

Israeli Garrison State Under Pressure

Palestinian Uprising— A Year of Defiance

Twelve months of indiscriminate murder, of vicious beatings, of mass roundups—and still the Palestinian Arab people of the Occupied Territories continue to resist and defy the Israeli "Iron Fist" of terror. *Al-Intifada*—"the Uprising." It has shaken Israeli society and startled the world by its determination. It has driven a wedge into the seemingly uncritical front of American and European Jewry with the Zionist state, sharpened the polarization within the Hebrew-speaking population of Israel and thrown a spotlight on the hideous brutality of the Israeli rulers' drive to carve out a "Greater Israel" from the living body of the Palestinian people.

Above all, it has highlighted that there can be no lasting resolution to the nationalist conflict, which has beset the Near East for over four decades, short of genocide or socialist revolution. Even as the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) bends over backwards to conciliate the U.S. imperialist quartermasters of the Israeli garrison state in the futile hope of arriving at a *modus vivendi*, the Zionist rulers speak ever more openly of a "Final Solution" to the Palestinian question. And Washington responded to the PLO's recognition of Israel with a supreme gesture of imperialist arrogance, denying Yasir Arafat a visa to speak at the United Nations. We say: let Arafat go to the UN if he wants to!

The striking outcome of the Israeli elections last month, held in the shadow of the Palestinian uprising, was to register the sharp growth of the parties of religious fundamentalism and racist fanaticism. Half of all Israeli Jews now favor the total expulsion ("transfer") of the Arab people living in the territories conquered by Israel during the 1967 war as the only way to maintain the "democratic and Jewish" character of Israel, while something less than a third are for "relinquishing" territory. The fascist Kach party of Brooklyn-born Meir Kahane was expected to take several seats in the Knesset (parliament) had it not been barred from running at the last minute. Kach was banned as racist. But the man chosen as acting speaker for the opening session of the Knesset is from the Molodet party whose sole platform



Palestinian protesters in Gaza defy Israeli "Iron Fist" of terror.

Bakshshandagi/Black Star

is "cleansing" Greater Israel of Arabs. The Knesset erupted in turmoil as a dozen members from various parties shouted protests against "transferism" and refused to swear the oath of allegiance before this racist pig.

The Orthodox religious parties may well control the balance of power in the new government, hoping to impose on this overwhelmingly secular society a Jewish version of Khomeneism and to dictate to Jews around the world who is and is not acknowledged by the "Jewish state." One American Jew declared angrily: "In Auschwitz, it was already determined who is a Jew." The rise of nationalist and religious fanaticism and Israel's openly bloody course in the Occupied Territories has shocked Jews around the world. Filmmaker Woody Allen spoke for many when he expressed his disgust at the Israeli army's wanton killings: "I am appalled beyond measure by the treatment of the rioting Palestinians by the Jews."

Dispossessed by decades of Israeli

expansionism and terror, forsaken and trampled upon by their supposed patrons among the neighboring Arab rulers, the Palestinian people finally erupted in a revolt of despair. The PLO's recent declaration of independence for a Palestinian mini-state, recognized by some 50 countries, is seen by the Palestinian masses as an act of defiance. Yet this diplomatic ploy, appealing to the imperialists and seeking an accommodation with the "Labor" Party of Shimon Peres and butcher Yitzhak Rabin, is a palpable dead end. In their frustration, increasing numbers of Palestinians are being driven into the arms of Muslim fundamentalists who match the extreme Zionists in the stridency of their irredentist rhetoric but lack the military wherewithal to carry it through.

And when extreme Arab nationalists rant about driving the Jews into the sea, they fuel the genocidal arguments of the Zionist ultras. The Hebrew-speaking nation has a right to exist, regardless of how they got there, as does the Palestinian Arab nation and the other peoples of the region. But so long as they compete over every square inch of land, for who gets to divert the waters of the Jordan, the result will be war, forced population transfers and ultimately genocide. Never has this deadly logic of conflicting nationalisms, which imprisons the people of the Near East in a hell of terror and tyranny, been more evident.

The resources of the region *can* be equitably shared, but that requires international socialist cooperation and planning. The conflicting democratic

rights for the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab peoples can be resolved, but not within the framework of capitalist nation-states. Against the nationalists on both sides, the international Spartacist tendency has always defended the national rights of *both* the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian peoples, insisting that a genuinely democratic solution must transcend capitalism, which necessarily pits nation against nation:

"Recognizing the right of self-determination for both Palestinian Arabs and Hebrews, we point out that this can only be accomplished on both sides of the Jordan, including all of what now constitutes Israel and Jordan. These national claims, however, are directly counterposed, the product of historical interpenetration of two peoples on the same territory....

"An equitable and genuinely democratic solution to the competing national claims of the Palestinian Arabs and Hebrews can only come about through the formation of a bi-national Arab/Hebrew workers state, part of a socialist federation of the Near East, born of the common class struggle of Arab and Jewish workers against their ruling classes."

—"From 'People's War' to the 'Mini-State,'" *WV* No. 58, 6 December 1974

As they work themselves up on the road to genocide, the Israeli rulers sound ever more like the Nazis: *Blitzkrieg* wars for *Lebensraum*; *Einsatzgruppen* of Lebanese commandos to massacre defenseless refugees at Sabra and Shatila; concentration camps for Palestinians like Ansar III in the Gaza

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**Heirs of Stalin Revile
Leninist Internationalism**

**Trotsky and the Gorbachev
School of Falsification**

— SEE PAGE SIX —

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

The Partisan Defense Committee thanks all those people who made real the fight against the KKK on the streets of Philadelphia November 5. In response to the PDC's call, over 1,000 trade unionists, blacks, students and civil rights activists who rallied at Independence Mall came away with the satisfaction of stopping fascist terror—and with a firsthand experience of what class-struggle defense is about. Hearing PDC speakers and coming over to our literature table, they learned of our heritage including the need to fight for those victims of state terror who fought racist capitalist injustice.

Following that tradition, the PDC is initiating its third Holiday Appeal to raise funds for monthly stipends and holiday gifts for 21 class-war prisoners, their wives and children. As James P. Cannon, the founder and first secretary of the International

Labor Defense, wrote:

"The men in prison are still a part of the living class movement. The Christmas Fund drive of the International Labor Defense is a means of informing them that the workers of America have not forgotten their duty toward the men to whom we are all linked by bonds of solidarity."

—"A Christmas Fund of Our Own," *Daily Worker*, 17 December 1927

As another year passes the class-war prisoners are still separated from family and friends by prison's cold bars—Geronimo Pratt's appeal thrown out; Ramona Africa denied parole; Mumia Abu-Jamal fighting for his life on Pennsylvania's death row; British miners Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland denied parole. Many of the prisoners have spent more than a decade of Christmases behind bars! The PDC has brought the defense of 21 international class-war prisoners to trade unionists



TROTSKY

Marxism vs. Nationalism

In the epoch of imperialism, nationalism loses the progressive role it played in the great bourgeois revolutions. As capitalism decays, the fight against all national privilege and oppression, in the Near East and elsewhere, can only be carried forward through the internationalist leadership of the working class. Struggling against Great Russian chauvinism—the nationalism of the oppressor—in the tsarist prison house of peoples, Lenin and the Bolsheviks



LENIN

counterposed to the Ukrainian and Jewish Bund "national" social democrats the revolutionary Marxist program of uniting the working people of all nations.

Working-class democracy contraposes to the nationalist wrangling of the various bourgeois parties over questions of language, etc., the demand for the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of workers of all nationalities in all working-class organizations—trade union, co-operative, consumers', educational and all others—in contradistinction to any kind of bourgeois nationalism. Only this type of unity and amalgamation can uphold democracy and defend the interests of the workers against capital—which is already international and is becoming more so—and promote the development of mankind towards a new way of life that is alien to all privileges and all exploitation....

Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the "most just", "purest", most refined and civilised brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism, the amalgamation of all nations in the higher unity, a unity that is growing before our eyes with every mile of railway line that is built, with every international trust, and every workers' association that is formed (an association that is international in its economic activities as well as in its ideas and aims)....

To throw off the feudal yoke, all national oppression, and all privileges enjoyed by any particular nation or language, is the imperative duty of the proletariat as a democratic force, and is certainly in the interests of the proletarian class struggle, which is obscured and retarded by bickering on the national question. But to go beyond these strictly limited and definite historical limits in helping bourgeois nationalism means betraying the proletariat and siding with the bourgeoisie.

—V. I. Lenin, "Critical Remarks on the National Question" (December 1913)



Partisan Defense Committee literature table at November 5 victory party in Philadelphia.

and trade-union locals. At the November 5 anti-Klan mobilization we provided a rare platform for the oppressed, including MOVE, survivors of the Greensboro Massacre and for Mumia Abu-Jamal, who sent a tape-recorded message to the rally, also distributed to radio stations around the country.

Support to the class-war prisoners is not an act of charity but the duty of those on the outside to those inside prison walls for standing up to racist capitalist oppression. With publicity and protest we seek to galvanize support for their struggles against the racist frame-up system. On the same June day that a panel of judges tossed Geronimo Pratt's appeal out of court we held a demonstration in San Francisco demanding Pratt's freedom. Our newsletter, *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, with information on their cases, is sent to over 200 newspapers including the national black press, as well as more than 200 civil liberties, defense and political organizations and 300 trade unions throughout the country.

We proudly stand with these 21 class-war prisoners on three continents—their fight is our fight:

Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, 38 years old. Ex-Panther, Vietnam veteran and victim of COINTELPRO frame-up. He has served over 18 years for a crime the government knew he could not have committed. (B40319, San Quentin Prison, Tamal, CA 94964)

Mordechai Vanunu, 36 years old, Israeli nuclear technician who exposed the extent of Israel's huge nuclear arsenal. Convicted of treason, he was sentenced to 18 years in Ashkelon Prison, Israel. His act was a service to all of humanity. (Ashkelon Prison, P.O. Box 17, Ashkelon, Israel)

Mumia Abu-Jamal, 32 years old, under sentence of death. MOVE supporter, ex-Panther, well-known radio journalist—"the voice of the voiceless." (#8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652)

Hugo Pinell, 43 years old. One of the San Quentin Six, courageous anti-racist prison rights activist. Serving a life term. (#1V B 6-C203, P.O. Box 1902B, Tehachapi, CA 93561)

Ed Poindexter, 44 years old. (Lino Lake Facility, 7525 4th Avenue, Lino Lake, MN 55017) and **David Rice**, 41 years old (#27718, Nebraska State Penitentiary, P.O. Box 2500, Lincoln, NE 68502). Former Panther leaders in Nebraska, victims of racist COINTELPRO frame-up. Both are serving life sentences.

