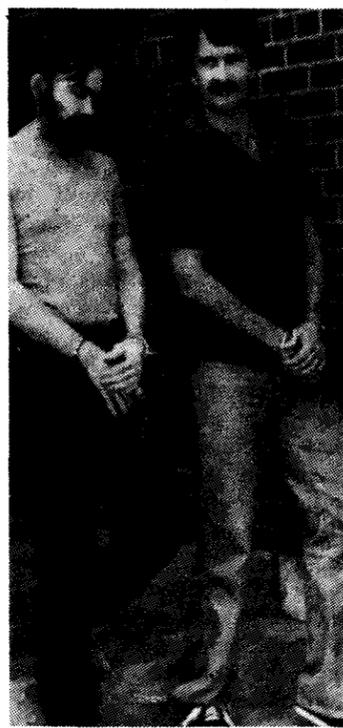
and finances the Inkatha killers for South African apartheid. And as counterrevolution rampages in the Soviet Union, the stage at "Solidarity" Day is to be filled with Lithuanian reactionaries, who hail their "freedom" under Nazi occupation,

and other pro-capitalist "free trade unionists."

Ten years ago the official slogan was "Solidarity in '81—Victory in '82." In other words, vote Democrat. And what's happened since? One strike after another busted, the union movement in worse shape than at any time since the early '30s, official unemployment figures climbing while millions more have given up looking for work. Health care is non-existent for many and abysmal for most, three million people live in the streets of our cities and are reduced to picking empties out of the garbage. Young black men have a better chance of doing a term in jail—if they aren't gunned down on the streets—than in college. Young women are being forced to bear babies they can't care for or risk their lives in back-alley abortions.

Changing policies or parties in the White House won't make a damned bit of difference in our lives. The Democrats and Republicans are partner parties of American capitalism, committed to spending trillions on war and bank bailouts and taking it out of the pockets of the workers and poor. Aiding and abetting these enemies of the working people is the labor bureaucracy. There must be a fight to *sweep away these labor traitors*

continued on page 14



AP



WV Photo

Opening shot of Reagan's war on labor: Air traffic controllers union leaders are led away in chains, PATCO marchers in 1981 "Solidarity Day."

For a Fighting Workers Party! For a Socialist America!