SEPTEMBER 7—What does the "Gaza-Jericho first" accord between the Israeli "Labor" government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Yasir Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) mean? It means PLO cops, armed and paid by Israel, shooting down young Palestinian rebels on behalf of the Zionist state terrorists. If this ignominious deal goes through, the tens of thousands of unarmed Palestinian youth who have day after day risked their lives to defy the "Iron Fist" of Zionist repression since the outbreak of the heroic Intifada uprising in December 1987 will now confront not only Israeli stormtroopers but the organization which has long claimed to be "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

Spokesmen on both sides hail the agreement as a "historic achievement," a "breakthrough" and "the start of a new era." But while the Tel Aviv stock exchange shot up, Arab youth continue to be shot down, including a 16-year-old blown away in Gaza by undercover Israeli cops for protesting against the deal. Arafat crows: "The Palestinian state is within our grasp. Soon the Palestinian flag will fly on the walls, the minarets and the cathedrals of Jerusalem." This is cynical hogwash, aimed at selling this sellout to disgruntled PLO supporters. Israel immediately continued on page 12

Palestinian refugee camp in occupied West Bank. PLO has now agreed to act as the Zionists' overseers of Palestinian Arabs.

Down with U.S. Cops of the World!

Before dawn on August 30, a force of U.S. Army Rangers slid down ropes dropped from helicopters onto the roof of a two-story villa in the Somali capital of Mogadishu. On the ground, other Rangers blasted through the walls with grenades and broke down the doors. Their target: lieutenants of defiant Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid, on whose head Washington has placed a $25,000 bounty. The Rangers succeeded in capturing nine of the "enemy," handcuffed them, held them face downward at gunpoint and then tossed them into the helicopters like carcasses. Yet the "enemy" turned out to be... foreign and Somali UN employees engaged in humanitarian relief! Nevertheless, the chief U.S. military spokesmen in Somalia triumphantly proclaimed the raid "a textbook example of how these operations should go" using "lightning speed and overpowering force."

Larry DeBoise, a Canadian UN relief worker captured by the Rangers, found nothing amusing about the incident: "I don't think there was any doubt in anybody's mind that if we said anything, looked at anybody, moved, we'd be shot." While this time U.S. commandos looked like the gang that couldn't shoot straight, they are—as DeBoise immediately sensed when under their guns—a professional killer elite. During the Vietnam War, in Operation Phoenix U.S. forces assassinated, individually, continued on page 11

U.S. commandos, death squads for "New World Order."
Black Cashiers Were Pulled Off the Job

Winn-Dixie Racism in Georgia

ATLANTA—When a crescendo of charges against Denny’s made the South Carolina-based chain notorious for racist discrimination, we responded with coast-to-coast demonstrations in over 120 cities. “Jim Crow Racism, Anti-Union Open Shop—Legacy of the Slavocracy” read a protester’s sign. Now a case in the “whites only” bastion of Forsyth County, Georgia illuminates the racist practice. The lily-white Bastion of the New South is blackening. The Democratic Party is grinding its teeth at racism and brutality in Forsyth County, Georgia. In the name is a NAACP vice president, searching for racist discrimination, we responded with coast-to-coast demonstrations in over 120 cities. “Jim Crow Racism, Anti-Union Open Shop—Legacy of the Slavocracy” read a protester’s sign. Now a case in the “whites only” bastion of Forsyth County, Georgia illuminates the racist practice.

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Last February, members of the Bolshevik Tendency were screaming foul at our paper’s “Cops, Crime and the BT” (WV No. 369, 12 February). In a leaflet titled “You Be the Judge,” the BT charged that the NAACP was a “rascist organ” and that the NAACP was a “rascist organ” and that the NAACP was a “rascist organ” and that the NAACP was a “rascist organ.” The BT urged “all individuals for whom the truth is politically meaningful to read both arti-

The Spartacist League is the Vanguard of the Working-Class. (Spartacist League, 1917)

The learned Mr. Kautsky has “forgotten”—accidently forgotten, probably—a "trifle," namely, that the ruling party in a bourgeois democracy extends the protection of the minority only to another bourgeois party, while the proletariat, on all serious, profound and fundamental issues, gets marital law or pogroms, instead of the “protection of the minority.” The more highly developed a democracy is, the more imminent are pogroms or civil war in connection with any profound political divergence which is dangerous to the bourgeois. The learned Mr. Kautsky could have studied this “law” of bourgeois democracy in connection with the Dreyfus case in republican France, with the lynching in the United States, and in the democratic republic of America, with the case of Ireland and Ulster in democratic Britain, with the baiting of the Bolsheviks and the staging of pogroms against them in April 1917 in the democratic republic of Russia.

Take the bourgeois parliament. Can it be that the learned Kautsky has never heard that the more highly developed democracy is, the more the bourgeois parliaments are subjected to the stock exchange and the bankers?... Only a liberal can forget the historical limitations and conventional nature of the bourgeois parliamentary system as Kautsky does. Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed people at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the formal equality proclaimed by the “democracy” of the capitalists and the thousands of real limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into wage-slaves. It is precisely this contradiction that is opening the eyes of the people to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism.

―V.I. Lenin, The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky (1918)
On August 25, the federal government indicted blind Muslim sheik Omar Abdel Rahman and 14 others on vague charges of conspiracy "to levy a war of urban terrorism against the United States." To carry out their vendetta, the feds dredged up draconian sedition laws enacted well over a century ago. Seizing on last Feb-
ruary's World Trade Center bombing as a pretext, the Clinton White House and Attorney General Janet Reno are using these laws as a battering ram to criminalize dissident views while whipping up racist hysteria against immigrants, particularly from the Near East. This comes on the heels of Clinton/Reno's massacre of nearly 90 men, women and children at Waco for the "crime" of adhering to a racially integrated, obscure religious commune.

This indictment comes in the context of a media scare tactic using "Islamic fundamentalism" and "Arab terrorism" as the new "main enemy" of America in the post-Cold War era. The dust hadn't even cleared from the WTC bombing as the New York Times decreed a "new boom-town of political asylum seekers that is swamping the process of immi-
gration." New York Magazine ran a racially charged cover story on "The Arab Connection." And the Times ended off its Fourth of July "Week in Review" sec-
tion noting that "freedom from scrutiny" as well as "easy immigration and due process" have rendered the U.S. "vul-
nerable" to domestic terrorists. Never mind that those charged in the WTC bombing were former Afghan mercenary-
es admitted to the U.S. through the good graces of the CIA. "Easy immigration?!" Not for the thousands upon thousands of asylum seekers from Latin America routinely sent back to likely death at the hands of U.S.-backed butchers.

"Seditious conspiracy" is the new catchall of the McCarthyite witchhunt-
ers—if they can't pin anything else on you, they'll send you away (or blow you away for the crime). The WTC bombing is the stone of the whole prosecution is that by charging "seditious conspiracy" the feds don't have to feel that the trial (or anyone else) actually did anything at all. Applauding Reno's "right call" to indict Rahman, a New York Times (27 August) editorial notes that "federal investigators still have not been able to pin any direct involvement in overt ter-
rorist actions" on the sheik. The sedition laws enable the feds to fill in those few gaps left by the RICO (Racketeer-Infu-
enced and Corrupt Organizations) laws and other conspiracy statutes.

The indictment links El Sayyid No-
sair, who was previously acquitted in the 1990 killing of fascist Zionist terrorist Meir Kahane, and Rahman to the WTC bombing, and ties this together with an alleged plan for kidnappings, assassi-
nations and anti-Arab bombings. Nosair will again stand trial for the Kahane killing as part of the "larger con-
sspiracy." The charges against more than a dozen of the defendants are a clear case of entrapment by a government informant who posed as terrorists, showed them how to make bombs, bought mate-
rials and convinced some not to quit.

