

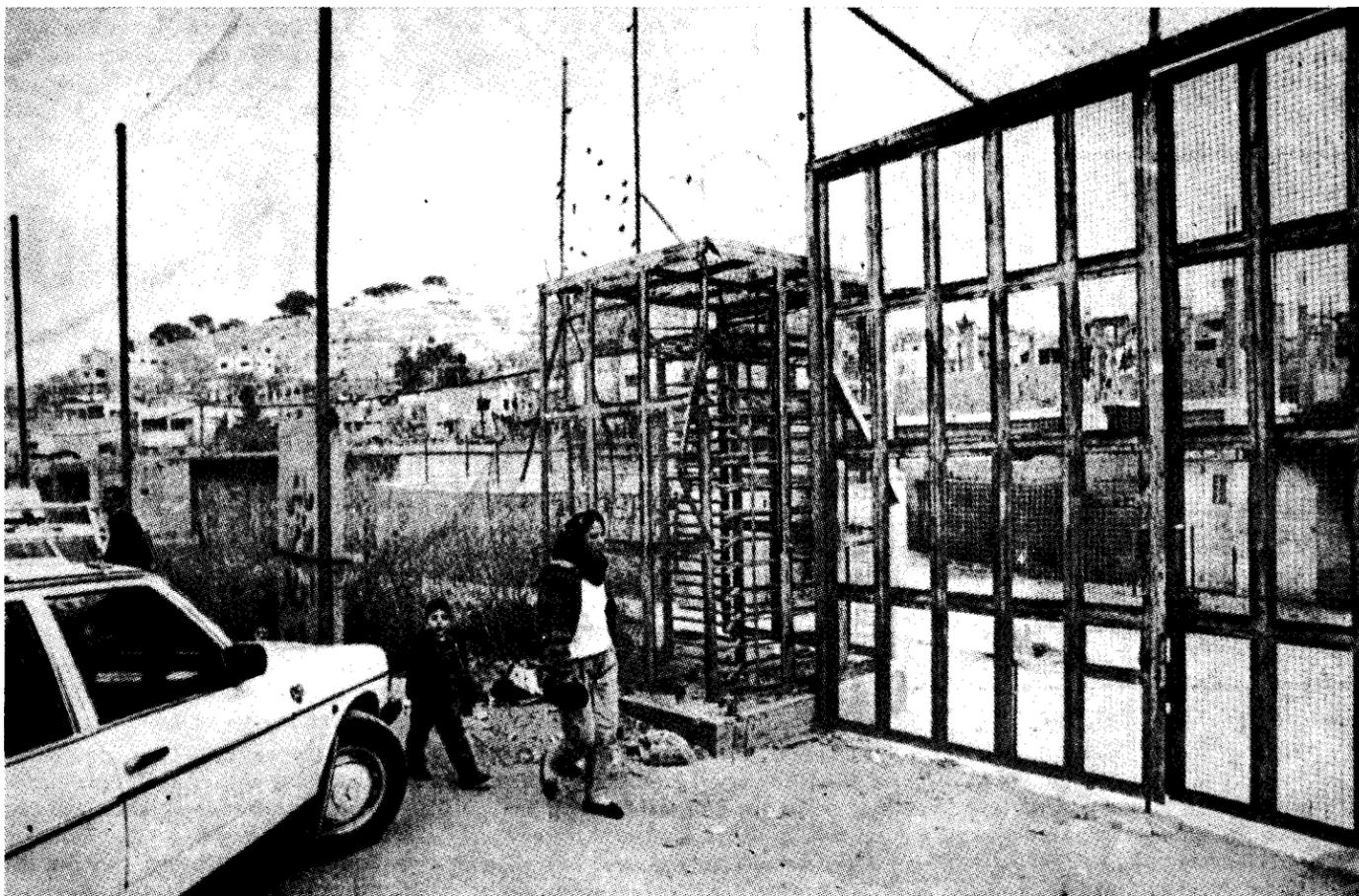
Zionist Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!

Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto

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

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

continued on page 12



Geraint Lewis

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

Down with U.S. Cops of the World!

Clinton’s Hit Squad in Somalia

Before dawn on August 30, a force of U.S. Army Rangers slid down ropes dropped from helicopters onto the roof of a two-story villa in the Somali capital of Mogadishu. On the ground, other Rangers blasted through the walls with grenades and broke down the doors. Their target: lieutenants of defiant Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid, on whose head Washington has placed a \$25,000 bounty. The Rangers succeeded in capturing nine of the enemy, handcuffed them, held them face-down at gunpoint and then tossed them into the helicopters like carcasses. Yet the “enemy” turned out to

be...foreign and Somali UN employees engaged in humanitarian relief! Nevertheless, the chief U.S. military spokesmen in Somalia triumphantly proclaimed the raid “a textbook example of how these operations should go” using “lightning speed and overpowering force.”

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

continued on page 11



Kieffer/Foto Consortium

U.S. commandos, death squads for “New World Order.”



Black Cashiers Were Pulled Off the Job

Winn-Dixie Racism in Georgia

ATLANTA—When a crescendo of charges against Denny's made the South Carolina-based restaurant chain notorious for racist discrimination, we responded with coast-to-coast demonstrations in early July. "Jim Crow Racism, Anti-Union Open Shop—Legacy of the Slavery" read a protester's sign. Now a case in the "whites only" bastion of Forsyth County, Georgia illuminates the vile racism at Winn-Dixie, a leading supermarket chain in the Deep South, showing that the "Dixie" in its name is no accident.

In late July, 18-year-old Brenda Huiel was picked along with another black worker to be among the cashiers working the festive opening week of the Winn-Dixie supermarket in Cumming, Georgia. But when she got there, Ms. Huiel told WV, "Customers were looking at us like, why are we here? We were given looks I have never gotten before. I felt like I was the total embodiment of that county's hatred and prejudice."

Although Brenda had been assigned to work in the store for four days, the black women were yanked off their jobs and hustled to the back of the store. Management told her an incident "had happened that was race-related," and she and her friend "would be subject to violence and possible threats. He strongly suggested we go home." The two women returned to their regular Winn-Dixie store in Kennesaw, and two whites were selected to work the Cumming store.

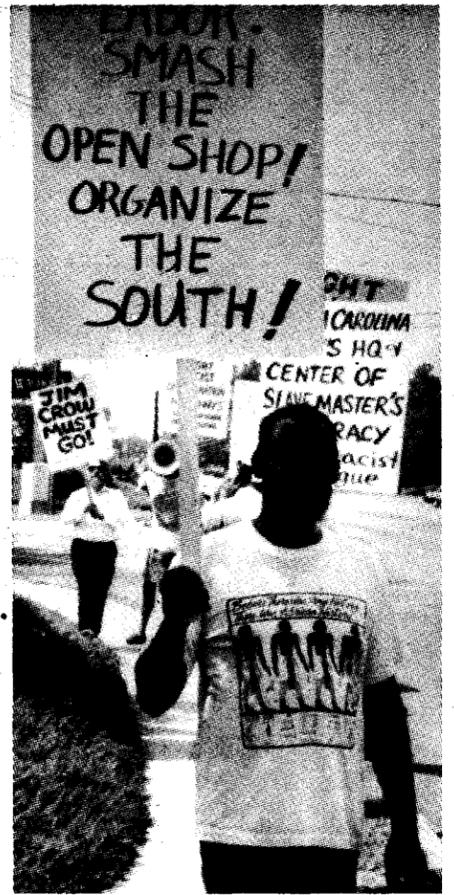
After intimidating these two black workers to leave, Winn-Dixie then issued a blatant apology to the racists for bringing black people into Forsyth County. "Our goal is to do the right thing for our customers and the communities in which we operate" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 5 August). This recalls Georgia Democrat Jimmy Carter's appeal during the 1976 presidential campaign to "ethnic purity" and "community values," racist code words equivalent to calling for "neighborhood schools" in South Bos-

ton. What they're really saying is "no blacks need apply."

Forsyth County is a racist enclave where there are only 14 blacks out of 44,000 people, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, and they probably padded the figures. In January 1987, thousands of civil rights protesters marched in Forsyth County to protest a Ku Klux Klan attack on a "brotherhood march" on Martin Luther King Day earlier that month. The Democratic Party channeled this outrage against racism into hosannas for the "New South" even as the National Guard was barely able to shield marchers from a raging mob of over 1,000 racists. The lily-white "community" which Winn-Dixie didn't want to offend hasn't changed since then.

Brenda Huiel had worked for Winn-Dixie for four years. She was a member of the Varsity Math team, the track club and the French Honor Society at high school. Since she was college-bound, Winn-Dixie was giving her some scholarship money to attend Emory

continued on page 15



WV Photo

Atlanta, July 3: Demonstrators protest against Jim Crow racism at Denny's restaurants.



TROTSKY

Capitalist Oppression and Parliamentary Democracy

The rising tide of anti-immigrant racism in North America and West Europe spells fascist and government violence against immigrant communities and their expulsion to impoverished Third World countries. Those who today appeal to the bourgeois rulers to be more humane in their immigration policies show a touching faith in a "progressive" bourgeoisie that has long since departed the historical scene. Parli-



LENIN

mentary democracy does not preclude vicious anti-democratic attacks on immigrants, national minorities and the working class. With the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, the "democratic" government of France deported one million foreign workers, roughly 10 percent of the labor force. In polemicizing against the social democrat Karl Kautsky, Lenin pointed out that savage attacks on the workers movement, national and racial minorities, and colonial peoples are routinely carried out by bourgeois parliamentary governments.

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

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

—V.I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918)

BT and the Cops

Last February, members of the Bolshevik Tendency were screaming foul at our article "Cops, Crime and the BT" (WV No. 569, 12 February). In a leaflet titled "You Be the Judge," the BT whined that we had smeared them as "racists and cop lovers" in order to cover for our "own political bankruptcy." Actually we called them neither. We simply exposed the BT's obscene adaptation to racist yuppie "law and order" reaction in California, expressed in their article "Cops, Crime and Capitalism," which was the entire contents of the October 1992 issue of the BT journal, *1917 West*.

Here the racist cops were ever-so-evenhandedly portrayed as sometime dogooders "comforting children and even risking their lives to rescue victims of disasters." Police racism and brutality was put down to the "brutally dehumanizing conditions on the margins of society" (read: the ghetto streets) to which the cops were subjected. Why would a self-proclaimed "communist" organization write such things? As we noted at the time, this grotesque apologia reflected the BT's appetites toward "Copwatch," a Berkeley "police reform" outfit.

Howling over "deliberate disregard for the truth" and "mendacity," the BT urged "all individuals for whom the truth is politically meaningful to read both articles and determine for themselves if there is any basis for the Spartacist League's

latest allegations." We would encourage all such individuals to also read an article in the 4 September *People's Weekly World*, headlined "Copwatch: Making Berkeley's Police Accountable."

Quoted approvingly is one Gerald Smith: "We are not anti-anything except brutality and misconduct. We are for the police being accountable and we take a positive position on that by going out and educating the public, publishing our own journal, telling the truth to the people, and teaching people how to 'cop-watch.' *We are not anti-police*" (our emphasis). Although described simply as a "Copwatch member," until a couple of months ago Gerald Smith was a leading (and longtime) member of the Bolshevik Tendency.

Now Smith heads a splinter group of ex-BTers called the Communist Workers Group (see "Split in the BT: From the Snake Pit of Anti-Spartacism," WV No. 582, 13 August). Doubtless, the BT will use this to argue that Gerald "we are not anti-police" Smith doesn't represent their views on the racist, capitalist cops. But Smith simply gave full vent to "Cops, Crime and Capitalism," which was not only published by the BT but vigorously defended by their still-remaining members at a public meeting of the SL in New York City last spring.

To echo the Bolshevik Tendency, "you be the judge." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Joan Parker

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Valdez

EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stenberg

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

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval 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: \$7.00/24 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.

No. 583

10 September 1993

The International Communist League Makes Available the Polemics of Its Opponents on the Left

Just Out!

Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League No. 8

\$5.50 (includes postage) 137 pages

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

Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League

—a biweekly series of opponent material

NUMBER 8

The Bolshevik Tendency: From the Snake Pit of Anti-Spartacism

Introduction

The Communist Workers Group: "Bureaucratic Centralism in the IRT and the Intervention of the Working Committee"

previous numbers in this series

Spartacist Publishing Company

Box 1377 GPO

New York, NY 10116

Feds' "Seditious Conspiracy" Frame-Up

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

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

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

The indictment links El Sayyid Nosair, who was previously acquitted in the 1990 killing of fascist Zionist terrorist Meir Kahane, and Rahman to the WTC bombing, and ties this together with an alleged plan for kidnappings, assassinations and additional bombings. Now Nosair will again stand trial for the Kahane killing as part of the "larger conspiracy." The charges against more than a dozen of the defendants are a clear case of entrapment by a government informer who suggested targets, showed them how to make bombs, bought materials and convinced some not to quit.

Whipping up the "terrorist" hysteria, the Clinton administration is rapidly bolstering the government's apparatus of terror. We don't know what happened at the World Trade Center or who's behind it. We certainly don't trust the govern-



U.S. marshals hustling Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman off to prison. Reuters

Anti-Arab Hysteria Over World Trade Center Bombing

ment's pronouncements, and we do know that the feds' case rests on informant Emad Salem, who stands to gain at least half a million dollars for his testimony. We also note that the purported conspiracy began in 1990, when the defendants and the U.S. government were working together in a larger and very active conspiracy—a shooting war intent on destroying the Soviet-backed Afghan government, overturning its modest democratic reforms and forcing Afghan women back to a life of slavery under the veil.

Sedition Laws—Assault on Freedom of Speech

Commenting on the rarely used sedition conspiracy laws, Reno's cheerleaders at the *Times* (28 August) conceded, "some criminal defense experts say the law comes perilously close to punishing people for their beliefs or speech." But that's why sedition laws are the weapon of choice here—they are pure thought-crime laws. Their resurrection today represents a grave danger to leftists, immigrants, unionists and anyone who runs afoul of the "New World Disorder."

Sedition acts are war measures plain and simple. Historically they go hand in hand with attacks on immigrants. The granddaddy of them all, the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, passed in anticipation of war with France, aimed at Jeffersonian opponents of John Adams' Federalist Party. The Acts made it a criminal offense to "write, print, utter or publish...any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States." The

laws also sought to get rid of supporters of the French Revolution, whose talk of fraternity, liberty and equality was discomfiting to the government of slaveholders.

