

Democrats, Republicans Shred Welfare, Medicare Racist Rulers Grind the Poor



Washington, D.C.: Demonstration outside Congressional hearings on welfare, January 1995. Dismantling of welfare, Medicare are a death sentence for the ghetto masses, the sick and aged.

Harvey Finkel/Impact Visuals

The legislation being rushed through Congress in the last two weeks signals a return not only to the days before the 1930s New Deal but to conditions reminiscent of the 19th century. The already threadbare social safety net—a by-product of generations of struggle by working people—which has meant the difference between subsistence and starvation for a large sector of the inner-city and rural poor is now being torn to shreds by *both* capitalist parties.

The lopsided 87-12 Senate vote to throw everyone off welfare after two years was a sign of the times. This decision to destroy the lives of several million single mothers and their kids was marked by outright jubilation. House majority leader Newt Gingrich strode across the Senate floor slapping the backs of fellow Republicans. “Millionaires celebrating the stomping of the poor,” commented liberal *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert. Yet the liberals are reduced to little more than “moral witness.” Despite the furious rhetoric of the Republican right, what differences exist between the parties are over degree and pace. It was Clinton, after all, who pledged to “end welfare as we know it” in the '92 elections.

Echoing the language of the Republican right, the media speaks of the dismantling of the “welfare state.” But to

For a Revolutionary Workers Party That Champions All the Oppressed!

call this country a “welfare state” is a cruel joke. Over the past generation, the real wages of American working people have fallen by 20 percent, while the chasm between rich and poor has widened enormously. One percent of U.S. families now own nearly 40 percent of the nation's wealth, more than double the proportion of any West European country. At the other end of the spectrum, the bottom 10 percent of American families has an annual income of \$11,000, the *lowest* of any Western capitalist country except Italy! Many working people get by only by having two or more wage earners in the family. And in the ghettos and barrios, most people teeter between chronic unemployment, short-term minimum wage jobs and prison.

Now the rulers of this country are demolishing the few meager social welfare programs which do exist. Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Head Start, Legal Services, Medicaid, Medicare—all are to be either eliminated or slashed to the bone. Even Social Security retirement benefits, long

considered sacrosanct, are under attack. Children, single mothers, the elderly, immigrants, the ill or infirm—all the most vulnerable layers of society are being told to drop dead, *literally*. *Time* (2 October) talks of “cutting loose the poor.” What the capitalist rulers are doing is *killing* the poor.

Gingrich & Co. certainly revel in this onslaught against minorities and the poor. But it is the two pillars of Democratic Party liberalism—the labor bureaucracy and black elected officials—who have made the working class and poor vulnerable to the ever more savage attacks against them. Over the past two decades, the AFL-CIO misleaders have allowed the trade-union movement to be gutted by giveback contracts, two-tier wage systems, runaway shops and police scabberding. During the Reagan/Bush years, almost every major city had a black Democratic mayor, who blamed all social ills on the Republican White House while his cops terrorized the ghettos and barrios.

In the name of anti-Communism,

all wings of the Democratic Party along with most of the so-called left joined with Reagan/Bush in waging Cold War II, which ended with capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union. The dismantling of social welfare programs in the U.S. is but the domestic side of the “New World Order” of unfettered capitalist exploitation. For the men who run Wall Street and the Fortune 500, anyone who isn't producing profits for them—whether unemployed black ghetto youth or old people in nursing homes—has no right to live.

Yet this arrogant “let them starve” attitude is fueling a seething anger at the base of American society, which was expressed in the multiracial upheaval that shook Los Angeles following the 1992 acquittal of Rodney King's racist cop tormentors. It can be seen today in the outpouring of popular support—from student youth to trade unionists—for former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, who faces execution in Pennsylvania for his eloquent defense of the oppressed. It can be seen as well in the fierce picket-line battles by newspaper workers and other unionists against police scabberding in Detroit. It is necessary to revitalize the labor movement by freeing it of the dead hand of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy,

continued on page 12



Feds' Bloody Trail of Terror

SEE PAGE 6



The Mystique of the Guerrilla Road

SEE PAGE 8

Young Spartacus



Federal Court Turns Down UMWA Militant's Appeal

Freedom for Jerry Dale Lowe!

United Mine Workers (UMWA) militant Jerry Dale Lowe was dealt another cruel blow in the federal courts. On September 20 the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit turned down Lowe's appeal, condemning him to nearly eleven years in prison for the "crime" of defending his union. His attorneys will be filing a request for re-argument. All labor must stand up for this courageous union brother.

On 24 June 1994, Lowe was railroaded on federal charges of "interfering with interstate commerce" in the shooting death of a scab contractor at Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine in Logan County, West Virginia during a bitter labor battle in July 1993. The scab was shot in the back of the head while leaving the mine, the fatal bullet coming from

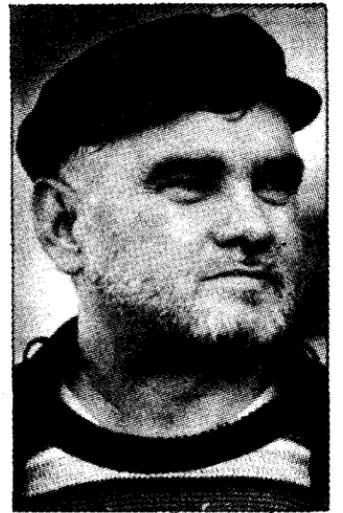
an area where company gun thugs from Elite Security had been located. The Court of Appeals' decision hinges on evidence that the bullet which struck the scab driver could have come from a pistol Lowe had been seen with one week before the shooting. But the court had refused to permit evidence that *Lowe had sold the gun prior to the shooting!*

Lowe was singled out by the authorities because he was known as a militant defender of the union. While the bosses sought to pin the scab's death on Lowe, they had no evidence to charge him under state laws—for anything. So in order to make an example of Lowe and seven other UMWA militants at the Ruffner mine, the coal bosses and the federal government turned a local contractor into "interstate commerce." Seven of the

eight Logan County miners accepted plea bargains and received \$500 fines with 120 days of jail time.

In her dissenting opinion, Circuit Court judge Diana Gribbon Motz exposed the legal hocus-pocus about "interstate commerce" which was used to send Lowe to prison: "The vehicle that the decedent was driving was owned and operated by a West Virginia company in connection with an intrastate business transaction with another West Virginia company. There was no evidence that the vehicle had ever been used outside the state of West Virginia, in connection with interstate commerce or otherwise."

But these legal and constitutional niceties have no meaning to the Clinton Justice Department and the bosses' courts as they go after the labor movement and oppressed with a vengeance. As Lowe's attorney, Rebecca Ann Baitty, stated, "This decision has enormous potential for impacting labor strikes.... It would be implicated in virtually any strike situation." Or as Lowe told *Workers Vanguard*, if the ruling holds, "You won't even be able to stand on the side



Charleston Gazette

of the road to talk to anybody, not even to ask them to honor a picket line. That would be affecting interstate commerce according to them and you're just liable to go to jail."

Constantly striving to build up its arsenal of repression, the government increasingly uses this "interstate commerce" myth as the "legal" sledgehammer to intervene to break strikes and railroad pickets when the local cops, goons and courts can't do the jobs themselves.

continued on page 4



TROTSKY

Che Guevara and the Guerrilla Road

On 8 October 1967, heroic guerrilla fighter Che Guevara was captured in Bolivia and then murdered by the CIA and its local operatives. Many leftist organizations at the time saw Castro/Che's Cuba as an alternative to the conservative Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy. Today, in the wake of the counterrevolutions that have swept the ex-USSR and East Europe, radicalizing youth around the world are again looking to Che as an



LENIN

inspiring revolutionary fighter. Yet Guevara's "guerrilla road" was capable at best—under exceptional circumstances—of creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state, bound by the same nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" that led to the strangulation of the former Soviet Union. The Spartacist League insisted in its 1966 Declaration of Principles on the necessity of forging an international Trotskyist party, to lead the struggle for proletarian political revolution against the anti-working-class Stalinist bureaucracies, and for socialist revolution against U.S. imperialism and throughout the capitalist world.

The partial character of the anti-capitalist revolutions in the colonial world over the past two decades (China, Cuba, North Viet Nam and North Korea) leads us to reaffirm the Marxist-Leninist concept of the proletariat as the key to the socialist revolution. Although existing petty-bourgeois nationalist-led movements against imperialism must be defended, the task of communists is to lead the active intervention of the working class to take hegemony over the national-social struggle. The struggle by the proletarian leadership for **self-determination** of the oppressed nations is a powerful tool to break the grip of petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders on the masses. The Spartacist League fundamentally opposes the Maoist doctrine, rooted in Menshevism and Stalinist reformism, which rejects the vanguard role of the working class and substitutes peasant-based guerrilla warfare as the road to socialism. Movements of this sort can under certain conditions, i.e., the extreme disorganization of the capitalist class in the colonial country and the absence of the working class contending in its own right for social power, smash capitalist property relations; however, they cannot bring the working class to **political** power. Rather, they create bureaucratic anti-working class regimes which suppress any further development of these revolutions towards socialism. Experience since the Second World War has completely validated the Trotskyist theory of the Permanent Revolution which declares that in the modern world the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be completed only by a proletarian dictatorship supported by the peasantry. Only under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat can the colonial and semi-colonial countries obtain the complete and genuine solution to their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation.

—"Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League" (September 1966), *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9

Paris Demonstrations for Mumia Abu-Jamal



Le Bolchévick

PARIS—Some 5,000 people participated in a September 27 demonstration in support of American death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The protest was initiated by the French Communist Party (PCF). The contingent organized by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), shown above, marched behind a banner reading, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal." LTF placards also called for independence for French colonies and denounced the government's racist "Operation Vigipirate," in which army troops have been deployed in major cities to whip up a state of siege atmosphere.

The campaign to free Mumia, launched in France by the Comité de Défense Sociale (CDDS—fraternal organization of the Partisan Defense Committee), has struck a chord in France. Although the death penalty has been abolished, cops and fascists apply it in practice with racist terror in the streets against immigrant workers and youth. Yet the PCF, whose groveling policy of "constructive opposition" to conservative president Jacques Chirac is rooted in French chauvinism, tried to head off slogans against colonial repression and racist attacks at home, claiming there could be "confusion about the

nature of this demonstration." This was just after the colonial authorities in Tahiti arrested a score of pro-independence trade unionists who had demonstrated against French nuclear testing in the Pacific!

The link between the campaign to free Mumia and the fight against racist attacks was starkly underlined at an earlier, September 8 rally for Jamal called by the MRAP, a civil rights organization close to the PCF. Leaving the demonstration site, five youth, who were either black or of North African origin, were arrested by riot cops, who claimed that one of them "resembled the composite sketch" of the "Islamic terrorist" supposedly responsible for recent bombing incidents. The CDDS contingent, along with other participants, quickly lined up in front of the cops, shouting, "Free our comrades!" "USA-France—Down with racist terror!" A CDDS spokesman declared: "We will stay here and demonstrate until they are released." One by one, the cops reluctantly freed the youths.

The LTF has repeatedly stressed that the organized workers movement must be in the forefront of the fight against racist terror and segregation. Down with "Vigipirate"! Down with the racist state of siege!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: George Foster

EDITOR: Jan Norden

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Carla Wilson

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Shauna Blythe

EDITORIAL BOARD: Bruce André, Ray Bishop, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is October 3.

No. 630

6 October 1995

Philly's Grim Reaper Goes to Poland

Capitalism Means Capital Punishment, Says D.A. Lynne Abraham

She's the Queen of Death in the "Capital of Capital Punishment," and she's been sent to Poland by the State Department to do battle for the death penalty. Lynne Abraham, the Philadelphia District Attorney who wants to further her political ambitions by executing death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, is a member of the U.S. delegation to a meeting of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Warsaw, which opened on October 2. At this two-week international conference to monitor "human rights," there is a special session on abolition of capital punishment. The U.S. expects to come under fire and wants somebody who's really into it to champion the legal lynching of thousands on death row.

News of the trip first appeared in the *Philadelphia City Paper* (22 September),

on the Poland trip, told Frangipanni, "The United States will most likely be condemned at this conference for its use of the death penalty." They want Abraham along because "she can make a real-world contribution to these discussions."

The "real world" means Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where Abraham presides over the most vicious racist murder machine in America. The fight to save former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal has focused worldwide attention on the whole system of Philly "justice," where the 40 percent black population lives under a reign of terror from the racist cops, the capitalist courts presided over by the likes of hanging judge Albert Sabo, and the deadliest D.A. in the country.

The death penalty is Lynne Abraham's "passion," wrote Tina Rosenberg in a front-page profile of her in the *New York*



Smale/NY Times

Lynne Abraham, enforcer of the most ruthless "legal lynching" machine in the U.S.

those sentenced to be executed. No one will shed a tear. Prison is too good for them. They don't deserve to live."

Only such minds would be capable of stating, as did the Philadelphia D.A.'s reply to Jamal's appeal for a stay of execution: "The carrying out of a valid death sentence cannot constitute irreparable injury for purposes of requesting a stay." After Jamal won a stay of execution, she bitterly complained in a *New York Times* (13 August) column, sneering that Jamal was just a "high school dropout" and dripping with racist arrogance at the "ludicrous" idea that Jamal "was a famous journalist whom the police framed to silence his unpopular political views."

The OSCE meeting takes place as reactionary forces in Poland are trying to rev up the machinery of death. One can't help but note the grotesque quality of Abraham arguing for the death penalty in the land of Auschwitz. The death penalty in Poland is a holdover from the Pilsudski dictatorship and was scandalously maintained by the Stalinist bureaucracy of the deformed workers state. But there has not been an execution in Poland since 1988, a situation that many of the new capitalist rulers are trying to reverse.

Abraham argues that in Poland "sooner or later, they will have to accept the death penalty. With such a high homicide and drug abuse rate, they will have no choice." And why does Poland have a high crime rate today? Abraham is saying that *capitalist counterrevolution requires*

capital punishment. "Besides," she told the *City Paper*, in Poland "they have been practicing the death penalty for years. It's called communism. How many people have been murdered because of a communist dictator?"

For years, Washington vituperated against the supposed brutal crackdown against Solidarność in 1981, which temporarily spiked the bid for power by that pro-capitalist Polish nationalist movement sponsored by the Vatican, Ronald Reagan and the CIA. In fact, a total of *nine* people are known to have died in the crackdown. Even a Solidarność-led parliamentary committee could only come up with 54 people killed by the security forces during the year and a half of martial law (Tina Rosenberg, *The Haunted Land* [Random House, 1995]). This is about *half* the number of prisoners the Philly D.A.'s office has sent to death row, not to mention the more than 3,000 facing execution nationwide.

Our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski participated in a demonstration against Lynne Abraham and the death penalty on October 2. In a leaflet entitled "Protest Philadelphia D.A. Lynne Abraham, Would-Be Executioner of Mumia Abu-Jamal!" the SGP writes:

"Abraham arrives in Warsaw five years after the capitalist counterrevolution, backed to the hilt by the American imperialist bourgeoisie, which destroyed the former deformed workers state in Poland. Throughout the 1980s, with supreme hypocrisy imperialist governments around the world conducted a massive campaign ostensibly defending 'human rights' against 'communist totalitarianism' as a means to undermine the Soviet Union and other workers states, which had been deformed and weakened by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule...."

"Meanwhile, the Polish bourgeoisie, including politicians from the fascist grouplets, to Walesa and the pro-clerical-nationalists of the post-Solidarność parties, to the ex-Stalinist social democrats of the SLD, are unanimously howling for a strengthening of police powers. This means more deportations of Roma, Sinti as well as so-called 'illegal' workers, further crackdowns on women seeking abortions, and a reactivation of the barbaric death penalty. Ultimately their target is the organized working class and the left, and anyone else who seeks to rebel against the 'new order' of capitalist 'free market' misery...."

The SGP leaflet ends, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Down with Anti-Semitism and Anti-Roma Racism! Down with Capitalist Counterrevolution! Down with the Death Penalty!" ■



Spartakist

Warsaw, June 23: Polish Spartacists at rally of some 200 calling to save the life of U.S. political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

in an article by columnist Mary Frangipanni, who wrote:

"Her mission? 'Spread the gospel of the wonders of the death penalty....' 'Nearly all of OSCE's 52 participating nations will send representatives to talk about why the death penalty sucks. Abraham will face a hostile crowd.'"

William Spencer, who runs the OSCE desk at the State Department and is also

Times Magazine (16 July). The Philadelphia District Attorney's office "is more zealous in seeking the death penalty" than any other jurisdiction in the U.S., Rosenberg noted. Philadelphia's death row population of 105 is the third largest in the nation, close behind Houston and L.A., which are both much larger. Abraham doesn't lose any sleep over the pending executions, declaring: "I've looked at all

Why Socialist Action Is Compelled to Alibi Clinton's Terror Bombing

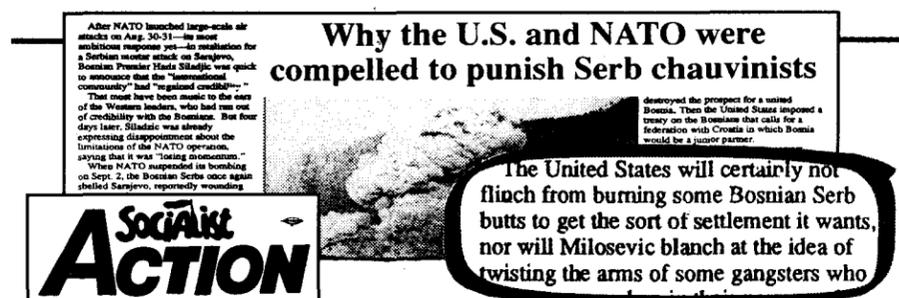
In World War I, Lenin called the Social Democrats who shamefully supported "their" bourgeoisies in imperialist war "social chauvinists." Today, as U.S./NATO bombs enforce imperialist domination in the Balkans, the American Socialist Action (SA) group acts as Washington's attorney. "Why the U.S. and NATO Were Compelled to Punish Serb Chauvinists," reads the headline in the September issue of *Socialist Action*.