Whipping up the "terrorism" hysteria, the Clinton administration is rapidly bol-
stering the government's apparatus of terror. We don't know what happened at the World Trade Center or who's behind it. We certainly don't trust the govern-
ment's pronouncements, and we do know that the feds' case rests on inform-
ant Emad Salem, who stands to gain at least half a million dollars for his testi-
mony. We also note that the purported conspiracy began in 1990, when the defendants and the U.S. government were working together in a larger and very active conspiracy—a shooting war intent on destroying the Soviet-backed Afghan government, overturing its modest democratic reforms and forcing Afghan women back to a life of slavery under the veil.

Sedition Laws—Assault on Freedom of Speech

Commenting on the rarely used sedi-
tion conspiracy laws, Reno's cheerlead-
ers at the Times (28 August) conceded, "some criminal defense experts say the law comes perilously close to punishing people for their beliefs or speech." But that's why sedition laws are the weapon of choice here—they are pure thought-
crime laws. Their resurrection today re-

dents of war-уг men, women and children in America's prisons. The sedition acts are war measures plain and simple. Historically they go hand in hand with attacks on immigrants. The granddaddy of them all, the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, passed in antic-
pation of war with France, aimed at Jeffersonian opponents of John Adams' Federalist Party. The Acts made it a criminal offense to "write, print, utter or publish...any false, scandalous and mal-
cious writing or writings against the government of the United States." The laws also sought to get rid of supporters of the French Revolution, whose talk of fraternity, liberty and equality was discomfiting to the government of slaveholders.

Sheik Rahman is charged under the post-Civil War sedition laws aimed at Quakers, anarchists and homosexuals from the 1870s. With the onset of the post-WW II Cold War, anti-labor and anti-immigrant legis-
lation flourished. Taft-Hartley made it unlawful for trade-union officials to be members of communist organizations. The Internal Security (McCarran) Act set up concentration camps for communists in the event of a "national emergency," and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 once again banned communists, anarchists and homosexuals from entering the U.S. A couple of years ago the communist-exclusion provisions were repealed, and replaced with pro-
hibitions on supporters of "terrorist" organizations. Under the laws, people from Iran, Yemen and a Kenyan, known as the "L.A. Eight," are still fighting attempts to deport them as members of the Palestinians' PFLP.

Debs, for speaking out against American entry into World War I. It outlawed any "disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language about the form of government of the U.S." Around the same time, state "criminal syndicalism" and "anarchy" laws were targeted against Industrial Workers of the World and early American Communists. In the aftermath of the 1917 Russian Revolution, Communist Party and anar-

chist leaders around the country were prosecuted and imprisoned. Especially targeted by the thought-crime laws was the militant immigrant sector of the working class. Thousands of foreign-

Born radicals (including American citi-
zens) were rounded up during the 1919-20 Palmer Raids, and hundreds were deported.

After the post-WWII "red" scare served its purpose in suppressing the left, the conspiracy laws were put on the back burner. Then in 1940, on the eve of the U.S. entry into World War II, the noto-
rious Alien Registration Act, the Smith Act, was passed. The first victims of the Smith Act—which was later used on wholesale during the 1950s McCarthy anti-


communist witchhunt—were the Trot-


skist "Minneapolis 18," international revolutionaries and leaders of the mili-
tant Minneapolis Teamsters. Their jail-


ing was intended to serve warning on the labor movement at large to fall into line behind the coming imperialist war. With the advent of the post-WWII Cold War, anti-labor and anti-immigrant legis-
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continued on page 13
A Decade Later—
KAL 007 Cover-Up Continues

Ten years ago this month, Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was shot down by Soviet fighters after deviating hundreds of miles from its assigned course for hours in a provocative penetration of sensitive Far Eastern military regions of the former USSR. All 269 people on board KAL 007 lost their lives. The flight had all the earmarks of a classic U.S. "intelligence" mission designed to provoke and then record Soviet defenses, using an "innocent" civilian airliner as the bait, and its shootdown became a battle cry for Reagan/Bush's imperialist war drive against the Soviet degenerated workers state.

While most of the left kept silent, going along with the capitalist anti-Soviet crusade, the Spartacist League immediately responded with an article proclaiming "Reagan's Spy Mission." This was combined with other WV and Young Spartacists articles, along with the initial Soviet statement, in our October 1983 pamphlet, "KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation." Over the years we have continued to pursue the case with more than a dozen articles taking apart every cover-up account. Ignoring the mountains of evidence, and the copious media discussion, the bourgeois media dismissed the airliner's deviation as an "accident." In June, the U.S. International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) released a report at the behest of the four powers—U.S., South Korea, Japan, and a non-capitalist Russia—designed to bury the matter forever.

Last week, a commission appointed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued its "final report," declaring it was "completely identical with the conclusions of the international commission" (Izvestia, 28 August). The head of the commission, Yeltsin's chief of staff Sergei Filatov, declared in a press conference that "the Soviet Union is not to blame in this accident" (Moscow Times, 31 August). But the report concludes that "the Russian and South Korean sides have to share the responsibility for what happened," which was allegedly due to "a number of fatal mistakes, done by the South Korean authorities" (Izvestia, 31 August). This is simply a political attempt to assuage all powers and especially to take the blame off Yeltsin's and South Korea's patrons in Washington. But the truth won't go away.

**A Fudged Report**

The centerpiece of the ICAO report is the analysis of the "black box" tapes reportedly handed over by Yeltsin last January. These were purported to be from the plane's long-missing Cockpit Voice Recorder (CVR) and Digital Flight Data Recorder (DFDR)—both allegedly "found" by Soviet divers years ago but kept secret until Yeltsin's counterrevolution opened the archives. Yeltsin also released what he claimed were documents written in 1983 by Soviet experts who analyzed the tapes. We have already shown in detail that these "analyses" from Yeltsin flatly contradict known reality, particularly all available radar tracks of KAL 007's flight path, which showed the plane did not "drift" on an innocent "straight line" but must have made numerous turns indicating conscious intervention by the pilots (see Young Spartacist No. 571, 12 March). The latest ICAO report doesn't even attempt to explain the bundle of contradictions;

it flatly contradicts Yeltsin's documents. It is meant to be a snow job.

The truth would have been definitively exposed if the DFDR tape had contained the readouts from KAL 007's computerized Inertial Navigation System (INS), an extremely precise navigational instrument which would show the plane's second-by-second latitude/longitude positions over the entire five-and-a-half-hour flight. But alas, the ICAO report says without explanation that "no INS data was recorded on the DFDR." Also mysteriously missing is the recording of Universal Time, thereby blurring the timing of events. And then there's the case of the missing engines: the Boeing 747 is a four-engine plane, but the DFDR tape shows only two engines, as if this tape came from an entirely different aircraft. WV inquired about the missing data in a phone interview with the head of the ICAO's investigation, C. J. Frostell. The official story is that the recording of INS data was "not the requirement" back in 1983 (it is today), and so airlines had the "flexibility" to not record such critical data if they chose. As for the missing engines, they simply "for some reason" inexplicably "did not record." The report itself notes that "a number of the wires to the heads were disconnected," without specifying what data was affected.

So the only way to calculate the plane's flight path with the available data is by the old-fashioned method of computation—taking known parameters such as heading, acceleration, altitude, airspeed, etc., factoring in such things as the known wind speeds, temperatures and magnetic variations, and feeding this into a computer to get a calculation of the plane's positions over time. The ICAO claims to have done this, and asserts in one single unsubstantiated sentence that "the computed track matched the track of KE 007 as known from the radar records available.