Russell Shankland (#A83752) and **Dean Hancock** (#A99410), both 25 years old. British miners railroaded to jail for eight years for defending their union picket line during bitter 1984-85 coal strike. (HM Prison Channing Wood, Denbury Newton Abbot, Devon, England TQ126DW)

Ruchell Magee, 49 years old. Victim of government conspiracy to murder Black

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2 December 1988

Richard S. Fraser, a veteran Trotskyist and tenacious fighter for black freedom, died in his sleep on November 27 at the age of 75. For the last several years Dick fought to overcome many painful and debilitating illnesses, mustering the courage to face endless operations, so that he could continue his research and literary work on the question of the revolutionary struggle for black liberation in America. Comrade Fraser was not only a cherished friend but a theoretical mentor of the Spartacist League, SL National Chairman Jim Robertson has acknowledged his considerable personal political debt to comrade Fraser.

Dick Fraser was a co-reporter on the black question at our founding conference in 1966. His work was published as part of our *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5, "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism," and he was a close collaborator in our work to establish organizations of labor/black defense. As the Labor Black League for Social Defense in the Bay Area wrote in memoriam, "Richard Fraser was our teacher, the author of 'For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle' that lights the road to black freedom through the program of revolutionary integration, the assimilation of black people into an egalitarian socialist society."

Fraser joined the Trotskyist movement in 1934, recruited on a cross-country Greyhound bus trip by a member of the newly formed Workers Party—the product of a fusion between the Trotskyist Communist League of America and A.J. Muste's American Workers Party. For close to 30 years he was an organizer of the Socialist Workers Party on the West Coast in Los Angeles and Seattle and a full member of the SWP's National Committee. In the Pacific Northwest Fraser won several members of the Communist Party in Seattle to Trotskyism following the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the Khrushchev revelations. That Seattle was the place where the SWP had its most significant success in cracking the Stalinists is a testament to the persistence and political capabilities of Richard Fraser.

Through his involvement in black freedom struggles and experience in the recruitment and subsequent loss of hundreds of black workers from the SWP following World War II, Dick came to believe that the Ameri-



can communist movement had failed to come to grips with the question of black liberation in this country. Although lacking much formal education, he dedicated himself to the study of the black question. Criticizing the SWP for underestimating the revolutionary challenge to American capitalism posed by the integrationist struggles for black equality, in 1955 he submitted his document "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle." Here Fraser counterposed revolutionary integrationism to the SWP's turn toward a separatist "self-determination" ideology associated particularly with George Breitman, which would become a theoretical cover for its

abstention from the mass civil rights movement in the early 1960s and subsequent full-blown capitulation to black nationalism.

Dick came into disfavor with the SWP leadership when he opposed the party's adoption of the call for federal troops to protect Southern blacks. In his "Resolution on the Little Rock Crisis" Fraser tore apart the SWP's support to Eisenhower's introduction of federal troops in Little Rock in 1957, powerfully pointing out that the end result had been the crushing of local black self-defense efforts. In the 1960s Fraser along with other SWP spokesmen was propelled out of the party as it plunged from centrism to refor-

mism. As he wrote in a letter to his son: "It was I who initiated the split from the SWP by publicly attacking its Personal Representative, my old friend Asher Harer, whom I had recruited in 1935, for the SWP stand on the Vietnam War, and proclaiming that the way to 'BRING THE TROOPS HOME' was for the Viet Cong to drive them into the South China Sea."

Fraser went on to found the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party. Cut off by a split in the FSP, Dick went into the New American Movement hoping that he could influence and educate some of these young New Leftists in the old Leninist school. With the fusion of NAM and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee Fraser was subsequently carried into the Democratic Socialists of America.

Over the years we had our disagreements with Dick. Neither of us tried to hide these, but we were always happy to bend the stick in favor of the areas of profound political agreement between us. In his later years Fraser was handicapped by the loss of his Marxist library, which the SL sought to replenish, and of his personal working papers. In turn Dick's collaboration was invaluable in elaborating a perspective for rooting the SL among militant black workers and youth. Fraser's formal membership in other organizations obviously stood in contradiction to his fervent political beliefs, a contradiction which was resolved in his last years. Sharing our outrage over the U.S. bombing of Libya, he distanced himself from the DSA.

Addressing the SL/U.S. Seventh National Conference (1983) on the question of the organization of labor/black leagues, Dick spoke movingly:

"I've had some discussions with many comrades, which have been very gratifying, and I am humbled by the knowledge that things that I wrote 30 years ago, which were so scorned by the old party, have had some important impact, finally."

Dick's last political act before his death was his endorsement of the November 5 Mobilization that stopped the Klan in Philadelphia. That satisfying mobilization of the power of integrated labor was a testament to our comrade Richard Fraser who in endorsing identified himself as a "historic American Trotskyist." That he was, and his loss will be keenly felt.

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

Panther George Jackson. Serving a life sentence, in solitary confinement for the last ten years. (#A92051, California State Prison, P.O. Box 29, Represa, CA 95671)

Ramona Johnson Africa, 33 years old. Sole adult survivor of the hideous 13 May 1985 bombing of MOVE. Currently serving seven-year sentence (#7564, P.O. Box 180, Muncy, PA 17756). We send stipends to eleven other Africa family members scattered in prisons throughout Pennsylvania. Also at Muncy prison are **Janet Holloway Africa** (#6308), **Consuewella Dotson Africa** (#6434), **Debbie Sims Africa** (#6307), **Janine Phillips Africa** (#6309), **Merle Austin Africa** (#6306) and **Susan Leon Africa** (#6325). **Delbert Orr Africa** (#M4985), **Carlos Africa** (#7400) and **Charles Sims Africa** (#M4975) are at State Correctional Facility, Dallas, PA 18612. **William Phillips Africa** (#M4984) is at P.O. Box 200, Camp

Hill, PA 17011 and **Michael Davis Africa** (#M4973) is at State Correctional Facility, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Once again we are holding fund-raisers in New York, Chicago and the San Francisco Bay Area. Last year's Holiday Appeal was a big success. In all we raised more than \$7,500 for gifts and stipends to the class-war prisoners fund and raised an additional \$3,500 during the Appeal from our monthly sustainers and old and new contributors. Your financial support enabled us to send holiday gifts worth more than \$1,600 to the prisoners and their families, and has given us a firm financial foundation to continue our stipends and work on the prisoners' behalf throughout this year.

In the three years since we issued an appeal for monthly sustaining contributors, we now have 116 sustainers, accounting for a monthly pledge of about \$2,100. During the past year nearly 1,100 people and organizations contributed \$5 or more, becoming subscribers to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. And with the November 5 mobi-

lization the PDC's name is known to many of the most militant workers on the East Coast and in the Midwest. But we need more—thousands of trade unionists supporting our work, organized in militant labor action demanding freedom for the class-war prisoners.

Help build our program of monthly

stipends and holiday gifts to these imprisoned victims of racist capitalist injustice. Write to them with your holiday greetings and messages of solidarity. Join our fight for their freedom. Send your contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013. ■

Marxist Bulletin No. 5 (Revised Edition)

Selected documents and articles on the black question in the U.S., 1955-1977, including "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle," by R. Fraser.

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Marxist Bulletin 5

WHAT STRATEGY
FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism
vs.
Black Nationalism

Hormel Strike: Where Were You When It Counted?

Socialist Action Strikes Out

The strike by meatpackers against Hormel three years ago was one of the most bitter class battles of the Reagan years. The strikers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota, fought courageously, reviving the militant labor tactic of roving picket lines to spread the strike. But it ended in defeat—knifed in the back by the AFL-CIO labor traitors, and led into the dead end of a consumer boycott and reliance on the capitalist courts and labor boards by the local union leadership and their Corporate Campaign Inc. consultants.

Some fake-leftists who at the time cheered on the disastrous strategy of Corporate Campaign on artist Ray Rogers (whose consumer boycott tactics recently contributed to the defeat of the strike against International Paper) must think that the working class has a very short memory. Socialist Action, a group which has a justly earned reputation as "socialist" waterboys for the trade-union bureaucracy, has issued a pamphlet on the strike. Entitled "Lessons of the P-9 Strike," the pamphlet was written by Jake Cooper, who served as chairman of the food committee of the P-9 strike support committee in the Twin Cities.

Cooper is a veteran of the great Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamster strike of 1934. During World War II he was imprisoned along with James P. Cannon and 16 other leaders and members of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters local. Cooper evidently remembers a thing or two about how to win a strike, and "Lessons of the P-9 Strike" contains some home truths of the class struggle. But the P-9 strikers never heard them from Socialist Action when it counted.

While *Socialist Action* helped to derail the strike into impotent "pressure" tactics on Hormel, the *Spartacist League* told the truth to P-9ers: to win required the mobilization of union power—on the picket line and with political strike action against the National Guard. The Hormel strike was a test of leadership—and *Socialist Action* flunked.

The Hormel strike began as a local struggle against concessions, when in August 1985 UFCW Local P-9 shut down Hormel's flagship meatpacking plant. The strike was led by P-9 president Jim Guyette and Corporate Cam-

paigner Rogers, whose no-strike policy consisted of pressuring Minnesota bank directors to pressure Hormel. Arrayed against the strikers was an unholy alliance that included the liberal Democratic governor of Minnesota, the company cops of the UFCW International and their "leftist" flunkies of the Communist Party. In January '86 the company moved to reopen the Austin

scabs scurrying! There must be political strike action to beat back the National Guard strikebreaking!"

—"Shut Down Hormel!"
—*Workers Vanguard* No. 396,
31 January 1986

Instead of pleading with consumers to "Cram Your Spam," *WV* called for unionists to "hot cargo" scab products so they would never reach the market. Now, two years later, Jake Cooper



Baer/Socialist Action

Militant Hormel strike derailed into losing "Corporate Campaign" consumer boycott (1986), which was tailed by Socialist Action at the time. Now pseudo-socialists "discover" class struggle.

packinghouse with scabs. A local judge dutifully issued an injunction banning mass picketing and Governor Rudy Perpich sent in the National Guard to enforce capitalist "order."

P-9 hit back with roving pickets, and soon the strikers had succeeded in shutting down several Hormel facilities around the Midwest. This act of militant labor solidarity could have ignited a nationwide working-class offensive. The urgent task facing every leftist and union activist was to fight for union action to shut down Hormel and ensure P-9's victory. But Rogers was diverting the strikers' militancy into a useless consumer boycott—just as the AFL-CIO hackstoppers called for a boycott during the PATCO strike to cover the fact that they ordered union members to cross the air controllers' picket lines. At this crucial point in the Hormel strike, we wrote that:

"The call for a consumer boycott against Spam and Dinty Moore Stew is a diversion from the crucial struggle to shut down Hormel. Twin Cities auto workers, Iowa meatpackers, Chicago newspaper strikers—labor organizations from all over the Upper Midwest must mobilize to flood Austin with thousands of unionists who can send the

Levison/Minneapolis Standard Tribune



WORKERS VANGUARD
31 January 1986

**For Mass Labor Action to
Smash National Guard Strikebreaking!
Shut Down Hormel!**

UFCW Local P-9 strikers in Austin, Minn., shut down Hormel's flagship meatpacking plant on August 15, 1985. The strikers' action was a major victory for the working class. However, the strike was ultimately defeated by the AFL-CIO labor traitors and the Corporate Campaign Inc. consultants.