Sheik Rahman is charged under the post-Civil War sedition acts aimed against ex-Confederates opposed to federal rule, and later amended in 1918 and again in the '40s. The 1918 act was used to indict some 2,100 people, including prominent Socialist leader Eugene V.

Debs, for speaking out against American entry into World War I. It outlaws any "disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language about the form of government of the U.S." Around the same time, state "criminal syndicalism" and "anarchy" laws targeted the revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World and early American Communists.

In the aftermath of the 1917 Russian Revolution, Communist Party and anarchist leaders around the country were prosecuted and imprisoned. Especially targeted by the thought-crime laws was the militant immigrant sector of the working class. Thousands of foreign-born radicals (including American citizens) were rounded up during the 1919-20 Palmer Raids, and hundreds were deported.

After the post-WWI "red" scare served its purpose in suppressing the left, the conspiracy laws were put on the back burner. Then in 1940, on the eve of the U.S. entry into World War II, the notorious Alien Registration Act, the Smith Act, was passed. The first victims of the Smith Act—which was later used wholesale during the 1950s McCarthy anti-communist witchhunt—were the Trotskyist "Minneapolis 18," internationalist revolutionaries and leaders of the militant Minneapolis Teamsters. Their jailing was intended to serve warning on the labor movement at large to fall into line behind the coming imperialist war.

With the onset of the post-WWII Cold War, anti-labor and anti-immigrant legislation flourished. Taft-Hartley made it unlawful for trade-union officials to be members of communist organizations. The Internal Security (McCarran) Act set up concentration camps for communists in the event of a "national emergency," and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 once again banned communists, anarchists and homosexuals from entering the U.S. A couple of years ago the communist-exclusion provisions were repealed, and replaced with prohibitions on supporters of "terrorist" organizations. Seven Palestinians and a Kenyan, known as the "L.A. Eight," are still fighting attempts to deport them as supporters of the Palestinian PFLP.

continued on page 13

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Detroit

Box 441043
Detroit, MI 48244

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Boston

Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Los Angeles

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

Oakland

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

Chicago

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

Madison

Box 1492
Madison, WI 53701

San Francisco

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

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101

New York

Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

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

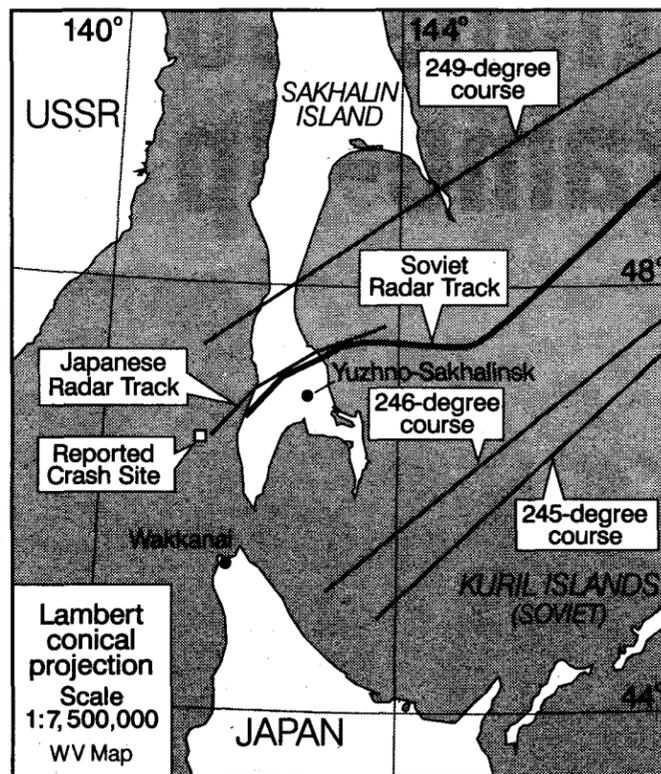
A Decade Later

KAL 007 Cover-Up Continues

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

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

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



Soviet and Japanese radar tracks of KAL 007 flight path closely coincide, while courses claimed by ICAO (245-degree) and Yeltsin (249-degree) are way off track.

Sources:
Robert Allardyce
and James Gollin;
ICAO simulation

South Korea's patrons in Washington. But the truth won't go away.

A Fudged Report

The centerpiece of the ICAO report is the analysis of the "black box" tapes reportedly handed over by Yeltsin last January. These were purported to be from the plane's long-missing Cockpit Voice Recorder (CVR) and Digital Flight Data Recorder (DFDR)—both allegedly "found" by Soviet divers years ago but kept secret until Yeltsin's counterrevolution opened the archives. Yeltsin also released what he claimed were documents written in 1983 by Soviet experts who analyzed the tapes.

We have already shown in detail that these "analyses" from Yeltsin flatly contradict known reality, particularly all available radar tracks of KAL 007's flight path, which showed the plane did not "stray" on an innocent "straight line" but must have made numerous turns indicating conscious intervention by the pilots (see "Yeltsin Whitewashes Reagan's Spy Mission," WV No. 571, 12 March). The latest ICAO report doesn't even attempt to explain the bundle of contradictions;

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

The truth would have been definitively exposed if the DFDR tape had recorded the readouts from KAL 007's computerized Inertial Navigation System (INS), an extremely precise navigational instrument which would show the plane's second-by-second latitude/longitude positions over the entire five-and-a-half-hour flight. But alas, the ICAO report says without explanation that "no INS data was recorded on the DFDR." Also mysteriously missing is the recording of Universal Time, thereby blurring the timing of events. And then there's the case of the missing engines: the Boeing 747 is a four-engine plane, but the DFDR tape shows only two engines, as if this tape came from an entirely different aircraft.

WV inquired about the missing data in a phone interview with the head of the ICAO's investigation, Caj Frostell. The official story is that the recording of INS data was "not the requirement" back in 1983 (it is today), and so airlines had the "flexibility" to not record such critical data if they chose. As for the

missing engines, they simply "for some reason" inexplicably "did not record." The report itself notes that "a number of the wires to the tape heads had been disconnected," without specifying what data was affected.

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

This is pure bunk. *Nowhere* does the report give exact plot points for the plane's course over Soviet regions, or demonstrate on a detailed map—particularly in the Sakhalin Island region where the plane was downed—how their computation "matches" radar tracks. The Japanese radar track of KAL 007 over Sakhalin is not displayed.

An independent report, just released by retired flight engineer and former crash investigator Robert Allardyce and his collaborator James Gollin, takes apart the ICAO's "analysis." The two men produced the 1991 "Technical Analysis," reported in the *New York Times* of 20 February 1992, which showed that the plane must have changed course several times (see "KAL 007 Was on Deadly Spy Mission," WV No. 547, 20 March 1992).

Now, in an update, Allardyce/Gollin demolish the main conclusion of the ICAO analysis: that "three minutes after take-off" from Anchorage the pilots switched the plane's autopilot into a "constant magnetic heading" of 245 degrees, where it remained for the entire five-and-a-half-hour flight "until the attack by the fighter aircraft." According to the ICAO, the plane was being flown by magnetic compass, not by the properly working INS systems, because the crew supposedly forgot to turn a switch and incredibly never noticed the haywire indications from the INS and other instruments on board. The ICAO speculates this was caused by crew "fatigue."

But the available radar track of KAL 007 over Alaska shows the plane "was not on a 245 'constant magnetic heading'...or any other magnetic heading," say Allardyce/Gollin. In fact, it shows the plane flying a "Great Circle" course, *prima facie* evidence that the autopilot was controlled by the INS, which uses Great Circle segments to generate a course. Later in the flight, the 245-degree course would have put the plane's entry over Kamchatka at a point nearly 100 nautical miles "south of where the CIA placed the aircraft." And finally, the 245-degree course would have put the plane "167.3 nautical miles to the south" of the Japanese radar track! The Soviets' radar track closely parallels the Japanese track over Sakhalin (see map).

What's more, the 1993 ICAO report is contradicted by their own 1983 report. Working with the Boeing company and consultants from Litton Industries (manufacturer of the INS), the ICAO did a simulation of a 246-degree course. The result, released in December 1983, showed that on such a course the plane would have missed Sakhalin entirely and flown over Japan instead. Needless to say, a 245-degree course would have

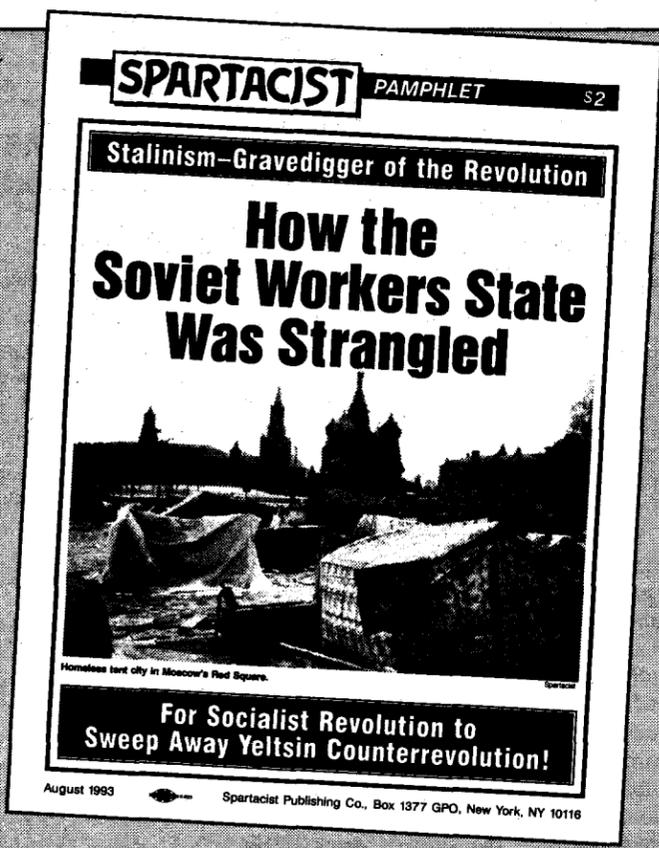
continued on page 11

Just Out! Spartacist Pamphlet

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

\$2 (64 pages)

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., P.O. Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



France: Mimicking the "Red-Brown" Coalition

The JCR and the "Idiot International"

The notorious "red-brown" coalition, which in Russia unites the Stalinist debris left over from the collapse of the bureaucratic regime with ultranationalist and fascist forces, has found a pale reflection in France. For several years now, intellectuals of the French Communist Party (PCF) have been writing articles alongside prominent fascists in anti-Semitic rags like *L'Idiot International*, and debating them in public, while inviting contributions from spokesmen of Le Pen's fascist National Front (FN) in PCF publications. But this June, this bizarre combination of supposed communists in league with open fascists blew up into a national scandal. And bringing up the rear of this "red-brown" coalition à la française is

born workers and their families.

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

Hallier's racist rag was published with the active support of PCF cadres. The

**Anti-Semitic rag
Idiot International:
meeting place
of fascists,
degenerated Stalinist
"intellectuals" and
JCR leader
Damien Elliott.**

heavily in Russia, launching last fall the review *Elementy* and contributing articles by de Benoist to the anti-Semitic standard-bearer of the "red-brown" coalition, *Dien*. In France, the collaboration between PCF cadres and fascists has extended well beyond the pages of *Idiot International*. The repulsive anti-Semite Christian Laborde of the FN's *Le Choc du Mois* wrote several articles for the PCF's *Révolution*. And Paul Jouary, member of the PCF Central Committee and editor of *Révolution*, wrote for de Benoist's fascist publication *Krisis*.

With the bourgeoisie triumphantly proclaiming the "death of communism," and Mitterrand's Socialists in disarray following a devastating electoral defeat in March, PCF general secretary Georges Marchais is trying to deck out his party in social-democratic garb (recently announcing that next January's congress would abandon the formal reference to "democratic centralism"). Thus the revelations of the insidious collaboration between much of the PCF's media apparatus and the fascists is acutely embarrassing. The *Idiot International* affair was brought to light by novelist (and former PCF member) Didier Daeninckx, who last October sent Marchais a report of his personal investigation. Marchais eventually replied: "If you verify that links exist between people from the Communist Party and the far right, I would have only one request to make of you: Say it!" (*Le Canard Enchaîné*, 23 June).

As the scandal spread through the French bourgeois press, and *L'Humanité* said hardly a word, the PCF weekly *L'Humanité-Dimanche* piously declared that writing for *Idiot International* was "unacceptable" and "contrary to communist ethics." The PCF Central Committee called for those most deeply involved to resign or be expelled, while belittling the affair as "totally marginal individual

behavior" (*Le Monde*, 3 July). Contrary to the rantings of the conservative *Le Figaro* (1 July) about "red fascism," such an ongoing misalliance is not historically possible given the PCF's mass working-class base. In the Russian case, the "reds" of the "red-brown" alliance were in fact remnants of the petty-bourgeois Stalinist bureaucratic caste, not part of the working class.

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

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

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

APPEL

**POUR LA LEVEE DE L'EMBARGO CONTRE LA YOUGOSLAVIE
POUR LE RETRAIT DES TROUPES DE L'ONU**

Marc COHEN
(rédacteur en chef de *L'Idiot International*)
Raymond CLAVIER
(membre de l'Internationale Ouvrière)
Damien ELLIOTT
(rédacteur en chef de *Egalité*)
Emile FABROL
(rédacteur en chef de *Proletariat*)
Marco FERRANDO
(membre du Comité national du PRC-Italie)
François FERRETTE
(président UNEF-Caen)
Franco GRISOLIA
(membre du Comité national du PRC
et du Comité directeur)

Les Serbes seront-ils les nègres-blancs du "nouvel ordre mondial"? On est en droit de se le demander en voyant l'hystérie qui règne dans les médias où nous connaissons bien cette agression contre l'Irak en 1990.

Les causes fondamentales bien différentes de ce qui est la condition de l'opinion publique en Allemagne en tête, ont souffert de faire main basse le plus tôt possible sur le monde.

Si un consensus s'est établi, limiter la casse (et empêcher)



Le Bolchévick

Petition launched by JCR's Damien Elliott (right) features *Idiot International* editor Marc Cohen at top of list of signers. While calling "For Lifting Embargo Against Yugoslavia—For the Withdrawal of UN Troops," petition appeals to French anti-German chauvinism.

the ostensibly Trotskyist Jeunesses Communistes Révolutionnaires (JCR) led by one Damien Elliott.