This is pure bunk. Nowhere does the report give exact plot points for the plane's course over Soviet regions, or demonstrate on a detailed map—particularly in the Sakhalin Island region where the plane was downed—how their computation "matched" the radar tracks. The Japanese radar track of KAL 007 over Sakhalin is not displayed. An independent report, just released by retired flight engineer and former crash investigator Robert Allardyce and his collaborator Paulino Gollin, takes apart the ICAO's "analysis." The two men produced the 1991 "Technical Analysis," reported in the New York Times of 20 February 1992, which showed that the plane must have changed course several times, and that the flight "had been a "Deadly Spy Mission," WV No. 547, 20 March 1992.

In an update, Allardyce/Gollin demolish the main conclusion of the ICAO analysis: that "three minutes after take-off" from Anchorage the pilots switched the plane's autopilot to a "constant magnetic heading" of 245 degrees, where it remained for the entire five-and-a-half-hour flight "until the attack by the fighter aircraft." According to the ICAO report, this was done by magnetic compass, not by the properly working INS systems, because the crew presumably "lost" the INS and eagerly never noticed the baywire indications from the INS and other instruments on board. The ICAO report concludes this was caused by crew "fatigue.

But the available radar track of KAL 007 over Alaska shows the plane was not on a 245 "constant magnetic heading"...or any other magnetic heading," say Allardyce/Gollin. In fact, it shows the plane flying a "Great Circle" course, prima facie evidence that the autopilot was controlled by the INS, which uses Great Circle segments to generate a course. Later in the flight, the 245-degree course would have put the plane's entry over Kamchatka at a point nearly 100 nautical miles "south of where the CIA placed the aircraft." And finally, the 245-degree course would have put the plane "167 nautical miles to the south" of the Japanese radar track, which of course the "radar track closely parallels the Japanese track over Sakhalin (see map).

What's more, the 1991 ICAO report is contradicted by their own 1983 report. Working with the Boeing company and consultants from Lockheed (the manufacturer of the INS), the ICAO did a simulation of a 246-degree course. The results released in 1983 showed that on such a course the plane would have missed Sakhalin entirely and flown over Japan. WV in effect say, a 245-degree course would have continued on page 11

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**Just Out!**

**Spartacist Pamphlet**

This pamphlet brings together articles from Workers Vanguard and the Russian-language Spartacist Bulletin covering the recent events in the crisis in the former Soviet Union and the plight of the Islamists' "Emergency Committee" publiah and Yeltsin's pro-imperialist counterrevolution in August 1991, the material contained in the pamphlets documents the unfolding counterrevolution and the Trotskyist program to resist and reverse it. Included are several polemical articles which expose the role of numerous Western "leftists" in backing Yeltsinite counterrevolution and that of the Stalinist remnants in the former Soviet Union, whose bankruptcy is epitomized by their mendacious "red-brown coalition" with virulent Russian nationalists, monarchists and outright fascists. Finally, we include an article from the recent Russian-language Bulletin No. 4 which details the Stalinist colonization of the CPSU and the struggle of the Trotskyist Left Opposition for the authentic program of Leninism.

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**SPARTACIST PAMPHLET**

Stalinism—Graveyard of the Revolution

How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled

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**For Socialist Revolution to Sweep Away Yeltsin Counterrevolution!**

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**Workers Vanguard**
France: Minicking the "Red-Brown" Coalition

The JCR and the "Idiot International"

The notorious "red-brown" coalition, which in Russia unites the Stalinist debris left over from the collapse of the bureaucratic regime with ultranationalist "red-brown" debris left over from the collapse of the French Communist Party (PCF) have been writing articles alongside prominent fascists in anti-Semitic rags like L'Idiot International, and debating them in public, while invoking contributions from spokesmen of Le Pen’s fascistic National Front (FN) in PCF publications. But this June, this bizarre combination of supposed communists in league with open fascists blew up in a national scandal. And bringing up the rear of this "red-brown" coalition à la française is born workers and their families.

The Idiot International was a product of May 1968, as a meeting place of various far-out New Leftists out to shock the "square" (parenthesis closed). Its publisher, Jean-Edern Hallier, metamorphosed into a notorious anti-Semitic pamphleteer and has now become the rallying point for the coming together of this mini-"red-brown" coalition. Hallier has been convicted of "inciting to race hatred" against Jews in one of his editorials. Idiot International would attack the "Jews of the PS" (Socialist Party), the "Jewish cowardice of the Elysée" (the presidential palace, occupied by the "social" Mitterrand), etc.

Hallier’s racist rag was published with the active support of PCF cadres. The heavily in Russia, launching last fall the review Elementy and contributing articles by de Benoist to the anti-Semitic standard-bearer of the "red-browns" coalition, Didier Daeninckx, member of the PCF Central Committee and editor of Revolution, wrote for de Benoist’s fascist publication Krasn. With the bourgeoisie triumphantly proclaming the "death of communism," and Mitterrand’s Socialists in despair following a devastating electoral defeat in March, PCF general secretary Georges Marchais is trying to deck out his party in social-democratic garb (recently announced that next January’s congress would abandon the formal reference to "democratic centralism"). Thus the rev­ turn of the insidious collaboration between much of the PCF’s media appa­ ratus and the fascists is acutely embar­ rassing. The Idiot International affair was brought to light by novelist (and for­ mer PCF member) Didier Daeninckx, who last October sent Marchais a report of his personal investigation. Marchais eventually replied: "If you verify that links exist between people from the Communist Party and the far right, I would have only one request to make of you: Say it!" (Le Canard Enchaîné, 23 June).

As the scandal spread through the French bourgeois press, and L’Humanité—idiot International was said hardly a word, the PCF weekly L’Humanité-Dimanche gaily declared that writing for Idiot International was "unacceptable" and "contrary to commu­ nist ethics." The PCF Central Committee called for those most deeply involved to resign or be expelled, while belittling the affair as "totally marginal individual behavior" (Le Monde, 3 July). Contrary to the rantings of the conservative Le Figaro (1 July) about "red fascists," such an ongoing misalliance is not historically possible given the PCF’s mass working-class base. In the Russian case, the "reds" of the "red-browns" alliance were in fact remnants of the petty-bourgeois Stalinist bureaucratic caste, not part of the working class.

But it wasn’t just a few "marginal" party members who were involved. The PCF also provided abundant fund­ ing for Hallier’s financially strapped paper. In January 1990, François Hilaum, head of the PCF’s Messidor publishing house (and Central Committee member), signed an agreement with Hallier to pub­ lish a series of pamphlets titled L’Idiot International, giving Hallier a cash advance of 500,000 francs ($100,000) and appointing him a "literary adviser" to Messidor. Yet only one book was published, Hallier’s interviews with Fidel Castro, published by PCF militants. Hallier cynically described his seaside neighbor and close friend Le Pen after a friendly dinner with the fascist leader: "At 3 o’clock in the morning, he started singing The Internationale under the moon. Sometimes I’m sorry that he is not among the ranks of the Communists" (Le Monde, 1 July).

It is into this sordid misalliance of left and right that Damien Elliott’s JCR has drifted. Indeed, JCR leader Damien Elliott has weighed in with his own con­ tributions to the Idiot International, not to mention co-sponsoring petitions with the editor of this "red-brown" journal. The grotesque details of the JCR’s "idiot" in the Idiot International were exposed in an article in Le Bolchévique, translated below.

Elliott’s group has built up quite a checkered past since its expulsion from the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire continued on page 10

The ostensibly Trotskyist Jeunesse Com­ musistes Révolutionnaires (JCR) led by one Damien Elliott.

