

Union-Busting, Racism, Witchhunting

Bush's Nastier, Greedier America

Los Angeles. The cops charged in, clubbing Latino women and men outside the ritzy Century City office complex in West L.A. Scores of immigrant workers, including pregnant women, were injured. But this time the LAPD unleashed their terror on unionized janitors. When the strikers announced they would return the next week with the support of organized labor, the bosses caved in and recognized the union.

San Francisco. There is a new crime in Bush's America—"illegal distribution of food." On July 6, activists for the homeless were arrested for handing out food to hundreds of homeless people being evicted from San Francisco's Civic Center Plaza by liberal Democratic mayor Art Agnos. Others were jailed for "illegal lodging."

Detroit. When Nelson Mandela visited the city in June he was hosted by the union bureaucrats of the UAW, posturing as defenders of workers' and black rights...in South Africa. But at the Ford River Rouge plant which Mandela toured, only a fraction of the former workforce is on the job. And black Detroit has been turned into a Soweto West,

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Anti-immigrant, anti-union violence in Bush's America. L.A. cops attack striking janitors, June 15. Labor mobilization won union recognition.

Alps/Santa Monica Outlook

Gorbachev Seals Deal with Fourth Reich

The July 16 announcement by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev and West German chancellor Helmut Kohl that a reunified Germany will be part of the anti-Soviet NATO alliance puts the final Kremlin seal of approval on the drive to a new German empire. West German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher crowed: "The message of Moscow is: Germany will come together this year." For all the hype about a "kinder, gentler" Fourth Reich of German imperialism, that message is sending chills up the spines of many people, and not only inside the Soviet Union.

With the terminal crisis of Stalinism throughout East Europe, both sides proclaim that the Cold War is over. But White House staffers declare triumphantly, "We won, you lost." If the world is leaving the postwar era, it is only to enter a prewar period. The division of Europe, registered at Yalta and Potsdam in 1945, reflected the smashing of the Nazi regime by the Red Army. An imperialist new order in Europe dominated by a reunified NATO Germany represents a big step toward World War III.

Already, the imperialist summit at Houston saw growing tensions between a declining U.S. and blocs led by resurgent Germany and Japan. And

while Gorbachev rhapsodized after the agreement with Kohl about entering an epoch "of strong, prolonged peace," the Bonn chancellor declared: "Why shouldn't the Germans and the Soviet Union be the first to conclude a nonaggression pact...?" It all conjured up images of Neville Chamberlain waving the Munich agreement in 1938 and claiming to have bought "peace in our time." And the last Soviet-German "non-aggression pact" was the prelude to Hitler's Operation Barbarossa, the June 1941 assault on the USSR.

Four months ago, the Soviet president vowed that NATO membership for a reunified capitalist Germany was "absolutely out of the question." But Gorbachev seems to be a Stalinist who just can't say no. Mr. Da (Mr. Yes) claimed that the change in position was made possible by the NATO summit in London earlier this month, where Western imperialist leaders made some "peace-loving" sounds while holding firmly to their nuclear triggers. The NATO chieftains did not even make a perfunctory pledge against a nuclear first strike—a position the Warsaw Pact has enunciated for years—but promised only to

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Gorbachev with Helmut Kohl (right). Reunified NATO Germany a threat to Soviet Union, big step toward World War III.

Independent [London]

Philly Cops Stage Sinister Counter-Rally for Death Labor, Blacks Rally to Save Jamal

On July 14 the international campaign to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal came home to Philadelphia. Over 200 trade unionists, civil rights activists, socialists, students and death penalty abolitionists joined together at North Philadelphia's historic Church of the Advocate. Organized by the Partisan Defense Committee, the event capped two weeks of protests which drew hundreds to rallies/demonstrations in New York, Chicago, Oakland, London, Paris, Berlin, Hamburg, Toronto and Sydney.

A former Black Panther Party spokesman, well-known journalist and prominent supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal was framed in 1982 on charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman. At the Saturday rally, Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson called the trial "a farce, a fake and a phony." Jamal's wife, Wadiya Jamal, told of her husband's frame-up: "They conducted this lynching in a courtroom instead of the town square."

Unknown to rally organizers, Philadelphia's Fraternal Order of Police held a countermobilization that same day to call for Jamal's immediate execution. This

Philadelphia, July 14. Over 200 rallied to demand: Abolish the racist death penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!



ominous cop mobilization outside their headquarters on Spring Garden Street resembled the KKK gatherings outside Southern prisons to celebrate the "legal" lynching of yet another black man. FOP

president Richard Costello threatened the death penalty abolitionists who are fighting to save Jamal's life: "If you don't like it you can join him. We'll take out the electric chair, we'll make it an electric couch."

In a libelous broadcast that night, CBS affiliate WCAU-TV reported that Costello branded Jamal's supporters a "misfit terrorist group." PDC staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein sent a formal demand for retraction to WCAU on behalf of the rally participants. State Representative Richardson issued an angry protest. The Philly cops' outrageous provocation has made many even more determined to speak out for Mumia's cause. The Philadelphia Tribune was infuriated, headlining an editorial: "Fry FOP's Costello Over Electric Couch Remark."

Who is the FOP to label people "terrorists"? During the 1970s, when Jamal was becoming known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his crusading radio broadcasts, Philly cops were shooting down unarmed "suspects" at a rate 3,700 percent higher than even New York's cops! Racist beatings and cold-blooded shootings—from jazz great Budd Powell to Mayor Wilson Goode's brother Alvestus, from raids on the Black Panther Party to the grotesque bombing of the MOVE commune—that's what Philadelphia police have done. Jamal dedicated his life to fighting and exposing this, and that's why they want him dead.

Philadelphia has got to have the record for being a vicious, racist hellhole. These days, first prize is one day in Philadelphia. It's not just "white flight"; lately, everybody who can is getting out. And the cops are one of the main reasons: their guns-blazing 1978 assault on MOVE's Powelton Village house, their wanton murder of five black children and six adults and the leveling of an entire city block on Osage Avenue in 1985, and now everyone who doesn't grove on their blood vendetta against Mumia Abu-Jamal is supposed to get the chair!