For generations the French Stalinists, the leading party of the French working class, were among the most assiduous followers of every twist and turn dictated by the Kremlin bureaucracy. At the same time, as national-reformists they sought to defend the interests of French imperialism. Now with the triumph of counter-revolution in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, no longer having two masters, the PCF has become even more vociferous in its rampant French nationalism. But some of the Stalinist literati want to go further, linking up with the "New Right" and brownshirt racists, wrapping themselves not only in the tricolor flag of the French bourgeois revolution but also the royalist fleur-de-lis.

The *Idiot International* affair reveals the depths of degeneration to which the Stalinists have sunk following decades of class collaboration. In the early 1980s, the PCF sought to become the vanguard of French chauvinism with the infamous bulldozing of a foreign workers hostel in Vitry as its admission ticket to the Mitterrand popular front. Now today the PCF is spinning off a racist layer which is hobnobbing with the fascist thugs who launch deadly attacks on non-white "immigrants," while the conservative Balladur government with its draconian interior minister Charles Pasqua brings down the forces of the state on foreign-

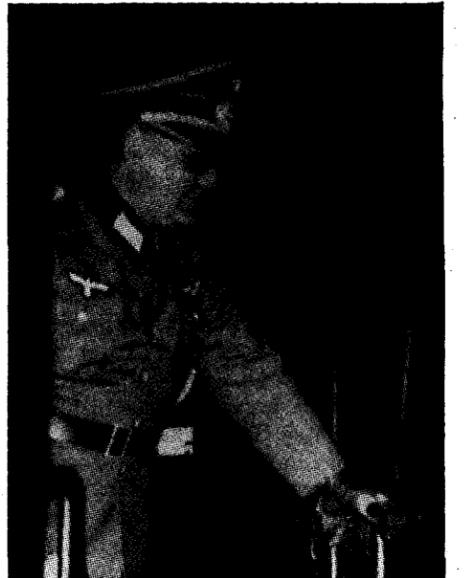
editor of *Idiot International* was longtime PCF member Marc Cohen. More than half a dozen PCF cadre—all of them close to Roland Leroy, the "hard-line" Stalinist editor of the PCF daily *L'Humanité*—joined Cohen in contributing articles, including Jacques Dimet, coordinator of the editorial board of the PCF weekly *Révolution*. Joining this Stalinist coterie on the editorial board of *Idiot International* were prominent fascists, including Alain Sanders, editor of the National Front's daily *Présent*, and the director of research was Philippe Palat of the National Front's weekly *National Hebdo*.

Along with rantings by demoralized Stalinists, *Idiot International* published regular contributions by writers from the National Front's monthly *Le Choc du Mois* as well as by Alain de Benoist, the "New Right" founder of GRECE (Group of Research and Study for European Civilization). GRECE publishes guides to the rites and ceremonies of the Nazi SS and books on the exploits of the SS. In May 1992, de Benoist was invited to participate in a meeting organized by the PCF's Institute of Marxist Research on the "Reawakening of Critical Thought," presided over by PCF Political Bureau member Francette Lazard.

Declaring that "Communism was also a bad answer to a real question," de Benoist calls for a "third road" bringing together those who "refuse the liberal market system." GRECE has intervened



From "red" to brown: Virulent Russian anti-Semite Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (left), boasts, "I will follow in Hitler's footsteps." Jacques Doriot (right), expelled from PCF in 1934, became fascist leader, fought with Nazis against the Soviet Union in WW II.



Der Spiegel

Young Spartacus



Labor Defender

James P. Cannon and the Fight to Build the Revolutionary Party Origins of American Communism

Part One of this article traced the development of the revolutionary workers movement in America and the impact of the Russian Revolution and anti-immigrant, anti-“red” repression on the early Communist Party (see WV No. 582, 13 August). This article is adapted from a presentation given by comrade T. Marlow on the Prometheus Research Library’s book, James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism: Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928.

PART TWO OF TWO

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

This situation couldn’t last long—and didn’t. The undergrounders resented the existence of the legal party, and the champions of the legal party resented the control of the “illegal” party, especially since it was unnecessary. The party broke into factions of approximately equal strength and the subsequent fight has become known as the “Geese-Liquidators” fight. (The undergrounders called the legal party advocates “liquidators,” with explicit reference to the early fight against the liquidators within the Bolshevik Party in the period of reaction which followed the 1905 Revolution. This was to give Cannon some trouble in Moscow, because it gave a false connotation to the faction he supported.)

Once again, the American party turned to the Comintern to help it solve a problem it couldn’t resolve on its own. Cannon was in Moscow in 1922 and noted how the various Russian leaders listened politely to the presentations by the representatives of both factions, but made no commitment. It was during this trip that Cannon first met Trotsky and



Labor Defender

James P. Cannon giving report to Second Conference of the International Labor Defense, September 1926 (top). ILD spearheaded defense of anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti: New York rally in Union Square drew 20,000.

explained the actual political and legal conditions in the U.S., including the fact that the Workers Party was operating above ground. Trotsky told Cannon to write out his position on “one sheet of paper”—just imagine—your party has been rent by a major faction fight and you have to sum it all up on *one* sheet of paper! During the interview, Trotsky said he agreed with Cannon and the (misnamed) “liquidators” and that he would take it up with Lenin.

What followed was a very free debate in the Comintern where both factions presented their views in the American Commission. The leaders of the Communist International (Zinoviev, Radek and Bukharin) came out fully for legalization of the party and for a turn toward such things as the emerging movements for a

labor party. Zinoviev lectured the undergrounders against making a fetish about illegal work, stressing that communists prefer to work legally where possible because of the advantages it offers. Zinoviev poked some fun at the undergrounders by relating the story of an old Bolshevik underground worker who insisted on carrying her false passport even *after* the Bolshevik Revolution!

Cannon stayed in Moscow from June 1922 through January 1923, during which he served as a delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International (CI) and on the Presidium of the CI’s Executive Committee. Cannon recalls fondly in his book, *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962), how much he enjoyed that trip—he got a chance to see some of the top

Russian leaders close up as they worked in the CI. Cannon noted why it was natural for the Russian delegation to play a leading role:

“They were the veterans who were schooled in the doctrine and knew the world movement, especially the European section of it, from study and first-hand experience in their years of exile. In addition, they had the commanding moral authority which accrues by right to the leaders of a victorious revolution. The delegates of the other parties, like myself, were mainly apprentices of a younger generation. I think all of us, or nearly all, felt that we were privileged to attend an incomparable school, and we tried to profit by the opportunity.”

The Farmer-Labor Party— A Two-Class Bloc

Cannon returned to the U.S. in January 1923 and began a five-month-long national speaking tour. He lectured on his experiences in the USSR, and gained a chance to get a broad view of the status of the party as well as the feelings of the working class at large. The situation seemed favorable: at the end of 1922, after the “Geese-Liquidators” fight, the party actively campaigned for the formation of a labor party and there were some ripples in the organized labor movement, at least nominally, for such a thing.

Engels himself had paid attention to the American labor movement in the late 1800s and had recognized that, in the U.S. where “no medieval ruins bar the way,” the workers could rapidly proceed from elemental class consciousness (shown by the strikes of the mid-1880s) to the formation of a labor party. What Engels clearly had in mind was a party which first and foremost expressed the class independence of the workers and a break from subordination to the bourgeois parties.

But what sprouted was *not* what Engels had envisioned. John Fitzpatrick, head of the Chicago Federation of Labor, had called a convention to form a labor party in July 1923. To attract the support of farmers devastated by the collapse of agricultural prices, Fitzpatrick changed the name of his prospective party to the Farmer-Labor Party. It was a *two-class bloc*, and one in which the proletarian elements would necessarily be subordinated programmatically to the petty-bourgeois farmers. Add to that the

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

If anything good came out of this mess, it was that Cannon decided he had to fight for the leadership of the Communist Party. In this he had some natural allies, like William Z. Foster. (At one time an organizer of the Chicago packinghouse workers and leader of the massive 1919 steel strike, Foster had a national reputation in the labor movement, with important contacts in the labor bureaucracy, especially in Chicago. Foster also brought with him his supporters in the Trade Union Education League [TUEL], which in 1921 affiliated to the Profintern, the Comintern's trade-union organization.) After the split with Fitzpatrick's forces at the Farmer-Labor Party convention in July 1923, Foster saw his trade-union base in the TUEL decimated by a ferocious offensive not only by a furious Fitzpatrick, but by the AFL tops who made membership in the TUEL incompatible with membership in an AFL union. The anti-communist backlash was ferocious—for example, at the AFL convention in Portland, Cannon's friend Bill Dunne, a leading communist representing the Butte, Montana unions, was unseated by a vote of 27,837 to 108.

Party Factions and Their Leaders

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

The first is Ruthenberg. He had emerged as a rising star in the Socialist Party (SP) and was in fact the "floor leader" of the left wing during the defining battles in the SP. He was also courageous—he served time in prison for his antiwar activities and also suffered from persecution during the Palmer Raids. During a May Day 1919 demonstration in Cleveland, when the cops unleashed a bloody attack using mounted police and army tanks, Ruthenberg stood his ground and insisted on attempting to speak and was promptly arrested. He was



B.W. Huebsch Inc.

Chicago Federation of Labor chief John Fitzpatrick (seated, left) next to William Z. Foster, leader of the 1919 steel strike, which brought out 300,000 workers in eight states. Foster later became a leader of the CP.

never free from the threat of capitalist "justice" and jail sentences until the day he died. But he also strikes me as a cold fish—a good office administrator, but hardly a leader of men in the sense of personal dynamism. Cannon had a laugh when some young staff writer for the CP paper wrote a poem on Ruthenberg's death in 1927, in which the aloof and always formal Ruthenberg was referred to as "Charlie." As Cannon noted, his normal form of address was "Comrade Ruthenberg" and maybe after a few years he might let you call him by his first initials, "C.E." Ruthenberg was no shrinking violet in the factional wars of the 1920s, but he preferred by nature to stay above it all and let his factional henchmen do the dirty work.

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

"That man worked fast. He was a European to his finger tips, dripping with the sophistication and facility of continental political journalism. But when it came to getting things done in a hurry and making his way around natural obstacles, he was more American than any hustler or corner-cutter I ever knew or heard about, and that covers a lot of territory.... He was a phony, but by far the most brilliant phony I ever knew. He sparkled like an Arkansas diamond."

—*The First Ten Years of American Communism*

Then there is Jay Lovestone, about whom the adjectives "maniacal" and "demonic" are most often associated. He was one of the "City College boys" who by sheer force of energy made a rapid upward move from the radical student milieu into the top echelons of the Ruthenberg faction. In the introduction to the Prometheus Research Library's book we cite Cannon's comment: "Foster remarked more than once that if Lovestone were not a Jew, he would be



USWA

the most likely candidate for leadership of a fascist movement. That was a fairly common opinion." I came across a bit of factional correspondence from the mid-1920s, which ends with the salutation "Yours 'til their scalps are dry"! If Lovestone himself was not the author, this was certainly his style.

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

Foster's later efforts in the packinghouse workers and steel workers strikes brought him national recognition, but also remember that these were done with the blessing of the AFL and there was a political price for that benediction. He tried to make peace with AFL leader Samuel Gompers, and in testimony before the U.S. Senate after the 1919 steel strike, he affirmed the fact that he had bought U.S. war bonds in World War I! (In fact he holds the dubious distinction to be perhaps the *only* Communist leader to

have done so in *both* imperialist wars!) Foster was an opportunist—he cared less about political line than what would advance his personal position at any given moment. While acknowledging Foster's career choice, to be a leader in the labor movement, Cannon noted: "Within that field he worshipped the bitch goddess of Success as much as any business man, careerist on the make, or politician in the bourgeois world."

Cannon's Fight Against Pepper

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

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

Well, how the hell could it? One gets the image of a Danish farmer dressed in a white sheet with a pound of butter in
continued on page 8



Harris & Ewing

"Progressive" Senator Robert M. La Follette's "third party" campaign was focus of "Farmer-Labor Party" fight in early CP.

Prometheus Research Library Book

James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism

Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928

The book includes:

- Extensively documented introduction
- Explanatory footnotes for Cannon's text
- 16 pages of rare historical photographs
- Glossary of names and terms with over 200 entries
- Bibliography of Cannon's works, 1912-1928
- Index

624 pages, Smyth-sewn binding

Paperback \$14.50 ISBN 0-9633828-1-0
New York State residents add 8.25% sales tax.
Shipping and handling: \$3.50

**Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Company,
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116**

American Communism...

(continued from page 7)

one hand and a red flag in the other! To be "Jeffersonian" he probably would have had a few slaves too! That this nonsense was actually published in one of the CP's magazines gives one an idea of the political confusion, and not incidentally Pepper's personal power, in the party.

Pepper's dictatorial regime and methods had made him many enemies. But most of these, Foster included, were unequal to the task of taking on Pepper. Theodore Draper, a historian of the communist movement, wrote: "For a more successful revolt against Pepper, someone closer to the top leadership and more adept at party in-fighting was needed—someone, for example, like Jim Cannon" (*American Communism and Soviet Russia* [1960]).

One has to respect Cannon's skills as a politician in this fight. He managed to broker a truce between the two warring factions in the Jewish federation. Their leaders, Bittelman and Olgin, didn't suspend their mutual animosity, but they agreed to make common cause with Cannon against Pepper. The Jewish federation was at the time the third-largest in the party and had the links to one of the party's few real union bases in the needle-trades workers in New York. Add to this support from Ludwig Lore's German federation and the Finns (who made up 45 percent of the membership—most of the Russians had gone home by this time). Despite differences between them, all parties of Cannon's bloc were agreed on one thing: get rid of Pepper.

The energetic Hungarian didn't give up easily—Cannon cites one example in a membership meeting in Chicago where the Pepper regime came under heavy fire. Despite the dangers of his illegal immigration status and his having been in the country for but a year, Pepper walked into the meeting, faced off a hostile crowd and took the floor to debate in English. However this brave performance didn't work—at the subsequent party convention in December

Wide World



Troika of Stalin (left), Kamenev (second from right) and Zinoviev (right) grabbed control of the Bolshevik Party as Lenin lay dying.

1923-January 1924, Pepper was decisively defeated and party leadership went to the Foster-Cannon bloc.