Workers Vanguard told the truth: class-struggle mobilization could have won Hormel strike.

More attacks on Hormel strikers, national boycott campaign urged

By NAT WFINSTEIN

AUSTIN, Minn.—Over 500 Local P-9 strikers and supporters marched down Main Street here on Saturday, April 12. The march was the culmination of a three-day boycott action called by the

over 50 states filed into the first, which was conducted in the morning. The strikers' action was a major victory for the working class. However, the strike was ultimately defeated by the AFL-CIO labor traitors and the Corporate Campaign Inc. consultants.

Socialist Action
May 1986

Why Corporate Campaign's tactics can't win strikes

Reformist and union bureaucracy tactics can't win strikes. The only way to win is through mass labor action and solidarity with the strikers.



Socialist Action
September 1988

correctly labels Rogers' program of consumer boycott and civil disobedience a "mistaken defeatist policy" which absurdly banked on the cooperation of the strikebreaking cops and National Guard. Accurately observing that "the workers almost begged to be turned loose to shut down the plant," Cooper states that "beefing up the picketline to keep the plant closed was a dire and irreplaceable necessity." Moreover, Hormel could only be backed down by "the threat of a localized strike struggle triggering a generalized labor upsurge."

True enough. As we wrote at the time: "Hormel workers don't need pressure, they need power. Public opinion won't sway Hormel; mass labor action that shuts down the company and cuts off its profits will. Right now the pacifism of the strike leadership is a roadblock to the strike's success."

—"Hormel: Mobilize Labor—Drive Out National Guard!"
WV No. 397, 14 February 1986

But Cooper's Johnny-come-lately criticisms stand in sharp contrast to Socialist Action's slavish tailism during the strike. Before Local P-9 was smashed, when there was still a chance to win the strike, *not once* did this reformist outfit criticize the P-9 leadership or Rogers. In fact, at the crucial moment of the strike, when it was clear that Guyette and Rogers had no intention of organizing a fight to stop scab production in Austin, *Socialist Action* (February 1986) opined, "The union has met every challenge from Hormel head on!" Socialist Action was equally careful not to embarrass the "progressive" union leaders who claimed to support the strike, particularly the short-lived National Rank and File Against Concessions (NRFAC). As we noted then:

"NRFAC leaders head some of the most powerful union locals in Minnesota, including iron miners, auto workers and steel workers. A political strike by any one of these locals demanding removal of the National Guard would electrify the labor movement and shift the scales dramatically to P-9's side."

In contrast, Socialist Action teamed up with the NRFAC fakers to issue a call for a demonstration outside the governor's mansion to "demand that the National Guard stop being used to break the P-9 strike"—not even demanding its removal from Austin! Socialist Action's advice to those desiring further action was to pass a resolution and send a copy to the gov. As for building mass picket lines in Austin, *Socialist Action* (February 1986) rec-

ommended that union locals send "unemployed sisters and brothers, as well as those able to take a day off from work." Far from threatening the bosses with Cooper's "generalized labor upsurge," this "call" on individuals to skip work was a capitulation to the union tops, who feared political strike action against the Democratic governor and his troops like the plague.

On March 16, after scabs had been manning the Austin plant for almost two months, P-9 held a decisive meeting. Despite considerable sentiment in the membership for action to take back the packinghouse from the strikebreakers, Rogers' program won out: henceforth P-9 would concentrate on civil disobedience, a nationwide consumer

boycott and a lawsuit against the UFCW International. *Socialist Action's* (April 1986) verdict: "P-9's course is in sharp opposition to the strategy of the top leadership of the labor movement!" In reality the course adopted at this meeting was precisely the defeatist strategy of the AFL-CIO piecemeal, from decisively rejecting labor struggle to inviting the capitalist state to intervene in the union movement. This course betrayed those hundreds of UFCW members who were fired for honoring P-9 roving picket lines. Yet Socialist Action and other opportunist "left" groups lied to the P-9 ranks by attempting to conceal this defeat—and continued to do so for months to come.

Reformist outfits like Socialist Action are always ready to crank up their verbal militancy when and where it can't possibly have any real effect on the class struggle. Despite the occasional "mass picket line" rhetoric, however, these social democrats share the outlook of the liberal union bureaucrats in every essential. By May 1986 *Socialist Action* was calling on "class-struggle union fighters" to make "the boycott of Hormel products as effective as possible." The utter hypocrisy of these "defenders" of P-9 was graphically shown when in the same issue of *Socialist Action* they opposed letting a P-9 striker speak at the 19 April 1986 peace crawl in San Francisco, on the grounds it would be a "provocation" against the AFL-CIO tops who knifed the strike!

Socialist Action flew its true colors in its first independent act as an organization, after its founding members were expelled from the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party in late 1983. At a union rally in San Francisco to support the important Greyhound bus strike, Socialist Action members acted as goons for the bureaucratic sellouts attempting to prevent angry workers from shutting down the Greyhound terminal (see "Ex-SWPers Goon for S.F. Labor Fakers," *WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984). As we said then:

"In less than a month of existence as a public tendency these little Noskes of 'Socialist Action' have made it perfectly clear where they stand—with the bureaucrats, the bosses, the cops, and the company against the workers' struggle."

But what else can you expect from an outfit that has adopted for their masthead the logo of CIA-financed Polish Solidarność, the only "union" Ronald Reagan loves. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Stop the Klan Through Class Struggle!

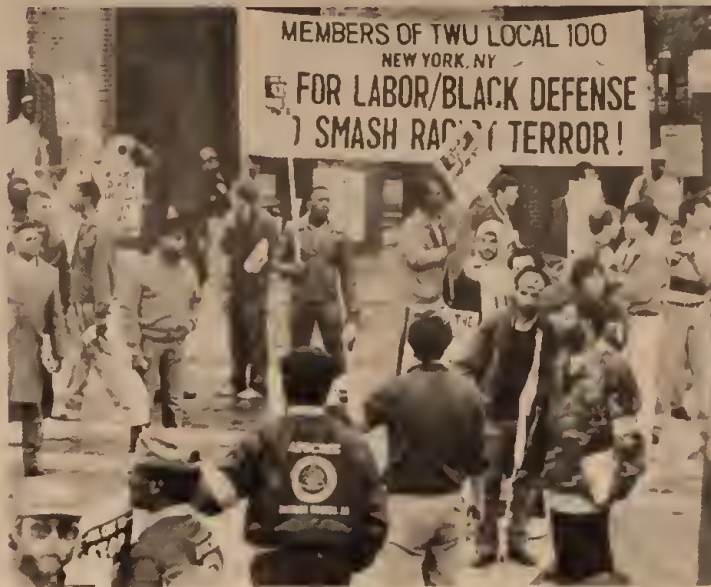
The following are edited excerpts from the speech by Charles Brover, co-chairman of the Parisian Defense Committee, at the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.

We had a lot of rain out there today. But we had no white sheets. You may know that the original Klan wore those white sheets because they wanted to claim that they were the ghosts of the Confederate soldiers. Indeed, they wanted to reverse the verdict of the Civil War on slavery. They're still trying to do it today. They are the ghost of the Confederacy. And you know what we are? We're KKK ghostbusters!

So they called it off. And they hoped you wouldn't come. But you came. Coming here today for this demonstration is an act of political importance. The Klan didn't bother with a permit for race-terror. They didn't apply for a permit at Greensboro, although the government might have given them one if they had. They merely unloaded their automatic weapons and blasted the lives out of five anti-fascist activists. In Chattanooga they marched, then took out shotguns and shot four women. Because you are here, the Klan does not ride in Philadelphia today.

This truly is the silliest season of American politics. In only three days, a dwindling number of Americans will trudge out and vote, amid all the talk of bitterness and negativity. Then the following day, you know what happens? They get together, the candidates, smiling, shaking hands, the party leaders joking in their country clubs, ready to do business as usual, squabbling over the fine points of how best to exploit and oppress working people and minorities at home and abroad.

Now most Americans look at this, and they look at the racist ads, and the so-called great debates. They hear someone say that Michael Dukakis is a flaming red radical, outside the mainstream! What kind of fish are in that mainstream, anyway? They hear that Bush wants a kinder, gentler America



Philadelphia, November 5: Labor/black power stopped the KKK and skinheads. "Because you are here, the Klan does not ride."

as he sticks it to black people with a thousand points of pain.

So you can't blame Americans if they think that none of this makes much sense. In fact, many Americans think it isn't real, and they're right. It isn't real. Because what passes for American politics neither influences nor reflects the social reality, the deep and abiding division of classes in this country.

One advertising agency wins and another one loses. So when a desperate loser, Dukakis, tried his last appeal to his Democratic constituency with a little talk about rich folks and working people, George Bush cried foul. He waved his arms, and sounding for all the world like Jimmy Stewart in a Frank Capra movie, says, "Hold on there, bub. This sounds like classes and things you're talking about. Like they have over there in Europe. We don't do the class thing here."

The social class conflict is the real stuff of America. What we get here today is real politics. Because it grows out of the actual fabric of American political life. The danger of the Klan and Nazis is real—even in small numbers they are deadly. And we really stopped them today by mobilizing a fraction of labor's power independently on behalf of its own interest and the interest of all the oppressed.

For some of you, this may be your first demonstration. I hope it isn't your last. But now you can say, I've seen real politics and it works. It had better work. Because the fascists are not TV politicians. The struggle against fascism will not be a TV debate between [ACLU professor] Alan Dershowitz and some new American Hitler on the Morton Downey show followed by an ABC-Washington Post poll, sponsored by the League of Women Voters. The fight

against fascism is real, and to the finish.

It ought to be obvious that such protest means that people and organizations with different political views come together for their mutual defense. This is what the great revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky argued for to stop the Nazis in Germany. We fight for democratic rights and favor all possible legal proceedings. But we have no faith whatsoever in the capitalist courts. The state is not neutral. It is the organization of class rule. That means we do not call upon the state to legislate against the Klan, to ban the Klan.

We know that it was the FBI that rode with the nightriders that shot Viola Liuzzo. We know that when the Klan says they're going to march into black neighborhoods and stage their provocation in communities of Jewish concentration camp survivors, the cops become suddenly very solicitous of their First Amendment rights. We know that anytime there's legislation passed against those fascists, even if they say it's aimed there, it will strike and wound the left. We remember the Smith Act, which was passed as an anti-Nazi bill, but became a weapon of choice for the McCarthy witchhunt of the 1950s.