For generations the French Stalinists, the leading party of the French working class, were among the most assiduous followers of every twist and turn dictated to the Kremlin bureaucracy. At the same time, as national-reformists they sought to defend the interests of French imperial­ ialism. Now with the triumph of coun­ terrevolution in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, no longer having two masters, the PCF has become even more vociferous in its rampant French national­ ism. But some of the Stalinist literati want to go further, linking up with the "New Right" and brownshirt racists, wrapping themselves in the tri­ color flag of the French bourgeois revol­ ution but also the royalist fleur-de-lis.

The Idiot International affair reveals the depths of degeneration to which the Stalinists have sunk following decades of class collaboration. In the early 1980s, the PCF sought to become the vanguard of French chauvinism with the infamous building of Workers of the World Unite in Vitry as its admission ticket to the Mitterrand popular front. Now today the PCF is spinning off a racist layer which is hobnobbing with the fascist thugs who launch deadly attacks on non-white "immigrants." And while the conservative government (led by Balladur government with its draconian interior minister Charles Pasqua brings down the forces of the state on foreign-
James P. Cannon and the Fight to Build the Revolutionary Party

Origins of American Communism

Part One of this article traced the development of the revolutionary workers movement in America and the impact of the Russian Revolution and anti-immigrant, anti-"red" repression on the early Communist Party (see WV No. 582, 13 August). This article is adapted from a presentation given by comrade J. Marlow on the Prometheus Research Library's book, James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism: Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928.

PART TWO OF TWO

By the end of 1921, it was clear that the earlier repression was simply an episode, and that the party had the opportunity to do legal work. The first major breach in the "undergroundism in principle" came in late 1921 when the Workers Council group from the Socialist Party and elements from the underground Communist Party (CP) agreed to form a legal party, which they called the Workers Party. Cannon was elected chairman of the Workers Party at its founding convention. Namely, the underground CP exercised control over the Workers Party.

This situation couldn't last long—and didn't. The undergrounders resented the existence of the legal party, and the champions of the legal party resented the control of the "illegal" party, especially since it was unnecessary. The party broke into factions of approximately equal strength and the subsequent fight has become known as the "undergroundism" episode, and that the party had the opportunity to do legal work. The first major breach in the underground CP exercised control over the party. Cannon was elected chairman of the Workers Party at its founding convention. Namely, the underground CP exercised control over the Workers Party.

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intense pressure Fitzpatrick was getting, from Samuel Gompers' American Federation of Labor (AFL) bureaucracy—Gompers was intensely hostile to any political action by labor separate from the two bourgeois parties—and you have a recipe for a big mess. The CP was in a bloc which if it didn’t blow up outright (which it did) would have led to the formation of, at best, a reformist “labor party.” In fact, this “Farmer-Labor Party” became a vehicle to support the “third party” candidacy of the bourgeois politician La Follette in the presidential election of 1924.

If anything good came out of this mess, it was that Cannon decided he had to fight for the leadership of the Communist Party. In this he had some natural allies, like William Z. Foster. At one time an organizer of the Chicago packhouse workers and leader of the massive 1919 steel strike, Foster had a national reputation in the labor movement, with important contacts in the labor bureaucracy, especially in Chicago. Foster also brought with him his supporters in the Trade Union Education League [TUEL], which in 1921 affiliated to the Profintern, the Comintern’s trade-union center, with important contacts in the labor movement, only by a furious Fitzpatrick, but by the TUEL AFL convention in Portland, Cannon’s friend Bill Danne, a leading organizer representing the Butte, Montana unions, was unseated by a vote of 27,837 to 108.

Party Factions and Their Leaders

Before going into the details of the faction fight which ensued, it is necessary to look at some of the personalities, because the point was that the Communist Party crystallized into a set of more or less permanent factions of more or less permanent people.

The first is Ruthenberg. He had emerged as a rising star in the Socialist Party (SP) and was in fact the “floor leader” of the left wing during the defining battles in the SP. He was also courageous; he served time in prison for his antiwar activities and also suffered from persecution during the Palmer Raids. During a May Day 1919 demonstration in Cleveland, when the cops unleashed a bloody attack using mounted police and army tanks, Ruthenberg stood his ground and insisted on attempting to speak and was promptly arrested. He was never free from the threat of capitalist “justice” and jail sentences until the day he died. But he also strikes me as a cold fish—a good office administrator, but hardly a leader in men in the sense of personal dynamism. Cannon had a laugh when some young staff writer for the CP paper wrote a poem on Ruthenberg’s death in 1927, in which the aloof and formal Ruthenberg was referred to as “Charlie.” As Cannon noted, his normal form of address was “Comrade Ruthenberg” and maybe after a few years he might let you call him by his first initials, “C.C.” Ruthenberg was no shrinking violet in the factional wars of the 1920s, but he preferred by nature to stay above it all and let his factional henchmen do the dirty work.

Two of those henchmen were Pepper and Lovestone, two very unique individuals...to say the least. Pepper, a.k.a. Joseph Pogany, was a Hungarian whose chief claim to fame was having been involved in two of the greater defeats suffered by the Communists in Europe after the war. He was the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic; the second was the disastrous March 1921 uprising in Germany. Pepper had effectively been banished from Europe by the CI when he came to America in 1922, and was an ex-Communist until the Communist Party, the short-lived Hungarian language federation. This was no obstacle for an energetic type like Pepper. Shortly after having arrived, and not speaking a word of English, Pepper not only got himself put on the Central Committee but also grabbed their power base from among the former undergrounders (Greese) whom he helped to politically rehabilitate after their crushing defeat in the fight against “undergroundism in principle” in 1922. With his energy, charm, and intimidation when necessary, Pepper effectively took over leadership of the party in 1923. Cannon pays tribute to Pepper’s abilities, diabolical they were:

“That man worked fast. He was a European in his fingers tips, dripping with the sophistication and facility of continental political life. He came to getting things done in a hurry and making his way around obstacles, always the same kind of man, whether any hustler or comer-cutter I ever knew or heard about, and that covers a lot of territory... He was a phony, but by far the most brilliant of all of them, he sparkled like an Arkansas diamond.”

—The First Ten Years of American Communism

Then there is Jay Lovestone, about whom the adjectives “maniacal” and “demonic” are most often associated. He was one of the “City College boys” who by sheer force of energy made a rapid upward move from the radical student milieu into the top echelons of the Ruthenberg faction. In the introduction to the Prometheus Research Library’s book we cite Cannon’s comment: “Foster remarked more than once that if Lovestone were not a Jew, he would be the most likely candidate for leadership of a fascist movement. That was a fairly common opinion.” I came across a bit of factional correspondence from the mid-1920s, which ends with the salutation: “Yours till their suffixes are dry?” If Lovestone himself was not the author, this was certainly his style.

Foster is the other player. Like Cannon, his father was of Irish descent, and both Foster and Cannon had considerable ability in the working-class movement by the time they were won to communism. But those experiences and their political motivations were quite different [Cannon’s youth is described in Part One]. After a stint in the SP in the first decade of the 20th century, Foster made a trip to Europe and was carried away by the ideas of the French syndicalists. He returned convinced that what was required was to take over the existing AFL unions by “boring from within.” He tried to convince the IWW of this, but to no avail and his association with them was predictably short.