Unfortunately Pepper's politics still haunted the party, in the form of the "third party alliance"—i.e., support to the petty-bourgeois forces backing La Follette. In the introduction to our Cannon book we cite notes by Cannon from around 1959 in which he deplored this deviation from a proletarian class policy: "The bewildered party disgraced itself in this affair, and all the prominent leaders without exception, myself included, were in it up to our necks...."

Cannon then noted that Pepper had formulated what he thought was CI policy and the rest just followed. Cannon added:

"Considering the fact that Pepper had been defeated and put in the minority at the party convention, at the end of 1923, this says a lot for his resilience and continuing influence, but it doesn't say much for the rest of us."

Following intervention by the Communist International, the CP withdrew support from La Follette and stood Foster and Gitlow as their own candidates, directly in the name of the Workers Party.

This political muddle makes some of Cannon's material from this period difficult to comprehend—it's frankly off. But unlike Pepper, Lovestone (and later Foster), Cannon didn't wage the fight simply to achieve political power in the party for its own sake. In his own way he was groping—he wanted to root the party in its native soil and he knew that Pepper had to be overthrown for that to

be done. But his gut feelings lacked a programmatic clarity, which he did not achieve until 1928.

1924-1928: Permanent Factions and Degeneration of the CI

The period after 1924 is described by Cannon as the one of permanent factions, all three of which could not live with or without each other. The backdrop to this period is the factional struggle which broke out in the Russian CP at the time of Lenin's incapacitation by stroke and finally his death in January 1924. It's interesting to note Cannon's preoccupation with the American party during this critical period in the International. But despite geographic distance, the American CP was not immune to the effects of the degeneration of the Russian party and later the Comintern.

By early 1924, the post-World War I revolutionary wave had definitely subsided. Worse yet, the early hopes of extension of the Russian Revolution to the West were smashed by the failure of the German Communist Party to lead the fight for proletarian power when they had a ripe opportunity in late 1923. That failure, and the concomitant isolation of the young Soviet Union, paved the way for the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy. With Lenin's death in January 1924, the fight for the succession of leadership in the Soviet state was on in deadly earnest.

The triumvirate of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin, representing the interests of the emerging bureaucracy, crushed the Trotskyist opposition at the 13th Party Conference in January 1924. As we wrote in "When Was the Soviet Thermidor?" (*Spartacist* No. 43-44, Summer 1989): "After January 1924, the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled, and the purposes for which the USSR was ruled had all changed." This was reflected internationally through the Comintern—what Zinoviev had boasted to be the "General Staff of the World Revolution" increasingly became merely an adjunct to the conservative, bureaucratic Soviet Foreign Ministry. With Stalin's pronouncement of "Socialism in One Country" in late 1924, the international Communist parties were instructed not to make their own revolutions, but rather to defend the status quo. This really meant "defense" of the Stalinist perversion of "socialism" in Russia by appeasing their own bourgeoisies. (Later on this Stalinist program became known as the politics of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.)

In 1925, at the fourth convention of the Workers Party the CI sent one "Gusev" as an "impartial" representative. Gusev was an Old Bolshevik, and one particularly embittered against Trotsky. Though that question did not *openly* play a role, it was a fact that Gusev favored the Ruthenberg/Lovestone faction against Foster/Cannon. There were at this point few actual *political differences* between the factions—but the question of party leadership and control was nonetheless real.

Nominally, this was decided by the delegates—and the Foster/Cannon bloc had a clear majority. But the minority had an ace in the hole—Gusev had a cable from Moscow which declared that the Ruthenberg group was more loyal to

its views. This put Foster in a bind—he had a formal majority of the delegates, but the CI had given its blessings to the minority. During the wranglings over the composition of the new Central Committee, Foster blew up and in essence told Gusev, the Comintern's rep, to go to hell. At this point the Foster/Cannon bloc itself split wide open. Cannon disassociated himself from Foster because he saw correctly that the only basis upon which Foster could rally forces would be in opposition to the Comintern itself. Regardless of the injustice of the CI's interference, this was one step Cannon refused to take. Hence for the first time, the CI overturned the mandate of the American party's own convention and turned the leadership over to its chosen faction. It wouldn't be the last time.

The period between 1924 and 1928 was not a comfortable one for Cannon. The party remained divided into three factions (Foster, Cannon/Dunne, and Ruthenberg/Lovestone) which had few substantive political differences. It was at this point, as reflected in Cannon's writings, that he attempted to unify



Mansell Collection
Known as John Pepper, Hungarian Communist Joseph Pogany (left) became leader of the American CP's right wing. Bela Kun is on right.

the party. He wanted to eliminate the factional morass into which the party had fallen, and contradictory as it may sound, he organized a faction to end factionalism.

One escape Cannon had from the factional struggle, and one which corresponded to his deeply felt convictions, was to fight for and organize the International Labor Defense (ILD). It is important for us because it provided the model of non-sectarian labor defense upon which the Partisan Defense Committee is based today. Cannon threw himself into this work and was justifiably proud of the ILD's campaigns, such as those in defense of the anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti. The ILD originated in Cannon's talks with Bill Haywood in Moscow in 1925, when they were both worried about class-war prisoners, such as the IWW members ("Wobblies"), still languishing in jail. Cannon took offense when Theodore Draper suggested that the ILD was part of the factional maneuvers of the 1920s. Cannon insisted that he fought to keep the factionalism in the party out of the ILD. Max Shachtman and Martin Abern were Cannon's collaborators in the ILD, and they did go with Cannon when he was expelled from the CP for "Trotskyism" in 1928. But all three had been doing ILD work years

Meet the Spartacus Youth Club

reprinted from the *Daily Californian*, campus newspaper at the University of California, Berkeley

THE DAILY CALIFORNIAN
Fall Orientation 1993

Groups offer a unique niche

BY NICHOLAS MARSHON

Students are looking for a place to belong, a place where they can meet and talk to people who share their interests. The Spartacus Youth Club is one of the many groups that offer a unique niche for students.

The Spartacus Youth Club is a group of students who are interested in social and political issues. They meet regularly to discuss current events and to plan activities. The club is open to all students and is a great place to meet new people.

Other groups on campus include the Chess Club, the Debate Team, and the Student Government. Each group offers a different way for students to get involved in campus life.

For more information about these groups, visit the Student Center or contact the group leaders.

Spartacus Youth Club
"Hi Joe Freshman, we're the communists on campus," said Spartacus member Brad Daniels with a laugh. If you're ever going to explore the alternate to capitalism, college is the time to do it.

For Daniels, Spartacus was the answer to questions raised by the Gulf War. By explaining the materialist perspective on the war, "only Marxists could make sense of it," he said.

The group puts on the "Fundamentals of Marxism" class for the public most semesters, and is starting a reading circle on Saturdays at its Oakland office where people can sit and debate over an issue of the *Workers Vanguard*.

Named after the slave who started a Roman slave uprising, the group champions what it considers working class causes, most recently by helping to defend abortion clinics against Operation Rescue and picketing Denny's for allegedly racist practices. These prominent actions may help to explain why the group's membership has doubled in the last six months.

For member Skye White, Spartacus offers an alternative to special interest groups that work exclusively on single issues. Instead, the group presents a complete political program, and if change could ever happen, she said, "communism would do it if anybody could."

before the idea of joining with Trotsky was posed.

Cannon: The Founder of American Trotskyism

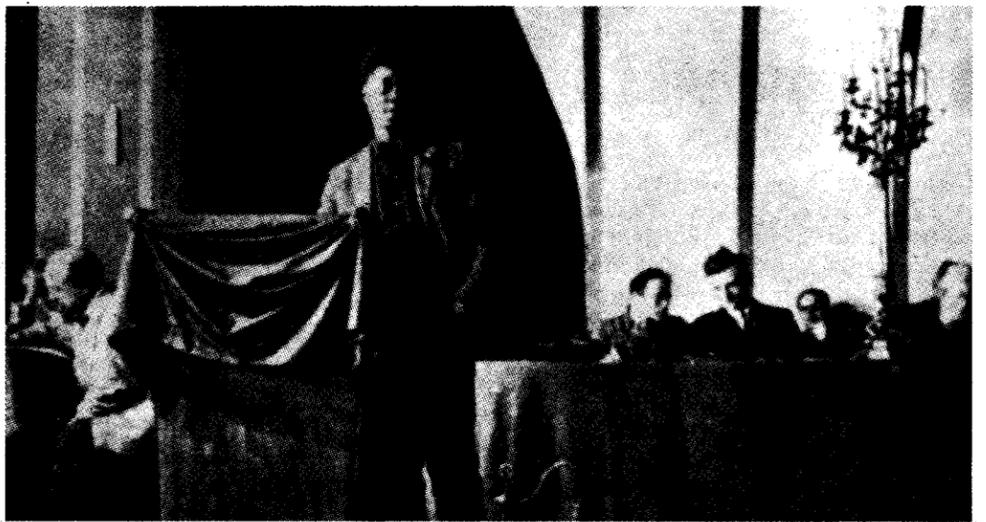
Cannon put party unity ahead of his own interests. He had a sympathetic base of support in the party, for a lot of the rank-and-file members wanted an end to the mindless factional warfare. The problem was that Ruthenberg died rather suddenly in March 1927 and all the factionalism blew up again. Lovestone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

What Cannon lacked at that time was a political program—and he found it somewhat by accident. Initially he didn't want to attend the Sixth Congress of the CI in Moscow, but his factional partners prevailed upon him. The rest, as they say, is history. Having accidentally been placed upon the Program Commission, Cannon, and the Canadian Maurice Spector, were able to read excerpts of Trotsky's critique of the draft program of the Comintern (now known to us as



Labor Defender

James P. Cannon (left) emphasized that Russian Bolshevik leadership awakened the American party to strategic role of black struggle in U.S. Black poet Claude McKay (right) speaking at Fourth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow.



Wide World

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

In 1928, when others were adapting their careers to Stalinism, or quitting the party and becoming anti-communists, Cannon made another choice:

"I had been gradually settling down into an assured position as a party offi-

cial with an office and staff, a position that I could easily maintain—as long as I kept within definite limits and rules which I knew all about, and conducted myself with the facility and skill which had become almost second nature to me in the long drawn-out factional fights.

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

"I never deceived myself for a moment about the most probable consequences of my decision to support Trotsky in the summer of 1928. I knew it was going to cost me my head and also my swivel chair, but I thought: What the hell—better men than I have risked their heads and their swivel chairs for truth and justice. Trotsky and his associates were doing it at that very moment in the exile camps and prisons of the Soviet Union. It was no more than right that one man, however limited his qualifications, should remember what he started out in his youth to fight for, and speak out for their cause and try to make the world hear, or at least to let

the exiled and imprisoned Russian Oppositionists know that they had found a new friend and supporter.... I have always thought of this as one of the most gratifying aspects of the historic fight we undertook in 1928—that the news of our fight reached the Russian comrades in all corners of the prisons and exile camps, inspiring them with new hope and new energy to persevere in the struggle."

—*The First Ten Years of American Communism*

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



Wide World

Leon Trotsky addressing Fourth Congress of Comintern in 1922.

Spartacist Events

Spartacist League Forums

New World Disorder and the Collapse of Stalinism Cuba in Peril

Bureaucratic Castro Regime at a Dead End— Defend Cuba Against Imperialism and Counterrevolution!

Eyewitness account—Speakers recently returned from Cuba

Jan Norden, editor *Workers Vanguard*, SL Central Committee

Friday, Sept. 10, 7:00 p.m.

602 Hamilton Hall
Columbia University

For more information: (212) 267-1025
(#1 or #9 train to 116th St. & Bway.)

NEW YORK CITY

Marjorie Stamberg,
SL Central Committee

Saturday, Sept. 25, 2:00 p.m.

Undergraduate Library Lecture Room
Howard University

For more information: (202) 872-8240

WASHINGTON, D.C.



WV Photo

July 17: Militants defend San Mateo, California abortion clinic.

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

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

The Fight for Abortion Rights

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

Speaker: Diana Coleman, Spartacist League

Monday, September 13, 12 noon

For more information: (415) 777-9367

Student Union Room B116

San Francisco State University

SAN FRANCISCO

Meet the Spartacus Youth Club

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

For more information: (617) 492-3928

Freshman Union, Reading Room

Harvard University

BOSTON

From the Bay Area to Berlin For Workers Struggle Against Anti-Immigrant Racism

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, SL Central Committee

Friday, September 24, 7:30 p.m.

For more information: (510) 839-0851 or (415) 777-9367

145 Dwinelle

University of California, Berkeley

BERKELEY

"Idiot International"...

(continued from page 5)

(LCR) of Alain Krivine last December. A split in the JCR leadership took a small portion back toward the LCR, while the dominant group had already hooked up with the "International Trotskyist Opposition" (ITO) in the USec, a three-cornered lash-up of Elliott's JCR with the Italian union bureaucrat and perennial underground USec "opponent" Franco Grisolia and the U.S. "Trotskyist League" of Peter Sollenberger (see "The New Anti-Spartacists" and "Swamp Things: Combined and Uneven Developments in the USec," WV No. 562, 30 October 1992).

Recently, Elliott has developed a liaison with the reformist, London-based Militant tendency. Seeing an opportunity in the latter's success in mobilizing youth in anti-fascist demonstrations, this quicker-than-the-eye maneuverer applied for the French franchise of the Militant's front group, Youth Against Racism in Europe. Recently a Paris publication of Elliott's Algerian comrades announced that the JCR seek "to achieve a revolutionary regroupment between the left wing of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the Committee for a Workers International ('Militant')."

Far from revolutionary internationalism, this announced marriage of convenience between practiced opportunists has deep national fault lines. While Militant, led by Peter Taaffe since an April 1992 split with its historic leader Ted Grant, has exited the British Labour Party after decades of deep, seemingly bottomless entry, it has not left behind its Labourite politics. Thus these "anti-fascists" call on the capitalist state to ban the fascists, and are notorious for wanting to bring the police into the trade unions! And Elliott, after posturing to the left in the USec and then rubbing shoulders with the "red-brown" coalition, is now joining with an organization which frankly supported Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary bid for power in August 1991 that led to the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

* * *

The following article, titled "The JCR and the 'Red-Brown' Coalition French Style," is translated from *Le Bolchévique* No. 124, July-August 1993, published by our comrades of the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*.