Labor and blacks have the power—that is the big secret. That is why gatherings like this one are so important. Because if you let that particular cat out of the bag, unlike the fantasy world of capitalist electoral politics, here you begin to see. We see each other first of all. We learn that we can talk and argue freely about our political differences and varied visions of future reality, even as we act together to defend ourselves in the interest of our class. We begin to see that militant determination can work. We begin to feel our own strength. We learn that this great power can and must be unleashed, that on a grand scale it could have stopped the Nazis in Germany and the Holocaust. That in struggle we gain confidence, leadership for the upcoming battles upon which our future reality and our children's future depends. Let this be a beginning. ■

Black Press Covers November 5 Mobilization

Amsterdam News

Klan rally rebuffed

By HAROLD L. JAMISON

Organizers of an anti-Ku Klux Klan rally have successfully

stopped

their

gathering

in

when

Washington Afro-American

'White pride' protest halted by 1,000 persistent marchers

By Dave

Black American

How The "Ghost Busters" Busted The Klan

Chicago Defender

Philadelphia girds for civil rights/KKK clash

The mass mobilization to stop KKK and skinhead racial terror will assemble at 9 p.m. on Saturday. They are safe from these racist killers. We'll be there at Independence Mall to honor the strike against supermarkets. Philadelphia's civil rights leaders will assemble at 9 p.m. on Saturday.

delivered to the more than 1,000 rain-soaked people who turned out at Philadelphia's historic Independence Mall, said "To in Philadelphia we do not wear white hoods, burning

OK?" The PDC, a nationwide legal defense adds this vic-

The Inquirer

Journalist called 'pol. prisoner'

By KENNETH WILSON

Philadelphia Post-Examiner

the anti-Klan rally at the Judge

to a 1950s reporter for WTVB-TV (Channel 12), interviewed basketball great Julius Erving, Jamal now sits on Death Row in Pennsylvania State Prison for the

the life of Mumia Abu

Journal

Chiefs of Mumia must see



Anti-Klan rally peaceful

By John C. Livingston

Philadelphia Post-Examiner

stirring that a meeting in on. We

about to get up to a separate nation

about a million and a half people

the federal government

stirring that a meeting in on. We

about to get up to a separate nation

about a million and a half people

the federal government

The Sun Reporter

Demonstrators Say: 'The Klan Doesn't Ride In Philly!'

PHILADELPHIA — More than 1,000 people turned out at Independence Mall in the rain, under the banner "All Out to Stop the KKK!"

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Trotsky and the Gorbachev School of Falsification

Part One of this article was published in WV No. 464, 4 November.

In the most literal sense, Trotsky and his supporters represented the continuity of Leninism. Lenin's last works were devoted to waging a fight in a bloc with Trotsky, against the ascending nationalist-bureaucratic tendency represented by Stalin, on three central issues: defense of the state monopoly over foreign trade; opposition to Great Russian chauvinism manifested over the Georgian dispute; opposition to bureaucracy in the party and state apparatus, manifested most sharply in Stalin's creature, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. The conclusion Lenin drew, added as a postscript to his *Testament*, was that Stalin must go as general secretary of the party. He also

PART TWO OF TWO

called Trotsky "personally perhaps the most capable man in the present C.C." Unfortunately, with Lenin's death, Trotsky pulled back from the sharp struggle which Lenin urged (see "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!" *Spartacist* No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88).

Stalin used the "struggle against Trotskyism" as a club to smash all opposition within the Communist Party. Thus the particular sins of Trotsky kept changing, when Stalin was with Zinoviev and Kamenev, Trotsky was labeled a "social democrat," to cover their own conciliation of Menshevism; when Stalin blocked with Bukharin, suddenly Trotsky "underestimated the peasantry"; as Stalin looked for an alliance with the Western "democracies," Trotsky was rendered an agent of Hitler; and when Stalin himself made a pact with Hitler, Trotsky was supposedly in league with British and French imperialism. Now Gorbachev & Co. are waging the "struggle against Trotskyism" to justify their pro-market economic policies and appeasement of imperialism: by dismissing Trotsky's "ultraleftism," they denounce the program of the October



Leon Trotsky with Lenin in Moscow, 5 May 1920. The Bolshevik leaders fought for world socialist revolution.

Revolution and the early Communist International.

The 9 September *Pravda* article on Trotsky, the "demon of the revolution," is an excerpt from a new biography of Stalin by Col.-Gen. Dmitry Volkogonov. He acknowledges that "During the years of revolution and Civil War, in the popularity of leaders Trotsky stood right behind Lenin."

Pravda's preface concedes that "Trotsky did play a certain role in the October armed uprising and then in the years of the Civil War, when he was People's Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs." Volkogonov says he must "give Trotsky his due: he did not break, as many did, under Stalin's dictatorship." And he makes it clear that Stalin ordered Trotsky's assassination. But Volkogonov depicts the dispute between Trotsky and Stalin as essentially a war of intrigue between two aspiring dictators. Trotsky's call for socialist democracy is dismissed as "alien" to this "failed dictator" who was "closer to bonapartism, Caesarism, military dictatorship."

The brunt of Volkogonov's attack on Trotsky centers on his call for the militarization of labor during the 1920 trade-union dispute. This dispute had an episodic character in the period of transition from War Communism to the New Economic Policy. The question which plagued Soviet leaders was how to revive an economy decimated by years of imperialist and civil war. Trotsky had already anticipated the future NEP with a proposal for a "tax in kind" to replace forcible requisitioning of grain from the peasantry. His proposal was rejected at that point, whereupon Trotsky argued for more effective and extensive methods of War Communism to revitalize economic life. It was particularly Trotsky's call for subordi-

nating the trade unions to the workers state that Lenin was referring to in his *Testament* when he criticized Trotsky's overly administrative approach.

Accepting Lenin's criticism, Trotsky later pointed out in his letter on party history, "The tendency to stress the administrative side grew out of the entire practice of War Communism and affected innumerable Old Bolsheviks." Within the framework of War Communism, maintaining effective labor discipline was axiomatic among all the Bolshevik leaders. The formation of "labor armies," for which Volkogonov takes Trotsky to task, was *not* a point of disagreement. As Lenin and Trotsky emphasized at the Tenth Congress, they were in complete unity against the semi-syndicalist Workers Opposition of Kollontai and Shlyapnikov. Indeed, at the time of the trade-union dispute, Lenin sponsored a resolution which, among other things, called for "sound forms of the militarisation of labour" ("The Party Crisis," January 1921).

Trotsky is now presented as the brain trust of Stalin's "harracks socialism" because he argued early on for a policy of balanced industrialization and *voluntary* collectivization. Those who seek to indict Trotsky as the inspiration behind Stalin's irrational and brutal policies have a big problem. Trotsky scathingly denounced the destructive brutality of forced collectivization; the terrible depression of living standards and police-state oppression of the workers; the enormous waste caused by economic adventurism, constant zig-zags and national autarky. Above all, Trotsky emphasized the *international* character of the Left Opposition's program. A few years later he wrote:

"The Left Opposition began with the struggle for the industrialization and agrarian collectivization of the Soviet Union. This fight it won in a certain sense, namely, in that, beginning with 1928, the whole policy of the Soviet government represents a bureaucratically distorted application of the principles of the Left Opposition. Without this the Soviet Union would not be in existence any longer. But the economic questions of the USSR formed only one part, and a subordinate one at that, of our program, whose center of gravity rested in the sphere of international revolution."
—"The Meaning of Rakovsky's Surrender" (March 1934)

Among the Opposition, it was the *capitulators* to Stalin's "socialism in one country" who became enthusiastic supporters of Stalinist industrialization. They were precisely the ones who, like Preobrazhensky and Radek, rejected the internationalism represented by Trotsky's permanent revolution.

But beyond the distortions, the "new thinking" critics of Trotsky are ideologically more counterposed to the program of the Left Opposition than even Stalin was, as they identify with the Bukharinite *Right* Opposition's appeasement of pro-capitalist forces and its opposition to Stalin's industrialization/collectivization in 1928-29. In his book *On Stalin and Stalinism* (1979), historian Roy Medvedev, today a semi-official mouthpiece of neo-Bukharinism among the Soviet intelligentsia and one



Stalin and Bukharin, 1929. Their program of "socialism in one country" was repudiation of the program of the October Revolution.

who actually has read Trotsky's writings, praises Bukharin for extending the NEP through the '20s, while denouncing Trotsky for "proclaiming the slogan of 'permanent revolution'" in the face of an "utterly exhausted" working class and peasantry. Medvedev flatly asserts that "capitalism in Europe had defeated the revolutionary movement," while falsely arguing that Lenin's advocacy of NEP was premised on a turn away from international revolution:

"it was assumed that this policy would continue during a prolonged period of coexistence with the surrounding capitalist world, i.e. it was a policy of building socialism in one country, and however much Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev may have scoffed at this 'theory', it was not invented by Stalin and Bukharin. Lenin's last works had all pointed the way."

Medvedev's analysis is, to say the least, fatuous. In the first place Lenin did not—nor did Bukharin at the time—assume the NEP would continue for a "prolonged" period of "coexistence" (see "The Bukharin Dossier," WJ No. 455, 17 June, reprinted in the Spartacist pamphlet "Market Socialism" in Eastern Europe). In fact, Lenin's last article, "Better Fewer, But Better" (March 1923), unambiguously reasserted his internationalist perspective: "the whole world is now passing to a movement that must give rise to a world socialist revolution." Setting as the goal "to ensure our existence until the next military conflict between the counter-revolutionary imperialist West and the revolutionary and nationalist East," he insisted: "We, too, lack enough civilisation to enable us to pass straight on to socialism, although we do have the political requisites for it."

Lenin specified the political requisite: state power in the hands of the working class. To "save ourselves" until the expected military conflict with imperialism, Lenin stressed "that the workers retain the leadership of the peasants" and the need to "develop our large-scale machine industry, to develop electrification." This is in essence the program pursued by Trotsky. The Left Opposition sought to optimize the situation in Russia through a process of planned industrialization which would lay the basis for voluntary collectivization of agriculture, while seeking world revolution. Stalin, however, thought he could build socialism in one country with the threadbare resources of Soviet Russia. So he really had to strain in terms of industrialization and collectivization.

The Bukharinite Right Opposition wanted to continue conciliating the wealthy kulaks and Nepmen, even as the kulaks were organizing grain strikes to hold the cities ransom and counterrevolutionary agitation was spreading in the countryside. And that was a program for disaster. As Trotsky



Berlin, 6 January 1919: Demonstration of armed workers and soldiers during the "Spartacus uprising." Russian workers eagerly hoped for German workers revolution to end isolation of the Soviet republic.

had pointed out when he raised the alarm over the "scissors crisis" in the early 1920s, the peasants' support to the proletarian state depended, in the final analysis, on providing the countryside with manufactured goods to exchange for produce. Bukharin's program of "socialism at a snail's pace" in reality meant the growth of counterrevolution at a gallop.