Foster’s later efforts in the packing-­house workers and steel workers strikes brought him national recognition, but also remember that these were done with the blessing of the AFL and there was a political price for that benefaction. He did make peace with AFL leader Samuel Gompers, and in testimony before the U.S. Senate after the 1919 steel strike, he affirmed the fact that he had bought U.S. bonds in World War II! In fact he holds the dubious distinction to be the only Communist leader to have done so in being feted by imperialists! Foster was an opportunist—he cared less about political line than what would advance his personal position at any given moment. While acknowledging Foster’s career choices, to be a leader in the labor movement, Cannon noted:

“Within that field he worshipped the gilt goddess of success as much as any business man, careerist on the make, or politician in the bourgeois world.”

Cannon’s Fight Against Pepper

The faction fight which erupted in 1923 was politically murky in that both sides accepted some version of the two­class “Farmer-Labor” party. The split with Fitzpatrick’s Farmer-Labor Party had not been on the basis of an unambiguous class axis. In fact, the threat of Cannon’s and Foster’s arguments was for a return to an alliance with the so-called “progressives.” Not to be outdone, Pepper pushed to throw the party into the electoral campaign of the bourgeois “independent,” La Follette, which Pepper described as the “La Follette revolution,” noting:

“It will contain elements of the great French Revolution, and the Russian Kerensky Revolution. In its ideology it will have elements of Jeffersonianism, Danish cooperatives, Ku Klux Klan and Bolshevikism. The proletariat as a class will not play an independent role in this revolution.”

Well, how the hell could it? One gets the image of a Danish farmer dressed in a white sheet with a pound of butter in his hand.
Troike of Stalin (left), Kanevsky (second from right) and Zinoviev (right) grabbed control of the Bolshevik Party as Lenin lay dying.

1923-January 1924, Pepper was decisively defeated and party leadership went to the Foster/Cannon bloc. Unfortunately Pepper's politics still haunted the party, in the form of the "third party" against Foster/Cannon, which he added: "As the consideration of several other matters, Pepper's political policies was articulated in the party's minority and in the press." 1924-1928: Permanent Fractions and Degeneration of the CI

The period after 1924 is described by Cannon as the one of permanent factions, all of which could not live with or without each other. The backdrop to this period is the factional struggle that broke out in the Russian CP at the time of Lenin's incapacitation by stroke and finally his death in January 1924. It's interesting to note Cannon's preoccupation with the American party during this critical period in the International. But despite geographic distance, the American CP was not immune to the effects of the degeneration of the Russian party and later the Comintern. By early 1924, the post-World War I revolutionary wave had definitely subsided. Worse yet, the early hopes of extension of the Russian Revolution to the West were smashed by the failure of the German Communist Party to lead the fight for proletarian power when they had a ripe opportunity in late 1923. That was the year of failure, and the consequent isolation of the young Soviet Union, paved the way for the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucratic bureaucracy. With Stalin's death in January 1924, the fight for the succession of leadership in the Soviet state was on in deadly earnest. The triumvirate of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin, representing the interests of the emerging bureaucracy, crushed the Trotskyist opposition at the 13th Party Conference in January 1924. As we write in "When Was the Soviet Thermidor?" (Spartacist No. 43-44, Summer 1989): "While the post-1924 the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled, and the purposes for which the USSR was ruled had all changed. This was not reflected internationally through the Cominterns—what Zinoviev had boasted to be the "General Staff" of the World Revolution increasingly became merely an adjunct to the conservative, bureaucratic Soviet Foreign Ministry. With Stalin's pronouncement of "Socialism in One Country" in late 1924, the international Communist party were instructed not to make their own revolutions, but rather to defend the status quo. This really meant "defense" of the Stalinist perversion of "socialism" in Russia by appearing their own bourgeoisies. Later on this Stalinist program became known as the politics of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism."

In 1925, at the fourth convention of the Workers Party the CI sent one "Gusev" as an "impartial" representative. Gusev was an Old Bolshevik, and one particularly embittered against Trotsky. Though that question did not openly play a role, it was a fact that Gusev favored the Ruthenberg/Lovestone faction against Foster/Cannon. There were at least few no formalized "differences" between the factions—but the question of party leadership and control was nonetheless a matter.

Nominally, this was decided by the delegates—and the Foster/Cannon bloc won by a margin of two votes. But the meeting had an ace in the hole—Gusev had a cable from Moscow which declared that the Ruthenberg group was more loyal to views. This put Foster in a bind—he had a formal majority of the delegates, but the CI had given its blessings to the minority. During the wranglings over the composition of the new Central Committee, Foster blew up in a fit of pique told Gusev, the Comintern's rep, to go to hell. At this point the Foster/Cannon bloc itself split wide open. Cannon disassociated himself from Foster because he saw correctly that the only basis upon which Foster could rally forces would be in opposition to the Comintern itself.

Regardless of the injustice of the CI's interference, this was one step Cannon refused to take. Hence for the first time, the CI overturned the mandate of the American party's own convention and turned the leadership over to its chosen faction. It wouldn't be the last time. The period between 1924 and 1928 was not a comfortable one for Cannon. The party remained divided into three factions (Foster, Cannon/Dunne, and Ruthenberg/Lovestone) which had few substantive political differences. It was at this point, as reflected in Cannon's writings, that he attempted to unify the party. He wanted to eliminate the factional morass into which the party had fallen, and contradictory as it may sound, he organized a faction to end factionalism.

One escape Cannon had from the factional struggle, and one which corresponded to his deeply felt convictions, was to fight for and organize the International Labor Defense (ILD). It is important for us because it provided the model of non-sectarian labor defense upon which the Partisan Defense Committee is based today. Cannon threw himself into this work and was justly proud of the ILD's campaigns, such as those in defense of the anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti. The ILD originated in Cannon's talks with Bill Haywood in Moscow in 1923, when they were both worried about class-war prisoners, such as the IWW members ("Wobblies"), still languishing in jail. Cannon took offense when the ILD was part of the factional maneuvers of the 1920s. Cannon insisted that for the ILD to be involved in any factional party out of the ILD. Max Shachtman and Martin Abern were Cannon's collaborators. Cannon was expelled from the CP for "Trotskyism" in 1928. But all three had been doing ILD work years.
before the idea of joining with Trotsky was posed.

Cannon: The Founder of American Trotskyism

Cannon put party unity ahead of his own interests. He had a sympathetic base of support in the party, for a lot of the rank-and-file members wanted an end to the mindless factional warfare. The problem was that Ruthenberg died rather suddenly in March 1927 and all the factionalism blew up again. Lovestone declared himself the acting head of the party and quickly moved to take over the leadership. In a 1956 interview with Draper, Cannon noted, "I don't know whether you can get a comprehension of what it meant to fight a son-of-a-bitch like Lovestone." Lovestone wrapped himself in the flag of the CI, and with its blessings he secured a majority and the leadership at the 1927 party convention.