"Compelled"? "Punish"? Do tell. The first paragraph quotes the premier of Bosnia saying that the massive NATO bombing of the Bosnian Serbs allowed the "international community" (read: U.S. and German imperialism) to "regain credibility." While complaining that a hardline Serb faction is refusing to accept the NATO diktat, *Socialist Action* assures its readers: "The United States will certainly not flinch from burning some Bosnian Serb butts to get the sort of settlement it wants."

This latest *Socialist Action* is no aber-

ration. It just states with unusual frankness what has been their policy all along—to be a pressure group for imperialist intervention. In the August issue, Gerry Foley denounced "UN Betrayals in Bosnia" and hailed the Croatian military offensive which carried out the largest "ethnic cleansing" operation in this murderous war, as the fascis-

tic Tudjman government (which looks back to the Nazi-allied Croatian Ustasha in World War II) drove out 200,000 Serbs from lands they had inhabited for centuries. And the July *Socialist Action* proclaims, "Morale Steadily Rises in Bosnian Army," above a photo of a bandoleered, Rambo-like "freedom fighter."



September Socialist Action's disgusting apology for U.S./NATO bombing of Bosnian Serbs.

As the counterrevolutionary destruction of Yugoslavia turned the former deformed workers state into a bloody cauldron of ethnic hatred, Socialist Action sided with one of the warring nationalist factions—the Bosnian Muslims. The Bosnian "government" is led by an Islamic fundamentalist cabal, but Socialist Action follows the imperialist press in presenting these rabid nationalists as "multi-ethnic" democrats. And it's no accident that SA supports the same side embraced by Washington, both Democrats and Republicans.

War and revolutions are fundamental events which throw into sharp focus where different political forces and tendencies stand. Contrast SA's line with the Spartacist League. Over the headline "Down With U.S./UN/NATO Attack on Bosnian Serbs!" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 628, 8 September) we declared, "No to Imperialist Diktat in the Balkans!" The article noted:

"It has been quite clear in recent months, beginning with the deployment of the so-called rapid reaction forces last spring, highlighted by the American engineered and controlled Croatian offensive in early August, and now with the mass murder bombing by the U.S. and NATO, that this has become an imperialist war against the Serbs. We call for defense of the Bosnian Serbs against

continued on page 4

Socialist Action...

(continued from page 3)

U.S./NATO imperialism and its puppets of the Muslim-Croat alliance.

At the same time, we emphasized the need for a socialist fight against the ethnic-nationalist butchers, calling prominently: "For Workers Revolution to Overthrow All the Bloody Nationalist Regimes! For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!"

In our last issue, we noted how the despicable Tim Wohlforth, one-time honcho of the Workers League, is now posting messages on the Internet praising NATO for its terror bombing of the Bosnian Serbs with an enthusiastic "Good Going!" Wohlforth is an open renegade who has denounced Trotskyism and Leninism as he embraces "American values." But the example of Socialist Action gloating over the U.S.'s "punishment" of the Serbs underlines that he is shouting out loud the same pro-imperialist line that a grab bag of ostensible Trotskyists have been peddling for some time.

Support for NATO terror bombing is the logical outcome of the "workers aid" campaigns for Bosnia that this crowd has been running for the past several years. SA is internationally linked to the United Secretariat (USec) of the late Ernest Mandel, whose Bosnian aid outfit is called "International Workers Aid." Together with the British Workers Revolutionary Party of Cliff Slaughter, which has been running the "Workers Aid for Bosnia" group, they ran convoys to the town of Tuzla under the protection of Croatian and UN military forces. As we

wrote in our article, "Fake Lefts in the Baggage Train of Imperialism: What's Behind 'Workers Aid for Bosnia'" (WV No. 604, 5 August 1994):

"These 'leftist' charlatans cynically use the plight of the Tuzla mining community to promote political support to the Bosnian Muslim government in the three-sided fratricidal war in the former Yugoslavia and to push for imperialist support to Bosnia."

So they've gotten what they asked for. As early as February 1993, the United Secretariat called on the imperialists to send arms to the Bosnian Muslim government. And now that the U.S./NATO forces are bombing the Bosnian Serbs, Socialist Action cheers.

So here we have the scandalous spectacle of ostensible Trotskyists seeking imperialist intervention to support one side in a nationalist civil war. These "laptop bombardiers," as journalist Alexander Cockburn termed such "leftist" warmongers, accept the bourgeois lie of the "death of communism." Thus the United Secretariat recently published an entire declaration on "Bosnia-Herzegovina: No Ethnic Partition!" (*International Viewpoint*, June 1995), in which they say not one word about socialism or the working class. And the USec's Yugoslavia expert, Catherine Samary, admits "the left's inability to mobilise a solidarity movement with democratic forces in former Yugoslavia is partly the result of a thorough confusion over who is who, and who we should support" (*International Viewpoint*, March 1995).

Having written off a fight for socialist revolution as impossible, they now present a bourgeois-democratic program for "self-determination" for a "multi-ethnic" Bosnia. This throws out the window

ing a finger in their defense. Trampling on the proud miners' tradition that an injury to one is an injury to all, UMWA head Richard Trumka has refused to use the union's power in defense of Jerry Dale Lowe against this vindictive prosecution by the Clinton administration. Trumka's contract selling out the 1993 strike specifically *excluded* from amnesty any strikers facing federal charges, in other words, Jerry Dale Lowe and the other seven Logan County miners.

The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, sends monthly stipends to Lowe as part of our program of stipends to victims of capitalist repression.

As a UMWA Local 5958 safety committee chairman and a union militant, Jerry Dale Lowe fought to protect his union brothers. Jerry Dale Lowe must not fight alone. The fight to defend Jerry Dale Lowe and all class-war prisoners is the cause of the entire labor movement. There should be mass mobilizations in the coal fields and around the country—convoys of Teamsters, marches of auto, rubber, steel, transport and municipal workers, demanding freedom for Jerry Dale Lowe. ■

Lowe...

(continued from page 2)

For the past decade, nearly every militant labor struggle has been met with bogus "conspiracy" charges under the draconian RICO laws. This is a throwback to the 19th century, when unions and strikes were considered criminal conspiracies. Also railroaded to 35 to 45 years in prison, under the anti-labor provisions of the Crime Control Act, are four Kentucky miners and UMWA brothers—Donnie Thornsbury, David Thornsbury, Arnold Heightland and James Darryl Smith—who were arrested during the 1984-85 strike against A.T. Massey and Samoyed Energy.

From the powerful Teamsters to the UMWA, the labor tops who routinely bow down to strikebreaking injunctions now conveniently hide behind the threat of RICO indictments and civil suits as they abandon the most militant strikers who have been targeted and set up by the feds. Teamster militant Jesse Acuna and Ravenswood, West Virginia Steelworker Bob Buck are just a couple of the strikers imprisoned for defending their union without the bureaucrats lift-



WV Photo
The International Communist League held emergency protests in early September against NATO onslaught at UN headquarters in New York (above), London, Paris, Berlin.

Trotsky's program for permanent revolution, which explains that in the imperialist epoch the fight even for the most basic democratic tasks such as national independence requires that the proletariat take power, under the leadership of its communist party, passing over to undertake socialist tasks and extending the revolution internationally, centrally to the imperialist countries.

A "democratic" capitalist Bosnia really is a fantasy. The interpenetration of several (closely related) peoples in the Balkans means the formation of capitalist nation-states born of counterrevolution can only come about through massive forced population transfers, and worse. While the USec talks of a mythical "sovereign and multi-ethnic Bosnia," in reality they are aligned with Islamic fundamentalists and Croatian neo-fascists under the protection of the U.S./NATO imperialists who want to police the region, "punishing" the Serbs for stepping out of line in the "New World Order."

Socialist Action poses as the left wing of the USec, as opposed to the majority, which openly talks of liquidating the organization that has long, and falsely, claimed to be the continuity of Trotsky's Fourth International. But there's nothing "left" about these cheerleaders for Clinton. In fact, SA is marked by profound Stalinophobia. Socialist Action hailed the capitalist reunification of Germany. And in a report to the USec's 14th World Congress, Jeff Mackler said of the wave of counterrevolution that swept the Soviet Union and East Europe: "with the

collapse of Stalinism, a gain has been made for the working class worldwide" (*Socialist Action*, August 1995).

Socialist Action emerged from the (by then thoroughly reformist) Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1983. Its first notable act was to goon for the San Francisco labor bureaucracy. When thousands of Bay Area workers took to the streets to stop scab buses during the Greyhound strike, Socialist Action helped to organize a goon squad for the bureaucracy to stop the workers and protect the company from "crazies"! Nor is their Stalinophobia anything new: they are charter members of the "solidarity with Solidarity" club, "AFL-CIA" branch. Already in 1981, when he was still in the SWP, future SA honcho Nat Weinstein was demonstrating alongside hoary "Captive Nations" anti-communists at a rally for the counterrevolutionary Solidarność. The logo on Socialist Action's newspaper remains to this day that of Lech Walesa's Polish Solidarność—leader of the Polish counterrevolution.

From Poland to Bosnia, Socialist Action has lined up foursquare with its "own" imperialism. This was shown dramatically during the 1990-91 Persian Gulf slaughter, when Socialist Action endorsed wearing yellow ribbons in support of "our boys," the U.S. troops that rained death and destruction on Iraq, killing more than 100,000 Iraqis for American control of Near East oil. Now these yellow-ribbon socialists are cheering on Clinton as he "burns Bosnian Serb butts." These pseudo-Trotskyists are social chauvinists of the third mobilization. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office

Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Atlanta

Box 397
Decatur, GA 30031
(404) 521-9338

Boston

Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

New York

Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025

Oakland

Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851

San Francisco

Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 777-9367

Washington, D.C.

Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Montréal

C.P. Les Atriums
B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver

Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

Spartacist Events

BOSTON

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Saturdays, 2 p.m. Next classes, October 14: *Workers of the World, Unite: The Power of the Proletariat*; October 21: *The Marxist Understanding of the State and Imperialism*; call for location
For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHAMPAIGN/URBANA

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next classes, October 5: *For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!* November 2: *1917—The Russian Revolution*; University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana, call for room
For more information: (312) 663-0715

NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, October 12, 7:30 p.m.: *Race, Sex, Class and Clinton's War on the Poor*; Speaker: Amy Rath, Editor, *Women and Revolution*; PS 234, 292 Greenwich Street (at Chambers Street)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Fridays, 7 p.m. Next classes, October 6: *Workers Revolution*; October 20: *The Revolution Betrayed*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forums

TORONTO

Saturday, October 21, 7:30 p.m.: *National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!* Speaker: Charles Galarneau, *Spartacist Canada* Editorial Board; St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street W. (just west of Spadina)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 16: *The Origins of Marxism*; International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street (north of College)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Friday, October 13, 7:30 p.m.: *National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!* Speaker: Charles Galarneau, *Spartacist Canada* Editorial Board; Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, October 26: *Marx's View of Economics*; Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Detroit: Redbaiting Targets All Strike Militants

For 12 weeks, workers striking against the *Detroit News* and *Free Press* have endured hundreds of arrests in the fight to shut down the scab papers. In early September, the strikers' mass pickets that pushed back the cops were a welcome sight to workers across the country. But the scene of hundreds of workers massed outside the key Sterling Heights printing facility pounding the pavement with picket sticks and ready to teach a long-overdue lesson to the scabherders and goons from outfits like Vance Security scared the union tops

that fights to expose the *political* basis of the bureaucracy's sabotage, in order to *sweep away* this obstacle. The crucial point is that the newspaper union tops' attack on the strikers is rooted in their allegiance to the capitalist system—in particular through their *reliance on and fronting for the Democrats*. But you'll look long and hard to find this mentioned in the RWL's "strike committee" leaflets. By confining their criticism of the union tops to picket line tactics, the RWL ducks the necessity of a political struggle against the pro-capitalist union leadership, leaving the door open to tailing "progressive" elements of this bureaucracy.

As we pointed out in our last issue ("Detroit Labor: Stop the Scabs!" in *WV* No. 629), "militancy alone is not enough." Labor's gotta play hardball to win—and that means class-struggle politics to defeat the backstabbers like Derey who are running this strike into

back an angry, multiracial workforce.

In August, the MTA threatened Metro-North workers with layoffs after members of four different unions—Machinists, firemen, sheet metal workers, cleaners and inspectors—voted to reject contracts agreed to by MTA negotiators and union bureaucrats. The proposed sellout entailed vast work rule changes which would have *lowered* the income of many workers. Leading the retreat was TWU International president Sonny Hall, who first assured nervous NYC rulers that no strike action was planned, then called the proposal rejected by TWU cleaners and inspectors "the best available at the time, short of a strike, especially considering the financial climate we were bargaining in" (*AFL-CIO News*, 28 August).

The LIRR and Metro-North are, respectively, the first- and second-largest commuter railroads in the country, yet divisive craft unionism at both encourages backstabbing deals between management and the various union misleaders. It's absurd to have dozens of unions carving this powerful workforce into tiny components. There must be one industrial union for all mass transit workers—including workers from the closely interlinked New Jersey Transit and the PATH trains between Manhattan and New Jersey.

Metro-North and LIRR workers are covered under the Railway Labor Act, which deems strike action illegal during government-imposed "cooling off periods" that can last for years. The MTA wants to place them under the even more draconian Taylor Law—which declares *all* New York public employee strikes illegal. Such laws are a godsend for labor bureaucrats, particularly phony "opponentists" like New Directions in TWU Local 100, who boost themselves to union office with militant rhetoric, then claim their "hands are tied" at contract time.

It's not just the Railway Labor Act or the Taylor Law—the *whole system* of regulations, labor boards and court injunctions covered by the National Labor Relations Act is designed to gut labor struggle. This framework is the bible of the labor bureaucrats, who are keenly aware of their role: to police the organized working class, preaching faith in government intervention and the Democratic Party. At LIRR, 470 engineers have been working without a contract since 1991! In May, they held a one-day "illegal" sick-out that paralyzed the railway, and Wall Street howled with rage. Later, union officials admitted their "mistake," and agreed to prevent more "illegal job actions" for at least five years.

For the first time in memory, bosses at the NYC Transit Authority are threatening mass layoffs and outrageously demanding to reopen the contract approved 14 months ago. Since 1989, the TA has slashed 5,000 jobs through attrition; now they want to eliminate 2,000 or more jobs in the months ahead. Even with the 25-cent fare increase, the TA is expecting a \$400 million budget gap next year that they will try to squeeze out of the workforce with the help of the union tops. "The numbers are real," says Local 100 president Damaso Seda, "and dealing with them will mean pain for everyone." What Seda means by "everyone" doesn't include the TA or himself—together they peppered last year's contract with dirty little secrets the membership is just discovering.

TA bosses withheld a scheduled 3.2 percent pay increase in early August, and demanded to siphon part of the raise into a supplementary retiree health fund. When the raise did show up in workers' paychecks, reduced to 2.45 percent, the bureaucrats cynically claimed that they achieved a huge victory. In fact, Local 100 tops hid this looming giveback from the workers for over a year, and still won't let the membership see the contract with their own eyes. In many shops and yards transit workers are starting to fight back, with such elemental measures as refusing overtime and enforcing safety rules. But they are well aware that the union brass has a long track record of isolating and sabotaging even these struggles.

At the 240th Street inspection barn, during the hottest days of summer, car maintainers and cleaners rebelled against horribly unsafe work conditions and a crackdown on their breaks, starting to work to rule and refusing overtime for weeks. Union officials sat on their hands while management hit workers with a barrage of disciplinary write-ups and threats to put workers "in the street" for up to a month without pay. In the bus division, TA bosses set up an entire bus repair facility manned with probationary mechanics, forcing them to work up to 80 hours per week as part of a "time study" speedup.

Months after a June 5 subway crash on the Williamsburg Bridge left motorman Layton Gibson dead and scores of passengers injured, the TA admitted that signals and emergency stopping mechanisms on 257

continued on page 12



Detroit newspaper strikers and their supporters have fought repeated police assaults. Left: Cops attack picket line outside Sterling Heights printing plant, August 19.

as much as the company. Now the bosses' courts have hit the unions with an anti-picketing injunction. Rather than calling on all Detroit labor to come out in mass defiance of the strikebreaking court order, the response of the Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions was to launch a dirty, redbaiting slander campaign. The bureaucrats' aim was clear: to denounce the determined militancy of *their own members* as being the work of "radicals" and Vance Security!

It used to be that the owners had to hire their own public relations hacks—now all it takes is a phone call and they get the labor fakers to do it for free. In a grotesque press release on September 22, Teamsters official Al Derey, head of the Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions, attacked the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and their "Strike to Win Committee," alleging that "Vance Security, one of the private paramilitary companies hired by the papers, could be controlling these so-called radicals." This crude smear job is directed against *any* striker and strike supporter who has defended the picket line. Over a hundred have been arrested—17 more on September 30—for trying to stop scab distribution. Instead of Derey's backstabbing attack, the union movement should use its muscle to demand all charges be dropped.

"This redbaiting reminds me of 1950," at the height of the McCarthyite witchhunt, one electrical worker manning the picket lines told *Workers Vanguard*. He added that strike leaders "were hoping and praying that the injunction would come through" to give them an excuse to do away with picket line militancy. Members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) report that one Metropolitan Council bureaucrat justified *scabbing* by some IBEW members while redbaiting others who called for mass pickets!

The Metropolitan Council and their allies in the United Auto Workers International have acted as *cops for the bosses* by diverting away from the picket line the hundreds of workers who have flocked to Sterling Heights to support the strike. Like all union leaders who support the profit system and the twin parties of American capital, Derey & Co. function as agents of the bosses to control and tame the labor movement.