Caught in the rut of "socialism in one country," the Gorbachevite intellectuals see only two choices, both for the '20s and today: either Stalinist "commandism" or Bukharinite encouragement of a capitalist sector and "market socialism." As *Moscow News* (23 October) headlined: "Administrative Diktat or Socialist Market: There Is No Other Way." But there is, and was, another road, of soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism, the road of Lenin and Trotsky.

Soviet Power and International Revolution

The necessity of extending the revolution internationally was not some stick with which the Left Opposition beat and badgered an exhausted proletariat. Revolutionary internationalism was the lifeblood of Lenin's Bolsheviks. When Lenin proclaimed the birth of the soviet power on 7 November 1917, he concluded "Long live the world socialist revolution!" And the road to October lay through Lenin's fight against the chauvinist betrayal of the Second

International in World War I. This was capped by the founding of the Communist Third International in 1919, whose manifesto to the workers of the world was written by Trotsky.

One of the first acts of the new Soviet government was the allocation of two million rubles in state funds "for the needs of the revolutionary international movement." The 26 December 1917 decree explained that "the Soviet Government is based on the principles of the international solidarity of the proletariat and on the brotherhood of the toilers of all countries; that the struggle against war and imperialism can be brought to a completely successful conclusion only if waged on an international scale" (reprinted in Jane Degras, ed., *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy*). Nobody in the Bolshevik Party, nobody in the advanced layers of the proletariat thought otherwise at the time: the fate of the Russian Revolution hinged on the outcome of the international revolution.

When a revolutionary upsurge broke out in Berlin a year later, the Russian workers followed the events with bated breath. The last session of the Sixth Congress of Soviets, meeting on November 10, was interrupted twice to hear the latest telegrams from Berlin. Lenin addressed the crowds who poured toward the Kremlin. Radek described the scene:

"Tens of thousands of workers burst into wild cheering. Never have I seen

anything like it again. Until late in the evening workers and Red Army soldiers were filing past. The world revolution had come. The mass of the people heard its iron tramp. Our isolation was over."

—quoted in E.H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923*, Vol. 3

The Soviet government immediately and unilaterally annulled the *Brest-Litovsk treaty*, the humiliating terms imposed by imperialist Germany earlier in the year. Even before the workers of Berlin had taken to the streets, Lenin was insisting that the Red Army had to be built up to three million "by the spring" to "help the international workers' revolution." Unfortunately the German Revolution of 1918-19 failed, victim of the treachery of the Social Democrats and the inexperience of the German Communists. Spartacist leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered. But the eyes of the Russian workers remained fixed on Germany, living on the fervent hope that soon their isolation would be over.

Following an ebb in the revolutionary upheaval in Western Europe in 1920-21, by 1923 revolutionary opportunities arose in Poland, Bulgaria and Germany. The renewed possibility of revolution in Germany sent tremors of expectation throughout Soviet Russia. One observer described how Red Army soldiers were eager "to march with arms in their hands to the aid of the German and Polish proletariat." Soviet trade missions in Europe were instructed to build up "a reserve of gold and grain to help the German proletariat" against a counterrevolutionary blockade in the event of victory. But the German CP leadership dawdled as the masses approached a revolutionary pitch, and the Comintern under Zinoviev refused Trotsky's entreaties to push the German party. Stalin outright denied there was any revolutionary possibility.

In *The Lessons of October* (1924) Trotsky drew a parallel between the fatal passivity in 1923 and the line advocated by the conciliationists Zinoviev and Kamenev in 1917. It was over this biting polemic that the troika launched a war against "Trotskyism" and "permanent revolution." Meanwhile, the defeat in Germany sapped the revolutionary energies of the Russian proletariat, strengthening the hand of the conservative bureaucratic apparatus which seized political power from the proletarian vanguard. Stalin's proclamation of "socialism in one country" in late 1924 was the banner of the now ascendant bureaucratic caste. It stood in

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Palestinian Uprising...

(continued from page 1)

Strip. They speak ever more openly of "cleansing" the "Jewish state" of Palestinians. Yet there are only four million Jews in a sea of 100 million Arabs. Israel's rulers are driving the Hebrew-speaking people toward suicide.

Israel is a deathtrap for the Jewish people. And Jewish workers had better come to recognize that, before they find themselves blown to kingdom come along with the rest of the world by the nuclear madmen in Jerusalem, who would sooner trigger a nuclear Armageddon than surrender their expansionist drive. The world—and not least the Israeli people—owes a debt to Mordechai Vanunu, the Israeli nuclear technician who has been thrown in a Mossad dungeon for courageously exposing the deadly scale of the Zionists' nuclear arsenal.

There can be a place—a full place—for Jews, Arabs, Druze, Bedouins, Kurds, for all the various peoples who make up the national and religious patchwork of the Near East. But to bring this about, the property-holding classes must be smashed. Then the working peoples can with renewed confidence impose their dominance on a new egalitarian society, deeply respecting the different national components.

Intifada—Against the "Iron Fist" of Terror

In the past year of revolt and repression, hundreds of unarmed Palestinian men, women and children have been gunned down by Israeli troops, fascist "settlers" and now death squads. Thousands of young protesters have been sadistically beaten, their arms or legs deliberately broken as a "lesson," or literally buried alive. Deadly plastic bullets are fired at pointblank range while Labor war minister Yitzhak Rabin crows: "The growing number of casualties reflects the improved ability of the Israeli defence forces to deal with rioters" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 9 October).

Yet despite the self-described "Iron Fist" of Israeli repression, the *Intifada*



"Labor" Party's Shimon Peres (left), Likud's Yitzhak Shamir: Zionist enemies of Palestinian Arabs and Hebrew-speaking workers.

professor at Bir Zeit University, a center of Palestinian radicalism and nationalism in the West Bank, exclaimed that "the greatest military power in the Mediterranean can no longer subdue the spontaneous defiance of a civilian population whose only armament is street stones and lack of fear." But however admirable and heroic, this one-sided war has taken a deadly toll on the Palestinians.

There is an understandable urge by militant Palestinians to fight back with weapons in kind. But if Palestinian youth have not replaced their stones with bullets, it is not just because they have limited access to arms; these can be smuggled in. It's obvious to all that any attempt to transform the *Intifada* into guerrilla warfare would be answered with a mass bloodbath by the Israelis. During the election campaign Likud prime minister Yitzhak Shamir ranted, "If the Arab residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip will start to fight against Israeli security forces with live ammunition, no remnant will remain of them, and then the uprising will come to an end" (*New York Times*, 18 October).

The *Intifada* is not an armed insurrection against the occupying Israeli forces. To a large extent the uprising has employed the weapons of economic warfare. Over the years the Israelis turned the occupation into a most prof-

sweatshops, construction and service industries.

A major goal of the *Intifada* is severing these economic ties. A commercial boycott has aimed, with some success, at replacing Israeli-made goods with Palestinian products. The flow of Palestinian labor has been disrupted both by a series of strikes and protests and by the army's repressive measures—curfews, roadblocks, mass terror. Added to these economic costs is the enormous increase in direct military expenditure, further weakening the already fragile Israeli economy. Faced with massive budget and foreign-trade deficits, last spring the Likud/Labor "national unity" government imposed a severe austerity program with big cuts in all social programs, including medical services. Massive layoffs are threatened in the wake of the elections. This has already provoked a number of long, bitter strikes by hospital workers.

But if the *Intifada* has adversely affected the Israeli economy, the Palestinians remain far more vulnerable to Israeli economic warfare. And, in fact, economic strangulation is Israel's principal means of subduing rebellious West Bank villages. Their food, fuel and water are cut off; military blockades prevent them from taking their crops to market.

Seeking a New "Pax Americana"

The sight of deeply oppressed Palestinians defying and fighting back against the Zionist state has certainly evoked worldwide sympathy and support. Impressionistic leftists in the U.S. and Europe vicariously cheer on the Palestinian uprising as the road to victory over Zionist Israel just as they hailed the black township revolts in South Africa as the end of apartheid. South African black militants did for a time achieve dual power within the segregated townships like Soweto. However, the white-supremacist state and its armed force remained intact, capable of drowning the rebellious masses in a bloodbath, and eventually strangled and exhausted the black revolt. The same danger faces the Palestinian *Intifada*.

For all their triumphal public rhetoric, the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the PLO or African National Congress hardly believe they can defeat their oppressors in a direct military struggle. The ANC was seeking to pressure "enlightened" South African capitalists (like the mine bosses!) and Western imperialism to put the squeeze on the apartheid state. And in recent years, the PLO has sought to pressure particularly the European imperialist powers to in turn pressure their American NATO ally to force the Israelis into a compromise.

For years the PLO sought to pressure the Arab bourgeois regimes into a war of redemption against Israel. But the Arab rulers are no less hostile to the interests of the Palestinian people than are their Zionist counterparts. In the infamous "Black September" 1970, Jor-

dan's Hussein massacred 10,000 Palestinian militants. Currently, the PLO leadership seeks to turn the mass uprising in the Occupied Territories into a vehicle for securing imperialist support for its mini-state proposal, which has now become Arafat's maximum program.

For years, the imperialist "democracies" have insisted that a precondition for any discussion be the PLO's recognition of Israel. They never call on the Zionists to recognize a Palestinian state. So now the PLO has done it, endorsing United Nations resolutions 242 and 338 which guarantee "secure borders" for Israel. After the Palestine National Council formally recognized Israel in mid-November, Arafat personally appealed to contra terrorist-in-chief George Bush to inaugurate a "season of peace" in the Near East. But the American ruling class is not ready to play the Palestinian card right now.

Palestinian and black South African nationalists share the profoundly dangerous illusion that Western, centrally U.S., imperialism can be made to play a progressive role in their parts of the world. There are, to be sure, differences between American ruling circles and the Zionists and Afrikaner Nationalists. U.S. policy makers might prefer some "power-sharing" in South Africa and "autonomy" for the West Bank/Gaza. That is, Washington would like to co-opt a section of the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships into something like a neocolonial setup.

Allah Meets Jehovah?

It is certainly not out of the question that U.S. imperialism could do a turnaround in the Near East if it saw that as a road to achieving a more stable anti-Soviet consensus with the bourgeois Arab regimes. The denial of a visa to Arafat has led to an uproar not only from the West Europeans, but from New York's influential Archbishop O'Connor and such journalists as Flora Lewis, who has an ear to the thoughts of the CIA. Lewis saw behind the question of Arafat's visa the "ominous issue of whether a Democratic Congress and a Republican White House are becoming hell-bent on an all-American cold war" (*New York Times*, 27 November).