What Cannon lacked at that time was a political program—and he found it somewhat by accident. Initially he didn't want to attend the Sixth Congress of the CI in Moscow, but his factional partners prevailed upon him. The rest, as they say, is history. Having accidentally been placed upon the flag of the CI, and with its blessings he secured a majority and the leadership at the 1927 party convention. In a 1956 interview with Draper, Cannon noted, "I had been gradually settling down into an assured position as a party official with an office and staff, a position that I could easily maintain— as long as I kept within definite limits and rules which I knew all about, and conducted myself with the facility and skill which had become almost second nature to me in the long drawn-out factional fights. "I knew that. And I knew something else... The foot-loose Wobbly rebel that I used to be had irreparably begun to fit comfortably into a swivel chair, prot­ect­ing himself in this seat by small maneuvers and evasions and even permitting himself a certain conceit about his adept accommodation to this shabby game. I saw myself for the first time then as another person, as a revolutionist who was on the road to becoming a bureaucrat. The image was hideous and I turned away from it in disgust. "I never deceived myself for a moment about the most probable consequences of my decision to support Trotsky in the summer of 1928. I knew it was going to cost me my head and also my swivel chair, but I thought: 'What the hell— better men than I have risked their heads and their swivel chairs for truth and justice. Trotsky and his associates were doing it at that very moment in the exile camps and prisons of the Soviet Union. It was no more than right that one man, however limited his qualifications, should remember what he started out in his youth to fight for, and speak out for their cause and try to make the world hear, or at least to let the reiled and imprisoned Russian Oppo­tionists know that they had found a new friend and supporter... I have always thought of this as one of the most grat­iifying aspects of the historic fight we undertook in 1928—that the news of our fight reached the Russian comrades in all corners of the prisons and exile camps, inspiring them with new hope and new energy to persevere in the struggle." —The First Ten Years of American Communism

Our book presents Cannon in the period when he was transformed from a footloose IWW rebel into a serious com­munist political leader. It was only in the late 1920s that he found the consist­ent political program which corre­sponded to the gut instincts of his youth. Few of his generation were able to make such a leap, fewer still to maintain it. His legacy is in the organization of rev­olutionary Marxists we have now, this itself being an outgrowth of Cannon's Trotskyist movement which came out of the CP of the 1920s. We published this book not only to honor the one man who in his time could have led a proletarian revolution in this country, but mostly to educate the youth and cadres who must lead the working class to power once and for all.

The Third International After Lenin. What Cannon found there was the pro­gram of Bolshevism and the internation­alism of the October Revolution which had attracted Cannon to communism in the first place.

In 1928, when others were adapting their careers to Stalinism, or quitting the party and becoming anti-communists, Cannon made another choice: "I had been gradually settling down into an assured position as a party official with an office and staff, a position that I could easily maintain—as long as I kept within definite limits and rules which I knew all about, and conducted myself with the facility and skill which had become almost second nature to me in the long drawn-out factional fights.

"I knew that. And I knew something else... The foot-loose Wobbly rebel that I used to be had irreparably begun to fit comfortably into a swivel chair, protecting himself in this seat by small maneuvers and evasions and even permitting himself a certain conceit about his adept accommodation to this shabby game. I saw myself for the first time then as another person, as a revolutionist who was on the road to becoming a bureaucrat. The image was hideous and I turned away from it in disgust.

"I never deceived myself for a moment about the most probable consequences of my decision to support Trotsky in the summer of 1928. I knew it was going to cost me my head and also my swivel chair, but I thought: 'What the hell—better men than I have risked their heads and their swivel chairs for truth and justice. Trotsky and his associates were doing it at that very moment in the exile camps and prisons of the Soviet Union. It was no more than right that one man, however limited his qualifications, should remember what he started out in his youth to fight for, and speak out for their cause and try to make the world hear, or at least to let the reiled and imprisoned Russian Oppositionists know that they had found a new friend and supporter... I have always thought of this as one of the most gratifying aspects of the historic fight we undertook in 1928—that the news of our fight reached the Russian comrades in all corners of the prisons and exile camps, inspiring them with new hope and new energy to persevere in the struggle." —The First Ten Years of American Communism

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Clinton's Democrats—No Friend of Poor and Working Women

The Fight for Abortion Rights

Anti-Abortion Bigots Spiked in San Jose—An Eyewitness Account

Speaker: Diana Coleman, Spartacist League

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San Francisco State University

SAN FRANCISCO

Meet the Spartacus Youth Club

Wednesday, September 22, 6-7:00 p.m.

Freshman Union, Reading Room

Harvard University

BOSTON

10 SEPTEMBER 1993
“(continued from page 5)”


The editors of Idiot International produced a booklet titled "Conformist," which frankly supported Yeltsin's regime. Elliott criticizes him for "neocolonialism," a term that contradicts the period of decolonization that had already taken place. The winds of the imperialist campaign were opposed to "social democracy," as well as the rising tide of racism and nationalism throughout Europe. These editors have dedicated themselves to "anti-racism," which has never navigated according to a Trotskyist program—or any proletarian principles at all—to drift into increasingly murky waters. On the Balkans, the JCR leadership began by bowing to the imperialist wolves in defense of Bosnia, just as it had joined them on Yeltsin's baricades in August 1991 in Moscow. Thus, in its monthly L'Égalité (December 1992) covered up a "workers' version" of "social democracy" with the following text: "But what does Elliott say about the former Marchais, lacking fellow travelers, dared appear publicly for a while, he is sensitive, humane.... I think that we love and encourage him he can succeed (in becoming president of France). He has the stature of Yeltsin and Welsin!"
Somali... (continued from page 1)

over 30,000 fighters for the national liberation struggle against Ameri-

Patriotic Front command structure. (London Independent, 30 July)

The Somali population has become increasingly hostile to the UN troops, particularly the Americans. Despite the overwhelming superiority in firepower on the side of the U.S./UN forces, the Somalis have managed to inflict some casualties on their new colonial occupi-

ers. After four U.S. soldiers were killed by a mine in Mogadishu early last month, a shakeout of some 400 members of an "elite counterterrorist" unit, to take out Aidid, who has so far successfully eluded capture.

Washington no longer even pretends that the intervention in Somalia has any-
thing to do with famine relief. House official admitted that "If our exit
conditions were only that people were being fed, we could go this month" (New York Times, 10 August). Now Clinton is shoulderling the "white man's burden" to prepare the Somalis for eventual "inde-
pendence"—the age-old racist rationale for colonialism. U.S. troops will stay, according to a senior administration offi-
cial, "in some degree of politi-
cal stability."

When lame-duck president Bush first sent American forces into Somalia last December under the guise of ensuring food aid to the famine-stricken country, much of the left was outraged at the Spartan

NATO forces, the American troops have wantonly terrorized and wounded the population. The African Witness report by the London-based Africa

Spartacist League

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imperialist rivals. And it is not sur-
prising that in the appeal signed by

Cohen, the JCR and cohorts, the only imperialist power mentioned is the tra-

ditional rival of France (among others in the region): Germany! During the imperialist aggression against Iraq, we called for sinking Mitterrand and Bush in the Gulf. In contrast, Cohen and the ultracentrists of the FCP, along with Marchais and Chevenement—but also along with Hallier and the fascists—condemned the French inter-

vention in the name of better defend-
ing the interests of French imperialism against submission to U.S. imperialism. Thus the JCR leadership, despite a

markedly leftist posture but with no real class line, maneuvered with the youth organization of Chevenement's

Somali chieftain Mohamed Farah Aidid, targeted by U.S. hit men.


Many of the same leftists who fought and sold the "humanitarian" scam in So-

malia also peddle the notion that the Democrats are a "lesser evil" compared to the Republicans, less willing to attack the workers and black ghetto poor at home, less prone to military adventures abroad. But now it's the Republicans who are being dovish on Somalia, main-
taining it's a "no-win" situation. The Wall Street Journal (2 September) wrote that "For U.S. policy planners, the presence of almost 5,000 American troops in Somalia has become a classic case of "no way out."

Thus Senate Republican leader Bob Dole argues that the U.S. has "gotten away from our original mission" and that the time may be "close" for withdrawing American troops. By contrast, his Dem-

ocratic counterpart in the House, Thomas Foley, is calling for a blood feud against the Somali warlord who has to date suc-
cessfully defied the U.S. Congres-
sional Quarterly reported that "we

shouldn't allow this cat-and-mouse game to continue on in which the Somalis retaliate with civilian casualties and Aidid escapes capture."