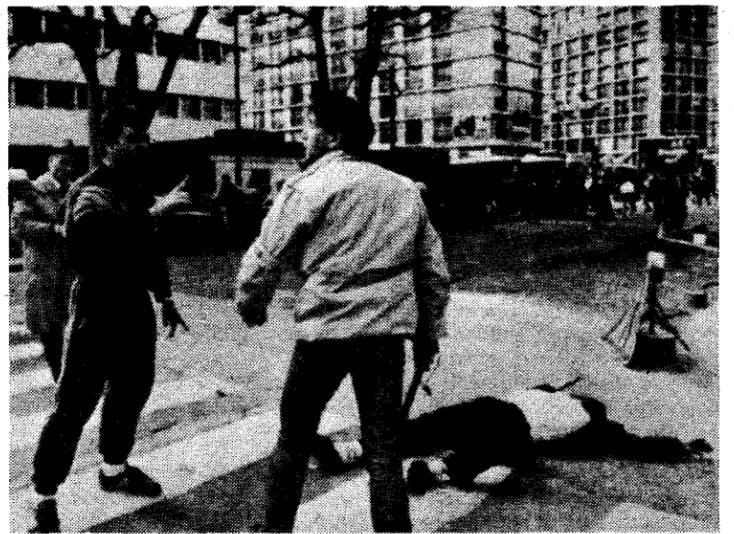
A petition is circulating calling "For Lifting the Embargo Against Yugoslavia—For the Withdrawal of UN Troops." It is signed by the JCR-*L'Egalité* (the LCR's former youth organization which was expelled by Krivine), the cowards of Prométhée (who deserted our ranks in 1989 when we proposed to organize international brigades for Afghanistan against the reactionary mullahs) and the so-called "International Trotskyist Opposition" (ITO) in Mandel's United Secretariat (USec). What unites all these pseudo-Trotskyists is their virulent anti-Spartacism. But there is another signature at the bottom of that petition, the signature of Marc Cohen, as editor in chief of *L'Idiot International*! No JCR member who truly wants to be a revolutionary communist should tolerate such a disgrace.

Idiot International is the meeting place of an entire shady and pernicious milieu where corrupt "intellectuals" of the Communist Party (PCF) crawl into bed with fascists and reactionaries of all stripes. What brings them together is their virulent chauvinism exacerbated by the interimperialist rivalries in the "New World Order." Thus as "advisers" to Marc Cohen, who is also a prominent member of the PCF, we find the royalist Thierry Ardisson, the insane anti-Communist Arrabal, and even Edward Limonov. This Great Russian chauvinist, who contributed to *Révolution* (the

French fascist Le Pen, leader of National Front, spews genocidal racism; his thugs beat immigrant workers in Marseille, April 1987.



AFF



AP

PCF's weekly magazine) and then went over to *Le Choc du Mois* (a pro-Le Pen monthly), defines himself as a "national-communist"! He is shown in *Le Choc du Mois* fighting with the Russian-speaking militias against the Moldavians and on the side of the Serbian Chetniks against the Croats and the Bosnians. Limonov is the spokesman in France for Vladimir Zhirinovsky (the leader of the Russian far-right-wing "Democratic Liberal Party"), and one of the representatives of the revolting and aggressively anti-Semitic and nationalistic "red-brown" coalition (between Stalinist leftovers, monarchists and fascists). *Idiot International* is also known to welcome articles by Jacques Vergès, the anti-Semitic lawyer who defended Klaus Barbie, the Nazi "Butcher of Lyon."

The media are widely reporting on what *Libération* calls the "National-Bolshevik galaxy" developing around *Idiot International* in the universe of

Monde, 29 June 1991). This individual (with whom Marchais, lacking fellow travelers, dared appear publicly for a while before taking his distance), distinguished himself in a characteristically sinister and disgusting manner. He was the middleman between Castro and Le Pen in organizing the trip of this fascist leader to Cuba. The trip was canceled at the last minute. Two leaders of the National Front explained that Le Pen had decided to take this trip "on the advice of his friend, the writer Jean-Edern Hallier" (*Le Monde*, 18 May). On 20 June 1991, Hallier had declared to *National Hebdo*, Le Pen's newspaper, "I have a lot of personal sympathy for Le Pen...he is sensitive, humane.... I think that if we love and encourage him he can succeed [in becoming president of France]. He has the stature of Yeltsin and Walesa."

What do the leaders of the JCR say about Hallier? They wrote an article

Nogues/Sygma



L'Humanité editor Roland Leroy (left) and PCF general secretary Georges Marchais (right). Black immigrants' hostel bulldozed by Stalinist mayor of Paris suburb Vitry in 1980, fuelling anti-immigrant racism.



Atlan/Sygma

the "new world disorder." The anti-communist scribblers are delighted to identify communism with fascism. Some JCR members justify their bloc with *Idiot International* by saying that Marc Cohen belongs to the PCF. But what has somebody like Marc Cohen or Jean-Paul Cruse to do with communism, let alone the workers movement? These pseudo-"communist" pseudo-"intellectuals" have pushed the logic of the PCF's social-chauvinism to its ultimate anti-communist conclusion by allying themselves with the fascists, the most consistent nationalists. They are the "Doriot faction" of the PCF. Doriot, a leader of the PCF in the 1920s and '30s, increasingly moved to fascism and in 1936 founded the French People's Party.

Jean-Edern Hallier, founder and editorialist of *Idiot International*, gave the line: "Reconcile Doriot and Thorez" (*Le*

about him in the June issue of their monthly paper [*L'Egalité*] concerning the sordid dispute between Hallier and [prominent Mitterrandist businessman-politician] Tapie, entitled "Let's Save (!) Jean-Edern." What disgusting chumminess toward Le Pen's friend! *L'Egalité* continues: "He is indeed a troublemaker, which is not necessarily unpleasant in a world which is, in the final analysis, very conformist." Did someone say nauseating?

But the JCR leadership do not limit themselves to signing petitions with *Idiot International*. Thus the June issue of *Idiot International* contains an unusual signature: that of Damien Elliott, head of the JCR, who provides a "contribution" (next to an article by a pro-Chevènement leader, who later disavowed his participation in this rag), to the "debate" launched by Jean-Paul

Cruse. In the previous issue Cruse had published an article calling for nothing less than a "national front" (!) in which "Pasqua, Chevènement, the Communists and the ultranationalists" would get together and create a "red-brown" coalition French style, based on defense of the interests of imperialist France against its competitors. He extols "the grandeur of nations against the Balkanization of the world under the orders of Wall Street, international Zionism, the Frankfurt stock market and the dwarfs of Tokyo."

To debate in the columns of *Idiot International* with such scum is obscene in itself for somebody claiming to be Trotskyist. But what does Elliott say about Cruse's chauvinistic stench, his anti-Semitism and anti-Japanese racism? Nothing! Not a word either against his appeal for an "authoritarian policy to put the country back on the rails," or his declaration that "the problems of immigration, lawlessness, unemployment and urban crime are indeed linked," or against his denunciation of "anti-racist racism," let alone his general national-"communism"! No, Elliott polemicizes against Cruse as if he were an ordinary supporter of popular-frontism who is only trying to "outfit class collaboration in new colors." Incidentally, Elliott "polemicizes" in extremely courteous terms. After giving Cruse credit for his declaration that "the old left's ass is bare," Elliott criticizes him for "not taking conclusions to the end": "Cruse has a difference with Rocard over whether or not to talk about a 'left,' but alas [!], does not talk about class struggle more than he does." Or: "Cruse's provocative will [!] unfortunately [!] leads him to breed illusions [!] concerning the period of decolonization that would have had 'the red flag flirt with the Cross of Lorraine [the Gaullist symbol].'" And so on, ad nauseam.

The winds of the imperialist campaign over the supposed "death of communism" as well as the rising tide of racism and nationalism throughout Europe have caused the JCR leadership, which has never navigated according to a Trotskyist program—or any proletarian principles at all—to drift into increasingly murky waters. On the Balkans, the JCR leadership began by howling with the imperialist wolves in defense of Bosnia, just as it had joined them on Yeltsin's barricades in August 1991 in Moscow. Thus, its monthly *L'Egalité* (December 1992) offered up a "workers" version of "solidarity with the Bosnians" (the battle cry for imperialist military intervention against the Serbian forces), calling on the workers "to organize solidarity, above all with the Bosnian workers." But it quickly became clear that the imperialists had scant desire to get further entangled in the bloody Balkan quagmire. Confronted with our Trotskyist criticism of its capitulations to social democracy and imperialism, the JCR leadership could, for the benefit of its base, henceforth posture as "anti-imperialists" by opposing military intervention—since an influential faction of the bourgeoisie opposed it, especially in France, the former imperialist patron of Serbia!

The pro-Serbian-nationalist *Idiot International* aspires to be the best defender of the interests of France against its

Somalia...

(continued from page 1)

over 30,000 fighters for the national liberation struggle against American imperialism!

In a new colonial occupation, the U.S./UN troops have wantonly terrorized the people of this small black African country. In mid-July, U.S. helicopter gunships killed over 70 and wounded over 200 people as they demolished a building complex in Mogadishu. A visiting Kenyan witnessed Belgian troops chanting "white power" and manhandling Somali women and children. A report by the London-based Africa Rights group documents that the UN "peacekeepers" have killed unarmed civilians, forced the relocation of Mogadishu residents and demolished their homes. And it emphasizes: "These are not cases of undisciplined actions by individual soldiers, but stem from the highest echelons of the command structure" (London *Independent*, 30 July).

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



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

imperialist rivals. And it is not surprising that, in the appeal signed by Cohen, the JCR and cohorts, the only imperialist power mentioned is the traditional rival of France (among others in the region): Germany! During the imperialist aggression against Iraq, we called for sinking Mitterrand and Bush in the Gulf. In contrast, Cohen and the ultrachauvinists of the PCF, along with Marchais and Chevènement—but also along with Hallier and the fascists—condemned the French intervention in the name of better defending the interests of French imperialism against submission to U.S. imperialism. Thus the JCR leadership, despite a markedly left posture but with no real class line, maneuvered with the youth organization of Chevènement-

Der Spiegel
U.S. colonial occupation troops terrorize Somali population.



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

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

When lame-duck president Bush first sent American forces into Somalia last December under the guise of ensuring food aid to the famine-stricken country, much of the left went along with the "humanitarian" scam, usually with the refrain that the U.S. should deliver "bread not bullets." At the time the Spartacist League stated that "behind this feigned concern by the racist American rulers for starving black Africans is the sinister reality of U.S. imperialism, which is using the famine in Somalia to justify direct military intervention in Africa"

(WV No. 565, 11 December 1992).

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

Thus Senate Republican leader Bob Dole argues that the U.S. has "gotten away from our original mission" and that the time "may be close" for withdrawing American troops. By contrast, his Democratic counterpart in the House, Thomas Foley, is calling for a blood feud against the Somali warlord who has to date successfully defied and even a little bloodied the U.S. cops of the world: "We shouldn't allow this cat-and-mouse game to go on in which Americans take casualties and Aidid escapes capture."

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

is talking of sending American troops into the killing fields of Bosnia, where they will face rather more formidable military forces. He has pledged that the U.S. will provide most of the 30,000 or so new UN troops to enforce a "peace agreement," assuming the Bosnian Serbs, Croats and Muslims can agree to one.

And if the American imperial president vowed bloody vengeance when just four U.S. soldiers were killed in Somalia, what will happen if a hundred times that number are wiped out by any of the three battle-hardened (and kill-crazed) armies contending in Bosnia? America's rulers—who, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, believe themselves masters of a "New World Order"—are perfectly capable of terror-bombing Belgrade if Bosnian Serb militias attack the U.S./UN "peacekeepers."

The American capitalist state is seeking to play the role of global gendarme with a debt-ridden financial structure and an obsolete industrial base as its rivalry with the German Fourth Reich and Japan Inc. intensifies. This makes the U.S. ruling class even more dangerous, even more willing to bomb foreign capitals, to occupy small Third World countries and to assassinate anyone who defies them. U.S. imperialism keep your bloody hands off the world! ■

Déroulède. And, during the [March 1993] legislative elections, their electoral platform was nothing but bourgeois protectionism, calling for a "break with the logic of Maastricht and the ultimatum of the EEC" and for a "state monopoly of foreign trade" in the framework of capitalism!

Quite logically, at the same time that he put together a bloc with *Idiot International* and debated with the champions of the "red-brown" coalition in French colors, Damien Elliott excluded us Trotskyists from his meetings on June 11 and June 19. Obviously, this cynical manipulator cannot let us expose his sordid maneuvers and unmask the "revolutionary" airs that he occasionally adopts (between intrigues with *Idiot International!*) for the benefit of those youth who want to struggle against chauvinism, racism and fascism and against the capitalist system which breeds this barbarism.

Last May, a three-year member of the JCR-*L'Egalité* resigned from that organization. In her resignation letter, which reduced to nil the (few) internationalist and anti-racist pretenses of the JCR leadership, she wrote:

"One must not hesitate to denounce and fight against one's own imperialism, and fight to build the party of international proletarian revolution. But the JCR seems more inclined to carry out a reformist policy.... The JCR do not want to destroy the bourgeois state and prefer simply to pressure it. Thus they demand a capitalism with a human face, more social, less racist, less sexist, etc., but raise neither the question of socialist revolution nor the party.... Tired of the policy of class collaboration, tactical

or not, I am quitting the JCR to join the LTF which was able to give me the political answers that I expected from the JCR."

This letter was written before the shameless ignominy committed by the rapidly rightward-moving JCR leadership was known to us. Those JCR members who do not want to become the waterboys of the likes of Jean-Edern Hallier or Marc Cohen should quickly break with Damien Elliott and his ilk, who, between the alternatives of socialism and barbarism, seem to be leaning toward the latter. Since the very beginning, and at each step, we have warned the members of the JCR who really wanted to be revolutionaries and denounced the capitulations of their leadership, counterposing to it the unstained Trotskyist program on which we, and we alone, are fighting. Today more than ever we call on these comrades to join our struggle. ■

KAL 007...

(continued from page 4)

taken the plane even further away from Sakhalin.

And ironically, the ICAO's analysis flatly contradicts the analysis contained in the documents released by Yeltsin. Those documents claimed the DFDR tape shows a constant magnetic heading of 249 degrees, not 245, a huge discrepancy which translates into more than 200 miles over Sakhalin. The ICAO does not even mention this discrepancy, let alone explain it.