Many strikers fighting to win this battle recognize that the union misleaders are the roadblock to victory. What will it take to defeat them? The RWL and the "Strike to Win Committee" reduce everything to the call for more "militancy" and electing "militants" to union office. It takes a lot of nerve for the RWL to pose as militant defenders of the picket line: the first issue of their paper was devoted to alibiing their *scabbing* on a 1977 strike of AFSCME clerical workers in Ann Arbor!

It is urgent to fight for mass pickets which shut down the scab production. Key to this is forging a leadership

the ground. In fact, the fakers posturing as "militants" in the 1970s became the bureaucrats of today: look at the TDU (Teamsters for a Democratic Union), in bed with Ron Carey and finking for the feds. The RWL is cut from the same cloth—that's why they look to Democratic Party con artists like Jesse Jackson to lead workers and minorities in struggle. What's needed is a leadership that fights for jobs for all and mass labor/black struggle against racist attacks, against imperialist protectionism that chains American workers to their own exploiters, and for a workers party determined to expropriate the capitalists under a workers government. With such a revolutionary leadership, the working class will launch a fight to win—once and for all.

Defeat the Crackdown on NYC Transit Workers!

The over 40,000 subway, bus and commuter rail workers employed by units of New York's Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA)—the NYC Transit Authority (TA), Long Island Rail Road and Metro-North—are the most powerful hub of public service employees in the country. But facing the broadest attacks on mass transit in decades, workers are being held back, atomized and demoralized by their own union misleaders, above all by officials of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), whose 30,000-strong Local 100 has the power to bring the city to a grinding halt.

Strangled by budget cuts at the TA and locked in contract fights at Metro-North and the LIRR, workers are facing speedups, forced overtime, dangerous conditions, drug testing and disciplinary assaults by gung-ho foremen and supervisors trying to save their own jobs. Riders are getting hit, too. Subway and bus service was cut back after Labor Day, affecting poor and working-class neighborhoods the most, and on November 1 transit fares are slated to rise from \$1.25 to \$1.50. Virgil Conway, the MTA's recently appointed chairman, announced plans to cut operating expenses by up to \$3 billion in the next five years!

On a mid-September morning, a squirrel wandered into an electrical transformer serving the Metro-North commuter railroad and briefly accomplished something the sellout union tops of 17 railway unions have desperately avoided since the contract covering 5,000 of their members expired in December 1994—shut it down. Rumors of a strike action sent shock waves from the train platforms of wealthy suburbs north of the city to the Midtown banks and Wall Street. But so far, MTA bosses have had more to fear from squirrels than from the Metro-North unions, whose leaders are holding

MOVE, Ruby Ridge, Waco

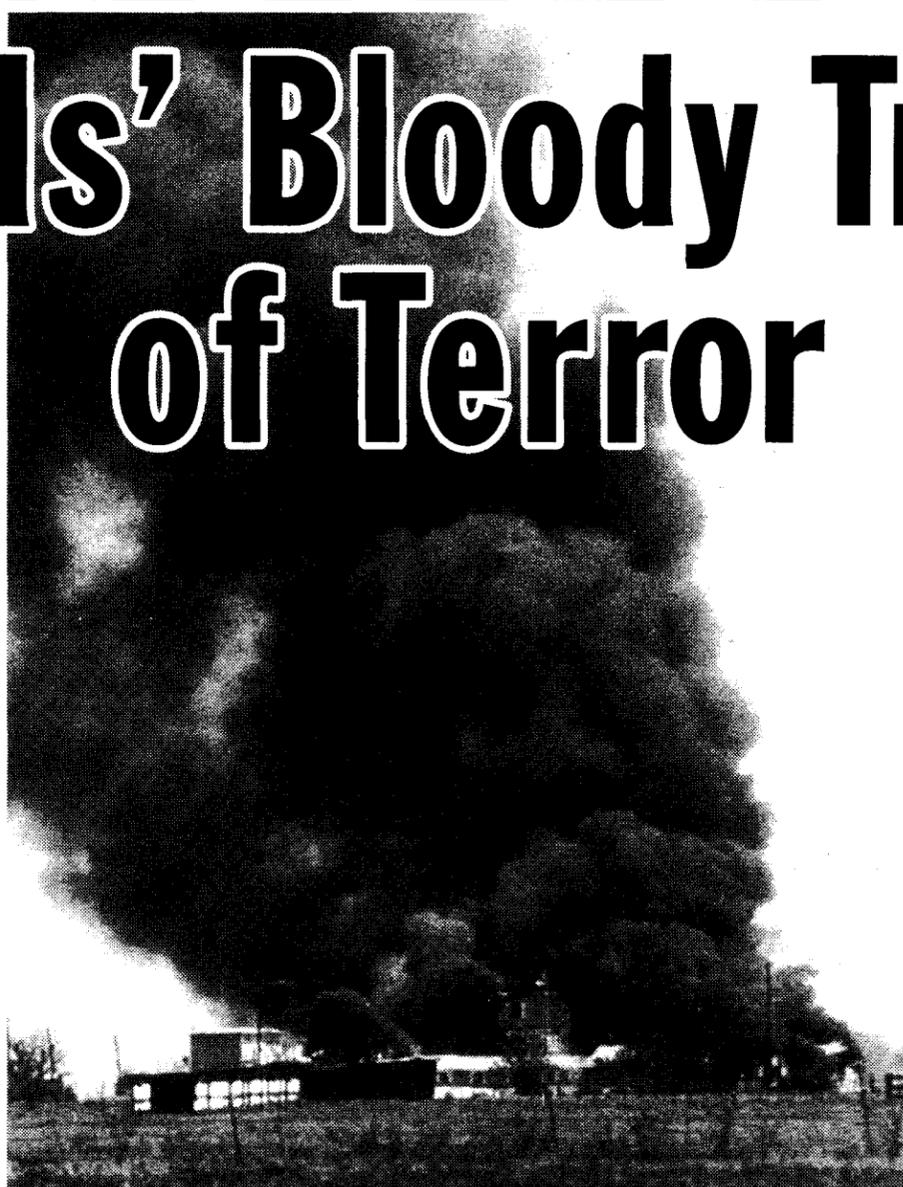
Feds' Bloody Trail of Terror

While standing on her cabin porch in Ruby Ridge, Idaho in August 1992, a mother holding her baby in her arms was shot through the head by an FBI sniper, one day after her 14-year-old son was killed by a bullet in the back from a federal agent's gun. Eight months later, on 19 April 1993, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) and the state of Texas ran "victory flags" up a pole over the grisly killing field near Waco, Texas, where 86 men, women and children had been burned alive that day. In both these cases, recently the subject of Congressional investigations, the feds were carrying out the government's drive for rigid control of the populace, waged under various guises including "gun control." And it didn't make a dime's bit of difference whether it was the Republican Bush or the Democrat Clinton in the White House.

A decade earlier in Philadelphia—with a Republican in the White House and a black Democratic Party mayor in city hall—Philly cops and federal police officials conspired in bombing and burning down an entire black neighborhood. This was the murderous Mothers Day 1985 rampage against the black back-to-nature group, MOVE. And in 1979, under the Democrat Carter, five union organizers and leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina were cut down by a KKK/Nazi death squad—aided by the FBI, BATF, state and local police. When these bloody atrocities were perpetrated, the Spartacist League immediately protested and exposed the government's lies about its murderous deeds. On the very day of the Waco inferno, the SL responded with emergency demonstrations outside federal offices against this deadly government repression.

Recently, new material on Waco and Ruby Ridge has become available, further debunking the government's lies about its trail of terror. The Waco hearings in the House of Representatives in July generated over 1,500 pages of witness transcripts alone. In this mass of new literature there is ample additional evidence of the feds' blueprints for murder, confirming in detail that, as we wrote at the time, "the Waco assault was deliberate mass murder, decided at the White House" (WV No. 574, 23 April 1993). What also clearly emerges is the deadly role of the liberals' drive for gun control and of the hysteria against purported "cults" as covers for the state's strengthening of its repressive apparatus.

At the time of the feds' atrocities against MOVE and their later murderous



Dunleavy/Syigma

Clinton and Reno ordered April 1993 assault with heavy weapons and deadly CS gas on Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas, killing 86 men, women and children.

sieges at Ruby Ridge and Waco, we also blasted the obscene silence or outright indifference of ostensible leftists. A host of pseudo-socialists refused to protest because they tail after the Democrats and accept the capitalist state's assertion of its "right" to a monopoly on the means of violence. As we noted in our article on "Revolution and the Right to Bear Arms: The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution" (Spartacist No. 43-44, Summer 1989), gun control means that the cops, fascists and other enemies of the oppressed will have guns, while workers and blacks are disarmed.

Ambush at Ruby Ridge, Holocaust at Waco

On the heels of hearings over the government's fiery slaughter of the Branch Davidian commune outside Waco, Senate hearings opened last month on the FBI's "shoot on sight" sniper attack on white separatist Randy Weaver and his family. At Ruby Ridge, the FBI's "rules of engagement" amounted to "kill 'em all, let God sort 'em out," which from medieval

Europe to fascist mercenaries today has been the battle cry of barbarism.

As the Republicans attacked the Democrats over Waco, Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno tried to divert outrage against the government's bloody assault with lurid tales of alleged "child abuse" and "weapons stockpiles" by the Branch Davidians. During the hearings, New York Democratic Congressman Charles Schumer was Clinton's bloodhound, demanding an investigation instead into the National Rifle Association (NRA), which had referred to BATF and FBI hit squads as "jackbooted thugs." Fanatical gun control nut Schumer (a staunch Zionist who definitely doesn't preach gun control for Israel's Zionist terrorists) demanded "stronger, more effective law enforcement" against those "who molest children and stockpile weapons!"

The Waco hearings revealed significant details about the government cover-up of this mass murder. Official documents presented at the hearings showed, for example, that there were deliberations about possible fatalities from the FBI's CS gas attack on the Branch Davidians. Former deputy Treasury secretary Roger Altman wrote, four days before the final assault, that in using CS gas, "The risks of tragedy are there. And if the FBI waits indefinitely, Mr. Koresh eventually will concede." In fact, it turns out that the FBI had rejected using tear gas at Ruby Ridge supposedly because of concerns for the safety of the Weaver children, but decided at Waco to use this potentially lethal gas long banned from warfare by the Paris Chemical Weapons Convention!

But there wasn't much that the Democrats' "spin control" could do to clean up the "reputation" of the federal police. In July, the press reported revelations that hundreds of agents from the FBI, the Secret Service, and the U.S. Marshals regularly attended an annual "Good Ol' Boys Roundup" celebration of racism in Tennessee, where they handed out "n_____r hunting licenses," staged mock

KKK lynchings of men in blackface for a "redneck of the year" award and raped women. The 15-year-old "Good Ol' Boys" festival of white supremacy was traditionally organized right out of the BATF office in Greenville, South Carolina. Now groups of black and female BATF agents are waging lawsuits alleging rampant racism and sexism against their fellow gun-law agents.

In August, the government announced it was paying \$3.1 million to Randy Weaver and his surviving children to settle his lawsuit against the FBI—a virtual admission by the "Justice" Department that they carried out premeditated murder at Ruby Ridge. Yet two years after the implosion of the Idaho prosecutor's case against Weaver, when both judge and jury concluded that it was the FBI which should be on trial, the G-men have come up with a new, patently false claim: that Randy Weaver shot his own son! Any lie, no matter how transparent, will do when the state asserts its armed might to enforce the rule of capital.

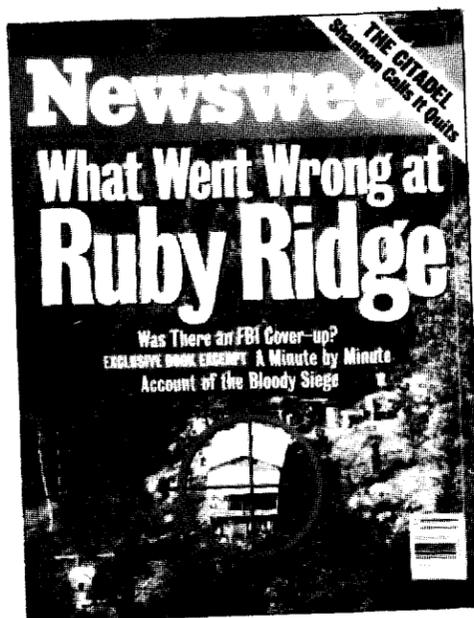
First the Massacre, Then the Lies

At the time of the Waco massacre, the media quickly fell into line and saluted commander in chief Clinton and "General" Reno, dutifully broadcasting their lies. In contrast, we warned in *Workers Vanguard* that "child abuse, guns, cultism—these are all cynical pretexts which have nothing to do with what happened on the morning of 19 April 1993." Millions had watched in horror as live television coverage showed flames engulfing the Branch Davidian commune:

"Clinton and his cohorts could not erase this image, so instead they called it 'mass suicide.' To justify sending in tanks to ram and wreck the complex, pouring in massive amounts of potentially lethal CS gas, allowing the house and its inhabitants to burn to the ground while fire engines were deliberately kept away from the blaze, U.S. top cop Reno claimed the feds had to act because of 'child abuse'."

—"Waco and the White House: First the Massacre, Now the Lies," WV No. 575, 7 May 1993

The government's cover-up began with the initial BATF raid on the Branch Davidians in February 1993. A memo presented at the Waco hearings shows that on March 1, the BATF began interviewing its agents in a "shooting review" and "immediately determined that these stories did not add up." Justice Department attorneys "advised [BATF supervisor] Hartnett to stop the ATF shooting review because ATF was creating Brady material" that could undermine prosecution of the Branch Davidians. The *Brady*



Jeane Jordison

Vicki Weaver, here seen with daughter Sara, was killed in cold blood by FBI sniper in feds' August 1992 siege of Randy Weaver home.

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Thurs.: 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (510) 839-0851

Chicago

Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City

Tues.: 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

rule stipulates that failure to disclose evidence favorable to the defense invalidates a guilty verdict.

Along with the Congressional hearings, new books and articles on Waco and Ruby Ridge are raising many of the same issues we did earlier, while adding important details about how the feds carried out state murder. In *The Ashes of Waco: An Investigation* (Simon & Schuster, 1995), Texas journalist Dick Reavis provides more evidence that the final conflagration at Mt. Carmel was ignited by the CS gas fired indiscriminately into the Davidians' home. Over 300 CS canisters the size of footballs—called "ferret rounds"—were launched from 58-ton tanks that were also used to ram the house, bashing holes and undermining the structure. As Reavis writes:

"About three minutes before the ferret rounds began breaking windows, tanks started crashing through Mt. Carmel's walls.... Rather than creating escape routes, the tanks that rammed Mt. Carmel closed them. They demolished the stairways connecting the building's first and second floors, and also pushed debris over a trapdoor leading to a buried school bus, whose exit opened to the fresh air outside. The bodies of six women were found within feet of the trapdoor, dead of smoke inhalation; they apparently took their last breaths while racing toward the newly blocked underground passage."

In an investigative article last July, *Los Angeles Times* reporter Glenn Bunting revealed that "some chemists and other



Wide World

BATF death squad mobilized for 1993 Waco assault.

specialists who have studied the spread of the fire" suggest that "the inferno was stoked by the massive amount of tear gas pumped into the building." The gas itself can be lethal, especially for children and the elderly. As Bunting reports, CS gas is considered so potent that Army manuals recommend it only be used outdoors. "We never considered...that they [the FBI] might shoot 15 or 20 [CS ferret rounds] in one small room, let alone 300 in one morning," said Rex Applegate, an expert on riot control agents who invented the ferret round" (*Los Angeles Times*, 17 July). Furthermore, mixed with the CS gas was methylene chloride. Dow Chemical, the maker of methylene chloride (and also infamous during the Vietnam War for manufacturing napalm), cautions firefighters that the agent "forms flammable vapor-air mixtures."

When the FBI joined the BATF at Waco, they cut off electricity, water and telephone lines to the Davidians while ringing their commune with razor wire and plenty of firepower. A top FBI official then justified the fiery conclusion of the 51-day siege, saying the Davidians "were thumbing their noses at the criminal justice system." Damning proof of the government's intent to make the Davidians pay with their lives for what the BATF and FBI viewed as unacceptable defiance, was the feds' deliberate decision to keep out firefighting and

medical equipment.

Several months later, the Justice Department issued a lying cover-up report on Waco claiming that the FBI rejected having firefighters present because they feared Davidians would shoot at them. The *Los Angeles Times* demolished this lie by reporting that "The FBI refused an offer from Flamechek International, a Santa Paula, Calif., company, to use Czech armored, remote-control tanks that would allow firefighters to extinguish flames while being protected from gunfire." And when fire engines from Waco finally did arrive, as the firestorm was raging, the FBI refused to let them in for 21 minutes!

As we wrote then: "As part of its Big Lie campaign, the government insists that Koresh's followers deliberately started the blaze. We doubt it, but even if someone in the commune started the fire as the tanks of their sworn enemies were smashing through their walls, the responsibility for the deaths of all these people lies squarely on the government" (*WV* No. 575, 7 May 1993).

Gun Control: Government License to Kill

It's no wonder that Waco and Ruby Ridge have come to symbolize for many the fearsome growth of a repressive federal police apparatus. The Branch Davidians, an integrated religious sect that derived its doctrine from Seventh Day Adventism, bothered nobody. They were demonized as a "cult" to justify the government's massive assault against them on charges of violating federal gun-tax laws. Randy Weaver supposedly got what he deserved because he was a white-supremacist who sold two sawed-off shotguns to a BATF informer in a sting operation. The feds went after the quirky, racially integrated Christians in Waco and a family of "survivalist" racists in Ruby Ridge in order to issue a warning to all: defiance of authority will be met with death.