Of course, the U.S. has the firepower to wipe out the ill-armed followers of an East African warlord, although Aidid has proven a tougher customer than Washington expected. But now Clinton

is talking of sending American troops to the killing fields of Bosnia, where they will take on more formidable militaries. He has pledged that the U.S. will provide most of the 30,000 or so new UN troops to enforce a "peace agreement," assuming the Bosnian

Serbs, Croats and Muslims can agree to one.

And if the American imperial presi-

dent vowed bloody vengeance when just four U.S. soldiers were killed in Soma-

lia, he has so far succeeded in making that number are wiped out by any of the three battle-hardened (and kill-crazed) armies contending in Bosnia? America's rulers—who, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, believe themselves mas-
ters of a "New World Order"—are per-

ceivably capable of terror-bombing Bel-

ggrade if Bosnian Serb militas attack the U.S. "peacekeepers."

The American capitalist state is seek-

ing to play the role of global gendarme with its debt-ridden financial con-

trols and an obsolete industrial base as its rivalry with the German Fourth Reich and Japan Inc. intensifies. This makes the U.S. ruling class even more danger-

ous, even more willing to bomb foreign capitals, to occupy small Third World countries and to assassinate anyone who defies them. U.S. imperialism keep your bloody hands off the world.

The ICAO report was a political com-

promise so that, as Richard Witsen noted in the New York Times (16 June), "all four nations involved in the downing of KAL 007 could find satisfaction." The Russians could (rightfully) say their military offi-
cers "did not knowingly cause the deaths of innocent civilians"; the Japanese could say that even though they were tracking the plane on their radar, "they were not aware that it was a civil aircraft off its intended track"; the South Koreans could argue that the mistaken identification about previous instances of pilots mak-

ing such "errors"; and above all, the U.S. could claim that they "were not aware in real time that the aircraft was stray-
ing." Still, the Times' editor evidently couldn't resist getting a last dig in with the misleading headline, "Downing of K.A.L. 007 Laid to Russian Error."

But the whitewash wasn't all. The whole sham investigation has en-
forced the essentials presented by Soviet Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov at his famous press conference on 20 March 1983, complete with a giant map of KAL 007's twisting flight path. "It has been proved incontrovertibly that there was no..." Such an intrusion of the plane...was a deliberate, thoroughly planned intelligence opera-

tion. It was "a spectacle of the most peaceful kind possible:..." Ogarkov's press conference has become a "blank space" in Yeltsin's history, but in the end the truth will out. And we will continue to do our part getting the truth out.
West Bank and Gaza, we noted that reaffirmed that it is even the most deformed expression of came out with its couple of impoverished slums. The Gaza Strip, barely larger in area than the New York City borough of Queens, is a giant concentration camp for close to a million Palestinian refugees. Jericho in the Israeli occupiers.

The hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees in squallid refugee camps in Jordan and Lebanon since they were driven from their homes which were intended to be empty shell of a state. Meanwhile Zionist right-wingers cry in the Near East, as props of the Israeli occupiers. The hundred mass of the Occupied Territories now!

The draft agreement is filled with empty rhetoric and law.

Whatever happens, this grotesque bargain over the subjugated Palestinian people marks a watershed in the Near East. By its act, the PLO has invited fundamentalist reactionaries like Hamas and Islamic Jihad, as well as the pro-Mazist PFLP, to police the PLO's own agreements with the Zionist regime. This was a statement to the international community that the region remains joint revolutionary struggle of the Hebrew-speaking and Arab peoples to sweep away the oppressors and for the liberation of the Occupied Territories.

What stands behind the American-orchestrated "peace" in the Near East, just like the neo-apartheid rapprochement between Nelsa Mandela and the racist South African regime, is the counterrevolutionary strategy of the Soviet Union. Under the headline, "As Much as Anything, Cold War's End Forstred PLO Deal," the Washington Post (1 Sep.

"The collapse of the Soviet Union, and with it the political and military "semaf," of the PLO's political and military base, has had a profound impact on the PLO's strength in the region. Under the headline, "As Much as Anything, Cold War's End Forstred PLO Deal," the Washington Post (1 Sep.

like the Israeli occupation, Jordan claims to have an accord which is simply waiting to be signed. Assad has reportedly reached a deal with Israel which will acknowledge Syrian "sover-

The elected Palistinian representatives-notably the pro-Mazist PFLP, have made an ignominious appeasement treaty with Israel in 1978. Meanwhile Zionist right-wingers crying "no more" over the PLO's recognition of Israel, voted on the proposal last Monday. Likud opposition leader Binyamin Netanyahu led a delegation to Jericho after the accord was announced, demonstra-

As international recognition of the PLO, Syria's backing in pushing for a better deal with the Zionist state. Despite grousing by Syria and Jordan that they were left out in the cold by the PLO's secret talks with Israel, both coun-

In the early 1970s the PLO first came out with its "mini-state solution," calling for a independent state in the West Bank and Gaza, we noted that this "would be only a very partial and deformed expression of the Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination" (WV No. 57, 22 November 1974). But the "Gaza-Jericho first" deal does not offer even the most deformed expression of self-determination. In the guise of granting "autonomy" to the Gaza Strip and Jericho, it would place the PLO's deal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses. At the same time, both Jordan and Syria are reportedly on the verge of signing their own "peace" treaties with Israel.

In effect, what Israel proposes to grant is "community control" over a couple of impoverished slums. The Gaza Strip, barely larger in area than the New York City borough of Queens, is a giant concentration camp for close to a million Palestinian refugees. Jericho in the Israeli occupiers.

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armed Zionist Goliath.

For all the talk of “pan-Arab unity,” the bourgeois Arab rulers are no less hostile to the national aspirations of the Pal-
estinians than are the Zionists. In the 1936-39 Palestinian uprising against the British colonial rulers and their (then) Zionist lackeys, the Mufti of Jerusalem, head of one of the leading Palestinian clans, betrayed the struggle in collusion with the neighboring neocolonial Arab rulers. And in 1948, the Jordanian Hashemite rulers struck a deal with the Zionists to carve up Palestine at the expense of the Palestinians. This nationalist backstabbing was bru-
tally demonstrated in the 1970 “Black September” massacre, as Jordan’s King Hussein (with the acquiescence of the Egyptian president and “pan-Arabist” idol Nasser) unleashed a bloodbath against the Palestinian resistance fighters, forcing them to move their headquarters to Lebanon and seek protection from so-called “rejectionist” regimes like Iraq and Syria. During the Lebanese civil war of 1975-76, Assad dealt with the Palesti-
inian forces there no less ruthlessly than had Hussein in Jordan. And when Israel launched its massive invasion of Leba-
non in 1982, culminating in the horrend-
ous massacre of 1,300 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, all the Arab regimes turned a blind eye. Ara-
fat, in turn, appealed for protection to the American and French imperialists, who did little to back his words and laid the basis for the massacre.

Intent on conciliating its feudalist and bourgeois enemies and to come to terms with a region that had progressively lowered its sights. Having in 1971 affirmed its opposition to “the establishment of a Palestinian Authority or any part of the Palestinian Homeland,” three years later the PLO came out for a Western-style “mini-state” and to endorse the ‘Arab Revolution’ to Pax Americana,” WV No. 335, 29 July 1983). At the time, this was presented as a move toward a “democratic, secular Palesti-
nee.” But by 1988, the PLO formally abandoned this principle and accepted the existence of the Zionist state. Now Arafat has agreed to become a tool of the Zionist oppressors. It is indicative of his new shift that the Israelis have promised to guarantee his “security” if the PLO leader moves to Jericho.