At the Philly rally, speakers included Pam Tucker, president of the Western Pennsylvania Coalition Against the Death Penalty, and Rev. Isaac Miller, rector of the Church of the Advocate. There was also major support from organized labor in Jamal's hometown of Philadelphia. Charles Valenta, president of RWDSU (retail workers) Local 1034, said, "We lend our support to all who battle against the unfairness and injustice of our criminal justice system. We are not willing to give the state and federal bureaucracy the right to say who lives and who dies."

PDC counsel Wolkenstein spoke of the need to mobilize labor's power to save Jamal: "It means a reinvigorated workers movement including a black and red

leadership. The way to save Mumia Abu-Jamal is a social struggle, part of that deeper class struggle. It means flexing the power of labor that has come out for Mumia." Referring to the over 26,000 who have petitioned Governor Casey that Jamal not be executed, she said: "It means turning those names on petitions into labor power on the streets."

Other speakers included Janet A. Leban, executive director of the Pennsylvania Prison Society; Raymond Martinez, Jr. for Pennsylvania Social Services Union SEIU Local 668; Wilfredo Rojas for the Puerto Rican Justice Coalition; Paul M. Washington, rector emeritus of the Church of the Advocate; Ed Karsen for the Spartacist League; I-Abdul Jon for the Committee in Support of MOVE; and Puerto Rican activist Ervia Gutierrez.

On the same day as the Philadelphia meeting, rallies were also held in Chicago and Oakland. It was fitting that on Bastille Day, July 14, several hundred death penalty abolitionists met in the three states with the largest death row populations outside the South. Over 500 people await the executioner's call in Pennsylvania, California and Illinois.

At the Chicago rally it was noted that May Day, the international workers holiday, began in protest against the execution of the Haymarket martyrs. Darby Tillis gave a personal account of life on death row: "I am one of almost 450 persons in this country who was convicted of a capital crime and later found to be innocent." Jackie Breckenridge, International vice president of the Amalgamated Transit Union, said: "Abu-Jamal on death row is a clear example of domestic apartheid."

At the ILWU (warehouse) Local 6 union hall in Oakland, former Black Panther Emory Douglas read a message of solidarity from Geronimo ji jaga (Pratt), who has been imprisoned for 20 years on a COINTELPRO frame-up. Patrick "Hooty" Croy, a Shasta-Karuk Indian who just won his freedom after 12 years imprisonment, six of them on death row, came specially to show his support. Don Alexander of the Spartacist League Central Committee spoke on behalf of the PDC: "The capitalists need the death penalty as a deterrent to class struggle against their rotten profit system."

The name Mumia Abu-Jamal has become the rallying cry for opponents of the death penalty around the world, and the fight to save Jamal's life is an urgent one. As David Fattah of the House of UMOJA told the Philly rally, "This is not a game, 'cause tomorrow it might be you." To join the international campaign, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, Suite 92, 1530 Locust St., Philadelphia, PA 19102. Phone: (215) 222-7880. ■



TROTSKY

Revive Revolutionary Unity of Soviet, Polish and German Workers!

Against the growing nationalist antagonisms in East Europe which accompany and fuel the drive to capitalist restoration, the proletariat must revive a rich tradition of internationalist unity. The revolutionary unity of the Russian, Polish and German workers was embodied by Rosa Luxemburg, who actively participated in and led revolutionary movements in all three countries, and was



LENIN

co-leader with Karl Liebknecht of the German Spartakusbund. Liebknecht emphasized this unity in his greetings to the founding congress of the Communist Party of Poland in December 1918, a month before the German counterrevolution had him murdered.

Only the social revolution of the German proletariat can extend the socialist upheaval of the working class which has begun in Russia into the world revolution of the international proletariat. Only the world revolution can and will secure an enduring and well-founded peace in the interests of all peoples. Only this can and will root out national antagonisms and replace nationalist hate by the closest solidarity of the peoples. Only this can free the working masses of all countries from the prison house of political oppression, social deprivation and economic exploitation....

Counterrevolution or social revolution—that is the iron alternative that imposes itself today on the German proletariat. It will pursue its struggle with greater zeal and much more rapidly achieve success the more it receives support and encouragement through the revolutionary struggle of its class comrades in other countries.

In your congress, in your decision to unite your ranks in order to increase your forces, to raise the readiness of the Polish proletariat to struggle, the revolutionary German proletariat sees a new signal of the expanding world storm—the social revolution which alone can unite and revive the Polish nation on the ground of socialism.

All our wishes go to you.

Long live the social revolution of the Polish proletariat!

Long live the social revolution of the German proletariat!

Long live the Russian Soviet Republic!

Long live the world revolution of the international proletariat!

—Karl Liebknecht, "Message of Greetings by the Spartakusbund to the Founding Congress of the Communist Workers Party of Poland" (December 1918)

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27 July 1990

East Germany: Anti-Socialist Seizure of Assets

Defy the New Witchhunt Law!

The following documents by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany are translated from a Spartakist supplement dated 12 July.

The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) has sent the following reply to an "independent commission" on party assets that demanded that we open our books and give over our assets to the "custody" of the CDU/SPD [Christian Democrat/Social Democrat] witchhunters, a "government" that is nothing but brokers for the Fourth Reich. By this letter we have declared our refusal to comply with these outrageous demands. We call on all other working-class and left organizations, and all those concerned with civil liberties, to join us in repudiating this law. Take a stand against this campaign aimed at criminalizing former and present members of the SED and PDS [the former Stalinist ruling party of East Germany and its successor] and intimidating any and all resistance to capitalist *Anschluss* (annexation)! Say "no"!