The ICAO report was a political compromise so that, as Richard Witkin noted in the *New York Times* (16 June), "all four nations involved in the downing could find satisfaction." The Russians could (rightfully) say their military officers "did not knowingly cause the deaths of innocent civilians"; the Japanese could say that even though they were tracking the plane on their radar, "they were not aware that it was a civil aircraft off its intended track"; the South Koreans could take comfort in statistics about previous instances of pilots making such "errors"; and above all, the U.S. could claim that they "were not aware in real time" that the aircraft was straying." Still, the *Times'* editor evidently couldn't resist getting a last dig in with the misleading headline, "Downing of K.A.L. 007 Laid to Russian Error."

But the whitewash won't wash. All the evidence of the past decade has reinforced the essentials presented by Soviet Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov at his famous press conference of 9 September 1983, complete with a giant map of KAL 007's twisting flight path. "It has been proved irrefutably," Ogarkov said, "that the intrusion of the plane... was a deliberate, thoroughly planned intelligence operation. It was directed from certain centers in the territory of the United States and Japan. A civilian plane was chosen for it deliberately, disregarding or, possibly, counting on the loss of human life." Ogarkov's press conference has become a "blank space" in Yeltsinite history, but in the end the truth will out. And we will continue to do our part getting the truth out. ■

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

Israel...

(continued from page 1)

reaffirmed that it is "opposed to the creation of an independent Palestinian state" and "will make no compromise on the status of Jerusalem."

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

In effect, what Israel proposes to grant is "community control" over a couple of impoverished slums. The Gaza Strip, barely larger in area than the New York City borough of Queens, is a giant concentration camp for close to a million Palestinian refugees. Jericho is a desolate village with less than 20,000 inhabitants, no industry and 50 percent unemployment. The elected Palestinian council which is to implement "self-rule" in these areas would have control over little more than garbage collection. Like the South African "bantustans," which were intended to be militarized reservations to hold black laborers and "surplus" (unemployed) population under the control of black flunkys of the apartheid regime, even the structure and composition of this bogus "self-rule" will be determined by the Israeli occupiers.

The hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who have languished in squalid refugee camps in Jordan and Lebanon since they were driven from their homes by Zionist terror in 1947-48 would be abandoned entirely. The two million Palestinians who live in the West Bank and Gaza, forced to subsist on little more than United Nations relief packages



Cambio 16



Arzt/AP

PLO head Yasir Arafat (left) signs on to police Palestinian masses of the Occupied Territories on behalf of Zionist butcher Yitzhak Rabin (far right).

since Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin sealed off the Occupied Territories more than five months ago, would remain a destitute reservoir of super-exploited labor for Israeli construction and agriculture.

The supposed "withdrawal" of Israeli troops will involve nothing more than a redeployment away from population centers, while maintaining control over all entry points and assuring the "security" of 150,000 Zionist "settlers" whose network of settlements is a key prop of the military occupation. Armed to the teeth and led by fascist zealots, they will remain in place—including in the Gaza and Jericho areas—to continue their racist provocations against Arabs. The accord does not even rule out the construction of new settlements. We say: *All Israeli troops and settlers out of all of the Occupied Territories now!*

The draft agreement is filled with empty "empowerment" rhetoric and lawyers' language designed to assuage critics on both sides. But its essence is that in exchange for formal Israeli recognition of its existence, and promises of imperialist/oil money, the PLO will take over the job of policing the Palestinian masses. Joseph Alpher, director of Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, a think tank for the Mossad spy agency, spelled it out in an interview in the *Canadian Jewish News* (2 September): "Israeli security forces would

work closely with their Palestinian counterparts to keep order, said Alpher. 'The agreement will involve an overt liaison between them and us on security matters.' And in case there was any doubt: "The imposition of order in the Gaza Strip by a PLO-linked security force is likely to be brutal and violent, but effective, he said, adding, 'Amnesty International will have to take a vacation for a while.'"

But Arafat and Rabin still have to push this deal through. The London *Guardian* (1 September) observes that Arafat has made "a retreat so far-reaching and so contested that the real problem will be whether, having concluded such an agreement, he can enforce it or stay in office at all." "Radical" PLO groups like George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front (DFLP) have come out against the accord. And Islamic fundamentalist groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad, as well as the Syrian-sponsored PFLP-General Command, have warned Arafat of "the fate of Sadat," the Egyptian president who was assassinated after he signed a U.S.-orchestrated peace treaty with Israel in 1978.

Meanwhile Zionist right-wingers crying "traitor!" mobbed Rabin's cabinet as it voted on the proposal last Monday. Likud opposition leader Binyamin Netanyahu led a delegation to Jericho after the accord was announced, demonstratively planting Israeli flags outside the house which is supposed to become Arafat's new headquarters.

Whatever happens, this grotesque bargain over the subjugated Palestinian people marks a watershed in the Near East. By its act, the PLO has invited fundamentalist reactionaries like Hamas to pose as the only fighters against the Zionist occupation. Petty-bourgeois Arab nationalism has been shown to be the bankrupt and impotent dead end that it always was. The only just resolution to the interminable and bloody nationalist conflicts in the region remains joint revolutionary struggle of the Hebrew-speaking and Arab toilers to sweep away all the exploiters and oppressors and forge a socialist federation of the Near East.

Pax Americana in the Near East

What stands behind the American-orchestrated "peace" in the Near East, just like the neo-apartheid rapprochement between Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and the racist South African regime, is the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. Under the headline, "As Much as Anything, Cold War's End Fostered Israel-PLO Deal," the *Washington Post* (1 September) noted:

"The collapse of the Soviet Union, and with it the political and military backing of Moscow and the East Bloc, robbed the PLO of virtually all its outside means of support. The Persian Gulf War deprived the PLO of a potentially powerful Arab ally in Iraq...and made it fashionable for Arab governments to turn their backs on the PLO."

So long as the Soviet degenerated workers state existed as a counterweight

to U.S. imperialism, this allowed petty-bourgeois nationalists like the PLO and ANC and the bourgeoisies of the semi-colonial countries to jockey for position between the two "superpowers." Ironically, former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev's last act on behalf of imperialism before being turfed out and replaced by Boris Yeltsin was to give a green light for the invasion of Iraq. Now faced with a "one superpower" world, the various nationalist movements see no option but to go begging hat in hand for any crumbs the U.S. is willing to dispense.

Seizing on Arafat's verbal opposition to the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, the oil-rich Gulf feudal regimes cut the PLO off without a penny, causing its revenues to plunge from nearly \$500 million a year to less than a tenth that. Added to the PLO's loss of support on the ground to "rejectionist" groups—notably the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, with whom the "Marxist" PFLP has formed an ignominious alliance—this was leading to a virtual mutiny against Arafat. Last month the PLO negotiating team in the Washington "peace" talks demonstratively offered their resignations as a statement of opposition to Arafat, and the PLO military commander in Lebanon openly called for Arafat's ouster.

The immediate precursor to the agreement is the Israeli *blitzkrieg* invasion of Lebanon two months ago. Ostensibly aimed at silencing a handful of Hezbollah guerrilla mortar units, Israeli tank columns and warplanes virtually depopulated the southern third of Lebanon, forcing close to a half million people to leave bombed-out homes and flee to Beirut. While Syrian president Hafez al-Assad stood by and watched his Lebanese clients take a beating, Clinton orchestrated a cease-fire based on Syrian assurances that it would police the Hezbollah. This was a statement to the PLO, if any were needed, that it could not rely on Syria's backing in pushing for a better deal with the Zionist state.

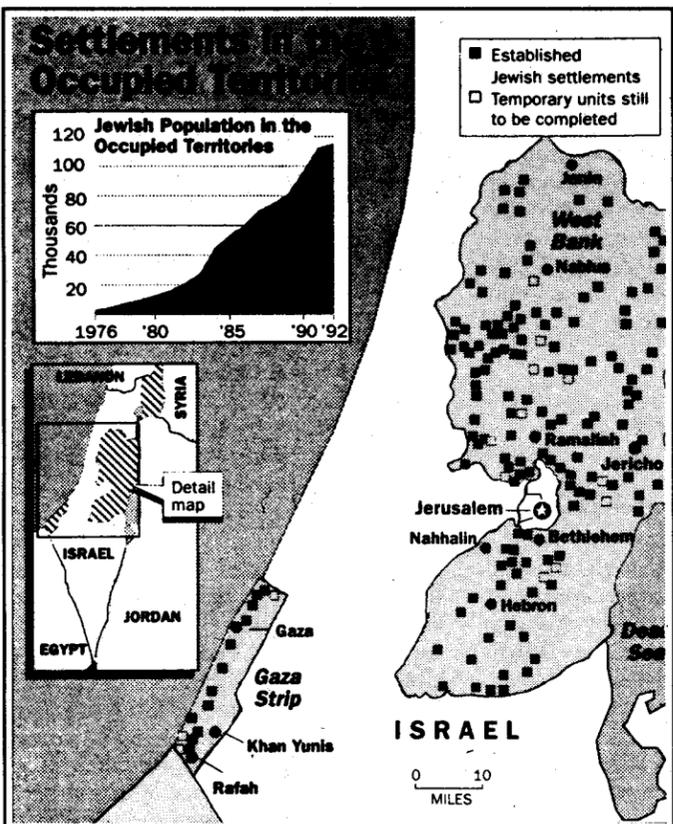
Despite grouching by Syria and Jordan that they were left out in the cold by the PLO's secret talks with Israel, both countries have been busily negotiating their own agreements with the Zionist regime. Jordan claims to have an accord which is simply waiting to be signed. Assad has reportedly reached a deal with Israel which will acknowledge Syrian "sovereignty" over the Golan Heights in exchange for recognition of the Zionist state (i.e., an end to even the most lukewarm support to Palestinian resistance groups). This would leave "hardline" groups who look to Damascus, like the PFLP and DFLP, out in the cold.

PLO: From "People's War" to Palestinian "Judenrat"

This deal carries to a conclusion the impotent logic of the PLO's petty-bourgeois nationalism, which counseled reliance first on the Arab bourgeoisies of the region and then on the "good offices" of U.S. imperialism. Despite the PLO's talk of "people's war" in the late '60s and early '70s, the Palestinians have never had either the social weight or the military strength to take on the nuclear-



Cohen/JB Pictures



armed Zionist Goliath.

For all the talk of "pan-Arab unity," the bourgeois Arab rulers are no less hostile to the national aspirations of the Palestinians than are the Zionists. In the 1936-39 Palestinian uprising against the British colonial rulers and their (then) Zionist lackeys, the Mufti of Jerusalem, head of one of the leading Palestinian clans, betrayed the struggle in collusion with the neighboring neocolonial Arab rulers. And in 1948, the Jordanian Hashemite rulers struck a deal with the Zionists to carve up Palestine at the expense of the Palestinians.

This nationalist backstabbing was brutally demonstrated in the 1970 "Black September" massacre, as Jordan's King Hussein (with the acquiescence of then Egyptian president and "pan-Arabist" idol Nasser) unleashed a bloodbath against the Palestinian resistance forces, forcing them to move their headquarters to Lebanon and seek protection from so-called "rejectionist" regimes like Iraq and Syria. During the Lebanese civil war of 1975-76, Assad dealt with the Palestinian forces there no less ruthlessly than had Hussein in Jordan. And when Israel launched its massive invasion of Lebanon in 1982, culminating in the horrendous massacre of 1,300 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, all the Arab regimes turned a blind eye. Arafat, in turn, appealed for protection to the American and French imperialists, who disarmed his fighters and laid the basis for the massacre.

Intent on conciliating its feudal and bonapartist paymasters, Arafat's PLO progressively lowered its sights. Having in 1971 affirmed its opposition "to the establishment of a Palestinian state on any part of the Palestinian Homeland," three years later the PLO came out for a West Bank "mini-state" (see "From the 'Arab Revolution' to Pax Americana," WV No. 335, 29 July 1983). At the time, this was posed as a transitional step toward a "democratic, secular Palestine." But by 1988, the PLO formally abandoned this pretense and accepted the existence of the Zionist state. Now Arafat has agreed to become a tool of the



Zionist "peace" plan in action: Israel invaded southern Lebanon in July, driving half a million Arabs from their homes, to get Syria to clamp down on Hezbollah guerrillas.

Zionist oppressors. It is indicative of his new status that the Israelis have promised to guarantee his "security" if the PLO leader moves to Jericho.

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

For Trotskyist Parties in the Near East!

Genuine self-determination for the Palestinian people is impossible without

the dismantling of both the Zionist state of Israel, whose very existence is premised on the oppression of the Palestinian people, and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, whose population is over 60 percent Palestinian. But unlike various "leftist" enthusiasts for Arab nationalism, we have always insisted that national emancipation for the Palestinians could not come at the expense of the right to national existence of the Hebrew-speaking people. Given the *interpenetration* of the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab populations—two peoples laying claim to the same territory—the only just resolution to the national question lies in the revolutionary overthrow of all the bourgeois regimes in the region. Only through the creation of a planned economy in a socialist federation of the Near East can conflicting claims over land and water

be equitably resolved and all languages, religions and cultures be placed on an equal footing.

As elsewhere, Stalinism bears direct responsibility for the horrific situation in the Near East today. Tailing alternately (and sometimes simultaneously!) after Zionism and Arab nationalism, the Stalinists subordinated the proletariat's class struggle to the dictates of one or another bourgeois ruler. Today, the Palestinian Communists, who historically have had a sizable base among the working people of the West Bank, are an integral part of Arafat's PLO, while the Israeli CP (whose membership is overwhelmingly composed of Arabs) is a loyal supporter of the Rabin government.

Largely because of their forced diaspora, the Palestinian working people and intelligentsia are among the most cosmopolitan in the region. It is a crime indeed that they are increasingly being driven into the arms of fundamentalist reactionaries like Hamas who preach religious obscurantism, anti-Jewish racism and enslavement of women. If a section of Palestinian militants can be won to a Trotskyist party on the basis of a Marxist understanding that *all* the bourgeoisies and would-be bourgeois are their enemies, that the working class—be it Arabic, Coptic, Kurdish or Hebrew—is the only agency for social and national liberation, then they can genuinely be the vanguard of the liberation not only of the oppressed Palestinians but of all the toilers of the region.