But what would it mean for Israeli policy toward the Palestinian people if Washington decides to play the Palestinian card? Israel is not a puppet of U.S. imperialism, but a very junior ally. Any Israeli government which moved toward withdrawal from the Occupied Territories would face armed resistance and provocations by the fascist Gush Emunim and other settler groups, which could easily ignite a full-scale civil war in Israel. Witness the crazed violent hostility of Israeli rightists toward perceived "doves." The well-known Israeli liberal Meron Benvenisti reports that recently a taxi driver screamed at him: "We'll burn the Arabs and their friends!" When Benvenisti ignored the man, he continued, "No. First we burn Arab lovers."

To increasing numbers of Israelis, the Occupied Territories are de facto part of Israel. The Golan Heights, captured from Syria in 1967 and populated largely by Druze, has already been formally annexed, as has Arab East Jerusalem. And since 1967, the Israelis have expropriated more and more Arab land on the West Bank.

For Zionist fanatics, giving up one inch of the West Bank is tantamount to evacuating Haifa or Tel Aviv. The logic of the Zionist national project—carving out a Jewish-only state in the Arab East—has always been expansionist. When the mainstream Zionist parties dismiss the sentiment for "transfer" as isolated, Moledet chief Rechavam Ze'evi, a former "Labor" Party leader, retorts that "population transfer" of Palestinian Arabs is "Zionism by definition." "This idea did not originate with me," says Ze'evi, citing "teachers and leaders in the Zionist movement"



Israeli bosses rely on superexploited Palestinian workers bused from Occupied Territories.

continues into its twelfth month. To a large extent popular Palestinian committees now direct the economic, social and political life of the West Bank villages and cities and the Gaza camps. They run their own schools and health clinics, organize guard duties and oversee the harvesting of crops. The despised collaborators with the Zionist state have been swept away and, in the face of mass outrage, the Palestinians who worked as police for the Israeli occupiers resigned en masse.

In its first months, the explosion of mass defiance produced a triumphalist mood in Palestinian nationalist circles. For example, Salim Tamari, a sociology

professor at Bir Zeit University, a center of Palestinian radicalism and nationalism in the West Bank, exclaimed that "the greatest military power in the Mediterranean can no longer subdue the spontaneous defiance of a civilian population whose only armament is street stones and lack of fear." But however admirable and heroic, this one-sided war has taken a deadly toll on the Palestinians.

Racist Cops Burn Over Larry Davis Verdict

Two years ago, the New York City police came gunning for 20-year-old Larry Davis. The cops had him surrounded in his sister's apartment and burst in with a shotgun blast and pistols blazing. Davis defended himself and somehow managed to escape. For the next 17 days he made fools of the NYPD, hiding out in plain sight, in a Bronx housing project. He became a folk hero, known as "the dude that elude." Every morning people tuned in to WINS to see if he was still "at large." So popular was Davis that hundreds came out to watch his surrender, cheering "Lar-ry, Lar-ry," and preventing him from being blown away "while trying to escape."

Earlier this year Davis was acquitted of the original charges against him for the murder of four drug dealers. But because six cops were wounded in the 19 November 1986 shoot-out, probably in the police crossfire, Davis was charged with "attempted murder." Last week, Larry Davis was again acquitted, by a Bronx jury of ten blacks and two Hispanics. Now the latest dance in the South Bronx is "the Larry Davis," and the *New York Times* (21 November) reported the mass sentiment that "Mr.

Davis was no angel but had rightly defended himself against police who too often think black life is cheap and expendable."

"They came in to wipe him out," said jury foreman Cecilia Thompson. "They wanted him dead so he couldn't squeal on them," she explained, referring to Davis' intimate knowledge of drug corruption among the cops. As Davis said in a TV interview after the verdict: "Some people, they're seeing me as one out of a million who hasn't died of police brutality or police assassination, too, like Eleanor Bumpurs or Michael Stewart." Larry Davis' defense was straightforward, and a jury of his peers agreed: if you're black and the NYPD comes looking for you, it's an open-and-shut case of self-defense.

The cops are livid. They want free rein to kill as they please. Racist pig mayor Ed Koch egged them on, and the day after the Larry Davis verdict, an all-white crowd of 3,500 armed cops demonstrated outside the 113th Precinct in Jamaica, Queens. They were protesting slap-on-the-wrist transfers of cops over the rampant racism in the notorious precinct. PBA chief Phil Caruso denounced the Davis acquittal and called to "get

these radicals" and "shove them aside and let us do our job."

After the verdict, the haughty *New York Times* (25 November) wrote a hand-wringing editorial about "The Message of the Davis Case," worrying that you can't get a jury to convict because of mass "perceptions of the police." Koch's police commissioner Ben Ward said out loud what New York rulers are thinking: that the outcome would have been very different if it had been tried by a judge without a jury. They're taking aim at any democratic restraints on police power, like a jury of your peers, especially if they're black or Hispanic.

They've still got a conviction of Davis for gun possession, and Bronx D.A. Paul Gentile called for a maximum sentence (10-20 years) to "help" the cops "accept the verdict." This is a not-too-subtle hint that the police may carry out their own verdict. As Davis' attorney William Kunstler pointed out, the judge "can't give [Davis] any more than [Bernhard] Goetz got," referring to the "subway gunman" who thought his life was in danger and who got six months for the same "offense." Larry Davis knew he was going to be killed—and the



Krulwich/NY Times

Larry Davis

cops are still out for his blood

On November 25, another man fell victim to the police in the Bronx. A harmless beggar was repeatedly prodded by a transit cop, then pushed to the ground and choked to death by a nightstick applied to his neck—a scene reminiscent of the TA cops' murder of Michael Stewart. As far as the NYPD and their masters are concerned, the entire city is a killing zone. ■

like Israeli founding father David Ben-Gurion.

"Transfer" means war. It did in 1947-48 and again in 1967. Today, powerful forces in the Israeli ruling class would like to provoke another war with the Arab states, beginning with Syria. And many would like to use such a war as a cover for the expulsion/massacre of

strikes which were honored not only in Gaza but also in much of the West Bank. The *Washington Post National Weekly* (26 September) notes that they are "feeding upon a growing fear in the West Bank that the uprising is leading nowhere, and a growing disaffection with the PLO as a result."

The PLO's number two man, Salah



Landau/Jerusalem Post

Zionist rulers gagged and imprisoned Mordechai Vanunu for courageously exposing Israel's nuclear arsenal.

the Palestinians. For the Zionists, "Greater Israel" does not stop on the west bank of the Jordan river—Hussein's Jordan itself is overwhelmingly Palestinian—but extends from "the Euphrates to the Nile."

In the face of the seemingly unstoppable Israeli Goliath and the evident futility of the PLO's appeals to imperialist "good will," frustration among the Palestinian masses has been reflected in the growth of fundamentalist forces, particularly in the squalid concentration camps of Gaza but also in the West Bank. Salim Tamari, a mainstream Palestinian nationalist, laments, "the Palestinians have always prided themselves on being a secular society and a secular movement, and today they are being infested by Khomeinism" (*Middle East Report*, May-June 1988).

In recent months the pro-PLO Unified Leadership of the Uprising has been challenged by Islamic fundamentalists who proclaim that the only solution is *jihad*, a "holy war." Graffiti in West Bank villages promises "The end of Israel is a Koranic inevitability," and "We will tell the sons of Zion that we will not forget Haifa and Jaffa. We are coming." In August and September, the Muslim fundamentalists called general

Khalaf, gives the organization about six months to achieve "international legitimacy" for its program before it is politically defeated by the pressure of Zionist hardliners in Israel and Islamic fanatics in the Palestinian camp. If Shamir and Arafat aren't going to heat their swords into plowshares, what are the chances that Jehovah and Allah can work it out?

Smash Zionism Through Socialist Revolution!

The handful of European Jewish settlers who first came to Palestine (then part of the Ottoman Empire) in the late 19th century did not for the most part want to expel or subjugate the indigenous Arab population. Many of them were utopian socialists who sought to build a collectivist peasant society. They thought they could go to an Arab land and recruit other Jews to join them or, with some chutzpah, sought to win over some Muslim and Christian Arab *fellahin* to their way of thinking. The first was more likely than the second, but neither was bent on sowing willful hatred among peoples.

The Zionists were destined to take a third road. After devoting their efforts to soliciting sponsors from among the

most reactionary imperialists in Europe with the aim of making common cause around ridding Europe of Jews (including Yitzhak Shamir's Stern Gang proposing alliance with Hitler), they finally got their big chance with the Nazi Holocaust. Until the late 1930s there was very little support for Zionism among European and American Jewry, even in countries which fiercely persecuted Jews such as tsarist Russia and later Pilsudski's Poland. Politically-minded Jews in Europe were overwhelmingly socialist internationalists, who saw their struggle alongside their proletarian class brothers against their own capitalists. And in Palestine, Jewish Communists like Leopold Trepper were expelled by the British colonial masters for engaging in joint class struggle with Arab workers.

After the wave of Holocaust survivors who were refused entry into Britain or the U.S. and ended up in Palestine, since the formation of the state of Israel in 1948 relatively few European and American Jews have emigrated there. Significantly, when 50,000 French Jewish *colons* left Algeria in the early 1960s following independence, practically all of them went to France. Immigration to Israel has consisted overwhelmingly of Sephardic Jews who had lived for centuries in the Arab East. Even there, the Mossad deliberately provoked anti-Semitic campaigns in the Arab countries to frighten Jews into leaving.

For decades the European-derived Ashkenazi elite of Israel lorded it over and looked down upon the more cul-

turally backward Sephardic Jews, who became the bulk of the Israeli proletariat. Many observers have compared Israel's Sephardic Jews with poor whites in the American South. Deeply resentful of the Ashkenazi elite above them, they channeled their social hatred into a brutal racism toward the Arabs below them. The Sephardim thus became the main electoral base for Likud and the further right Zionist parties. Today Kahane targets them for his fascist appeals. But these oppressed layers are not necessarily wedded to Zionist fanaticism. Mordechai Vanunu was a Moroccan Jew.

American and European Jews are overwhelmingly assimilationist, seeking to live among their non-Jewish neighbors, not to engage in "holy war." A letter to the *Jerusalem Post* signed by officers of the Holocaust Survivors Association USA denounced proposals for "transfer" as "violating the traditional Jewish principles of justice and compassion, and as repugnant because of the memories of deportations of European Jews in the 1940s." The cause of "Greater Israel" has a very narrow base worldwide.

In the recent U.S. elections, almost 70 percent of American Jews voted for Michael Dukakis, who is no anti-Semite but neither is he a supporter of Israeli expansionism. American Jews prefer Dukakis to George Bush, who simultaneously harbors East European Nazis in his entourage while strongly backing the Israeli government

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Trotsky...

(continued from page 7)

sharp contradiction not only to all previous Marxist writings, but to Stalin six months earlier, when he wrote in the first edition of *Lenin and Leninism*:

"For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, particularly of such a peasant country as Russia are insufficient."