We were proud to be part of the 65,000-strong and spirited demonstration in Berlin against the anti-Communist witchhunt and threatened expropriation of the PDS, where the SpAD spokesman demanded "Hands off the PDS and FDJ (Free German Youth)!" But PDS chairman Gysi called from the speakers platform for an "alliance" with the SPD, the bloodhounds of the Deutsche Bank, who had pushed through this law. So, although the PDS leadership had compared this law to Bismarck's (Anti-) Socialist Laws and the Nazis' expropria-



East Berlin, July 3. Spartakist Workers Party of Germany protests SPD-led anti-Communist witchhunt. "Hands Off PDS and FDJ!"

tion of the workers organizations in 1933, the PDS leadership demobilized the tens of thousands ready to fight and with Gysi's statement that "we fall into line democratically" accepted its own expropriation as legal! And the rest of the DDR left has collapsed in its wake.

The anti-Communist offensive can be stopped. We need a real *united front*, a real unity in action of all those forces that want to fight this sinister witchhunt. But this fighting unity is hamstrung by

the so-called "unity of the left," i.e., political unity with those who want to capitulate to or even join with the SPD witchhunters themselves.

"Unity of the left" and unity in action of the left are incompatible. "Unity of the left" means rotten programmatic compromises on the lowest common denominator, capitulation before the Social Democratic witchhunters and their satellites of Neues Forum, the Greens, et al. Unity in action means a united front for

a common purpose with freedom of criticism for the participating organizations: "march separately, strike together" augments our forces and strengthens all of us.

This was the basis for the powerful anti-fascist mobilization of 250,000 at Treptow this January. In a similar spirit, we of the SpAD stated our willingness to give electoral support to any left organization standing in the March 18 elections, in districts where we could not run, who had unambiguously stated their opposition to capitalist reunification. Today it's a matter of united-front actions to defend the right of working-class organizations to organize.

As a by-product of its cringing capitulation to the witchhunt, someone in the PDS even went so far as to try to sabotage united-front efforts to save the life of the black American fighter and intellectual Mumia Abu-Jamal. A lying article in *Neues Deutschland* of 3 July, which took it upon itself to repudiate [former DDR prime minister] Hans Modrow's endorsement of these demonstrations, was written as if Ulbricht and Honecker were still haunting its editorial offices.

Uncompromising opposition to compliance with these inquisitorial laws is an acid test for leftists, as was the question of opposing capitalist reunification without any ifs, ands or buts. The German proletariat has already begun to resist. It can and must stand against the impending danger of the creation of a Fourth Reich. And it will find its leadership in those who refused to fall to their knees before this witchhunt. ■

German Trotskyists:

Letter to the Vanishing DDR Government

Berlin
12 July 1990

Commission for the Inspection of the Assets of All Parties and Mass Organizations in the DDR [East Germany]

Dear Sirs and Madams,

At the end of June we received an undated letter from a "Commission for the Inspection of the Assets of All Parties and Mass Organizations in the DDR," demanding that before 28 June 1990 the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) turn over its financial records and comply with the 31 May "Law Amending the Law on Parties." This law requires a party to release its bank accounts, leases and any other properties or holdings to the scrutiny, control and custody of the government of the once DDR, and to place its assets under the "trusteeship" of the aforementioned government which in all but appearances went out of existence on July 1. We reject this sinister, bureaucratic insanity and declare that we refuse to comply.

The DDR government of today is quite clearly a faction of West German capitalist-imperialism. It has called upon our Trotskyist organization to release our assets to a vanishing government. And this from the ostensibly legal continuators of a state from which we could at best have expected, before the fall of



DDR prime minister de Maizière with big boss Kohl. East German workers in warning strike against threat to living standards under capitalist reunification, July 6.

Honecker, to be framed up, imprisoned and/or exiled (witness the case of the Trotskyist Oskar Hippe). What a mockery! We, the first victims of Stalinism, just say "No!" to this campaign of expropriation and political repression.

All countries that have even a pretense of civil liberties formally recognize that political association is a privileged right and seek to conceal the intrusions of their political police forces. Our party has always refused on principle to seek or accept state subsidies, which in West Germany, for example, account for nearly 30 percent or more of the income of

the major parties. The ruling parties in the East who are pushing this law were bought up by German imperialism, lock, stock and barrel, to win the March 18 [DDR] elections and to take over the government on behalf of world imperialism.

The "Amending Law" does not stop at counterrevolutionary vengeance—its intended repercussions clearly transcend the immediate threat to our own and others' rights and functioning. It is a giant step in the witchhunting attempt to criminalize everyone (even artists!) connected with the SED/PDS and the FDGB



[former East German trade-union federation]. It clears the way for the ravenous bourgeoisie of Auschwitz to "legally" steal factories and newspapers in the East, and swimming in their wake are the small erstwhile property owners who yearn after the apartments of the working population and their culture houses. We adamantly refuse to be a party to this.

In a protest statement to the President of the Volkskammer on June 1, the SpAD already denounced Bonn's quislings and their *Ermächtigungsgesetze* (the 1933 Nazi-enacted "enabling act" giving

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Gorbachev Seals Deal...

(continued from page 1)

avoid nuking the Soviet Union except as a "last resort."

Gorbachev called it "Realpolitik." What NATO got in the deal was an unconditional Soviet commitment to pull all their troops out of East Germany by the end of 1994. What the Soviets got was nothing but a promise to reduce the Bundeswehr by about 100,000 men to 370,000. This was billed as a 45 percent cut in German troop strength—by including the East German army (at its former strength), which in any case is to be purged and disarmed following full reunification. Meanwhile, the NATO nuclear arsenal will remain on West German soil and German units which are part of the integrated NATO command will move up to the Polish border.

The Soviet people lost more than 20 million dead in repelling the Nazi invaders and liberating East Europe from the Third Reich. Such memories do not die easily. One elderly war veteran said bitterly: "I can accept that Germany should become one nation again. But why do they want to join an alliance that is opposed to us? I fear that history could repeat itself." Another Soviet citizen complained: "It's one thing to have lost the cold war. But we don't want to feel we lost the second world war as well." Mikhail Gorbachev is certainly doing everything he can to make the Soviet people feel that way.