The government wasn't after ex-Green Beret Randy Weaver because he was a supporter of the fascist Aryan Nations. In fact, the leader of the FBI's elite sniper team who shot Weaver's wife in the head has similar politics. Lon Horiuchi, who refused to testify before Congress about his role at Ruby Ridge by invoking the Fifth Amendment to avoid incriminating himself, is a Pat Buchanan supporter who says he would refuse an FBI assignment to defend abortion clinics on the grounds that they're murder mills! Other high-level FBI officials deeply involved with Ruby Ridge also took the Fifth and refused to testify at the Senate hearings.

Republicans hoped that the Waco hearings could inflict additional damage on Clinton's re-election hopes as they coincided with the hearings into his shady Whitewater real estate deal. By counterattacking on Waco and Ruby Ridge, the Republicans also saw these hearings as a chance to distance themselves from associations with right-wing militias linked to the Oklahoma federal building bombing. In response, Clinton intoned, "We must not make war against police," and stepped up "anti-terrorism" hysteria in an attempt to ram through



Auth/Philadelphia Inquirer

gun control measures. On the eve of the hearings, Clinton's Treasury secretary, Robert Rubin, sent a letter to the media warning that the inquiry could "erode support for federal firearms laws.... This issue is about law and order, and standing with our police and our federal law enforcement officials."

Clinton's attempt to dismiss fear of federal police as limited to right-wing militia paranoia, however, just isn't working. As writer Richard Lacayo noted, "Federal agents in body armor and black ninja uniforms, armored cars crashing up hillsides, even the fabled helicopters of militia nightmares—Ruby Ridge had all the elements of a paranoid fantasy, with the difference that it was stamped in real flesh and blood" (*Time*, 28 August). A *Time/CNN* poll taken last spring showed that 52 percent of Americans interviewed agreed that "the Federal Government has become so powerful that it poses a threat to the rights and freedoms of citizens" (*Time*, 8 May).

There is a steady stream of evidence that this fear is fully justified. The taped remarks of fascist LAPD detective Mark Fuhrman, spewing out racist threats and bragging about beating up and framing blacks and Latinos, are the missing soundtrack to the videotaped beating of Rodney King, said Los Angeles Urban League spokesman John Mack (*London Guardian*, 2 September). In the World Trade Center bombing trial, FBI crime lab scientist Frederic Whitehurst testified about the feds' fabrication of evidence. In Philadelphia, Justice Department investigators are reviewing over 100,000 arrest records as cops in several districts have admitted to routinely lying, planting evidence, etc. And from Giuliani's mobs of killers-in-blue in New York to an actual police death squad in New Orleans, cops daily execute "suspects" in the streets: in 1993, 455 people were killed by the police, according to the FBI.

Reformists and State Terror

This is not the action of a few "rogue elements," but the workings of the well-oiled machinery of the "justice" system. Waco and Ruby Ridge show that it comes straight from the top. And it's hardly the first time: the feds also participated in the fiery immolation of MOVE in 1985.

The mostly black Philadelphia group opposed to killing any living being, even insects—so they, too, were denounced in the media as a "cult." In an attack approved by Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and coordinated with the Republican Reagan administration, the MOVE house was bombed and its eleven occupants (including five children) annihilated. The BATF and FBI provided plastic explosives and automatic weaponry used against MOVE. The bombing set off a fire that burned down the 62-home Osage Avenue neighborhood.

From death row, black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal wrote of Waco and MOVE: "The firestorm in Waco, Texas, which snuffed out an estimated 86 lives shares eerily reminiscent precedents with the police bombing of MOVE people on May 13th, 1985, in Philadelphia, PA. Both scenes of carnage were preceded by government/media demonization campaigns that portrayed the people under government siege as insane for daring to resist the state. By contrast, the government (i.e., the police) is always seen as reasonable. In Philadelphia, where the contrasts were even sharper due to race, class and politics, the intentional mass murder of MOVE men, women and children was justified by the government. MOVE, they reasoned, were 'terrorists'" (*WV* No. 575, 7 May 1993).

At the time of the MOVE massacre, so-called leftists joined the government-orchestrated campaign labeling the victims a "cult." The fervently pro-gun-control Communist Party (CP) denounced MOVE as an "anti-social cult" which was "a menace to the community" (*Daily World*, 24 May 1985). The pseudo-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League grotesquely called for "black self-defense" groups to deal with the "problem" of MOVE (*Fighting Worker*, June 1985). The Stalinoid Workers World Party (WWP) wrote that "Mayor Goode was merely informed of the planned assault and was not a participant in the plans" (*Workers World*, 30 May 1985). Today, as they belatedly join the campaign to save black radical journalist and MOVE supporter Jamal, all these groups would like to bury their alibis for the bipartisan 1985 assault on MOVE. But ten years later, these same pseudo-leftists still trail the Democrats and readily acquiesce to government repression if it's against so-called "cults."

Not surprisingly, the CP quickly jumped to attention when the White House and press denounced the residents of Waco as armed cultists. Workers World denounced the Waco massacre while hoping nobody remembered their fulsome support to Janet Reno's nomination on the grounds that she was a woman. Back in May 1993, the social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO), while running an inside article against the "government-orchestrated massacre in Waco," accepted the Clinton administration's labeling of the Branch Davidians as a "cult." Paper is cheap for such gutless opportunists—

continued on page 15

The Spartacist League forthrightly denounced murderous state terror at Ruby Ridge and Waco, while bulk of the "left" maintained shameful silence.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Clinton and FBI Mass Murderers!

Waco Holocaust

23 April 1993

Feds Set Up Fascist in Idaho

For 16 months federal agents planned their assault on the Idaho mountaintop log cabin of Randy Weaver. Wanted on a charge of sawing off the barrels on two of Alcohol, (T) agents years ago. Weaver stayed holed up with his wife and four kids until last summer. On

During the 1992 siege, Nazi skin-heads, "survivalists" and tax protesters lined the road leading to Weaver's cabin to denounce the federal agents. From the California KKK to Posse Comitatus in the Midwest to "The Order" scam who shot Denver talk show host Alan Berg, they are a network of racist, anti-Semitic killers. One of Berg's assassins was

they are going after. Weaver said he just wanted to be "left alone" on his 20 acres with a lot less guns than the arsenal surrounding Rusty Parrot, and he "refused to surrender unless the government admitted that he was set up and apologized." Well, the armed thugs of the bourgeois state don't "apologize," not even to the fascist

The charged corpses of 27 men, women and children were paraded the FBI's barrage of CS gas, flash-grenades and burning tanks the White House. (Specialist press release, 19 April)

Inv in Right-Wing Plot

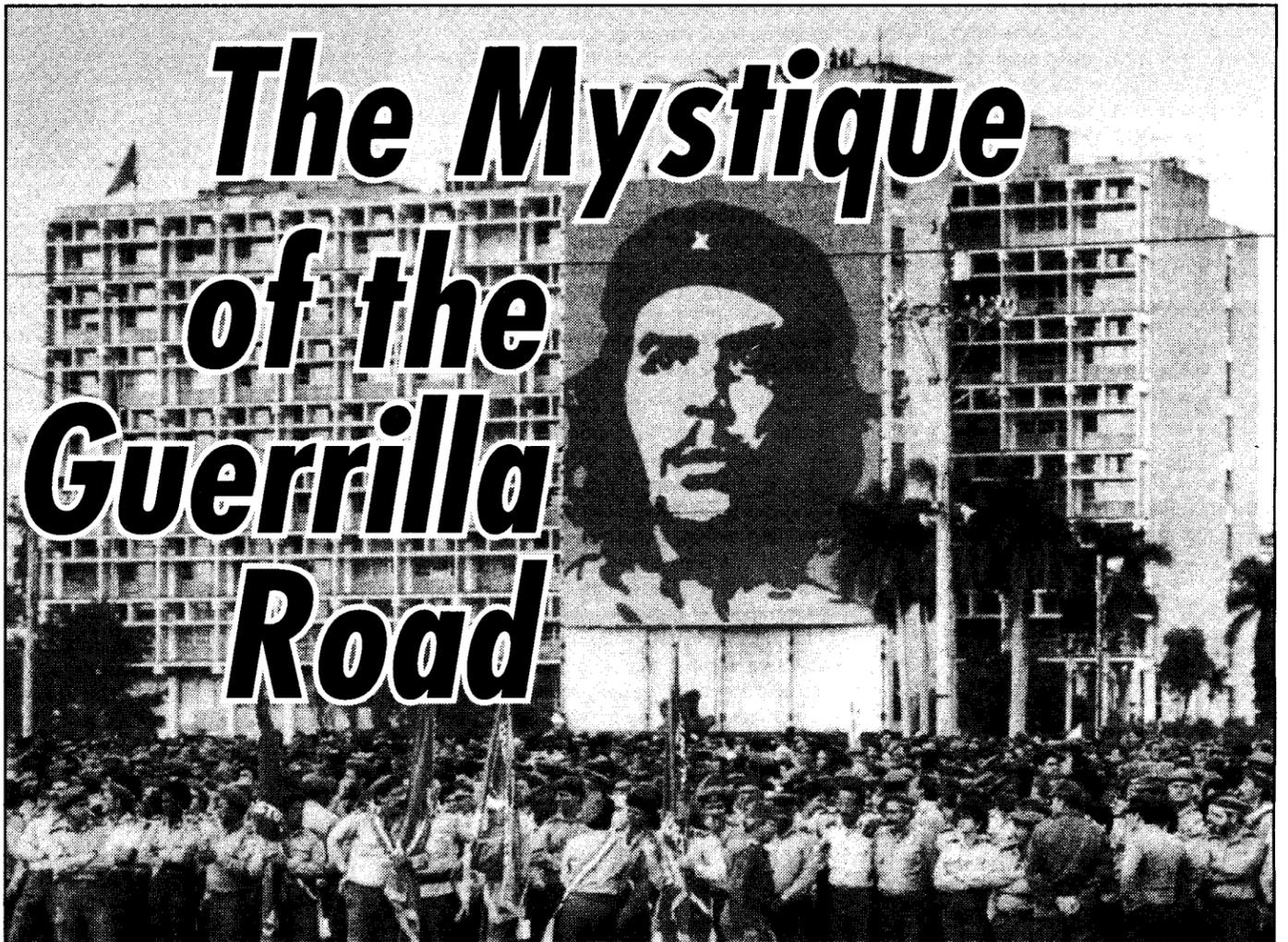
Young Spartacus

Cuba, Castro and Che

There has been an explosion of interest in Che Guevara among radical youth around the world. Che patches and T-shirts are practically the school uniform of leftist students in Italy. In Cuba, as the Castro government dangerously implements capitalist economic "reforms," there is an organized fervor for Che. School children begin their day reciting, "Pioneers of communism we shall be like Che!"; portraits of Che once again grace public buildings in Havana, and voluntary labor is mobilized in Che's memory for the "Day of the Heroic Guerrilla"—to commemorate the anniversary of the assassination of Che in October 1967 by U.S.-advised counterinsurgency forces in the Bolivian forest.

The revival of a cult of Che Guevara is in response to the capitalist counter-revolution in the former Soviet Union, the collapse of Stalinist rule throughout East Europe, and the fracturing and increased irrelevance of mass reformist Stalinist parties in the West. Che Guevara, a youthful left-wing rebel with a cause who died with a gun in his hand fighting Yankee imperialism, always had more appeal as a model to alienated and radical youth than the doddering Kremlin bureaucrats who preached "détente" and "peaceful coexistence" with the most rapacious imperialist power on earth. This capitulation to imperialist pressure led to the Stalinists' ultimate betrayal in presiding over the destruction of the Soviet Union.

In the United States, the explosion of the Zapatista peasant revolt in southern Mexico last year sparked interest in guerrillism. But while young militants look to the legacy of Che Guevara for inspiration to fight the grotesque inequalities and injustices of today, the fact is that the booming cult of Che is being pushed by out-and-out reformists who want to get out in front of alienated youth the better to channel their revolutionary impulses back into a dead end of class collaboration. In Germany, Castro's writings on Che are distributed by the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism), the successor to the Stalinist ruling party of East Germany, which sold out that deformed workers state to the imperialist Fourth Reich! In Italy, the myth of Guevara is thrown out as a net by Rifondazione Comunista (RC)—a rump left over from the demise of the Communist Party, the PCI, which it



Giant portrait of Che Guevara in Havana's Plaza of the Revolution. Castro bureaucracy revives cult of self-sacrificing guerrilla as population reels under impact of U.S. imperialist embargo, collapse of Soviet Union. Der Spiegel

would like to resuscitate. RC's newspaper, *Liberazione*, is littered with advertisements appealing to youth to take advantage of a "good deal!" For "only 50,000 lire" you can get a Che flag, a Che scarf, a Che beret and two Che patches. For 100,000 lire they'll also throw in a Cuban flag, two RC pullovers, two hammer-and-sickle pins, and a date book! Yet back in the 1970s, when there were Guevarists running around Italy, these old-line Stalinists were in the PCI as it aided and abetted the capitalist state in a bloody witchhunt which jailed 4,000 leftists, Red Brigades militants and others, many of whom still languish in prison.

Today in Cuba, the memory of Che is revived and manipulated by the ruling

Castro bureaucracy to encourage workers to endure, with the ascetic heroism of Guevara, the privations imposed on them since the withdrawal of Soviet economic support. Che Guevara opposed all material incentives in the organization of the Cuban economy, yet as the Castro regime pushes the ultimate "material incentive"—the almighty Yankee dollar—which threatens the gains of the Cuban Revolution and creates gross race and class inequalities, Che's memory is cynically invoked as a symbol of revolutionary sacrifice to deflect anger among the poor and the black.

Known for his hot temper, Che would have one hell of a fit if he could see how his legacy has become the shibboleth for *counterrevolutionary* frauds. At the same time, a real examination of the man behind the mystique would show that Guevara was indeed a courageous martyr—and also an exponent of the kind of elitist, bureaucratic, and nationalist Stalinist policies his youthful followers would abhor.

The Cuban Revolution

Born in Argentina and educated as a doctor, Ernesto Che Guevara teamed up with Fidel Castro's 26th of July Movement after witnessing the CIA's overthrow of the vaguely left-wing Arbenz regime in Guatemala in 1954. As one of Castro's closest comrades-in-arms, Che helped oust the corrupt and crumbling Cuban dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, which fell on New Year's Day 1959. Guevara's belief that a small band (or *foco*) of revolutionary intellectuals could ignite a "revolutionary war" by forging a rural guerrilla army from impoverished peasants sprang directly from his Cuban experience.

The Cuban Revolution had a sensa-

tional effect on U.S. society in the early 1960s, driving the government absolutely crazy and radicalizing tens of thousands of youth. To white middle-class Americans, the "red menace" was as close as their backyard bomb shelter, and along comes a "communist revolution" only 90 miles from Florida. But in the tradition of so many Latin American fighters for national liberation from the yoke of Yankee domination, Castro and Guevara were at the time essentially liberal democrats with guns. Indeed, the political program of the 26th of July Movement was simply a call for the return of the 1940 Constitution, and Castro himself ran on the liberal bourgeois Ortodoxo party ticket in 1952.

The Cuban Revolution posed many new questions for Marxists. How could a social revolution take place with scant participation of the working class and without a revolutionary workers party? How did Cuba become a workers state, bureaucratically deformed from its inception? These questions were answered by the precursor to the Spartacist League, the Revolutionary Tendency, a left opposition in the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The Batista regime was hated by the Cuban masses and increasingly viewed as an embarrassment by the upper layers of Cuban society, many of whom backed Castro and his *barbudos* (bearded ones) against the avaricious dictator and his cronies who were robbing the country blind. So the imperialist overlords in Washington let Batista fall, and his supporters fled in their yachts to Miami with suitcases full of money. This panicky exit is captured vividly in films like *The Godfather II* and Robert Redford's *Havana*.

The Castro regime which took power



January 1994: Inspired by Zapatista revolt against NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico, Italian auto workers carry poster of early 20th-century revolutionary peasant leader Emiliano Zapata. Baldelli/Contrasto

in January 1959 did not seek to expropriate the capitalists. Instead, Castro formed a coalition government with bourgeois forces and pledged to protect their interests. At the same time, the program of land redistribution and the revolutionary justice meted out to Batista's former police torturers scared Castro's own bourgeois supporters. Nor was this popular with Eisenhower's CIA director Allen Dulles, or his Secretary of State brother, John Foster Dulles, who were both major stockholders of the United Fruit Company. This was a highly unstable situation.

Despite overtures by Castro to appease the United States, Eisenhower tried to bring Cuba's radical petty-bourgeois democrats to heel through brute economic pressure. Washington's policy backfired. Castro responded with sweeping nationalizations of the U.S.-owned sugar plantations, banks and other firms and by grabbing the lifeline offered by the Soviet Union, the other Soviet-bloc countries and China. By early 1961, the holdings of the National City Bank, United Fruit, Standard Oil, the sugar barons and the Mafia—as well as the Cuban bourgeoisie—had been expropriated and the Cuban capitalists were either in exile or prison.