The isolation of the Soviet Union was not preordained, as Medvedev and his cothinkers would have it. The subsequent opportunities to extend the revolution beyond the borders of Russia were squandered by the ruling bureaucratic caste, which placed attempts at rapprochement with imperialism above support to the international proletariat. Trotsky's letter to the Bureau of Party History indicted Stalin for crimes against the international revolution:

"...the cruel massacre of the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese Revolution at its three most important turning points, the strengthening of the position of the trade union agents of British imperialism after the General Strike of 1926, and, finally, the general weakening of the position of the Communist International and the Soviet Union, the party owes principally and above all to Stalin."

By 1935, the CI had been transformed into an agency for shackling the international proletariat to its imperialist rulers under the aegis of the "People's Front." "Stalin Has Signed the Death Certificate of the Third International," wrote Trotsky and later that year called the Seventh Congress the "Liquidation Congress." In 1943, Stalin formally liquidated Lenin's International in order to appease his imperialist allies.

In the end Stalin succeeded in imprinting his nationalist outlook on the Soviet peoples. Today, proletarian internationalism is sneered at as an obscure Trotskyite heresy of "export of revolution" or, at best, emptied of any content while paid cynical lip service. But it took years to uproot the internationalist heritage of October from the consciousness of the Soviet workers. In the 1920s, as Soviet historian Vladlen Sirotkin recently wrote, "ordinary Soviet men and women were raised on the idea of a world revolution." He refers to a recent letter to *Ogonoyok* from a veteran soldier "stating that Red Army men were learning the Esperanto language in 1922-23 because it was the language of a world revolution" (*XXth Century and Peace*, July 1988).

Yet Sirotkin emphasizes the pervasive belief in international revolution only to emphasize the fundamental "conceptual difference" with Gorbachev's "new ideas."

Behind the banners of the Bolshevik Revolution were united Jewish intellectuals and Russian *muzhiks* (peasants), Armenian Christians and Azerbaijani Muslims, Russians and non-Russian minorities. But the "ideological struggle" against Trotskyism which Gorbachev hails brought to the surface the worst, most backward exercises of

world wrote as much caustic, malicious, insulting, lampooning and hefting material about Stalin as Trotsky did. In this way, he showed his true colors even more openly. He was not fighting for the truth but only for himself, the dictator who never was." Well, had the Left Opposition won out it would have led to a dictatorship of the proletariat in both Russia and Germany!

"New thinkers" like Volkogonov deny that Trotsky had any support. Yet tens of thousands of Trotskyists were shot in the camps. The Left Opposition

proletarian revolution denied, they are left with no other measuring rod than vulgar (bourgeois) democracy. Columnist Flora Lewis reports (*New York Times*, 12 October) that *Ogonoyok* editor Vitaly Korotich complains, "I'm tired of labels. I want a normal country" without any taint of revolution and internationalism.

In the final analysis, soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism are inextricably intertwined. In the absence of international socialist planning, an isolated workers state, no

Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile demonstrate on anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution, 1928. Center banner, with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky, proclaims: "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Basil Blackwell Inc.



prerevolutionary Russia, including the use of anti-Semitism, and not just under Stalin. (To this day, the Stalinists go out of their way to note that Trotsky's real name was Bronstein, and Volkogonov even laments Yiddishizes the first name from Lev to "Leiba.") Today the deadly heritage of Stalinist nationalism is evident particularly in the Great Russian Nazis of Pamyat, who are allowed to openly strut around in the cradle of the revolution itself, Leningrad. If the workers of heroic Leningrad take it into their hands to crush this fascist obscenity, it will greatly advance the prospect of a revival of internationalism in the Soviet Union.

Against Stalinism— For World Revolution!

Today the Soviet intelligentsia praises Bukharin as the alternative to Stalin. But Bukharin did not fight Stalin—and that's fine with them. Trotsky did—and they denounce him for it. Volkogonov's preface to his book on Stalin, published earlier in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (9 December 1987), raved: "No one else in the

had a significant base among the party cadre in the Soviet Union and internationally, including central figures of the Bolshevik Revolution like Christian Rakovsky and Adolf Joffe. And the Left Opposition left behind a legacy for the Soviet and international proletariat in the program of the Fourth International, founded in 1938. The Right Opposition left in its wake nothing but a record of confusion and capitulation. The Bukharinites did not fight Stalinism because, in its essentials, the perspective of the Stalinist bureaucracy was accepted, indeed authored, by Bukharin. The Right Opposition existed largely within the hierarchy of the party, while its popular appeal was primarily to those outside the party, the kulaks and the Nepmen, who benefited most from its platform.

Western social-democratic anti-communists have for years drawn an equal sign between Stalin and Trotsky as part of equating Stalinism with Leninism. It is not surprising that some Soviet intellectuals now echo the lie that Leninism led to Stalinism. Once the class line is erased and international

matter how developed and powerful, cannot move forward to socialism. For the Soviet peoples, an understanding of the real history of the October Revolution of 1917 and the degeneration which followed it is the key which unlocks the problems which surround them today. Not surprisingly, there is a vast abyss of ignorance of who Trotsky was and what he stood for.

Soviet workers must demand that all the writings of Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders be published. In Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936) they will find the indictment of Stalin's perversion of Leninism and of his assault on the Soviet working people. In the program of Trotskyism, they will find the continuity of Lenin's Communist International: the struggle for world socialist revolution to smash imperialism and for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracy which leeches off the gains of October. The road forward lies in rediscovering the internationalist legacy of the Trotskyist Left Opposition and again blazing a path for all humanity. ■

Palestinian Uprising...

(continued from page 9)

In the U.S., the creatures of the Mossad have a lot of pull, goading Washington's anti-Communism in order to funnel billions in arms to finance Israel's war against "Soviet surrogates." But American Zionists would do well to recall that Texas oil millionaires are not exactly the most

consistent friends of the Jewish people.

The *Intifada* is posing pointblank to the Hebrew-speaking people that their future lies either in becoming the Nazis of the Near East—increasingly isolated even from Jews internationally and their future looking increasingly dismal, deprived of even that bit of European culture represented by Saturday soccer and Friday night movies and dance clubs—or turning against their own rulers.

The Zionist state does not even have the relative stability of white-ruled South Africa. Its industrial base is too narrow and, more importantly, its population is too small. And the bloody course of Israeli expansionism makes the four million Jews of Israel the automatic scapegoat for the Arab rulers seeking to prevent the 100 million Arabs of the region from rising up against their exploiters at home. Sooner or later the Israeli bunker is going to crack in a war with the surrounding Arab states, and then the Zionist madmen—the Shamirs, Rabins and Sharons—could well launch their massive nuclear arsenal.

Flung into their own diaspora, the Palestinians, one of the most radicalized and educated elements in the Arab East, can be key in bringing down the whole wretched array of Zionist state terrorists, feudal monarchs, religious fanatics and nationalist colonels. Pales-

tinians constitute a majority of King Hussein's Jordan, a substantial minority in that feudal patchwork called Lebanon, and a strategic section of the labor force in Persian Gulf oil fields. By breaking with petty-bourgeois nationalism and embracing proletarian internationalism, Palestinians can be in the vanguard of socialist revolution in the Near East.

The Palestinian Arab people have been sacrificed by every nationalist demagogue and sheik, every "progressive" colonel and feudalist mullah in the Near East. Their own petty-bourgeois leaders, who will be no less corrupt than the rest if their aspirations to be a ruling class are realized, will oppress them as readily as the Zionists do today. It did not need a Sharon to perpetrate Black September nor a Rabin to level the Syrian town of Haama. This is normal for the Near East—and it is normal for nation-building in the epoch of imperialist decay. The only way out is social revolution against the Arab and Islamic masters and winning over sections of the working-class Jews in struggle against the Zionist rulers.

We have no illusion it will be easy to overcome the intense chauvinism, the hatred and fear of the Arabs, which now animates the Hebrew-speaking masses, especially their Sephardic component. Probably only great historic events,

such as Israel's defeat and humiliation in war or a cataclysmic economic crisis, could break a section of the Hebrew-speaking proletariat from the Zionists and thereby lay the basis for a mass revolutionary workers party in Israel. For a successful outcome to be possible a Trotskyist nucleus must be crystallized in Israel from among militant workers, left-wing students and especially the oppressed Palestinian Arab population.

The struggle for the democratic rights of all the peoples of the Near East and for the survival and emancipation of the Palestinians must necessarily sweep away the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the bloody Ba'athist regime in Syria, bring down the rotten medieval structure in Lebanon and shatter the Zionist garrison state. This struggle must place the revolutionary proletariat with its vanguard party at the head of the exploited and oppressed, and can only find its fulfillment in a socialist federation of the Near East.

Then it will be possible to satisfy the just national demands of the mosaic of national peoples in the Near East. It will even be possible to arrange for rabbis to pray at the Wailing Wall and mullahs at the Al Aqsa mosque without killing each other. And the rest of us, those many non-believers from all religious and cultural backgrounds, will be able to meet again in Jerusalem in peace. ■

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Drug Testing...

(continued from page 12)

said Bill Hawkins, business manager of Ironworkers Local 481 (Denver Post, 27 August).

From Red Scares to Dixie Cups

The Reagan administration waited until George Bush was safely elected before unleashing this latest assault on the American working people, part of a package of vicious cuts and anti-labor rulings including eliminating restrictions on work in the home, foreclosing farm loans, cutting Social Security and Medicaid. "The fact that they waited until after the election says to us that they had some concern about the popularity of these rules," said John Sturdivant, president of the American Federation of Government Employees (New York Times, 15 November).

The purpose of this drug witchhunt is to break the resistance of the labor movement to the government's all-sided assault on American working people. They want to turn the clock back to the eve of World War I, when Henry Ford's "social workers" inspected workers' homes "to make sure that workers used 'plenty of soap and water...'" and that they brushed their teeth "every morning and night" (UAW Solidarity, December 1986). Back in the 1950s, Joe McCarthy's hysterical anti-Communist witchhunting, the "reds under the beds" scares, the "Legion of Decency" pushing family prayer sessions, and polygraph "lie detectors" were used to regiment the population for the "Crusade against Communism."

Today, it's your urine they're after—General Jack D. Ripper, muttering about "vital bodily fluids" in *Dr. Strangelove*, meets the Yuppie eco-freaks! This bizarre campaign to ensure the "purity" of American workers through thousands of lab assistants checking millions of dixie cups of piss is truly insane.

Defend the Unions—Bust the Union-Busters!

The Airline Pilots Association quickly filed suit against the DOT guidelines, as did the independent truckers organization. Edward Yule, United Transportation Union chairman at the Long Island Rail Road, noted that "If they don't like you, they can find a way to get rid of you over this stuff" (New York Times, 20 November). Transportation unions have repeatedly challenged random drug testing in the courts. But as Congress and the Supreme Court, which is currently considering two key "random" drug-testing appeals, gear up to get the unions, it will take class-struggle action to defeat the "drug war" on labor.