Bonn: "We Are the Main Money Men"

For the time being, the direct threat to the Soviet Union will come from the expansion of German capital. Justifying going it alone to work out the deal with Moscow, West German foreign minister Genscher remarked, "Anyway, the Russians know we are the main money men" (*Der Spiegel*, 16 July). But ultimately, imperialist economic aggrandizement must be defended militarily. After finally agreeing to recognize the Oder-Neisse border with Poland, and with the inclusion of all Germany in NATO, Kohl reportedly said of this "drift to the West": "Thereby a certain vacuum is created in the direction of the East." And who will fill that "vacuum"?

Not surprisingly, Germany's reemergence as a great power has ruffled the feathers of its own allies. Thatcher cabinet member Nicholas Ridley created a diplomatic storm when he railed about a "German racket designed to take over the whole of Europe" (with the French "behaving like poodles to the Germans") and declared it was more necessary than ever for Britain to preserve the "balance of power" in Europe "with Germany so uppity." German Count Ott von Lambsdorff sneered that his fellow aristocrat in England "had not been able to get over England's defeat by the Germans in the World Cup." And Thatcher reluctantly



Soviet tanks being withdrawn from East Germany. Red Army has stood on front lines against NATO imperialist alliance.

sacked her closest adviser.

The Ridley affair caused a brouhaha for "Saying the Unsayable About the Germans" (as his 14 July *Spectator* interview was titled)—at least out in the open. But the point Kohl made by announcing the agreement with Gorbachev as a bilateral accord and not as part of the so-called "four plus two" talks (of the postwar occupying powers and the two Germans) was lost on no one. Democratic Congressman Lee Hamilton groused, "This makes it clearer than ever that the Germans are leading Western policy toward the Soviet Union." The unease in the White House was captured by the *New York Times* (18 July) in the piquant headline, "Bush Declares He Does Not Feel Left Out by Gorbachev and Kohl."

In the last six months the Kremlin Stalinists have presided over the reversal of the results of the Red Army's victories in World War II. In fact the deal with Kohl simply dots the i's and crosses the t's to Gorbachev's acquiescence last February to West Germany's aim of annexation of East Germany, the German Democratic Republic (DDR). Taking their cue from the Kremlin, the then-ruling PDS buckled under to Kohl's drive for currency union, paving the way for a victory for a Fourth Reich in the March 18 Volkskammer (DDR parliament) elections. PDS prime minister Modrow joined Kohl and the worst Greater German nationalists in proclaiming "Deutschland einzig Vaterland" (Germany, single fatherland).

Now PDS chairman Gregor Gysi hails Gorbachev's latest capitulation, pointing to West Germany's renunciation of ABC (atomic, biological and chemical) weapons, the limitation on troop strength and recognition of the Polish border. These will be about as effective as the Washington and Geneva agreements in the 1920s limiting naval armaments, or the 1928 Kellogg Pact renouncing war "as an instrument of national policy." These pieces of paper hardly prevented World

War II. Nor did "treaty obligations" stop Hitler from sending the Wehrmacht into the "demilitarized" Rhineland in 1936, any more than Kohl's promise not to bring in NATO nuclear weapons will make the territory of the former DDR "denuclearized." And Hitler not only acknowledged Poland's borders, but signed a "non-aggression" agreement with Poland as early as 1933!

Gysi also appeals to black-red-gold

to go all the way with Kohl. Meanwhile, Russian republic head Boris Yeltsin and the Leningrad and Moscow mayors flamboyantly quit the party, raising the prospect of a deep-going split in the bureaucracy.

With the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in East Europe, once again the Soviet Union finds itself isolated, encircled and endangered. But as all wings of Stalinism lie prostrate before the imperialist advance, the working class has begun to reassert itself. In East Germany, since currency union took effect July 1 there has been scarcely a day without strike action by significant sections of the DDR workers—first metal workers, then rail workers and, most recently, a strike by commercial workers against the bureaucrats-become-bosses. Poland has already witnessed one massive strike by rail workers against the pro-capitalist austerity policy, and the country seethes with social discontents.

In the Soviet Union, wracked by a deep-going social crisis, the coal miners who showed their power in last summer's strike again flexed their muscles in a one-day protest strike on July 11. Yet the miners' leaders appear to be under the sway of the pro-capitalist demagogue Yeltsin and his ilk. A statement from a leader of the Kuzbass Council of Workers Committees said the strike was to "show our support for the new leadership of the Russian Federation and for its programme of democratic reforms" (*Moscow News*, 15 July). Currently, workers'



German Spartakist banner at East Berlin anti-fascist demo, 30 December 1989: For the communism of Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg!

German nationalism in pushing the PDS' call for an all-German referendum on the reunited country's affiliation to NATO. This puts him in the same camp with some of the worst revanchist forces, who want to see Germany as an independent superpower (and would hang every communist they could find). Such talk of referendums is a constant refrain from the PDS and liberal DDR nationalists like Neues Forum, who were previously pushing for a June 17 plebiscite on a DDR constitution worked out by the now-disappeared Round Table. These bankrupt Stalinists and their impotent popular-frontist fellow travelers act as though German imperialism would seriously allow its interests to be interfered with by such democratic window-dressing.

struggles in the former Soviet bloc are headed in every conceivable direction. A clear class leadership is needed to point the way to reorganizing the historic revolutionary unity of the German, Polish and Soviet proletariat.

The bankruptcy of the Stalinist lie of "socialism in one country" is definitively proved, and along with it the bureaucracy whose ideology this formula embodied is going down the tubes. But authentic communism expresses the interests of the international working class, and is regenerated in every serious class battle. And from Korea and South Africa to East Europe, the class struggle is alive and well.