The role Arafat has chosen recalls the Judenrat ("Councils of Jewish Elders") who administered the Jewish ghettos in Nazi-occupied East Europe during the Holocaust. It was the hated Jewish ghetto police who were the overseers who rounded up Jews to be shipped to the extermination camps. The PLO now intends to become a Palestinian Judenrat in the Occupied Territories. And it is bitterly ironic that among the oppressors it will serve are Jewish survivors of the same type of tragedy.

For Trotskyist Parties in the Near East!

Genuine self-determination for the Palestinian people is impossible without the dismantling of both the Zionist state of Israel, whose very existence is prem-
ised on the oppression of the Palestinian people, and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, whose population is over 60 percent Palestinian. But unlike various "leftist" enthusiasts for Arab national-
ism, we have always insisted that national emancipation for the Palesti-
inians could not come at the expense of the right of the Palestinian Arabs to their land. Arafat's class struggle to the dictates of Jewish racism and enslavement of women. For Trotskyist Parties in the Near East can

knowing full well that these frame-up sedition laws are ultimately intended for striking unionists and leftists. The work-
er movement must fight against the racist anti-immigrant crusade and the omen sedition laws.

We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send your contribution to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013.

Partisan Defense Committee Forum
International Campaign of Protest!

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)

10 SEPTEMBER 1993

Stop Racist "Legal" Lynching!
Abolish the Death Penalty.
The desperate efforts of Third World people to get into North America and West Europe in any way they can reflects the systematic looting and impoverishment of Latin America, Asia and Africa by the rulers of the advanced capitalist countries. At the same time, immigrant workers are used as cheap labor for the superexploited labor in the imperialist centers themselves. Now the masters of Wall Street have discovered that the deterioration of economic conditions are whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria to divert popular struggle against the deteriorating economic conditions throughout the Western capitalist world.

Immigrants... (continued from page 16) clause making anyone born in the U.S. a citizen with equal rights. He even wants Mexico to pay for prisons in Baja California! Yet the rulers of the advanced capitalist countries are inherently racist and chauvinist. The centering the border with the National Guard. And meanwhile Hillary Clinton's medical care proposal will reportedly 14 poses to create a whole permanent caste system. Where would California be without the immigrants and everything to do with them? Combative Latino strikers in Southern California protest outside Parker Center against LAPD attack, 28 July 1992. INS seized arrested strikers for deportation. Let Them Stay! From defending immigrant hostels in Berlin against Nazi skinheads to protesting the U.S. government's expulsion of Chinese boat people, the International Communist League has actively fought against all manifestations of racism in this country and around the world.

But a slimy centrist outfit, the Right to Work, is setting one sector of the oppressed and exploited big lie are. a campaign that can be established by sharing out the current available wealth. In contrast, the demand for unlimited immigration and the destruction of national borders will frontiers will become a reality only under socialism, as a result of the abolition of national nationality. It will take workers revolution expropriating the wealth of the capitalists to make people want a change in the productive forces of all countries, which alone can provide a decent life for all those who want one. The Wall Street banks have been there in the world without borders.
of organized labor—city workers, docks, aerospace—to mobilize in strike action to halt the pace of the news. As leaders of the strike called a meeting, one of the strikers said, "We're not going to be fooled into giving up our rights to the bosses. We're going to fight for our jobs and our rights." In an attempt to break the strike, the DWP has threatened to file contempt-of-court charges against striking workers. The city is trying to whip up anti-strike sentiment by slandering the strikers as "violent," offering them only a choice between the strike or jail. This is a classic tactic of the bosses to divide and conquer. Nevertheless, the strikers are determined to continue the struggle. In Los Angeles, the strike has brought the city to a standstill, with thousands of workers striking and thousands more providing support. The strike is not only about wages and benefits, but also about the right to organize and to demand an end to the abuse of power by the bosses. The strikers are not just fighting for themselves, but for all workers who are fighting for a better future. We stand with the strikers of L.A. and give our full support to their struggle. We call on all workers to join the strike and support the strikers in their fight for justice and equality. We will not be defeated by the bosses' tactics. We will continue to fight until the strikers win their demands and until all workers are free from the oppression of the bosses. We are united in our struggle and we will not be divided by the bosses. We are the future of the working class and we will not be defeated! 

bureaucrats, for we call for an internationalist fight against the U.S. imperialists’ NAFTA plan: for class struggle on both sides of the border, uniting U.S. labor with the Mexican workers of the maquiladora belt, against their common class enemy! Join forces with the working people of the world in the class war! We call on all workers to unite, to fight for our rights, and to demand an end to the abuse of power by the bosses. The strikers are not just fighting for themselves, but for all workers who are fighting for a better future. We stand with the strikers of L.A. and give our full support to their struggle. We call on all workers to join the strike and support the strikers in their fight for justice and equality. We will not be defeated by the bosses' tactics. We will continue to fight until the strikers win their demands and until all workers are free from the oppression of the bosses. We are united in our struggle and we will not be divided by the bosses. We are the future of the working class and we will not be defeated! 

Meanwhile, DWP is running low on chlorine, as rail engineers refuse to cross the IBEW picket lines. Twice a day they have refused to take tank cars of chlorine down the rail spur to the huge Sylmar filtration plant, which handles 600 million gallons a day. Newly elected International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union president Richard Riordan wants to privatize city services to satisfy his bosses at the City Council on how best to shave capitalist austerity down the throats of city workers. The bosses are trying to whip up anti-strike sentiment by slandering the strikers as "violent," even portraying the strike as an "anti-capitalist revolt." The bosses are trying to divide and conquer the workers with the notorious racist thugs of the DWP Deputies’ Association! Cops out to protect the bosses! 

Dracoanion budget cuts are being imposed throughout California by Governor Wilson and the state’s pro-Democratic, pro-Democratic electorates. The DWP strike is hugely popular among workers of the world. There is enormous potential for united action by the workers of the world, but it will not be led by the labor traitors, who are beholden to the very capitalist system that is imposing the killer cuts. To wage and win a strike under these conditions means a fight to mobilize the working class against decaying capitalism and its political servants. For a workers government and the establishment of a planned economy, a socialist reindustrialization of America! 

L.A. Strike... continued from page 16

Workers Vanguard
Subscription Drive
September 2 to October 6

1993 Quotas

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National Total
4,600

Local
Quote (in print)
Atlanta 200
Bay Area 1,500
Boston 350
Chicago 550
Los Angeles 350
New York 350
Washington, D.C. 175
At Large 375

Subtotal
4,600

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The following leaflet has been issued by the Bay Area Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense.

California governor Pete Wilson has declared war on the state's millions of Hispanic and Asian immigrants. The ruling class wants impoverished workers and unemployed victims of this decaying economic system to blame desperate immigrants instead of the real enemy: the greedy capitalist bloodsuckers. The Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense say, don’t take the bosses' sucker bait! All those who stand for "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Down with Wilson! Boxer/Feinstein's Racist War on Immigrants!" come out and demonstrate 4:30 p.m., Thursday, September 16 at the Governor's Office in S.F., 455 Golden Gate. Immigrant and civil rights groups, students and the integrated labor movement must come to the defense of our brothers and sisters from south of the border and the Pacific Rim.

With the lowest approval rating in the state's history, this particularly vicious racist governor is trying to boost himself in the polls by leading the pack in anti-immigrant hysteria and race-baiting. Wilson's August 10 "open letter" to Clinton proposed to: kick "illegal immigrants" off welfare; deny them medical care; kick their kids out of the public schools; issue everyone South Africa-style "identity cards"; and remove from the Constitution's 14th Amendment, which codifies the abolition of slavery won at bloody cost in the Civil War, the continued on page 14.

L.A. water and power workers defy strikebreaking injunction, September 4.