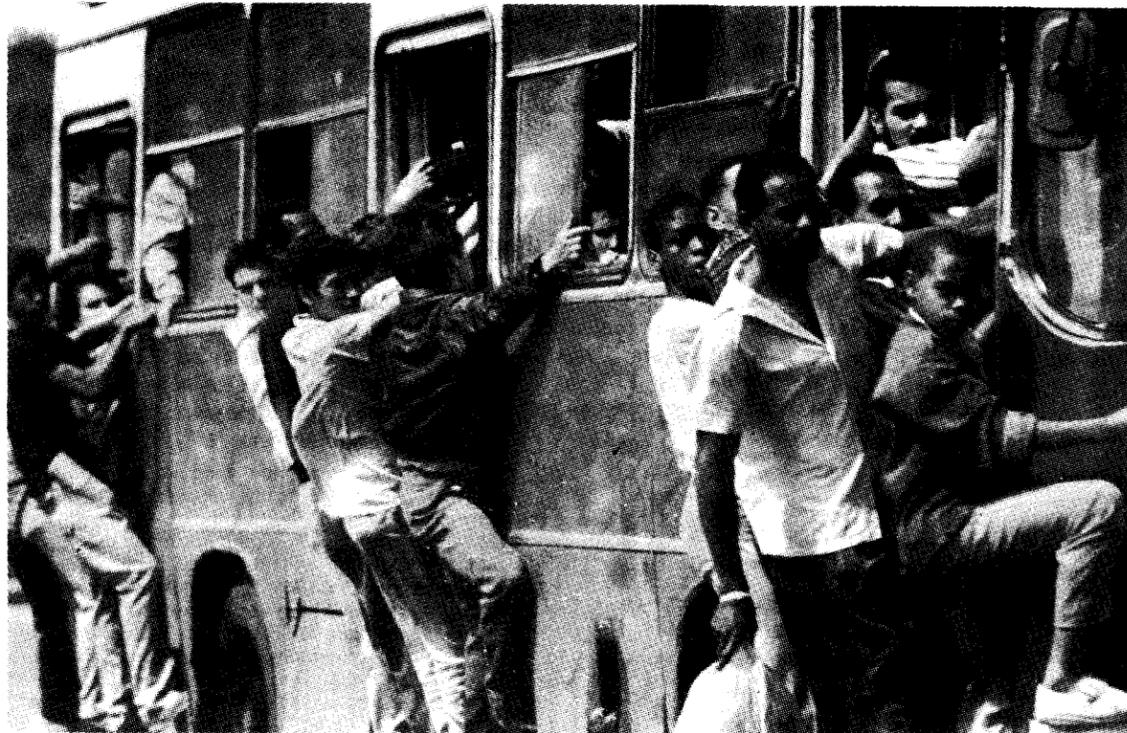
The working class had not contended for power in its own name. Still, the petty-bourgeois Castro government was unable to find a third way between labor and capital to organize society. Facing the unrelenting pressure of imperialism, the government's weakness as representatives of an intermediate layer, the petty bourgeoisie, forced it to choose between capitulating or creating the property forms of another class, the working class, which they however were hostile to and distrusted.

The Revolutionary Tendency argued that the nature of the state which in 1960-61 issued from the Cuban Revolution was a *deformed workers state*, in which capitalism had been overthrown, but the working class does not hold political power. Reflecting its newly acquired social position—i.e., holding a political monopoly at the head of a nationalized economy—the guerrillas in power embraced the ersatz “Marxism” which is the ideological reflection of a Stalinist bureaucracy. Amid all the initial enthusiasm for Castro and the Cuban Revolution on the left, the RT alone pointed out that the *Fidelistas* were constructing a society that most resembled the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union after decades of Stalinist degeneration.

At the time, our unique political analysis was viewed as heretical. The SWP and most of the left were swept away by the revolutionary bravado of Castro and Guevara. Following the defeat of the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, leftist youth were inspired by the Cubans' heroic

defense of their revolution against American imperialism. Guerrilla insurgencies sprang up around Latin America, leading Washington to spend millions on “counterinsurgency” programs to prop up their puppets. For a time, the leftist guerrillas received training and aid from Cuba, culminating in the Tricontinental and OLAS (Organization of Latin American Solidarity) conferences in Havana in 1966-67.

During this period, Cuba assumed a



Carlos Vilagran

Workers hang on to overloaded Havana bus as oil shortage chokes transportation system.

militant posture toward the U.S. and its Latin American clients. Enduring an imperialist economic embargo, repeated *gusano* invasions and a string of assassination attempts, the Castro regime was, as we called it, “Stalinism under the gun.” But particularly after the disaster of Che's Bolivian *foco*, Castro emulated Stalin's policy of selling out revolutions internationally to jockey for diplomatic advantage. Helping mislead the Chilean workers down the “peaceful” road under Allende's Unidad Popular capitalist coalition government in 1971-73, leading to the bloody tragedy of the Pinochet coup, and counseling the Sandinistas not to expropriate the bourgeoisie, a policy which culminated in the drawn-out defeat of the Nicaraguan Revolution in the 1980s, are just two examples.

The Spartacist analysis of Cuba was an extension of our Trotskyist understanding of how the revolutionary leadership, organizational methods and political aims of the Bolshevik Revolution were destroyed by Stalin. In Russia, the liberating *internationalist* goals of the Bolshevik Revolution under Lenin and Trotsky were grotesquely perverted by the Stalinist bureaucracy into a lie of

“socialism in one country”—a nationalist and counterrevolutionary accommodation to imperialism that culminated in the destruction of the Soviet Union itself in 1991. Similarly in Cuba, the role played by the consolidating Castro-Stalinist bureaucracy was that of a transmission belt for the pressures of world imperialism on the workers state. In both countries, the Stalinists brought down formidable powers of state repression on Communist left oppositionists, defend-

ers of the revolution, while international capitalism was appeased.

The *exceptional* circumstances of the Cuban Revolution cannot be repeated, particularly since the collapse of the Soviet Union which served as the military and industrial powerhouse for Cuba and indeed every state which overthrew capitalist rule. Tragically, those who followed the “guerrilla road” to revolution elsewhere found a dead end of bourgeois-nationalist regimes (Algeria)—or worse. The mountains of Latin America are literally scattered with the graves of young revolutionaries, including Guevara himself, as a tragic testimony to the inability of guerrillaism to defeat the despotic dictatorships backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism.

As we wrote in “Theses on Guerrilla Warfare” (*Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968):

“Though revolutionaries should unconditionally support all progressive measures taken against imperialism by a victorious guerrilla movement, they should never forget that the guerrilla leadership, bureaucratically and uneasily ruling over the state, threatens to return the conquests of the revolution to imperialism. Therefore, revolutionaries should incess-

santly strive to make *the proletariat*, whether of a state remaining within the bounds of imperialism or of a deformed workers state, aware of its independent political tasks. The struggle for the accomplishment of these tasks, which requires the indispensable formation and steeling of a Leninist party, finds one of its greatest obstacles in the reactionary stratum balancing over society.”

Just as we Trotskyists fought tooth and nail against capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, so today do we fight to

defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution from imperialist attack and *internal counterrevolution*. We have always called for a political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracy and put the workers at the head of their own state. With the dangerous inroads of capitalism in Cuba today creating a society where those with dollars get what they want while those with pesos have nothing, defense of the Cuban Revolution will take place in struggles over vital gains like the basic right to a job.

In this country, real solidarity with the Cuban Revolution is a fundamental duty for all opponents of U.S. imperialism. Yet rad-lib muddleheads lend themselves to the service of capitalist counterrevolution by lashing up with liberal Democrats and “progressive capitalists” (like Ted Turner and Lee Iacocca?) who oppose the U.S. economic embargo as counterproductive (and costly to their profits), preferring to undermine the revolution through greater capitalist economic penetration. In contrast, we Spartacists link our opposition to the blockade with defense of the revolution and its gains, based on collectivized

continued on page 10

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

August 31 to October 11

Local	Quota (in points)	Week Four	%
Atlanta	150	124	83
Boston	250	301½	121
Chicago	425	371	87
Eugene		30	
Los Angeles	250	173½	69
New York	900	623	69
Oakland	630	433	69
San Francisco	320	217	68
Washington, D.C.	125	139	111
At Large	250	212	85
National Total	3,300	2,624	80%



WV Photo

Subscribe Now!

SPECIAL! A free pamphlet with a full subscription to *Workers Vanguard*.

- \$10/22 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*, *Women and Revolution* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*) New Renewal
international rates: \$25/22 issues—Airmail \$10/22 issues—Seamail
- \$2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
- \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____ Phone(____) _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Cuba...

(continued from page 9)

property and a planned economy. The fundamental truth is that Cuba alone cannot stand as a workers state. The future of the Cuban Revolution hangs in the balance of class struggle outside the Caribbean island, and this fact underlines the urgent necessity for revolutionary struggle here in the U.S., in Latin America, and elsewhere.

Marxism vs. Guevarist Idealism

While the Kremlin under Khrushchev sought "peaceful coexistence" with the U.S. imperialist carpet-bombers of Vietnam, Che Guevara appealed to the Latin American left to open new fronts in the war against the Yankee colossus and wage "Two, Three, Many Vietnams!" We in the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs solidarize with the revolu-

tionary content of this slogan insofar as it is a call for the defeat of the American ruling class. It speaks volumes about the degeneration of the U.S. left that they raise the banner "No More Vietnams!" When raised in the Central America anti-intervention movement in the 1980s this slogan expressed the social-patriotic aversion to any more *losing* wars for U.S. imperialism. It reflected an even more repulsive alignment of the left with their own bourgeoisie during the racist U.S.-led slaughter of Iraq in the '90s. It's certainly no accident that Richard Nixon titled a volume of his memoirs *No More Vietnams!*

tionary content of this slogan insofar as it is a call for the defeat of the American ruling class. It speaks volumes about the degeneration of the U.S. left that they raise the banner "No More Vietnams!" When raised in the Central America anti-intervention movement in the 1980s this slogan expressed the social-patriotic aversion to any more *losing* wars for U.S. imperialism. It reflected an even more repulsive alignment of the left with their own bourgeoisie during the racist U.S.-led slaughter of Iraq in the '90s. It's certainly no accident that Richard Nixon titled a volume of his memoirs *No More Vietnams!*



WV Photo

Spartacists call for internationalist defense of Cuban Revolution in September 1991 protest against cutoff of Soviet aid to beleaguered island.

tionary content of this slogan insofar as it is a call for the defeat of the American ruling class. It speaks volumes about the degeneration of the U.S. left that they raise the banner "No More Vietnams!" When raised in the Central America anti-intervention movement in the 1980s this slogan expressed the social-patriotic aversion to any more *losing* wars for U.S. imperialism. It reflected an even more repulsive alignment of the left with their own bourgeoisie during the racist U.S.-led slaughter of Iraq in the '90s. It's certainly no accident that Richard Nixon titled a volume of his memoirs *No More Vietnams!*

Despite the revolutionary spirit of Guevara's battle cry against imperialism, his call for a peasant-based guerrilla war on many fronts was a flat rejection of Marxism, Leninism and the proletarian struggle for power. Moreover, while Guevara is reported by those who knew him to have been a sincere and self-sacrificing egalitarian, his political program was fundamentally elitist in that he rejected outright the need for the working people to express their voice and power through their own class organs, such as workers councils (soviets). Instead, the masses were supposed to submit to the leadership of a self-appointed band of petty-bourgeois radical intellectuals become *guerrilleros* who took to the hills.

The anti-working-class prejudices of the guerrilla road were rendered explicit by Che's literary disciple, Regis Debray, whose 1967 book, *Revolution in the Revolution?* became something of a bible for New Left "Third World" enthusiasts. A young French university lecturer who apparently never noticed the workers who were to jolt imperialism with the proletarian revolt in Paris in May 1968, Debray wrote: "any man, even a com-

rade, who spends his life in a city is unwittingly bourgeois in comparison with a *guerrillero*." Debray sneeringly dismissed the "working-class model" of revolution and the Trotskyist "metaphysic." Traveling to Bolivia in 1967 to "cover" Che's guerrillas, he was arrested and tortured. Later, dropping his infatuation with guerrillaism and, as always, following the *dernier cri* of Parisian petty-bourgeois fashion, Debray became an adviser to French "socialist" president Mitterrand in the 1980s. And continuing his fascination with *caudillos* (strongmen), his latest opus is an adulation of... Charles de Gaulle (*Charles de Gaulle, Futurist of the Nation* [Verso, 1994])!

Like a rural Auguste Blanqui (the 19th-century French utopian communist who sought to take power through revolutionary secret societies) Che recruited to his small revolutionary band and believed that simply through an act of will his followers would prevail in toppling the state. In contrast, Karl Marx

studied the capitalist mode of production and saw that there are two main classes in capitalist society: the bourgeoisie, which owns all the means of production, and the proletarians who sell their labor power to the capitalists. Marx explained that capitalism has created its own gravedigger by creating the proletariat, the only class capable of destroying capitalism and setting up an egalitarian society where the wealth created by its labor is used for the benefit of all mankind. Because of its vast numbers, its location in the urban centers of finance and manufacture, and its strategic position with its hands on the means of production in the factories, where the common experience of the workers creates solidarity and organization, the proletariat uniquely has the social power and class interest to overthrow capitalism.

To carry out the historical necessity of overthrowing capitalism requires the intervention of a revolutionary workers party to bring the ideas of scientific socialism into the working class. Lenin refined that conception of the revolutionary party and created a new type of party, a party of professional revolutionists, which recruits to its ranks the most class-conscious workers and those intellectuals willing to break from their middle-class or even bourgeois backgrounds.

To the extent that Che Guevara looked to any layer for organized support, he looked to the peasants, who are part of what Marx called the petty bourgeoisie—literally small bourgeois—consisting of professionals, teachers, small businessmen, intellectuals and the scattered rural peasantry. This layer is atomized and lacks the cohesion, social power and clear class interest of the two fundamental classes. In the normal functioning of the market, peasants are competitive and their fundamental aspiration is to be a

propertied class. An oppressed landless peasantry can be a key revolutionary factor, and many fighters for communism will be drawn from middle-class backgrounds. But the petty bourgeoisie as such cannot lead the revolution—it will follow either the bourgeoisie or a proletariat which offers a revolutionary solution to its precarious situation.

Guevara's politics were a particularly idealist, voluntarist brand of Stalinism. This reflected his attempt to theorize and build "socialism" in one small, poor and besieged country. Lacking the economic resources to achieve prosperity, Guevara simply dismissed the workers' desires for a decent standard of living as bourgeois. Writing off the proletariat of the West as "bought off," and thereby consciously rejecting a *revolutionary-internationalist* perspective, Guevara's "socialism" was to be built by exhorting the laboring masses to sacrifice and ignore their supposedly base material interests. In his essay on "Socialism and Man in Cuba," Che rejects "material incentives" as opposed to "moral incentives" and argues:

"Pursuing the chimera of achieving socialism with the aid of the blunted weapons left to us by capitalism (the commodity as the economic cell, profitability, and individual material interest as levers, etc.), it is possible to come to a blind alley.... Meanwhile, the adapted economic base has undermined the development of consciousness. To build communism, a new man must be created simultaneously with the material base."

Marx insisted that socialism could only be built at the highest level of the development of the productive forces, achieving equality on the basis of plenty. As Marxists, our aim in fighting for a society where those who labor rule is to *eliminate scarcity*, not glorify it! When the means of production are collectively owned and democratically organized in a planned economy on an international scale, harnessing the resources of the advanced industrial countries, then production will serve human needs, not profits, and the standard of living for working people around the world will rise dramatically, not fall. Che Guevara accepted the framework of the status quo in seeking to build socialism in this beleaguered island when the urgent task was to extend socialist revolution not only throughout Latin America but centrally to the imperialist countries, first and foremost Cuba's nemesis, the United States. By rejecting the revolutionary capacity of the industrial proletariat in the imperialist countries, the Castro/Guevara leadership helped to isolate the Cuban Revolution.

Che's economic plans brought the Cuban economy to the brink of disaster. As we wrote in "Radical Egalitarian' Stalinism: A Post Mortem" (*Spartacist* No. 25, Summer 1978):

"Genuine economic egalitarianism is not possible as long as political power is monopolized by a Stalinist ruling oligarchy. The genuinely egalitarian use of moral incentives requires a government with the moral authority derived from the democratic participation of the working masses expressed through soviet institutions. Wage labor and the commodity nature of consumer goods will be overcome through the appropriation of the economic wealth of the advanced capitalist world—the fruit of the transitional period inaugurated by the victory of the international proletarian revolution."

Against the reformist Communist parties who argued that Latin America was not ready for revolution, Guevara simply argued that socialism was an act of will. He spoke of "skipping stages" and for this was even accused of "Trotskyism." This is because Trotskyists also believe that the fight in Latin America and throughout the so-called Third World of countries which have been forcibly held in a state of backwardness by imperialism is for socialist revolution. However, we do not think that the level of development of productive forces is irrelevant, or that socialism can be

achieved simply by an act of will. As for Guevara's attitude toward Trotskyism, after the Cuban government had banned the Trotskyist paper *Voz Proletaria* in 1961 and smashed the printing plates for an edition of Trotsky's book, *The Permanent Revolution*, Guevara declared:

"We consider the Trotskyist party to be acting against the revolution. For example, they were taking the line that the revolutionary government is petty bourgeois, and were calling on the proletariat to exert pressure on the government, and even to carry out another revolution in which the proletariat would come to power."

—see "For Workers Political Revolution in Cuba!"
WV No. 223, 19 January 1979

The Cuban Trotskyists were arrested in 1963, even though they were active defenders of the revolution in the workers militias.

We fight for the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution*. We recognize that in economically backward countries, where the domestic bourgeoisie is so utterly tied to and subservient to imperialism, even the most basic democratic demands such as agrarian revolution or genuine national independence require the conquest of power by the proletariat, led by its Leninist party, with the support of the poor peasants. This will then necessarily pose socialist tasks and the extension of the revolution to the imperialist centers.

Today the post-Soviet world is a dangerous place of heightened imperialist rivalries threatening new wars, and a world where U.S. imperialism's appetite for intervention—from Haiti to Somalia to the Balkans—is unchecked. But it is also a world where workers in the imperialist centers have given every sign of willingness to engage in sharp class struggle, and in these struggles they are notably inspired by revolutionary events in the Third World. As comrade Jan Norden noted in a recent speech in Italy:

"In addition to the cult of Che, earlier this year you saw the COBAS [factory committees] of Alfa Romeo carrying pictures of Emiliano Zapata, hailing the outbreak of an Indian peasant revolt by the Zapatista National Liberation Army in the Mexican state of Chiapas. That was pretty strange at one level, workers carrying the portrait of a peasant revolutionary, but it was eminently internationalist, and showed a desire for revolutionary struggle at home.