The spectre of a Fourth Reich brings home that time is running out for humanity. If civilization is not to be extinguished through nuclear annihilation in another world war, the working class must forge a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party capable of sweeping away the imperialist system of war and exploitation. As Trotsky wrote almost six decades ago, in his essay on "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933): "The problem of the world revolution as well as the problem of the Soviet Union may be summed up in one and the same brief formula: *The Fourth International*." The fight of the International Communist League to reforge the Fourth International remains the key today. ■

For Revolutionary Unity of German, Polish and Soviet Workers!

The Gorbachev-Kohl agreement came on the heels of the 28th Soviet Communist Party congress earlier in the month, where the Soviet leader got considerable flak from oldline Stalinists like Yegor Ligachev and sections of the Soviet High Command for handing East Germany over to the West. Gorbachev retorted by demanding to know if the Ligachevites were prepared to send in tanks to stop German unity. Gorbachev's rout of the "conservative" opposition freed his hands

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Polish Workers Groan Under Solidarność Starvation Policy

Two journalists from Workers Vanguard who had spent several months covering the events in Germany visited Poland in early June. This report is based on their observations.

The signs of Poland's newfound capitalism are easy to spot walking down any street. Posters displaying the Eagle and Cross of Polish reaction cover the walls of buildings, their message punctuated by crude and pervasive anti-Semitic graffiti. Street vendors fill the sidewalks: old women clutching a handful of flowers, young women with babies sitting next to a bucket of strawberries, young men behind card tables stacked with cigarettes or books or spare parts. People hawk anything they can in a desperate scramble to survive. Kids as young as five or six have become "food burglars," driven to steal to feed themselves. People still look reasonably well dressed and healthy—the effects of malnutrition and impoverishment have not yet become visible.

In the ten months since a Solidarność-dominated government came to power in Warsaw, pledged to the reintroduction of capitalism, the people of Poland have seen their living standards reduced to those of a Third World country. Real wages have been slashed by 40 percent since the imposition of a Chilean-style economic "shock treatment" in January. In the same period, unemployment jumped from less than 10,000 to over 440,000. After several months of uncontrolled inflation, during which prices as much as doubled in a month, the zloty has now more or less "stabilized"—at 10,000 to the dollar. A loaf of bread costs 3,000 zlotys, a kilogram of sausage 25-35,000—well over a day's wages. A small washing machine runs around three million zlotys. The day we arrived all rail fares were doubled.

While the masses of working people are being driven to starvation to slake the greed of the International Monetary Fund, the promised flood of foreign investment which was supposed to produce an economic "miracle on the Vistula" has not been forthcoming. A pro-socialist student activist at Warsaw University put it well: "To have capitalism, you need to have capital. Without capital you do not have capitalism, but... 'poorism'." He explains that his postgraduate study stipend is 500,000 zlotys (\$50) per month, roughly the wage of a young teacher, out of which he pays 300,000 zlotys rent for a one-room apartment. How does he manage to eat? "Sometimes."

Lodz is Poland's second city, an old industrial center. Most of the workforce, overwhelmingly women, is employed in the textile mills around which the city flourished at the turn of the century. They are paid 550,000 zlotys a month. They can barely feed themselves. But if the Church and sections of Solidarność have their way in eliminating the right to abortion, these women will be forced to have babies they can literally not afford to feed. Moreover, the textile mills are about to be shut down. A city of 750,000 will become a ghost town. What are these women workers supposed to do when they are thrown out of work? Starve.

Whether people support Solidarność and the government of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki or not, all are agreed that things have never been worse—the only question is whether the situation will ultimately get better. Many working people are coming to the conclusion that it won't—unless they act. The

Warsaw Eyewitness Report



Spartakist



Reuters

Polish rail workers strike in May (above) challenged pro-capitalist "shock treatment" implemented by Prime Minister Mazowiecki (left) and Solidarność head Walesa.

"honeymoon" between the Polish people and Solidarność in power is approaching its end. In May, a strike by rail workers demanding higher wages tied up a third of the country. Farmers protesting the end of government price subsidies recently staged two actions in Warsaw—in one case they dumped a truckload of potatoes outside the ministry of agriculture, in the second they occupied the ministry until the government ordered the cops in. Then on July 11, farmers blockaded roads and highways throughout the country to press their demands.

Workers Resist Capitalist Austerity

We arrived just in time for the second day of the OPZZ (All Poland Trade Union Alliance) congress, which took place in Warsaw on June 1-3. The OPZZ was founded by the Stalinists in 1985 as the official trade-union federation, but it refused to simply be swept along when the Stalinists entered into a coalition with Solidarność last August. It has some seven million members and is growing, while Solidarność has fewer than two million and is splintering.

Yet while the Second Congress of Solidarność, which took place in Gdansk the month before, was widely covered in the Western press, the OPZZ Second Congress went virtually unnoticed. This was even more true of the Western left press like the American *Socialist Action* (followers of Ernest Mandel), which still adulates Solidarność as "potentially the most powerful workers' movement in the world." Nor were any of the self-styled Trotskyist groups in Poland to be seen at the OPZZ congress.

The more than 700 delegates at the congress eagerly received the "Letter to Polish Workers" issued by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), which laid out our tendency's consistent opposition to

clerical-nationalist Solidarność and which counterposed to bankrupt Stalinism the Leninist-Trotskyist perspective of proletarian internationalism (see WV No. 504, 15 June). Many took small bundles to take back home with them.

These beleaguered trade unionists particularly appreciated the efforts of our comrades in Germany to seek active solidarity with the Polish workers. At the time of the rail strike in northwestern Poland, the Komitee für soziale Verteidigung, a social and legal defense organization in accord with the views of the SpAD, approached trade unions in East and West Germany for the creation of a solidarity fund for aid to Polish strikers. Around the same time, the defense committee and SpAD co-sponsored a picket

to protest the racist policies of the West Berlin Aldi supermarket chain, which was openly discriminating against Polish customers.