The only road forward is that of permanent revolution—that in the semi-colonial countries in the imperialist epoch only the proletariat in power can carry through the tasks historically associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolution, assuring national emancipation for all the myriad oppressed minorities throughout the Near East, by ending the exploitation of the working masses and opening the road to socialist development. The key lies in the forging of genuinely Leninist, *internationalist* revolutionary parties. ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 3)

The seditious conspiracy acts have been used sparingly in the past 30 years—successfully in the 1980 prosecution of five Puerto Ricans accused of supporting the nationalist FALN; and unsuccessfully in the 1988 prosecution of 13 white-supremacists in Arkansas. The case with which the Reagan/Bush "Justice" Department hoped to win widespread acceptance for the revival of sedition prosecutions was the vendetta against the New Left radicals known as the "Ohio Seven," most of whom were already sentenced to decades in jail under RICO. In 1989 the feds' sedition prosecution of three of the Ohio Seven was spiked by a Springfield, Massachusetts jury. But now, to liberal applause, Clinton is reviving the kind of McCarthyite sedition prosecutions Reagan and Bush were pushing for.

"Seditious conspiracy" laws so blatantly violate First Amendment rights of free expression that they have been virtually impossible to implement except in times of war hysteria. With U.S. troops occupying Somalia, Clinton ordering terror bombing of Iraq, and Reno unleashing a holocaust in Waco, the imperialist rulers in Washington are repeatedly lashing out with military adventures.

Now Clinton and Reno promise to step up their repressive measures. Last week Louis Freeh was sworn in as new FBI chief. According to the *New York Times* (5 September), Freeh was welcomed into the political police fraternity as one who is "steeped in the F.B.I.'s paramilitary culture," placing a review of "counter-terrorism" operations high on his list of priorities to make sure the FBI is

moving "as aggressively as the law and its resources allow."

That "law" is the FBI's Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines, enacted in 1983, which equate leftist political opposition to the government with "terrorism." The Guidelines target speech, advocacy and political program as the basis for an FBI "investigation." The FBI's then-director William Webster bluntly explained that groups which "produce propaganda, disinformation and 'legal assistance' may be even more dangerous than those who actually throw the bombs" (*New York Times*, 24 June 1982). To be labeled a terrorist by the feds is to be marked for harassment, prosecution and outright state murder—like the 38 Panthers mowed down during the FBI's COINTELPRO vendetta of the 1960s-1970s.

In 1983 the Spartacist League, supported by the Partisan Defense Committee, sued the FBI, challenging the application of the FBI guidelines to the SL. We won a settlement in which the FBI stated that the Spartacist League was not the subject of a domestic security/terrorism investigation, and recast its characterization of the SL from one which attributes to us a conspiracy to violently overthrow the U.S. government to a definition of exactly what the SL is—a Marxist political organization. That settlement represented an important victory for the whole of the left and workers movement. But as SL general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein stated at the time, "We have no illusion that the government's secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration or disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government."

When Soviet troops pulled out of Afghanistan in February 1989, the PDC

and its fraternal organizations around the world launched an international campaign of support for the besieged civilian population of Jalalabad, who were courageously battling the CIA's cutthroat terrorists. With the toppling of the Soviet-backed Afghan government and the subsequent destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, the U.S. has no need for its former mercenaries. And the chickens may be coming home to roost. Now the government and media have launched an anti-Arab witchhunt with dire consequences for us all. With no love lost for Sheik Rahman and his Afghan contras, we nevertheless defend them against this witchhunt prosecution,

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

* * *

We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

Partisan Defense Committee Forum

International Campaign of Protest!

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Speakers:

Wadiya Jamal

Wife of Jamal, MOVE supporter

Ray Martinez, Jr.

Member of Statewide Executive Board

SEIU Local 668

(Pennsylvania Social Services Union)*

Leonard Weinglass

Jamal's Attorney

PDC Representative

*Organization listed for identification only.

Featuring a video of Jamal speaking from Huntingdon's death row

Friday, October 1, 7 p.m.

P.S. 41

116 W. 11th Street
(at 6th Ave.)

For more information: (212) 406-4252

NEW YORK CITY

**Stop Racist "Legal" Lynchings!
Abolish the Death Penalty!**

"Open the Borders" A Liberal Utopian Slogan

The desperate efforts of Third World people to get into North America and West Europe in any way they can reflects the systematic looting and impoverishment of Latin America, Asia and Africa by the rulers of the advanced capitalist countries. At the same time, immigrant workers serve as a pool of cheap, often superexploited labor in the imperialist centers themselves. Now the masters of Wall Street and the European Community are whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria to divert popular struggle against the deteriorating economic conditions throughout the Western capitalist world.

There can be no progressive or rational immigration policy under capitalism, where all immigration laws are necessarily racist and chauvinist. The central axis of struggle by revolutionary socialists must be for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and immigrants, whether in the country legally or not. As Spartacist demonstrators proclaimed at a May 28 demonstration in defense of Chinese immigrants arrested by the INS, "They Made It Here,

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Let Them Stay!" From defending immigrant hostels in Berlin against Nazi skinheads to protesting the U.S. government's expulsion of Chinese boat people, the International Communist League has actively fought against all manifestations of anti-immigrant racism.

Yet a slimy centrist outfit, the Revolutionary Trotskyist League (RTL), has slandered us as "incredibly racist" and "deeply chauvinistic" because we reject the liberal utopian slogan of "open the borders." They cite a 1974 article, "The Leninist Policy Toward Immigration/Emigration" (WV No. 36, 18 January 1974), which observed that unrestricted immigration "would tend to dissolve small nations like Holland and Belgium." As dishonest polemicists they naturally neglect to mention that our article also pointed out that "open borders" would lead to "well-financed American 'colonists' buying up Mexican

enterprises and real estate."

Above all, the RTL deliberately omits the central point of our article, that the call to "open the borders" is "tantamount to advocating the abolition of national states under capitalism." The RTL and the myriad other left groups which raise the slogan of "open the borders" know full well that no bourgeois state could allow unrestricted immigration. The real purpose of this slogan is to get together with naive liberals and radicals who believe that a reformed capitalism can provide freedom and economic well-being for everyone in the world.

If one calls for abolishing the border patrol, why not call for abolishing the police and army as well? After all, policing its borders is just as vital to the very existence of the American capitalist state as having a police force to break strikes and suppress the black ghetto masses and armed forces to terrorize

Third World peoples. For that matter, why not call for the equal distribution of income or for the capitalists to turn over the factories, oil fields, banks, etc. to the workers?

An American workers state would be committed to overcoming global inequality through an internationally planned socialist economy. No doubt this would involve greatly increased immigration from poor Third World countries. But even more important would be the massive transfer of resources and advanced technology to Latin America, Asia and Africa. The answer to poverty in Brazil is not to liquidate the Brazilian nation by having its 150 million inhabitants move to North America.

We pointed out in our 1974 article concerning the demand for "open borders":

"This is merely a variant of utopian egalitarianism—the belief that a just society can be established by sharing out the currently available wealth. Leninists, in contrast, understand that unlimited immigration and the destruction of national frontiers will become a reality only under socialism, as a result of the abolition of material scarcity."

It will take workers revolution expropriating the wealth of the capitalists to make possible a vast increase in the productive forces of all countries, which alone can provide a decent life for those who now live in the squalid shantytowns of Rio and Mexico City as well as the ghettos and barrios of L.A. and New York. Only then can there be a world without borders. ■

Immigrants...

(continued from page 16)

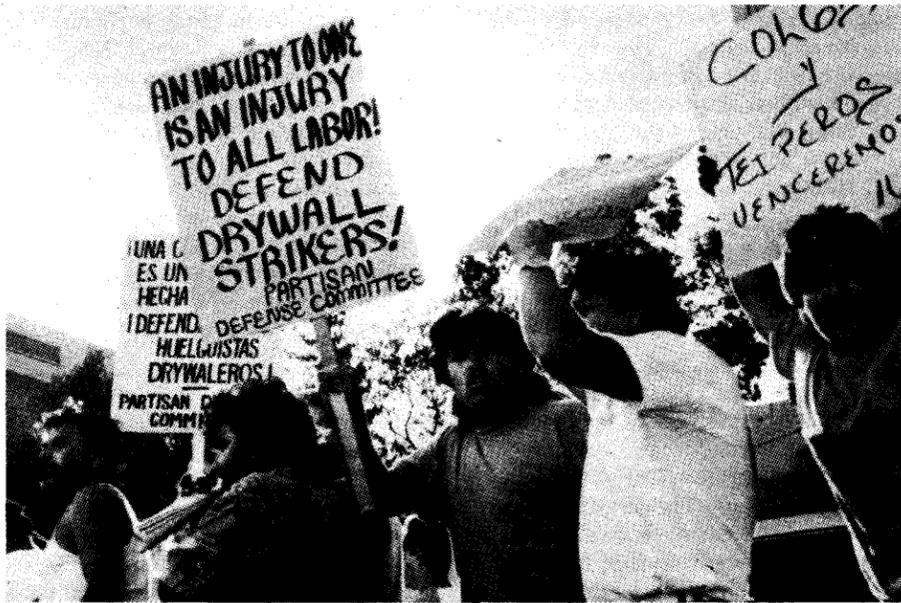
clause making anyone born in the U.S. a citizen with equal rights. He even wants Mexico to pay for prisons in Baja California—part of Mexico—just to hold "illegal immigrants" deported from California!

Clinton and the Democrats are competing with Wilson to whip up anti-immigrant frenzy. Liberal Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, who recently toured the border with Waco mass murderer Janet Reno, are proposing schemes like a \$1 border-crossing fee to finance more armed border cops or militarizing the border with the National Guard. And meanwhile Hillary Clinton's medical care proposal will reportedly exclude "illegals."

How are they going to tell who's "legal" and who's not—tattoo your social security number on your arm at birth? And if your number isn't in the computer, will the hospital dump your broken body in the gutter? Wilson proposes to create a whole permanent category of inhabitants considered less than human, completely outside systems of public health, education, or any other right. Likewise, under slavery, the Supreme Court's 1857 Dred Scott decision declared blacks had no rights a white man is bound to respect.

And speaking of "illegals," the Mexicans were here long before the white Europeans, not to mention Wilson's immigrant ancestors. California was, after all, stolen from Mexico in the Mexican-American War of 1846-48. Where would California be without the railroads built under slave-labor conditions by Chinese workers, who were then largely driven out by a vicious anti-Chinese racist pogrom very much like what Wilson is trying to brew up now? As we said when we demonstrated with the Partisan Defense Committee against the police roundup of the Chinese immigrants who landed in San Francisco last May on the freighter *Pai Sheng*: "They got here, let them stay here!"

The ruling class is consciously going after one of the most vulnerable groups—those with different languages and cultures, those deprived of legal rights by racist immigration laws. But the broader target is all working people,



Combative Latino strikers in Southern California protest outside Parker Center against LAPD attack, 28 July 1992. INS seized arrested strikers for deportation.

wherever you're born. The capitalists aim to destroy the capacity of the entire working class to fight their racist class rule. What we need is *united class struggle against the real enemy*: instead of pushing job-trusting protectionism, a union fight to *organize the unorganized!* In answer to the insanity of mass unemployment, a *sliding scale of hours and wages*—shorten the workweek with no loss in pay to provide jobs for all!

It takes a lot of gall for Wilson to complain about "bursting" classrooms and "swamped" health-care facilities, after he and his Democratic allies like Willie Brown have gutted public services in recent years while protecting their big business backers—California now spends less per student than 47 of the other 49 states. In fact Wilson wants to junk public education altogether with his "voucher" initiative set for the November ballot, a scheme to privatize the school system so that only the rich can buy a decent education. About the only thing that doesn't get cut is the prison budget (slated for a 9 percent increase), because state repression is the ruling class' only "solution" for a collapsing economy.

In 1978 Proposition 13 launched the wholesale gutting of social services in California—a de facto racist referendum targeting minorities, workers and the poor, and in particular savaging the public schools. Now we're in the middle of

a capitalist recession—nearly two-thirds of the 810,000 jobs reported lost nationwide in the current recession were lost in California, and there's no end in sight. In L.A. the county board of supervisors is demanding an 8.25 percent pay cut and 5,000 layoffs from SEIU Local 660, representing 40,000 workers. The "rust belt" has come to California. The market-driven economy is blind, anarchic and irrational.

Mass unemployment is structural to capitalism. The dumping of thousands of skilled workers into the streets from Lockheed or the Alameda Naval Air Station has nothing to do with the influx of "illegal" immigrants and everything to do with the capitalists' profit system. The bosses squeeze profits from the blood and sweat of Hispanic migrant workers who work the fields, dusted with cancer-causing pesticides, living in hovels—and paying taxes for social services they aren't allowed to use. Likewise bosses in the garment trade make a pretty penny from sweatshops in L.A. and San Francisco, where "illegal" immigrants—many of them desperately exploited Asian women—generally end up slaving at a fraction of the minimum wage under the constant threat of deportation, and often get cheated out of their pay altogether.

The imperialists no longer need to maintain a liberal posture on immigration

as a weapon in the Cold War. In Europe, confronted with economic slump and waves of immigrants fleeing the economic devastation and genocidal bloodletting unleashed by capitalist counter-revolution in Eastern Europe and the former USSR, the capitalists have raised a hue and cry over "too many foreigners." The result has been a wave of terror and murder as their fascist shock troops firebomb defenseless immigrants. Sensing the unrest below, the ruling class wants to derail any unified class struggle by setting one sector of the oppressed against another. Across California the anti-immigrant furor has led to increasing police and *la migra* terror.

Wilson's policies and racist, scapegoating big lie are a campaign that Nazi minister of propaganda Goebbels would have loved. The bipartisan anti-immigrant drive and the racist protectionist campaign of Japan-bashing are further incitement to every redneck, yahoo, skinhead, KKKer and Nazi to "get the foreigners." Take for instance a dangerous rightist group called the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). A piece by one of its leading spokesmen, former INS commissioner Alan Nelson, supporting Wilson's policies recently appeared in the *New York Times*. FAIR received over \$600,000 since 1988 from the "Pioneer Fund." This outfit, founded in 1937 by a textile magnate who advocated sending blacks back to Africa, maintains that non-whites are inherently inferior.

The Wall Street banks, through their agent the International Monetary Fund, have for decades commanded the Mexican government to starve its population in order to pay billions in extortionate loan interest. Then, when these starving masses are driven in desperation across the border, they cynically whip up racist hysteria against the "invading hordes." Now, with the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Wall Street wants to expand its superexploitation of Mexican workers within Mexico itself. They want to cement their North American "sphere of influence" against the German-dominated European economy and Japan, Inc., reflecting increasing imperialist economic competition and the threat of a new world war.