"And if you want an example of how we Spartacists of the International Communist League deal with such events, it is captured in this: When the Zapatista revolt broke out in Mexico, whereas virtually the entire left declared, 'We are all Zapatistas,' our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México declared that we 'saluted the Zapatista rebels with the red flag of workers revolution.' The key is to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist party, which is a painstaking task, going through a whole process like the Bolsheviks did. That is what we are committed to doing, as part of a genuinely democratic-centralist international, and we ask you to join us in this task." ■

Cuba and Marxist Theory

Marxist Bulletin No. 8

\$1.50 (37 pages)

Selected documents from the 1960s by the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party and the early Spartacist League which formed the core of our Marxist understanding of the Cuban deformed workers state.

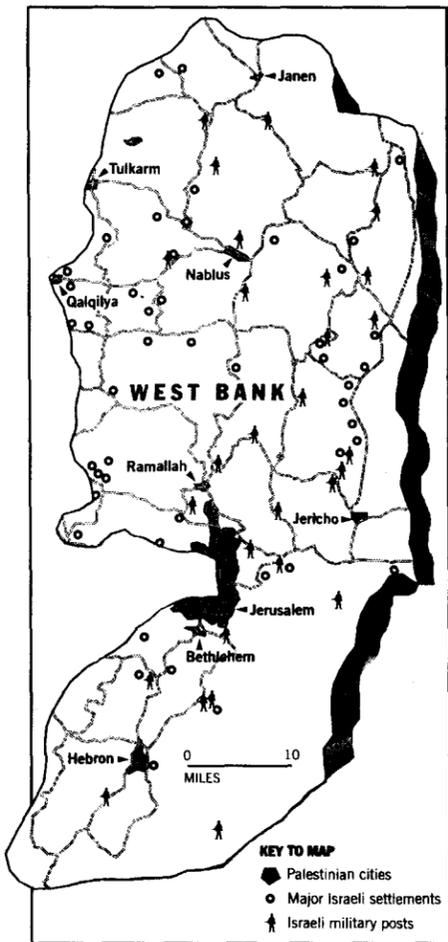
Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Israel-PLO Pact...

(continued from page 16)

perpetrated under the watchful gaze of Israeli troops. Armed settlers and soldiers have continued to rampage through the town while the Palestinian population is subjected to virtual house arrest through one curfew after another. Last month, settlers invaded a Palestinian girls high school which dared fly the PLO flag from its roof; brutally beating students and ransacking the building.

Ever since the signing of the 1993 accord, Zionist ultrarightists have threatened civil war against even the most minimal Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank. The powerful Union of Rabbis, echoed by a thousand reserve officers, openly calls for soldiers to disobey orders



Washington Post map

"Peace" pact creates Palestinian ghetto in West Bank, ceding six towns and several hundred villages to PLO "control," surrounded by Israeli army and Zionist settlements. Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

for the removal of even a single settler from the Occupied Territories. Following the announcement of the new agreement, more than a thousand settlers, joined by leaders of the right-wing Likud opposition, stormed through Hebron denouncing Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin for "crimes against the Jewish people."

But despite his occasional denunciations of the ultrarightist settlers for their attacks on his government, Rabin and his thoroughly capitalist "Labor" Party do not oppose the settlements. Labor initiated the settlement policy, and the expansion of these armed anti-Palestinian fortresses throughout the West Bank has been an integral part of Labor policy. Even following a public outcry against the Hebron settlers after the February 1994 mass murder, Rabin—and his supposedly "dovish" foreign minister Shimon Peres—refused to shut down the fascist enclave there so as not to set a "negative precedent." The Labor government has committed a whopping \$200-250 million for each of the next six years to settlement development.

While nominally disowning right-wing talk of a "Greater Israel," Rabin blithely proclaims, "We want Jerusalem, we want the Jordan River to be our security border, and we want other areas here and there" (*Jerusalem Post*, 26 August). What the "here and there" amounts to is that, for all Arafat's cynical eyewash that the PLO is on the road to "an inde-

pendent Palestinian national entity" encompassing 90 percent of the West Bank, the "interim" agreement ceding 30 percent of the area to nominal Palestinian control is likely to be pretty much the final outcome of the "peace" charade. According to the *Jerusalem Post*, "Jewish settlers will not be evacuated even under an agreement on the final status of the territories" and "the settlements will be organized into blocs of territory which will be annexed to Israel."

But even where it exists, the PLO administration will simply be a fig leaf for Israeli domination, as it is now in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. Israel determines who will vote in Palestinian elections, what size the Palestinian police force will be, what arms it can carry, etc. As we warned two years ago, the PLO has become a surrogate police force for the Zionist occupiers, imprisoning, torturing and killing militant Palestinian youth.

The "democratic" Israeli state is one of the few countries in the world which openly mandates torture for political prisoners. The Rabin regime recently overturned a ruling by its own attorney general outlawing the use during interrogation of "violent shaking," which can leave victims brain-damaged and sometimes dead after a few minutes. And as recent revelations about the mass executions of Egyptian POWs demonstrate, the Zionists themselves learned much from the practices of Hitler's Nazis. After retired general Arieh Biroh confessed last month to the coldblooded murder of 49 POWs during the 1956 war, numerous other accounts have come out of unarmed prisoners being forced to dig mass graves in the desert before they were gunned down by their Israeli captors. Military historian Arieh Yitzhaki says at least a thousand more POWs were killed in the 1967 war.

Nor were the victims only Egyptian soldiers. An eyewitness account of one incident of Israeli mass murder of Palestinian civilians in 1956 brings to mind how the Nazi SS death squads (*Einsatzgruppen*) slaughtered Soviet Jews in World War II: "Soldiers using loudspeakers ordered us to leave our homes. Everybody went out, and the men and women were separated. We were about twenty men, and the army took us to a place to the side and shot at us... I pretended to be dead, and thus saved my life." The Israeli regime, including self-styled "left-wingers" like Meretz spokesman Shulamit Aloni, does not even make a pretense of bringing its murderers to trial.

To bring down the blood-drenched Zionist regime will take nothing short of *workers revolution*. The PLO's current role as cops for the Zionist occupation forces, after years of futile reliance on the Arab bourgeoisies and looking to Israel's imperialist patrons, is the sharpest illustration of the dead end of petty-bourgeois nationalism, and of the bankruptcy of the numerous "revolutionaries" who enthused over Arafat and his more "radical" nationalist rivals. Chief among the latter is the Israeli Revolutionary Communist League, part of the late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, which tailed Palestinian nationalism right into the hip pocket of the Israeli

He Exposed Israel's Nuclear Arsenal Free Mordechai Vanunu!

In a letter to his supporters last month, Mordechai Vanunu announced that he would stage a hunger strike September 30 on the ninth anniversary of his kidnapping by the Israeli government. Ever since his arrest, Vanunu has been subjected to solitary confinement in a tiny, windowless prison cell. His "crime": exposing to the world the vast scope of Israel's nuclear arsenal. Based on his experience as a technician at the top-secret Dimona nuclear facility, Vanunu revealed that the war-crazed Zionist madmen had upwards of 200 nuclear warheads, enough to vaporize every Arab city in the Near East and to strike at what was then the Soviet Union.

For his courageous act on behalf of all humanity, Mordechai Vanunu

was sentenced to 18 years of a living death. For more than 3,000 days he has been denied any physical human contact. In July, a Beersheva court heard his petition for an amelioration of his prison conditions but refused to overturn the solitary confinement. Aside from weekly visits by family members, who Vanunu is not even allowed to touch, the only people who can speak to him are the prison warden and one guard. Meanwhile, dozens of other Israelis are held in secret in Zionist dungeons on charges of espionage, in addition to the thousands of Palestinians who are regularly imprisoned and tortured. The international working class and all the oppressed must raise an outcry demanding: *Free Mordechai Vanunu and all victims of Zionist repression!*

Heroic Israeli technician Mordechai Vanunu, kidnapped in 1986 by Mossad secret police after revealing Israel's arsenal of nuclear weapons.



bourgeoisie. Even after the "Gaza-Jericho" accord had clearly shown itself to be a slavemaster's diktat, even after the bloody Hebron massacre, the RCL continued to whine to "put pressure on the government" to demand "the exact implementation of the agreements" (*The Other Front*, 5 September 1994).

Other leftists, like the Healyites in the 1970s and '80s and more recently the French Gauche Révolutionnaire/JCR (associated with the British Militant group), have hailed Libyan strongman Muammar Qaddafi as the embodiment of a so-called "Arab Revolution." (The GR/JCR has even taken to reprinting Qaddafi's speeches.) Qaddafi recently proclaimed his opposition to the Israel-PLO accords...by expelling hundreds, and possibly thousands, of the country's 30,000 Palestinian immigrants. Busloads of Palestinians have been dumped in the desert near the Egyptian border in order, claims Qaddafi, to expose Israel's refusal to let them in and show "that this people is still without a homeland."

Libya has also begun rounding up and deporting thousands of Egyptians and Sudanese who have lived and worked there for decades, claiming that they are taking jobs from Libyan workers while unemployment rages at 30 percent. The Libyan economy has indeed been rav-

aged by imperialist economic sanctions instigated by the U.S., supposedly to "punish" Qaddafi for the mysterious bombing of a Pan Am flight over Lockerbie, Scotland in December 1988. Washington has long had the Libyan strongman in its gun sights: in 1986, U.S. jets rained down terror on Tripoli in an attempt to assassinate Qaddafi.

From the bloody 1970 "Black September" massacre perpetrated by Jordan's King Hussein, to the expulsions of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia following the U.S.-led imperialist rape of Iraq in 1991, to the "radical" Qaddafi today, the Arab bourgeoisies have shown themselves to be no less the enemies of the Palestinian people than the Zionist oppressors.

The PLO's capitulation has served only to push militant Palestinians into the arms of the fundamentalist reactionaries of Hamas, who would treat leftists, women and Jews no differently than the Israeli rulers treat Palestinians. What is needed are Trotskyist parties to lead the working class—Hebrew-speaking and Arab alike—at the head of all the oppressed, in a struggle to sweep away all the murderous capitalist regimes in the region and create a socialist federation of the Near East in which all peoples will have national and social justice. ■

Israeli troops massacred hundreds of captured Egyptian soldiers and Palestinian civilians in 1956 war.



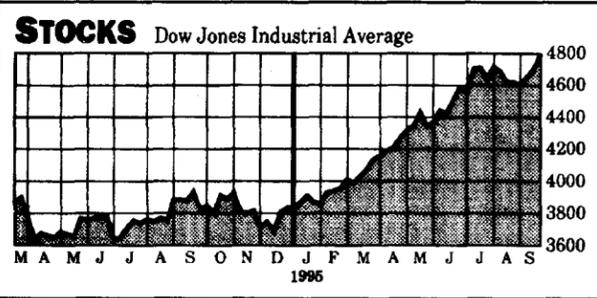


Gibson/AP

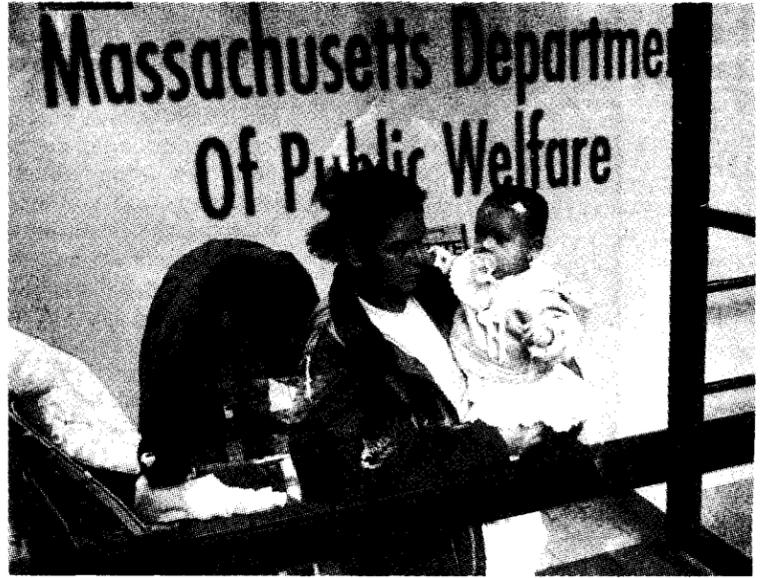
Wall Street rallies as joblessness rises

Other numbers show

the



Wall Street Journal graph



Kraft/Sygma

Clinton, Gingrich say: Let 'em eat pink slips. Corporate "downsizing," murderous budget cuts send stocks soaring.

Welfare...

(continued from page 1)

to organize and broaden such defensive struggles into a movement capable of overthrowing the capitalist system. The indispensable condition for this is a multiracial revolutionary workers party.

Genocide U.S.A.

The assault on welfare is facilitated by a racist ideological offensive, exemplified by the infamous tract, *The Bell Curve*, with its sinister claim that blacks are genetically inferior, and now *The End of Racism* by Dinesh D'Souza, which argues that slavery was not racist! In September, a government-funded conference discussed a supposed genetic connection between crime and race. New York University sociologist Dorothy Nelkin remarked, "Genetic explanations of crime provide convenient excuses for those seeking to dismantle the welfare state" (*New York Times*, 28 September).

Tellingly, the assault on welfare is carried out under the same "states' rights" banner raised by diehard racist segregationists in the 1950s and '60s. State governments will now determine who—if anybody—gets benefits and are already engaged in a frenzied competition to cut payments and eligibility. Reeking with racist and sexist reaction and hypocrisy, the budget-ax murderers talk of "family values," "illegitimacy" and "child abuse" to justify killing children and breaking up families. Wisconsin, for example, threatens to cut off any woman who refuses to leave her home for a slave-labor job once her child is three months old. Meanwhile, there is a full-scale assault on even the limited right to abortion, from the halls of Congress to "right to life" terrorist attacks on the clinics.

With racist arrogance, the opponents of welfare decry laziness as the root cause of the supposed "welfare depend-

ency cycle." What sane person would choose welfare over a decent-paying job? The sharp rise in homelessness, poverty and reliance on welfare—among whites as well as blacks—over the past couple of decades has been fueled by a massive destruction of unionized jobs. The devastation of basic industries like steel and auto in the Midwest was accompanied by the wholesale transfer of factories and investment to the low-

members. The destruction of welfare and other social programs is part of a drive to force down the wages of those workers who still have a job. Even as they throw millions off welfare, the rulers slash away at public-sector jobs, the only part of the economy which has experienced a rise in union membership in recent years. Meanwhile, welfare recipients are being drafted to do work that was once done by unionized municipal workers.



Farley/Newsday

Lincoln Hospital, the Bronx. With diseases like tuberculosis and asthma rampant in the inner cities, the poor wait for care in teeming public hospitals—and now it's going to get worse.

wage, open shop South and to neocolonial havens of superexploitation in Mexico and other Third World countries.

The same labor tops who have presided over this massive slaughter of jobs, while trying to shift the blame with chauvinist poison against "foreign workers," refuse to lift a finger on behalf of the ghetto masses at home. Yet the fates of the union movement and the minority poor are inextricably intertwined. A labor movement that fails to fight for all the oppressed, through a struggle for power, is incapable of defending even the immediate economic interests of its own

Take New York City, for example. Since the racist Giuliani administration came to office just two years ago, some 17,000 city jobs have been eliminated. Under a "workfare" program instituted last January—now being extended to the 300,000 single mothers on AFDC—23,000 welfare recipients are now being forced to work at a fraction of normal wages at clerical and maintenance jobs in sanitation garages and schools, and cleaning parks and office buildings. At the same time, 10,000 City University students are threatened with a loss of financial aid because the new "workfare" requirements mean they will have to give up their full-time student status.

The Wall Street financiers and their Republicrat politicians don't care whether minority youth get an education because there are no jobs waiting for them anyway. Head Start, which has demonstrably raised the educational levels of young children from poor families, is being slashed. Not because of high cost or failure: it's one of the most successful—and cheapest—social programs instituted in the 1960s. It's going because the kids it serves are not intended to live. Ditto for the 20 percent cut in Medicaid, the primary means of health care for one in four children in the U.S., with even deeper cuts in federal payments to hospitals serving the poor.

Diseases of poverty like tuberculosis, once virtually eradicated, have returned with a fury. The South Bronx is in the grip of an asthma epidemic! Ever-growing numbers of people are without any form of health insurance, while programs to provide free vaccinations which would save children in poor families from death or crippling disabilities are eliminated. From the standpoint of pub-

lic health or even simple economics, such policies are not rational. Once it spreads, TB does not discriminate between rich and poor. Nor is it economically rational to spend more on imprisoning a ghetto youth than it would cost to put him through Harvard, or on speeding up the assembly line of death at a cost of a million dollars or more per execution. But capitalism is not a rational system. Intensifying police-state repression is the corollary to capitalist looting and a program of starvation.

Because "modern" American capitalism cannot employ the millions of jobless in a way that produces adequate profits, in the view of this country's rulers, whole layers of the minority poor are a surplus population. As we wrote in 1988 when Washington first moved toward welfare "reform":

"Genocide is what this new 'workfare' is all about! Millions of single mothers on welfare who refuse to take a job—any job, anywhere, at any starvation wage—will be cut off without a cent, literally left to starve.... The children will either be left to wander the mean streets alone or be ripped away from their mothers through 'protective payments' to unspecified 'third parties.' This is not welfare reform, it's a plan to turn the ghettos into vast cemeteries—because there are no jobs to get."

—"Genocide U.S.A.," WV No. 463, 21 October 1988

This indictment is now accepted even by liberal bourgeois commentators. UCLA law professor Joel Handler remarks: "You can deny welfare for childless adults, the homeless, people like that. They'll drift around and die slowly under the bridges, out of sight." But, he adds, "you have no choice but to do something about the children." The ruling class is hardly so squeamish. Even the more "benign" Senate version of "welfare reform" will deny *three*

Hardball...