Fear and anxiety over the prospect of a united capitalist Germany is pervasive among the Polish population, not surprising given West German chancellor Kohl's refusal for months to make a clear statement recognizing Poland's postwar western border. Even hardened reactionary supporters of the government were impressed with a communist group in Germany which fights for the rights of Poles in the face of a seeming national consensus for a Fourth Reich. Our call for reorganizing the revolutionary unity of the German, Polish and Russian proletariat is today both timely and urgent.

The combativity of the Polish workers was amply demonstrated by the rail strike/occupation. But just as it was about to go nationwide, the strike collapsed, on the basis of an eleventh-hour intervention by Walesa, demonstrating the absence of a leadership and program to defend working-class interests. The Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SdRP), one of the remnants of the old Stalinist party, clearly continues to have influence in the leadership of the OPZZ. Unlike Solidarność, the OPZZ supported the rail workers strike. But the congress voted to support strikes only as a measure of last resort.

One OPZZ spokesman explained, "People are joining us because they expect us to fight for their rights" (*Chicago Tribune*, 10 June). Yet a leading member of the SdRP and, until this congress, senior officer of the OPZZ, told us that strikes now were "risky" given the state of the economy. Like the PDS in East Germany, these democratized Stalinists turned social democrats accept the restoration of capitalism and call only for a social safety net. OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz appealed to give the Mazowiecki government time, with the argument that the only alternative to the present government is a right-wing dictatorial regime.

Walesa Yearns To Be a New Pilsudski

This is an admission of bankruptcy. While 40 years of Stalinist lies and mismanagement have certainly done their

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Spartakist/WV Photo

Congress of ex-Stalinist OPZZ, now largest trade-union federation in Poland, meets in Warsaw in early June.

Poland...

(continued from page 5)

share to make "socialism" a curse word among many in Poland, millions are looking for an alternative to Solidarność. Not only is Solidarność dwarfed by the OPZZ in the workplace; even on the campuses, which have been a hotbed of nationalist agitation, the formerly Stalinist student federation (ZSP) remains substantially bigger than its Solidarność rival as well. But with both the OPZZ and ZSP denying that they have anything to do with politics, desperation and discontent with the government are being exploited by forces well to the right of the present regime. On the streets, right-wing Christian-nationalist posters outnumber those of the left by at least ten to one.

As he made clear at the Solidarność congress in May, Lech Walesa has his sights set on heing another Pilsudski, the fascistic bonapartist dictator of Poland in the late '20s and '30s. Walesa has grouped around him a so-called Center Alliance, who attack the Mazowiecki government from the right, demanding that the shock treatment be made even more intense and immediate while insisting that all "Communists" be driven out of the administration. Even leading Solidarność ideologue Adam Michnik, who is of Jewish origin, is baited as a "crypto-Communist." Attempting to conciliate Walesa and maintain his own crumbling support, Mazowiecki has pulled a coup in his own cabinet, overturning the agreement of last August which gave former Stalinists control of the ministries of interior and defense.

To the right of Walesa stand openly anti-Semitic, fascistic outfits like the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN). In Lodz, even pro-capitalist, pro-Solidarność students were alarmed by the recent victory of the KPN and other Christian-nationalists in the municipal elections in late May. "The Church is now in power in Lodz," said one. Though they did not win a majority of seats in the city government, the Christian-nationalists got the mayoralty on the basis of a pact with Solidarność.

In the years before World War II, the city was known as "Red Lodz" because of its militant, pro-socialist proletariat. It was here that the party Proletariat, the first workers party in the tsarist empire, was founded by Ludwik Waryński in 1883. In 1905 the revolutionary workers of Lodz staged the first armed workers insurrection against the tsar. Until the war, a third of this city's population was Jewish. Of those 250,000, barely 200 are left. Asked if things had gotten better or worse under Solidarność, one elderly Jew replied: "A lot worse! The Endek won the last election. Those are the people in power in Lodz now." The Endek (National Democracy) was the party of official



Polish currency features Ludwik Waryński, founder of Proletariat, first socialist party founded in tsarist empire, 1883.

anti-Semitism in interwar Poland, which provided a lot of the cadre for the anti-Communist nationalist Home Army and a lot of the pogromists.

There is scarcely a street in Warsaw which does not have some plaque or monument commemorating the 1944 Warsaw Uprising led by the Home Army (while, without exception, memorials to Jewish or Communist fighters against Nazism have been defaced). But the one lasting achievement of the Home Army was to finish Hitler's job in ridding Poland of Jews.

After the Red Army drove the Nazis out of Lodz in 1945, only 20,000 Jews were left to return to their old home, having found refuge in the Soviet Union or survived the concentration camps. In July 1946, elements of the Home Army vented their frustration against the Red Army liberators by staging a pogrom in the nearby city of Kielce. With the pogromist refrain, "You'll get what the Jews of Kielce got," reverberating in their ears, all but a small number of the survivors of the Holocaust were driven out of Lodz. (Those who remained, many of them Communists, were forced out by an anti-Semitic purge led by Stalinist secret police chief Mieczysław Moczar in 1968.)

The Jews are gone, but the anti-Semitic pogromists are back. When a memorial plaque was erected in early July to honor the victims of the Kielce pogrom, the latter-day Endeks went on a rampage—defacing the monument, desecrating Jewish tombstones, and breaking up commemoration meetings and a performance by an Israeli group. A letter by Polish Jews to the Warsaw government recently expressed strong fears over the shocking rise in anti-Semitic activity over the past year. And at the Solidarność congress in April, Walesa reportedly vowed to "eliminate" homosexuals and other "marginalized elements" (*Nightlines* [Chicago], 11 July). "I'm afraid he could be a kind of Polish Hitler," said one Polish gay activist. This is what the restoration of capitalism is bringing back to Poland.