In opposition to the chauvinist poison of protectionism spewed by the union

L.A. Strike...

continued from page 16

of organized labor—city workers, docks, aerospace—to mobilize in strike action to protest the martial law occupation of the ghettos and barrios. Today, as conditions in L.A. continue to deteriorate, city/county workers can take the lead by striking together against the killer cuts!

In an attempt to break the strike, the DWP bosses are demanding that strike leaders be jailed for contempt. Pickets told *WV* that if this happens, the key International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Local 13 has threatened a one-day port shutdown. The same report has come from IBEW officers, but the longshore tops refuse to confirm their support. All of L.A.'s integrated labor movement must back the DWP workers, defying the injunctions with mass pickets, plant occupations and joint strike action! With their hands on the power switches, the strikers can impose a few selective outages, say at City Hall and the *L.A. Times*, or let the Pacific Rim bankers in their gleaming office towers try operating in the dark!

The DWP has been preparing for a year, holding "strike training" for scabs. The city has rented 50 RVs at \$1,000 a week apiece to house the scabs, some of whom were brought in from as far away as Utah. But there is no way the current scab crew of 100 can safely run the aging physical plant of the city's water and power system. Thousands of customers have experienced power outages and the DWP is simply pouring chlorine into the drinking water as equipment breaks down and bacteria levels climb. The city is telling customers to ignore the chlorine smell and taste, but plant operators told *WV* that "if you can smell it, there's too much chlorine."

Meanwhile, DWP is running low on chlorine, as railroad engineers refuse to cross the IBEW picket lines. Twice a day they have refused to take tank cars of chlorine down the rail spur leading to the huge Sylmar filtration plant, which handles 600 million gallons a day.

Newly elected billionaire mayor Richard Riordan wants to privatize city services from sanitation to the airport, competing with the City Council on how best to shove capitalist austerity down the throats of city workers. The city is trying to whip up anti-strike sentiment by slandering the strikers as "violent," even ostentatiously "guarding" press conferences with rows of deputy sheriffs! Criminally, the SEIU Local 660 bureaucrats have formed a bargaining *alliance* with the notorious racist thugs of the L.A. Deputy Sheriffs Association! *Cops out of the labor movement!*

Draconian budget cuts are being imposed throughout California by Governor Pete Wilson and the Democratic-controlled legislature. In July, the L.A. County Board of Supervisors (with a Democratic Party majority) rammed through a budget which imposed thousands of layoffs on county workers, cut the already starvation level of general relief from \$293 to \$212 a month, and shut down health care facilities serving over one million low-income patients.

The 40,000 county workers represented by SEIU Local 660 face a unilateral 8.25 percent *wage cut* and 5,000 layoffs. Even the head of the Department of Health Services warned these cuts are "a major threat to the health of L.A. and everyone who lives in it." County unions have learned of plans to privatize the hospitals and conduct Gestapo-style seizures of undocumented workers using county health facilities, who would be immediately deported! The labor movement must demand *full citizenship rights*

and free quality health care for all!

In the face of the cuts, thousands of Local 660 workers rallied on August 31, culminating in a raucous meeting which resoundingly authorized a strike for October 1. Local 660 workers at the rally were furious, chanting "Shut it down, shut it down!" But the local bureaucrats, backed by leftist reformists grouped in the "People First Coalition"—including Solidarity, the Democratic Socialists of America and the Committees of Correspondence—are steering workers into the fatal trap of supporting the Democrats. The rally was a media event designed to derail strike action, and featured Jesse Jackson and a lineup of local Democratic Party politicians.

Urban Rust Belt

As the infrastructure of the cities breaks down, the rulers of this irrational capitalist system are rushing headlong to accelerate the decay with their "privatization schemes" to make a buck on everything from airports to homeless shelters. From the rusting bridges of New York City to the deadly contaminated water supply of Milwaukee, the bourgeoisie has given up any pretense of maintaining, much less rebuilding, America's cities. But the bourgeoisie is pouring money into one area of the economy—the prisons and cops that are the armed fist of the capitalist state aimed at minorities and the unions. A massive program of public works is urgently needed, but despite all the hype of "Rebuild L.A.," nothing has changed. The heavily immigrant, black and Latino population is still subjected to massive unemployment, sweatshop wages and the fist of racist cop terror.

"Justice for Janitors," a campaign of SEIU Local 399 which has fought to organize commercial office buildings in L.A., just won a settlement from the

LAPD. In an admission that their hired thugs in blue carried out a bloody rampage against a march of janitors in 1990, the city paid \$2.35 million in damages to 145 Local 399 workers who were beaten and arrested. Like the courageous strike of the drywall construction workers, who were largely abandoned by the other craft unions, immigrant workers from the hotels to the hospitals have played a key role in recent labor battles in L.A. This is precisely the solidarity that Governor Wilson and the Democrats seek to smash with their onslaught against immigrants.

The massive California budget crisis and the destruction of hundreds of thousands of jobs in Los Angeles are reflections of the deeper rotting of American capitalism. There is only one force that offers a future—the organized working class under the leadership of a revolutionary workers party acting as the champion of all the oppressed. This has nothing in common with the "labor party" talk occasionally coming from job-trusting labor fakers like California state AFL-CIO tops and their press agents on the reformist left. Their "labor party" resolutions are ploys to pry some crumbs from their Democratic Party masters—and chain the working class to the status quo with "lesser evil" politics.

The DWP strike is hugely popular among the workers of L.A. There is enormous potential for united action by the unions in concert with all the oppressed, but it will not be led by the labor traitors, who are beholden to the very capitalist system that is imposing the killer cuts. To wage and win a strike under these conditions means a fight to mobilize the working class against decaying capitalism and its political servants. For a workers government and the establishment of a planned economy—for the socialist reindustrialization of America! ■

bureaucracy, we call for an internationalist fight against the U.S. imperialists' NAFTA plan: for class struggle on both sides of the border, uniting U.S. labor with the Mexican workers of the *maquiladora* belt, against their common class enemy! Join forces with the workers of the Pacific Rim! Labor: defend all foreign-born workers—down with *la migra* deportations! Smash Wilson/Boxer/Feinstein's anti-immigrant terror drive!

In April 1992 a multiracial revolt of the oppressed in L.A. against the first racist verdict in the Rodney King case frightened the ruling class, since it hinted at the possibility of a class war instead of a ruling-class-inspired race war. The mainly Latino janitors of SEIU Local 399, for instance, staged a defiant march in the teeth of martial law imposed in

L.A. to suppress the 1992 Rodney King revolt—while pro-Democratic Party L.A. union tops maintained a deafening silence. What's needed is the social power of the integrated working class, mobilized to fight on a program for power. We need an integrated revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government, to oust the greedy, incompetent capitalist class which is running the U.S. into the ground, and rebuild the country with a planned, socialist economy.

Join us! Demonstrate outside Governor Wilson's office on Thursday, 16 September at 4:30 p.m. at 455 Golden Gate Ave. (near Larkin) in San Francisco. Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Down With Wilson/Boxer/Feinstein's Racist War on Immigrants! ■

Atlanta in Cobb County, KKK and Nazi groups are making common cause with yuppies in attacking the democratic rights of gays. As epitomized by the murder of Dr. David Gunn in Pensacola, Florida, abortion rights are under attack despite the presence of a "pro-choice" Democrat in the White House.

The nationwide demonstrations in July for equal treatment, good service and food for all at Denny's were initiated by the Labor Black Leagues and Spartacist League. Three decades after the civil rights movement supposedly ended institutionalized racism, we noted, de facto segregation persists. An integrated union organizing drive is urgently needed to fight Jim Crow from Winn-Dixie to Denny's and all the racist low-wage outfits.

As for Forsyth County, it will take the integrated proletariat looking something like a latter-day version of Sherman's Army to bring equality and justice to this racist bastion. To combat the all-sided social reaction and the legacy of Jim Crow segregation, it is necessary to build a class-struggle workers party, fighting against both Democrats and Republicans, to champion the cause of all the oppressed. ■

Georgia...

(continued from page 2)

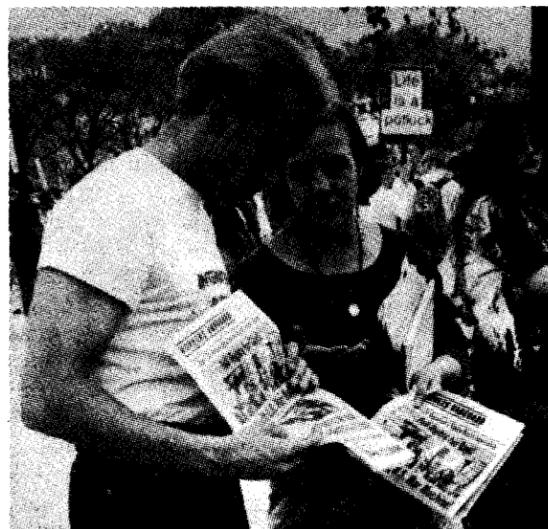
University in Atlanta. Hoping to brush the Forsyth County "incident" under the rug, they "reminded" her of their financial aid. But Brenda wasn't having it: "If we work at Winn-Dixie we should be able to go to any Winn-Dixie and work.... This is the 20th century. It needs to stop."

Ms. Huiel courageously went to radio and TV to expose Winn-Dixie's racist treatment. She received help from Sandra McGary of the local NAACP. Thirty years earlier, Ms. McGary's family home had been firebombed by the Klan in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Brenda has received expressions of solidarity from white and black customers as they pass through her supermarket line, and from her high school friends.

The Forsyth County incident is only one expression of a broader onslaught of social reaction. In south Georgia recently, a 17-year-old black youth was sentenced to three years in prison for allegedly "stealing" a box of ice cream from his high school. Just north of

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

September 2 to October 6



1993 Quotas

Local	Quota (in points)
Atlanta	200
Bay Area	1,500
Boston	350
Chicago	550
Los Angeles	350
New York	1,300
Washington, D.C.	175
At Large	375
National Total	4,800

Subscribe Now!

Name _____
 Address _____
 _____ Apt. # _____ Phone (____) _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____ 583

SPECIAL! A free packet of Spartacist literature or pamphlet with full subscriptions to both *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*.

- \$7/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
 - New Renewal
 - International rates: \$25/24 issues—Airmail \$7/24 issues—Seamail
- \$3/3 issues of *Women and Revolution*
- \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)
- \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard*

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

WORKERS VANGUARD

Down with Wilson/Boxer/Feinstein's Racist War on Immigrants!

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Demonstrate!

**Thursday, Sept. 16
4:30 p.m.**

**Outside Governor Wilson's
office, 455 Golden Gate
(near Larkin)**

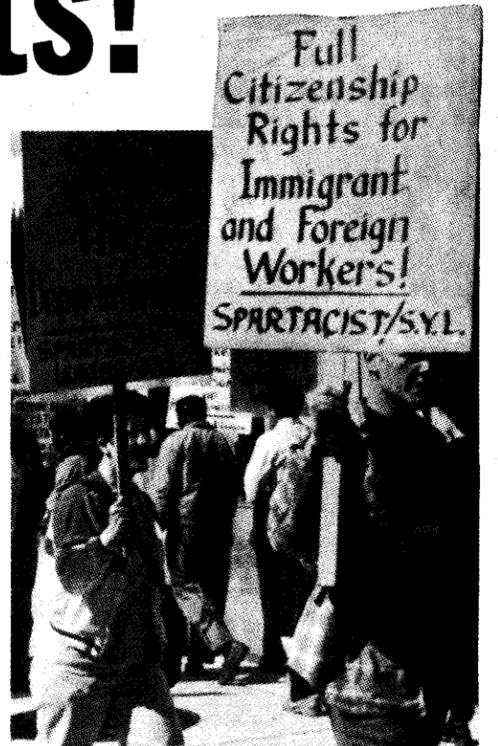
San Francisco

**Called by
the Spartacist League
and the Labor Black League
for Social Defense**

**For more information call:
(415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0852**



Tannenbaum/Sygma



WV Photo

U.S. police attack desperate immigrants at the Mexican border (left). Spartacists protest the detention of Chinese immigrants, San Francisco, in May.

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

California governor Pete Wilson has declared war on the state's millions of Hispanic and Asian immigrants. The ruling class wants impoverished workers and unemployed victims of this decaying economic system to blame desperate immigrants instead of the real enemy:

the greedy capitalist bloodsuckers. The Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense say, don't take the bosses' sucker bait! All those who stand for "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Down with Wilson/Boxer/Feinstein's Racist War on Immigrants!" come out and demonstrate 4:30 p.m., Thursday, September 16 at the Governor's Office in S.F., 455

Golden Gate. Immigrant and civil rights groups, students and the integrated labor movement must come to the defense of our brothers and sisters from south of the border and the Pacific Rim.

With the lowest approval rating in the state's history, this particularly vicious racist governor is trying to boost himself in the polls by leading the pack in anti-immigrant hysteria and race-

baiting. Wilson's August 10 "open letter" to Clinton proposed to: kick "illegal immigrants" off welfare; deny them medical care; kick their kids out of the public schools; issue everyone South Africa-style "identity cards"; and remove from the Constitution's 14th Amendment, which codifies the abolition of slavery won at bloody cost in the Civil War, the

continued on page 14

10,000 L.A. City Workers Strike

**Smash the Injunction—
All City/County Workers Out Now!**

LOS ANGELES, September 5—More than 10,000 workers have struck this city's Department of Water and Power (DWP) after a year without a contract and two years without a raise. This is the nation's largest municipal utility, with clerks, repair crews, meter readers and plant operators in IBEW Local 18 providing power to 1.3 million people and water to over 2 million. Joining in the work stoppage are 2,500 members of the Engineers and Architects Association at DWP.

Within hours of the walkout on September 1, city bosses obtained a court injunction ordering workers back on the job, but the strikers are defying the court

order. At the same time, 80,000 L.A. County workers face massive cutbacks and layoffs, as health care and social services for hundreds of thousands are being slashed. Public workers can rally to their side the heavily Latino and black poor and working people of L.A.—starting with the 40,000 county workers organized in Service Employees Local 660, which has set an October 1 strike date. Local 660 should be out now!

The black and Latino masses of Los Angeles exploded in rage in April 1992 after the whitewash acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King. The Spartacist League called on the strongholds

continued on page 15



WV Photo

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