(continued from page 5)

miles of track are grossly inadequate. Known as a meticulous train operator, Gibson was killed as the rising sun glared off the bridge where signals were installed in 1918! Of course, the TA blamed the operator *as they have in each of eight crashes and derailments since 1990*. The bosses' latest response is to use radar guns on trains (most of which don't have speedometers) and discipline "speeders." Horribly overworked motormen are told to chew gum, roll down the window, and not to work seven days in a row! The fact is, the TA murdered Layton Gibson!

Any union leadership worth its salt would have *shut down the system* over these incidents, but the TWU bigwigs work overtime to isolate and diffuse the workers' anger over these and other crimes. Last year, while some divisions passed motions to defend James Frazier, the black track worker who was shot in

the head by racist cops and summarily fired by the TA, the Local 100 brass sabotaged his defense by never mobilizing the membership to protest the frame-up charges against him. The TWU must oppose *all* acts of racist injustice, whether against transit workers or the riding public. Transit workers can rally riders to their side by demanding *free mass transit—rip out the turnstiles!*

To lay the groundwork for a counter-attack against the bosses, transit workers from the TA, Metro-North and LIRR must bind together in action against their common enemy. The MTA's threatened layoffs must be met with more than just empty words. A mass meeting to authorize a strike would be a good start, but the existing labor tops and wannabe bureaucrats must be swept aside. The problem is not just a vicious Congress or governor or mayor, but the whole capitalist system and both parties which perpetuate it. To win, we need a class-struggle leadership in the unions and a workers party fighting for a workers government. ■

CORRECTIONS

In the introduction to the "Quote of the Week" in WV No. 629 (22 September) we wrote that it was 40 rather than 30 years since the infamous 1965 massacre in Indonesia.

In the article "Independence for Quebec," a photo caption incorrectly identified Lucien Bouchard as a Parti Québécois leader. He is the leader of the Bloc Québécois in the federal parliament.

The article "Free Geronimo Now!" stated that a motion is being filed for rehearing an appeal by Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) in his lawsuit against persistent prison harassment. The motion is actually for a rehearing by the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals of its decision reversing the order by U.S. District Judge Stanley Weigel in favor of Geronimo, which had directed that he be given a single cell.

WV No. 627 (25 August) incorrectly reported the demonstration demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Volta Redonda, Brazil took place on August 10. The correct date is August 9.

million children any means of survival.

It is notable that the author of the 1988 legislation, New York Senator Daniel Moynihan, was one of the few Democrats to oppose the Dole/Clinton welfare bill, which tears away even the fig leaf of job placement. Moynihan's welfare policy of "malign neglect," which he devised under the Nixon administration, hasn't changed over the years; it's just a measure of how rapidly and openly this genocidal drive has escalated. Moynihan's latest proposal—enthusiastically embraced by Republican leaders—is to cut Social Security benefits by cheating on the annual cost-of-living adjustment. The assault on welfare and other "poverty" programs is the thin end of the wedge for going after the vastly more expensive—and broad-based—Social Security pensions and Medicare benefits for the elderly.

Our TV screens are now filled with big-business ads featuring disgusting yuppies clamoring to "balance the budget" over the bodies of the elderly. But far from being on the verge of bankruptcy, the Social Security trust fund has always run a large surplus, which for decades has been looted by the Treasury to pay for the Pentagon's missiles and aircraft carriers, interest on the national debt and the like. Social Security is projected to be solvent for the next 35 years at present levels of payroll taxes, benefits and eligibility unless the Treasury reneges on the trust fund's long-term bonds, as some now propose doing. The drive to eliminate or cut Social Security and Medicare is a savage attack on all working people—including the young—who would be forced to shoulder the cost of providing for their elderly relatives.

Corporate CEOs want to reduce costly Social Security payroll taxes and also figure that a reduction in employees' taxes will make it easier to hold down or cut wages. Over and above concerns about profitability, there is the question of strengthening the role of American finance capital in the world economy.

During the Cold War, a large part of this country's productive wealth, especially its scientific and technological resources, was expended by the Pentagon. Under Reagan, an accelerated military buildup combined with tax cuts for the rich produced a massive increase in the government budget deficit as the U.S. went from being the world's biggest creditor nation to being the world's biggest debtor nation. So Wall Street wants to take money from old people in order to reduce its debts to Japanese and German bankers.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The liberals and labor bureaucrats, echoed by their fake-socialist hangers-

on, bemoan the fact that Clinton's Democrats have ceased being the party of Roosevelt's New Deal and LBJ's "Great Society." The Democratic Party was no less capitalist, racist and anti-working-class in the '30s and '60s than it is today. The social welfare programs enacted in those eras were not evidence of some "humanitarian" capitalism, but rather sops aimed at derailing and suppressing—along with a hefty dose of repression—massive labor and black struggles which gave rise to a significant left. As we noted following the 1994 Republican Congressional victory, the popular-frontist New Deal coalition "represented a betrayal by the CIO union tops and the Stalinist Communist Party, who beheaded the possibility of an independent workers party and corralled

Jesse Jackson is today regarded as the foremost spokesman for old-fashioned "welfare state" liberalism. Yet more than any other black leader, Jackson helped create the political climate which allows the Republican right to dominate the Washington scene. During the 1970s, Jackson's Operation Push in Chicago, which was funded by major corporations like Coca-Cola, pushed the fraud of "black capitalism" and lectured impoverished ghetto youth to "pull yourself up by the bootstraps."

Sharing responsibility with the black Democrats for the ascendancy of racist reaction is the labor bureaucracy. The hidebound AFL-CIO leadership, expressing the outlook of the job-trusting white labor aristocracy, opposed militant black struggle while backing the U.S.



September 18: Chicago demonstration expresses outrage at cop's killing of homeless man, Joseph Gould.

the working class behind the phony 'friends of labor' Democrats" (WV No. 611, 25 November 1994).

The Social Security Act (which included Aid to Dependent Children) was passed in 1935, a year after citywide general strikes led by self-declared reds rocked San Francisco, Minneapolis and Toledo. Even then, Social Security and the other New Deal reforms effectively excluded blacks and the various "relief" programs did not cover women. Until the 1960s, when the Northern ghettos exploded in anger, well under a million families were eligible for any form of welfare. Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" programs—which included Medicaid and Medicare—were designed to pacify the rebellious ghettos, mainly by co-opting a layer of young black activists. The "poverty" programs of the 1960s are now being scrapped *not* because they have failed, as right-wingers contend and many liberals agree, but because they succeeded in their *real purpose*: the suppression of black radicalism.

rulers' dirty imperialist war in Vietnam. The net result was the weakening and political isolation of the trade-union movement.

Following the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union, America's rulers believe they can now do *anything* to the workers, the poor, the elderly, the black and Hispanic communities without the slightest danger of serious social unrest, not to speak of red revolution. Typical is the gloating response of one investment broker to AT&T's plans to cut its workforce through a corporate reorganization: "Investors today like the fact that 20,000 people are going to lose their jobs" (*Wall Street Journal*, 28 September).

Writing in the mid-19th century, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels described the horrendous conditions of the English working class during the rise of industrial capitalism: whole families, including young children, forced to work 12 or 15 hours a day in disease-ridden mills to eke out a living; consigned to orphanages,

workhouses or poorhouses when they lost their jobs or fell into debt. For decades, Keynesian liberals pointed to the supposed disappearance of such conditions as evidence that Marxism and its program of communist revolution were "outmoded." But the immiseration of the working class analyzed by Marx and Engels, always present in the neocolonial countries, is today palpably evident throughout America, with its slave-labor sweatshops from Southern California to New York's Chinatown—except there are no poorhouses or workhouses, only bridges under which the poor and homeless can die. This is no aberration, but the true face of raw capitalist exploitation.

Accepting the immutability of capitalism, *New York Times* (20 September) journalist David Rosenbaum writes, "The problem is that no one really knows how to lift people out of poverty once and for all." Wrong! We communists know how. While defending every existing social program against capitalist attack, the working class must fight to replace the demeaning and dehumanizing capitalist welfare system with a struggle for *jobs for all* under a socialist society. What Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1938 Transitional Program for proletarian revolution, shortly after the advent of the New Deal, is even more apt today:

"The right to employment is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being shorn from him at every step. Against unemployment, 'structural' as well as 'conjunctural,' the time is ripe to advance, along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of a *sliding scale of working hours*. Trade unions and other mass organizations should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility.... "The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization, and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish."

The capitalist would-be masters of the universe delude themselves into thinking their rule is eternal. There are going to be in the future, as in the past, big social struggles in this country. The key question is, who will lead these struggles and where will they lead. What is needed is a multiracial workers party capable of leading all of the exploited and oppressed against the capitalist bosses and their state. In a small but significant way, the Spartacist League has pointed the way to uniting organized labor and the ghetto poor in struggle, from stopping the Klan and Nazis from marching in major cities to defending former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal. For a workers party to fight for international socialist revolution! ■

Join the Campaign!

The international campaign of protest temporarily stayed the executioner's hand, but as expected, the "prosecutor in robes," Judge Sabo, ruled on September 15 against Mumia's appeal in a flagrant disregard of the massive evidence presented of a police and prosecution frame-up. Mumia is now closer to a legal lynching. As the next stage of legal appeals goes forward, we must redouble our efforts for his freedom. As Mumia said himself in "The Stay," Judge Sabo's earlier (August 7) ruling for a stay was an attempt "to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement.... Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!"

1 Organize protest! Pass motions demanding Jamal's freedom in your unions, campus, community and church organizations. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicize Jamal's case in your union or organization's newsletter. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.

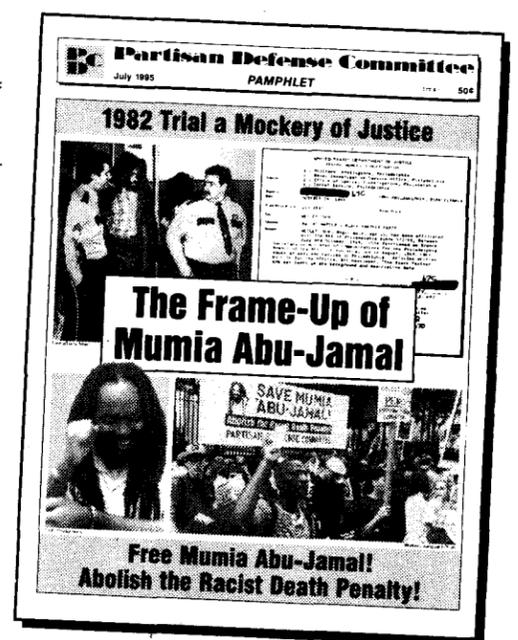
2 Spread the word! The current issue of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And the new PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of

witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party. Order bundles of the special campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* and *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, 25 copies of either publication for \$10. For only \$1, buy the PDC's new button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Get your local bookstore to stock Jamal's powerful *Live from Death Row*. Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The video can be purchased for \$30 from the PDC at the address below. Contributions of \$5 or more to the PDC include a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

3 Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. Ridge changes his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal! As we go to press, the numbers are: phone (717) 789-2500; fax (717) 783-3369.

4 Funds are urgently needed! To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

5 Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.



Spread the word: order bundles of the PDC pamphlet!

For more information: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252



Left: Ligue Trotskyste de France at protest against French nuclear testing links call for independence for the colonies with defense of North Africans in France against racist state terror. Right: Tahitian youth and workers erupt against colonial subjugation.



Joint Statement...

(continued from page 16)

junior partner Prime Minister Paul Keating, and French and Australian "left" chauvinists alike. As proletarian internationalists, we have opposed the nationalist slaughter in the former Yugoslavia on all sides while denouncing all imperialist intervention. Now the character of the war has changed as the weight of Western imperialism is increasingly pressed against the Bosnian Serbs. In the face of NATO's terror bombing, we call for unconditional military defence of the Bosnian Serbs against U.S./NATO imperialism and its clients of the Muslim-Croatian alliance, while fighting for workers revolution to overthrow all the nationalist butchers and forge a Socialist Federation of the Balkans.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state has reopened the Pandora's box of inter-imperialist rivalries. The furor over the French tests not only exposes the vile hypocrisy of imperialist talk about "peace" and "non-proliferation," but also throws a harsh light on these mounting inter-imperialist tensions.

U.S. imperialism, the world's most dangerous nuclear power and the only one to have used nuclear weapons, slaughtering civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, is concerned that Japan not acquire nuclear weaponry. Japan (whose finance minister was among the myriad parliamentarians putting in an appearance in Tahiti) is opposed to the *French and American* nukes in the Pacific. Increasingly squared off against its American imperialist rivals for who will be first in the rape of the Chinese deformed workers state, Japan itself is preparing to forge its own nuclear arsenal. Japan is intent on extending its neocolonial influence in the region to reconstruct a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." It already has tons of weapons-grade plutonium and the

fourth-largest military in the world.

Objections in the European Union (EU) to French tests have been carefully calibrated to concerns about "safety" and "access to technical information." The most muted opposition has come from Britain and Germany. Britain clings to its own nuclear weaponry, dependent on American technological input, to sustain its claim to be a "great" power, and has a 1992 agreement with France for nuclear collaboration. German imperialism, the dominant power in Europe, greeted with "interest" Chirac's proposal to put the French strategic nuclear forces at the disposal of the EU. German imperialism, which at most is "a screwdriver's turn away" from having its own nuclear weapons, is mindful of widespread fears of German rearmament among the European targets of past German militarism—the French arsenal provides an option for them to annex a nuclear capacity.

Australian Imperialist Jingoism and Hypocrisy

Jackal Australian imperialism, which would be happy to see the back of French colonial power in the South Pacific to better play its own role of local counter-revolutionary gendarme and consolidate its own niche, has responded in kind with a vile Australian nationalist anti-French campaign. Not only have protests targeted French diplomatic offices but also French restaurants and individual French-descended residents. Scandalously if not surprisingly, the social-patriotic Laborite misleaders of the Australian working class have called on the workers to participate in the bourgeoisie's campaign to boycott French products and ships. Trade union and Labor Party leaders who would never say peep about the counterrevolutionary ANZUS treaty and American military bases and who were prominent in the racist outcry about an Asian "invasion" when small numbers of Chinese refugees landed on the north coast in late 1994 vie with hoary old reactionaries from ex-servicemen's organisations fresh from the racist "Victory in the Pacific" commemorations.



As racist Australian ruling class promotes France-bashing chauvinism, social-patriots march with bigots at anti-French protest in Canberra, on Bastille Day, July 14.

Under a thin veil of anti-nuclear verbiage, "far-left" social-democratic hangers-on like the Democratic Socialist Party and the International Socialist Organisation have offered themselves up as the "best builders" of this campaign, urging the government to do more. In New Zealand, the ISO explicitly calls for a frigate to be sent to Mururoa. The "leftists" and pacifists who line up with their own ruling class against its imperialist rivals are not building a new "peace movement" but are participating in a drive toward bloody new imperialist wars! The Spartacist League/Australia, which fights for a workers republic in Australia, part of a socialist Asia, has denounced this nationalist *union sacrée* as a class betrayal of the interests of the workers and oppressed in Australia and internationally, leading ultimately to social-patriotic unity in the bourgeoisie's war to defend their markets and spheres of influence in another inter-imperialist war—in the case of the Australian bourgeoisie, in the position of subordinate ally of the considerably more powerful and dangerous U.S. imperialist power.

The Australian and New Zealand governments have fallen over themselves to distinguish their protests about the tests from any identification with the anti-colonial protests. And well they might. The White Australian imperialist enclave was not just shaped through the genocidal expropriation of the Aborigines but also the mass expulsions of Chinese and Pacific Island workers who were key to opening up the settlements of north Queensland and other parts of Australia. They don't want a restive anti-imperialist population to threaten the profits of the likes of Colonial Sugar Refineries. Canberra braintrusts and arms the army of its Papua New Guinea neocolony, whose people are manifestly victims of White Australia imperialism, in a murderous war against the Bougainville people.

The high moral tone and anti-nuke posture that minor imperialist powers like Australia and New Zealand sometimes take is only a symptom of their resentments at their subordinate roles and frequently in the interests of their greater imperialist patron. In 1950 the Australian government invited the British imperialists to conduct nuclear testing at Maralinga, on the lands of the Aboriginal Tjarutja people, irradiating the site and contaminating it with plutonium. Today the U.S. Navy still rules the oceans and Australia is pivotal in U.S. control of the southwest Pacific and Indian Ocean. The U.S. spy bases at Pine Gap and Nurrungar are part of a global network of the world's biggest nuclear madman and "world policeman." When Gough Whitlam tried to tinker with this arrangement in 1975, the Australian bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialists had him unceremoniously dumped by the CIA crony installed as the queen's governor general. From the Korean War to the dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, to its support to the bloody CIA-engineered 1965 massacre of communists, workers and peasants in Indonesia which paved the

way for Suharto's "New Order," jackal Australian imperialism has played the role of counterrevolutionary gendarme in the region. As in Indonesia before the coup in 1965 and more recently with Australian investment in Vietnam, Australian front men often serve where U.S. imperialism cannot openly go.

French Imperialism's Colonialist Nuclear Arrogance

For nearly three decades, the *force de frappe* warheads had targeted major cities in the USSR, threatening tens of millions of Soviet citizens with the horror of nuclear annihilation. From de Gaulle to Mitterrand, French imperialism flaunted its arsenal of nuclear terrorism to posture as a *grande puissance* in the anti-Soviet alliance. While the French social-chauvinist left, from the Social Democracy to the Stalinist PCF, rallied to the defence of this anti-Soviet arsenal, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, opposed the *force de frappe* and imperialist militarism as part and parcel of our revolutionary defence of the Soviet Union. It was the existence of the Soviet nuclear arsenal which stymied U.S. imperialist moves to use its atomic weaponry, notably in Asia during the Korean and Vietnam wars. So today with the nuclear arsenal of the Chinese deformed workers state, we Trotskyists couple the urgent struggle for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy with the unconditional military defence of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which includes the recognition of the right of the People's Republic of China to maintain and develop nuclear weaponry.