Today fake-Trotskyists like the English

Workers Power group try to cover up their years of support to Solidarność by cynically raising hollow slogans like "No Return to Capitalism!" while fondly recalling "the fighting strength of the early days of Solidarność the trade union." They're not the only ones to look back to the "early days." One of the most rabidly anti-Semitic and anti-Communist outfits in Poland today is "Solidarność '80," centered in Szczecin and led by one Marian Jurczyk, who garnered a quarter

In 1980-81, as the bourgeois press was singing praise for Walesa and Solidarność and the pro-imperialist labor hureaucracies were funneling in dollars and D-marks to Ronald Reagan's favorite "trade union," a lot of fake-Trotskyists emerged as neo-hard-core social democrats to lead the cheering. They ignored the photos of priests hearing confession in Gdansk's Lenin shipyard and dismissed Walesa's kowtowing to Reagan and the Pope. We followed Trotsky's admonition in the Transitional Program and simply said what is: that support to Solidarność was anti-working-class and counterposed to the Trotskyist perspective of proletarian political revolution. We stood on the historic interests of the international proletariat even when it meant that our Marxist program stood counterposed to the consciousness of the overwhelming bulk of the Polish working class.

The bottom line for Solidarność leftist cheerleaders was that "ten million Polish workers can't be wrong." Now many of those ten million are coming to the conclusion that maybe they were wrong. As the Polish workers begin to struggle against the ravages of capitalist restoration inflicted on them by Solidarność, its erstwhile left supporters twist and turn in

Anti-Semitic Filth in Solidarność' Poland

Warsaw:
Solidarność
in power fuels
shocking rise
in anti-Semitic
activity under
Eagle and Cross
of historic
Polish reaction.



Spartakist/WW Photos

of the vote as a "radical" (right-wing) opposition to Walesa at the 1981 Solidarność congress. At the time, Jurczyk declared that three-quarters of the Stalinist leadership were really Jews who had changed their names and that "a couple of gallows would come in handy" to deal with these "traitors to Polish society." As reflected in its name, Solidarność '80 deems itself the "true" spirit of Solidarność. And indeed it is—they are clerical-nationalist, pro-capitalist reactionaries to the core.

disarray. As we wrote in "Letter to Polish Workers":

"Those who have paved the way for capitalist restoration cannot lead the struggles to beat it back....

"Only the Trotskyists have a program to combat capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist war, by returning to the authentic communism of Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin—the fight to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution through socialist revolutions throughout the capitalist world. Forward to a Trotskyist party in Poland, section of a reborn Fourth International." ■

Letter to DDR...

(continued from page 3)

Hitler powers to expropriate political parties) who want "to silence all opposition in their drive to a Fourth Reich by imposing drastic police-state measures taken from the Third Reich."

How dare you set up this Volkskammer commission in order to control what an organization does with its membership's dues! The fact is that dues paid into the SED/PDS in the last four and a half decades probably exceed its present assets. And we know what comes next. There are *Berufsverbote* [blacklisting], which are to be generalized at will against the millions of SED/PDS members and ex-members and against anyone who resists. We remember Stammheim

[prison]—we are still left wondering how in a high-security prison RAF [Red Army Faction] leaders managed to assassinate themselves a few years ago.

The Left Must Thwart the Government's Expropriation Campaign Through Unity in Action

The SPD, which built Stammheim, was also the initiator and driving force behind this law. We call for ostentatious, mass repudiation of this law, for all proletarian and left organizations and all those concerned with civil liberties to follow our example. We call on them to take a stand that can assist in thwarting the designs of those who want to make us march to the capitalist drummer—just as the economic strike actions of East German workers have begun to do today.

Toralf Endruweit, for the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany



German Trotskyists protest anti-Polish discrimination at Aldi supermarket, West Berlin, in May.

Morenoism: A Case Study in Stalinophobia

We print below the second of two parts of an article from the joint bulletin of the Grupo Espartaquista de México and the Trotskyist Faction which was expelled from the Mexican POS in May. For Part One and further materials on the fusion of the GEM and FT, see WV No. 506 (13 July).

By the
Grupo Espartaquista
de México

PART TWO OF TWO

As a result of the destruction of the Fourth International as world party of socialist revolution with the rise of the liquidationist current headed by Michel Pablo in 1951-53, a multitude of groups have laid claim to the mantle of Trotskyism. Pabloism denied the central proposition of Trotsky's Transitional Program, that the key to solving the crisis of humanity lies in the struggle for a revolutionary proletarian leadership. The American SWP of James P. Cannon opposed Pabloism, although belatedly and chiefly on the national terrain. It published its "Letter to the Trotskyists Throughout the World" (November 1953) and formed the International Committee, of which we in the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) consider ourselves the heirs. But the IC never functioned as an international organization, and the necessary international fight to politically defeat Pabloism was not undertaken. Thus in Argentina in the '50s, Pablo's man, Juan Posadas, built an independent party while Nahuel Moreno, who headed the Latin American Secretariat of Orthodox Trotskyism (SLATO), affiliated to the International Committee, carried out a policy of liquidation into the bourgeois nationalist movement of Peronism.

From Political Banditry to Social Democracy

We have documented elsewhere the chameleon-like character of Moreno, who changed his skin coloration according to prevailing fashion (see our *Moreno Truth Kit*, published in 1980). We characterized him as a "political bandit" for having presented himself successively in the colors of Peronism, Castroism, Maoism, social democracy and Sandinismo, as well as his enthusiasm for Solidarność and Khomeini. His maneuverist "method"

was always to present himself as the left wing of some other movement rather than as a Trotskyist. More generally, Morenoism can be considered a regional variant of Pabloism, with a preference for Third World strongmen (*caudillos*). During Moreno's exile after the 1976 military coup, it took on more radical forms. But following his return to Argentina in the '80s, it has consolidated as an organically social-democratic tendency.