Many of the same union tops who are currently pleading with Congress and



Cops terrorize Manhattan's Upper West Side with mass roundups in racist "drug war" against minorities.

filing court cases against random drug testing have rolled over in the face of the drug-testing witchhunt against their own unions' members. In the New York City subways, the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 bureaucrats have let the Transit Authority bosses scapegoat transit workers for years. Even without the draconian DOT regulations, over 15,000 new-hires and almost 9,000 current TWU members have been forced to take drug tests. One older Irish worker whose test turned up false positive was suspended for six months, labeled a "substance abuser" and forced to go through the humiliation of "drug rehab."

This year there have been scores of "draggings" (train doors closing on passengers) caused by faulty, dilapidated equipment and the elimination over the past 30 years of 1,250 platform conductors. After each incident, the motorman and conductor are hauled in for forced urine and blood tests, and when the TA doesn't know which train it was they round up every crew in the area. Workers are fed up with being scapegoated for the "draggings" and want union action. Instead, this month they were set up for victimization by the TWU tops, who told individual workers to "work safe"—drive trains into and out of stations slowly—then abandoned them to TA discipline.

In October TWU president Sonny Hall pulled out nine Manhattan and Bronx bus barns in a two-hour strike against the TA Medical Department's vicious blackballing of workers with high blood pressure and other medical problems. But when the TA fined 500 workers two days' pay under the no-strike Taylor Law, Hall refused to lift a finger to fight this victimization.

The TWU bureaucracy uses the threat

November 5 Mobilization. Now, only days after that successful anti-Klan action, a racist "white pride" student group has sought and won official recognition at Temple. This is a threat to minority groups and everybody on campus.

The racist terrorists can and must be stopped. An *Amsterdam News* (19 November) article on skinhead terror quoted a PDC spokesman: "We believe the Skinheads, KKK and Nazis can be stopped by mobilizing the power of the labor movement, the community and other intended victims of fascist terror. The effectiveness of this strategy was dramatically demonstrated just a few weeks ago in Philadelphia when the Black/labor mobilization initiated by PDC forced the Skinheads and Klan to call off their planned white pride rally Nov. 5. We must counter them. The Skinheads are the young stormtroopers of a growing fascist movement in this country." ■



WV Photo

of the Taylor Law to force transit workers to knuckle under to the fruits of its collaboration with the TA: deadly dangerous working conditions, the multi-tier pensions, absentee control and drug testing. And the current "opposition" slate, New Directions, joins Hall in diverting TWU workers' anger into support for Jesse Jackson and the Democratic Party, which is leading the drug wars. So these "Rainbow" reformists don't even mention the TA's drug-testing attacks in their program. The government's use of drug testing to discipline NYC labor must be smashed by transit and rail unions in subways and commuter railroads like Metro North! Tear up the Taylor Law through strike action!

Smash the Drug Witchhunt!

This campaign is not only unconstitutional, it's utterly hypocritical—Bush and Reagan sponsor some of the biggest international drug dealers around the world, from the reactionary Afghan feudal guerrillas to the contras in Central America. So former CIA head George Bush isn't about to interfere with the CIA's drug-running connections with the contras. The Democrats are partners with the Republicans in whipping up drug hysteria: Congress overwhelmingly passed an anti-drug bill in the closing days of the election campaign, including heavy \$10,000 fines for those with even a small amount of drugs and the death penalty for "drug-related" crimes.

Certainly the explosion of crack, and the drug gang wars that from Los Angeles to Washington and New York are turning the ghettos into war zones, are

of desperate concern to the blacks and other minorities struggling to survive in America's inner cities. The capitalist politicians have simply abandoned the ghettos to death—as deadly AIDS rages among intravenous drug users, the capitalists fight tooth and nail against even such an elementary preventive act as handing out free, clean needles to IV users to check its spread. And meanwhile they unleash their "TNT" narc squads to sweep black and Hispanic neighborhoods, from Bushwick and East Harlem to Watts and East L.A., putting everyone in sight literally up against the wall.

Something can be done, to put a stop to the drug mafia wars, to cut down on street violence: take the superprofits out of drugs by legalizing them. Everybody knows that all Prohibition did was make the mob and the Kennedys rich. It's none of the state's business what people want to do in private—and that includes indulging in tobacco, liquor or other substances, if they choose. Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats will provide the housing, decent schools or jobs that can lift ghetto youth out of the despair that makes many turn to drugs. Instead they send in more cops, which necessarily means more corruption, more violence and more death on the streets.

The heavily integrated unions of transit workers, bus drivers, seamen and airline workers have the power to tear up the Democrats' and Republicans' dixie-cup union-busting. Sharp political strike action can make quick work of their assault on labor and would be a hugely popular blow for the democratic rights of all. ■

Skinhead Terror...

(continued from page 12)

7 October, and "Skinheads: Psycho Killers On the Loose," WV No. 464, 4 November).

When the Ku Klux Klan and skinheads threatened to show up at Philadelphia's Independence Mall November 5, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a labor-centered, united-front November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK, endorsed by over 350 groups and individuals, which forced the fascists to back down. On that day, over 1,000 unionists, blacks, students, gays, socialists occupied the site of the Klan's threatened rally.

At Philly's Temple University, the African American Student Union, Temple Lambda Alliance, fraternities and sororities were early endorsers of the

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Drug Testing: Threat to the Unions

On November 14 the Federal Department of Transportation (DOT) ordered that four million American workers be "randomly" tested for drugs, with those testing positive to be fired. The November 14 order is a stunning and sinister attack on organized labor. The largest group being targeted is some three million bus drivers and interstate truck drivers—including the Teamsters union. The order also would cover civilian pilots, navigators, flight attendants, mechanics, railway engineers, brakemen, conductors, workers in mass transit, seamen and pipeline workers. Government workers have already been subject to this drug witchhunt—over 50,000 have already been tested, and the feds plan to extend testing to another 200,000 of the 3.1-million-strong federal workforce.

This capitalist government has let America's industry rust, thrown hundreds of thousands out onto the streets, cut safety standards across the board. When the PATCO air controllers union protested unsafe working conditions, it was smashed. Today the skies are deadly, all right—because of Reagan's anti-labor policies. Now the government is trying to scapegoat workers for the mess capitalism has created. They're going after people's private lives, creating hysteria over things like tobacco, liquor or drugs as an excuse to bust the unions—meanwhile this government's leaky nuclear weapons plants spew radioactive wastes across whole towns, homeless people are recruited to remove deadly asbestos without protection, industrial "accidents" skyrocket and industrial pollution is choking us.

"Safety" has nothing to do with this campaign for a "drug-free transportation system." Transportation Secretary Jim Burnley, in announcing the new regulations, claimed that the January 1987 Conrail-Amtrak crash, which killed 16 people, was caused by drugs. But that

Four Million Workers Targeted



Union action can stop drug witchhunters. Metro North rail workers in NYC on one-day strike, September 9 (left). IAM machinists at Louisville Naval Ordnance Station protest union-busting, drug testing.

disaster was *capitalist murder*, as we pointed out:

"U.S. freight railroads removed automatic braking devices from their engines when Amtrak was created in 1971 and they no longer had to carry passengers. If the Conrail engines had been equipped with such fail-safe systems, Brother Evans [the Amtrak engineer] and 15 others would be alive today."

"When the Northeast Corridor was planned and built 20 years ago, American imperialism was spending billions of dollars on its bloody, losing slaughter in Vietnam, and a safe rail system was 'deemed prohibitively expensive'."

—"Amtrak Murder," *WV*
No. 420, 23 January 1987

The "urine tests," notoriously unreliable in any case, are used punitively to get rid of troublemaking workers. Everything from poppy seed bagels to the pain reliever ibuprofen can get you a positive test result. Studies indicate that blacks, with high amounts of the skin pigment melanin, can show up as marijuana smokers. Urine samples have been used to find out whether employees have sexually transmitted diseases, or if women are pregnant. The American Civil Liberties Union has taken up the case of two women working at a nuclear power plant in Georgia. They turned

over information on safety violations to the government, so their supervisor submitted them to drug tests. One tested positive and was fired; the other was fired for insubordination because she couldn't urinate in front of a company observer.

In perhaps the most grotesque case, last August more than 200 construction workers in Dallas, Texas were ordered to kneel before drug-sniffing dogs or lose their jobs. "When they make you get down in front of an animal on your knees, that's getting back into slavery,"

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From Oregon to Brooklyn Murderous Skinhead Terror

In Brooklyn, New York, a 13-year-old black youth, Ikeem Davis, was viciously beaten by a gang of shaved-head white racist punks on November 22. Three weeks earlier, swastika-tattooed skinheads in jackhooths attacked a white family who had objected to their racial epithets at a PATH train stop in Greenwich Village. And on November 13, in Portland, Oregon skinheads beat to death a black Ethiopian immigrant. Over the last two years, skinhead terror has exploded across the U.S. These neo-Nazi filth are disgusting, dangerous and deadly.

It was just two days before Thanksgiving when Ikeem Davis was viciously beaten in his neighborhood of Park Slope, a "gentrified" middle-class pocket of Brooklyn, a place where interracial couples had thought it relatively safe to be on the streets. The eighth grader was walking home from visiting his mother at Methodist Hospital when he was set on by four whites with shaved heads, who called him "black boy," beat him and broke his jaw with a large piece of wood.

Violent skinhead youth have recently been proliferating in Brooklyn from their base in Greenpoint, while outlying

gangs are terrorizing New Jersey. In Staten Island, where there has been a series of recent attacks on blacks, skinhead gangs are "affiliated with the California-based White Aryan Resistance (WAR)," according to *Newsday* (14 November). In mid-November, Park Slope residents found their neighborhood covered with spray-painted skinhead graffiti. A week later Ikeem Davis was the target of a skinhead attack.

Mulugeta Seraw, the Ethiopian who was beaten to death by skinheads in Portland, emigrated to this country seven years ago. A bus driver at a Port-

land airport car rental agency, he was a well-liked worker. On November 13, he was jumped in front of his own home by white racists who also brutally beat two of his companions. Following mass outrage in Portland over this racist murder, police have arrested three skinheads. One of the killers' roommates has been charged with the 1987 desecration of a Redwood City, California synagogue.

From their origins in Britain where they became notorious for immigrant-bashing, the skinhead racists are "growing exponentially" in the United States in the last two years, according to the Atlanta-based Center for Democratic Renewal, which estimates 3,500 active Nazi skinheads, compared with only 300 in 1986 (cited in *Rolling Stone*, 1 December). *Workers Vanguard* has been warning of this ominous development (see "Fascist Metzger and His Deadly Skinhead Thugs," *WV* No. 462,

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