By aggressively asserting the determination to maintain and modernize the *force de frappe*, Chirac is wielding his nuclear terror machine as a direct threat to all potential rivals of French imperialism which might one day threaten its "vital interests," and against all the neocolonial peoples who would not accept the imperialist yoke. Chirac's ravings are not simply macho posturing: the 50th anniversary of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—a racist mass murder which was also a bloody message to the Soviet Union—is here to remind us that ultimately, the imperialist bourgeoisies will resort to the most hideous acts of barbarism, including nuclear genocide, to defend those same "vital interests."

Chirac's policies abroad are also intended to cement a racist, nationalist consensus at home. His election promises to increase police funding and tighten immigration controls indicated clearly what his "populist" concerns about unemployment and the "fractures" in French society really meant. Now using the pretext of the criminal bombings in metropolitan France and elsewhere Chirac has deployed the police and the *army* in Paris to institute a veritable state of siege, unleashing a racist operation of identity checks, roundups, and deportations aimed to terrorise the communities of second-generation North Africans who were born in France but

are still deemed "immigrants" in the eyes of the racist, colonialist French state. The current police terror is intended to intimidate anyone who fights social reaction and forestall trade-union struggle as the capitalists demand new attacks on the living standards of the working class and especially sweeping cuts in social welfare provisions. The LTF has called united-front protests and demanded:

"The workers movement must make the struggle against racist terror and segregation central to its fight. Stop the charter flights and deportations! Defend the right of asylum! Cops out of the ghetto/estates! Crush the fascists before they crush us! Worker-immigrant defence guards based on the factories! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!"

The leaders of the reformist PS and PCF refuse to fight the racist roundups or against colonial repression in Tahiti. The despicable silence of these social-chauvinists on these issues reveals their dedication to a "cleaner" French imperialism. Their refusal to challenge either the imperialist aims of the bourgeoisie or the racist "consensus" at home shows their "protest" against the French nuclear testing for what it is, empty hypocritical posturing which leaves the chauvinist consensus around the *force de frappe* unscathed.

But France's oppressed colonial subjects have exploded in outrage. On 29 June more than 10,000—over a tenth of Tahiti's population—marched in Papeete to protest Chirac's decision. Two days later, several thousand protesters marched in Nouméa, in New Caledonia, where the independentist trade union USTKE, recalling the bloody assault ordered by Mitterrand's prime minister Chirac against Kanak independentist fighters in Ouvéa in 1988, carried a banner declaring "Gossanah, Mururoa, Chirac murderer." Prominent in the massive Tahiti demonstration, apparently the biggest ever in the island, was the independentist party Tavini Huiraatira, whose leader Oscar Temaru then sailed to Mururoa on board Greenpeace's flagship, the *Rainbow Warrior II*—named after the ecologist group's ship sunk in 1985 by French *saboteurs* acting on orders from "socialist" president Mitterrand. And when a new round of protests shook the island in early September, protesters stormed Tahiti's main airport, setting fire to part of the terminal.

Marching in Mitterrand's footsteps, on July 9 Chirac had *Rainbow Warrior II* taken out by hooded French Navy thugs and seized her crew. We denounce this grotesque act of piracy, and we won't forget the long list of bloody terrorist attacks carried out by French colonialism

in the region under both right and "left" governments, from the assassination of Kanak independentist leader Eloi Machoro by Mitterrand's praetorian guard in 1985 to the murderous sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* and the Ouvéa slaughter. French imperialism out of the Pacific! Immediate independence for Polynesia, New Caledonia and all the other remaining French colonies!

Eco-chauvinism and the Drive Toward War

The diverse currents of petty-bourgeois protest, the pacifists, the environmentalists, the anti-nuclear groups, who oppose the tests are at best utopian. The real hazard, environmental and otherwise, of nuclear weapons is the drive to use them in imperialist war. The Greens

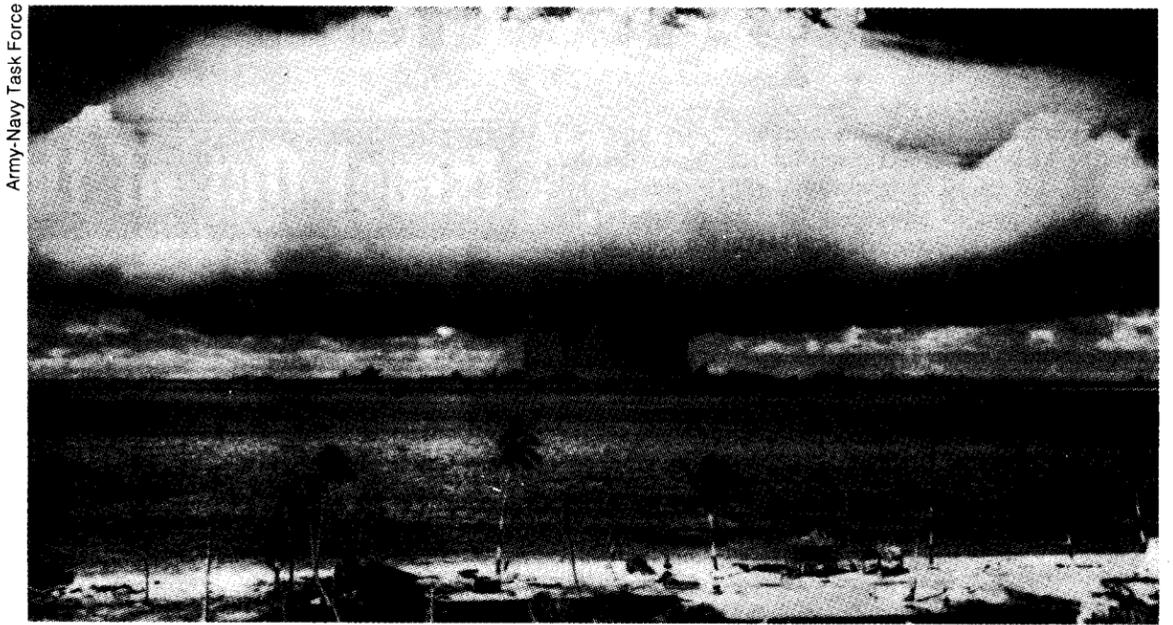
while the well-off in advanced capitalist countries make a few gestures like putting their (non-French) wine bottles in the right recycling container.

The capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois nation-state have become a decisive fetter on the development of the economy and of society, with the drive for new markets and new sources of labour and raw materials inherent and leading inevitably towards war. Capitalism, irrational and degenerate, now dooms tens of millions even in "advanced" countries to suffer in poverty and ignorance amidst plenty. In the imperialist epoch, the period of the death agony of capitalism, the tendency toward world economy collides with explosive sharpness against private ownership of the means of production and the nation-

that the exploited and oppressed masses opened the prison doors. The French Revolution offered citizenship to all drawn to its promise of "*liberté, égalité, fraternité*" and abolished slavery, whereas today dark-skinned "immigrants" are criminalised and deported. Many of the original white settlers in Australia were convicts, including a significant number, Irish and others, transported for their radical activity in sympathy with the French Revolution. But the Australian ruling class lives in the spirit of Edmund Burke, the arch opponent of the French Revolution. The ideals of that Revolution, progressive, humanist and liberating, are borne today by the communist fighters for workers socialist revolution.

Today the choice posed by Rosa Luxemburg at the turn of the century—

U.S. A-bomb test on Bikini Atoll, 1946. Australian jackal imperialism opposes French tests while maintaining its own neo-colonies in South Pacific under American nuclear "umbrella."



have no solution to the looming inter-imperialist rivalries, but rather line up behind their respective imperialists over Bosnia. The pacifists think they can make their rapacious capitalist ruling classes better, make them disarm and live peacefully side by side. Their protests display a "not in my backyard" selectivity, not unlike the Third World governments who bulldoze shantytowns because they are "ruining the neighbourhood." A few years ago the environmentalist outcry about overfishing in the waters off north Australia dovetailed neatly with rabid racist protectionism directed at Asian fishermen. Under capitalism proposals such as the call to reduce total energy consumption can only mean that the vast mass of people in the Third World should continue forever to go without adequate drinking water and electricity,

state with its borders, passports, monetary system, customs and the armies for the protection of customs. The task of the proletariat is not the defence or "improvement" of the national state but its complete and final liquidation. Only when the proletariat internationally rips the means of production from the hands of the national bourgeoisies through the socialist revolution can the mighty productive energies of the world be liberated, finally uprooting every kind of racism, backwardness and obscurantism, and creating the socialist system which can feed and house and educate everyone.

The Australian nationalists seized upon Bastille Day as an occasion for their anti-French crusade. The French capitalists have long since turned July 14 into a celebration of the imperialist "glorie" of France, not the anniversary of the day

"socialism or barbarism"—is even starker. Facing nuclear-armed imperialist powers, it is socialism or annihilation. The threat of a thermonuclear World War III will only be avoided by the triumph of international working-class revolution, opening the way to a genuinely classless society of abundance and universal equality in which the full tremendous power of modern science and technology, including nuclear energy, will be put to the service of human progress. This requires an international and internationalist leadership—a genuinely communist International, reformed on the political foundations of Leon Trotsky's Fourth International. From Paris to Canberra, we Trotskyists of the ICL say: *The main enemy is at home! Long live proletarian internationalism! Workers of the world unite!* ■

Fed's Bloody Trail...

(continued from page 7)

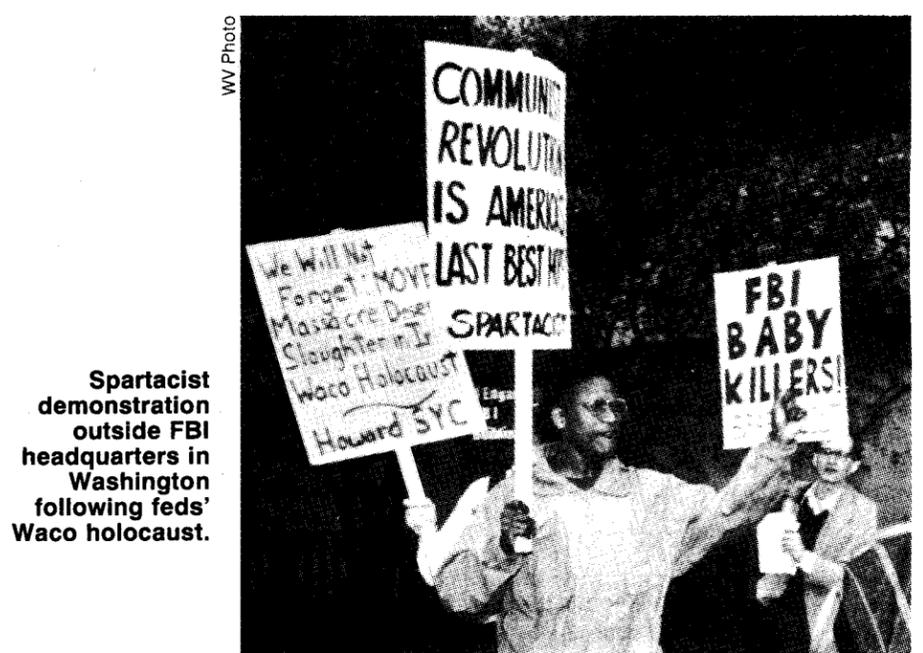
none of them demonstrated, as the Spartacist League did, against the carnage at Waco, and the wretched RWL howled about our banner calling Clinton and Reno mass murderers at a gay rights march in Washington a week after the massacre. Recently, the ISO revealed its true position, dismissing the Congressional hearings into the feds' inferno at Waco as purely a "sop to the right-wing militias" under the despicable headline, "Wacko Speaks Up on Waco" (*Socialist Worker*, 1 September).

Ironically, even the *Wall Street Journal* (12 May) published an editorial on the tenth anniversary of the MOVE massacre, calling it "Black Waco." The *Journal* noted that "thoughtful blacks who wondered 10 years ago how Philadelphia and MOVE could have spun so disastrously into flames must shake their heads now at the way white America is flailing around Waco, the BATF and separatist militias." Naturally, this conservative voice of big business is no friend of MOVE. Their editorial was motivated by growing concern within ruling-class circles that the "credibility of the insti-

tutions invested with the power to enforce the laws" is in deep trouble.

We have written that the 1985 bombing of Philly MOVE was the signature of the Reagan years, just as the 1979 Greensboro massacre was for "human rights" Democrat Carter. Today, the Clinton administration bears the indelible bloody stamp of the Waco holocaust. The Spartacist League has sought to sear the memory of the government's slaughter of dissidents into the collective consciousness of the working class and oppressed—and to warn of the threat that they represent.

MOVE, Ruby Ridge and Waco are part of a drive to concentrate more repressive powers in the federal government. In the name of "fighting crime," Clinton has moved to hire 100,000 more police, pushing for military involvement in civilian law enforcement and star chamber "anti-terrorist" courts for immigrants. Now liberal Democrats like Dianne Feinstein want to introduce an encrypted, database-linked national identity card encoding "biometric" data on computer chips. (Lacking such high-tech methods, the Nazis simply tattooed numbers on their victims' bodies.) In the midst of a concerted attack on the living standards of the working class, producing the largest gap ever between rich and poor, the racist American ruling class is asserting that



Spartacist demonstration outside FBI headquarters in Washington following feds' Waco holocaust.

"social peace" means the disenfranchised masses must be disarmed and cowed at any cost.

Every move to strengthen police powers directly threatens the ability of workers and minorities to mobilize in their own interests and self-defense—for example, against fascists and strikebreakers. Defense of the rights of the working people to struggle in their interests

against the capitalist masters is posed pointblank with the government's assault on civil liberties. The Spartacist League fights to build a revolutionary workers party, which will put the butchers of MOVE and Waco out of business for good, through socialist revolution which sweeps away this decaying capitalist system and the fascism and misery it breeds. ■

Israel-PLO Pact Imprisons Palestinians

Two years after the U.S.-orchestrated "peace process" was first kicked off amid much fanfare, Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) finally announced an interim agreement for "redeployment" of Israeli troops in the occupied West Bank. Far from being the step toward Palestinian "sovereignty" proclaimed by Yasir Arafat's PLO, this latest deal effectively formalizes the imprisonment of the Palestinian masses under the iron heel of Zionist state terror. Even as Israeli and PLO negotiators were finalizing the agreement in the Red Sea resort of Taba, three Palestinian protesters were shot dead by Israeli troops in the streets of Nablus.

As we said at the time, the September 1993 "Gaza-Jericho first" accord was not "even the most deformed expression of self-determination" but rather amounted to "community control" over a couple of impoverished slums" ("Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto," *WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993). The current deal simply extends this arrangement to six more Palestinian towns in the West Bank and, in the future, to several hundred villages. All roads linking the towns, all border areas, all "state" lands and anywhere there is even a handful of Zionist "settlers" will remain firmly under the grip of the Israeli army. Thus, Hebron is to be partitioned, with the army maintaining total control of 15 percent, in order to "protect" a few hundred fascist settlers among over 100,000 Palestinians.

Hebron epitomizes the face of the new "Palestinian entity" being fashioned by Israel and its PLO lackeys. It was there that, five months after the signing of the 1993 agreement, Brooklyn-born fascist Baruch Goldstein slaughtered at least 29 Palestinians in a genocidal rampage
continued on page 11

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!



Under new accord, Israeli army and fascist Zionist settlers will continue to terrorize Palestinians in West Bank city of Hebron. Arad/Contrast Press

Joint Statement Protesting French Nuclear Tests

French and Australian Trotskyists Say: The Main Enemy Is at Home!

We publish below a September 30 joint statement by the Ligue Trotskyste de France and the Spartacist League of Australia, sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), in response to the French nuclear tests in the Pacific.

The orgy of chauvinism in Australia and France touched off by the dispute over renewed French nuclear testing in the Pacific underlines how capitalism in its epoch of imperialist decay leads inexorably through trade war to world war, unless the problem is destroyed at its root by socialist revolution. The enemy of the workers and oppressed is not "the French" or "the Australians" but the rapacious capitalist ruling classes which dream of plundering the whole world while turning the screws on their "own" workers in the interests of profit. The

Independence for French Colonies! Australian Imperialism Hands Off the South Pacific!

real and terrible danger of war will only be ended by the workers of all countries joining together, rejecting all the divide-and-rule capitalist machinations parroted by the current misleaders of the working class, to throw out their exploiters and take the future in their own hands. The International Communist League says: No to the French nuclear tests! Down with all imperialist militarism! Independence now for the French colonies! The main enemy is at home!

The decision by the Chirac government, which at the same time put "metropolitan" France in a racist state of siege with its anti-immigrant Operation "Vigipirate," to resume testing at Muru-

roa Atoll is a sinister imperialist and colonialist provocation which must be opposed by class-conscious workers internationally. This display of arrogant, aggressive nuke-toting chauvinism has provoked widespread revulsion all over the world, not least in France itself. Populations in and around the Pacific Ocean have been especially outraged by the French government's brazenly colonialist statement that they intend to do what they want in their last colonial outposts in the Pacific. Chirac's boastful "screw you world" attitude also predictably provoked a powerful anti-French nationalist backlash amongst France's imperialist rivals.

But the hue and cry over the French nuclear tests by other capitalist governments is the rankest hypocrisy. The imperialist powers are lurching toward trade war and ultimately another global conflagration and the French nuclear tests and the national chauvinist howling of the Australian imperialists and their Labor servants against them must be seen in that context. The danger can be clearly seen today in the Balkans, ignition point for the first global inter-imperialist slaughter. While the French imperialists test their nuclear devices in Mururoa and the Australian imperialists pontificate on the dangers of nuclear weaponry to the ecology of "their" backyard, tons of NATO bombs have been rained down on the Bosnian Serbs, a campaign supported by the bellicose Chirac, America's slavish Australian
continued on page 14