It's interesting, therefore, to look at the evolution of Morenoism concerning Stalinism. In the '60s, when the Chinese and Cuban revolutions were in vogue, Moreno wrote about them in a tone which Morenoite militants today would not recognize. Referring to "the authentic colonial revolutionaries," he said: "their revisionism is not only progressive, revo-

edly praised the Maoist and Castroite varieties of Stalinism. On the Mao Tse-tung regime: "This bonapartist dictatorship is revolutionary and not counter-revolutionary like the Stalinists'...." "We can say that Maoist theory is an enrichment of enormous importance to the Trotskyist Transitional Program...." Castroism "is formed in a directly revolutionary stage, without the pressure of counterrevolutionary Stalinism and without encroachments by world reaction. This explains the dynamic, less provincial, national, bureaucratic and bonapartist character of Castroism." And in a letter on China (May 1967) he underlines the connection between this policy and his support to Perón: "the government of Mao is much more akin to the dynamic of the government of Nkrumah, Nasser,

which were written with Moreno's aid, the spinal column is Stalinophobia. They insist that "this bureaucracy has no 'dual nature' but is parasitic on the workers' state and is 'counter-revolutionary through and through'."

The response of the PTS to the opposition which arose inside the Mexican POS against its capitulation before counterrevolution in Germany also insists on denying the dual character of the Stalinist bureaucracy which, while seeking coexistence with imperialism, rests upon the economic foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and therefore can find itself compelled to defend in its manner—that is to say, bureaucratically—these foundations in order to protect its own privileges. This understanding is fundamental to the Trotskyist program and analysis of the degenerated and deformed workers states. Trotsky himself explained it in this way:

"Nine-tenths of the strength of the Stalinist apparatus lies not in itself but in the social changes wrought by the victorious revolution. Still, this consideration alone does not decide the question, but it does bear a great methodological significance. It shows us how and why the Stalinist apparatus could completely squander its meaning as the international revolutionary factory and yet preserve a part of its progressive meaning as the gatekeeper of the social conquests of the proletarian revolution. This dual position—we may add—represents in itself one of the manifestations of the unevenness of historical development."

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

Trotsky emphasizes this anew in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), stating: "The Soviet bureaucracy has expropriated the proletariat politically in order by methods of its own to defend the social conquests." And in his final struggle, against the petty-bourgeois opposition (inside the American SWP) led by Shachtman and Burnham, who abandoned unconditional defense of the USSR and questioned (and later denied) the working-class nature of the Soviet state, Trotsky insisted once more on this dual character of the bureaucracy. In 1937 he wrote an article against Burnham which is cited by the leaders of the Argentine PTS as a supposed indication that Trotsky held that Stalin is "counterrevolutionary through and through." But the quote proves precisely the opposite, emphatically so. Let us see:

"The function of Stalin, like the function of Green [then head of the American trade-union federation AFL], has a dual character. Stalin serves the bureaucracy and thus the world bourgeoisie; but he cannot serve the bureaucracy without defending that social foundation which the bureaucracy exploits in its own interests. To that extent does Stalin defend nationalized property from imperialist attacks and from the too impatient and avaricious layers of the bureaucracy itself. However, he carries through this defense with methods that prepare the general destruction of Soviet society. It is exactly because of this that the Stalinist clique must be overthrown. But it is the revolutionary proletariat who must overthrow it. The proletariat cannot subcontract this work to the imperialists. In spite of Stalin, the proletariat defends the USSR from imperialist attacks."

—"Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937)

Morenoism, in contrast, has "subcontracted" the overthrow of the bureaucracy to imperialism, which seeks to eradicate the workers state in its totality. They thus act as *anti-Trotskyist* lawyers for counterrevolution.

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Late Nahuel Moreno: "In the Camp of the Argentine Military Dictatorship" during bloody 1982 Malvinas/Falklands war.



El Socialista

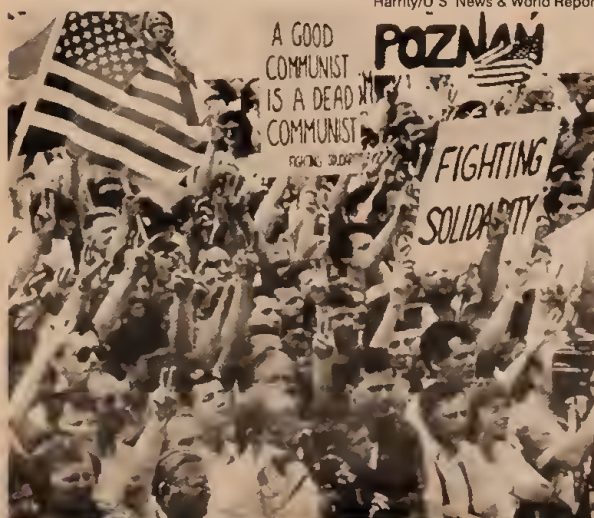
lutionary, but also has great dynamism... It is a pre-Trotskyist revisionism of authentic revolutionaries." He puts forward the possibility "that the vanguard changes hands: from rural guerrillas to urban struggle, from the peasantry to the proletariat, from the backward countries to the advanced" ("Las revoluciones china e indochina" [1967]). Moreno's subsequent (reformist) opposition to the petty-bourgeois adventurist strategy of guerrillism was due to the fact that some of his followers tried to put his own words into practice.

In the same pamphlet, Moreno repeat-

Paz Estenssoro or Perón at his high point than to Stalinism."

During the '80s, in contrast, Morenoism joined the anti-Soviet campaign which went from Ronald Reagan to much of the "far left," all of them "in solidarity with Solidarność." Thus after the breakdown of the Parity Committee with Lambert, the IWL joined the initiative of the British WRP, after the expulsion of its "founder-leader" Gerry Healy, which formed a "Preparatory Committee" to "reorganize" the Fourth International. Among the "Ten Points" which served as the foundation of this new rotten bloc,

Harrity/U S News & World Report



Morenoite anti-Sovietism: solidarity with Polish anti-Communists, denunciation of Red Army intervention against CIA-backed Afghan mujahedin cutthroats who shoot teachers (above).

Morenoism...

(continued from page 7)

The Morenoites have no Marxist arguments to defend such a policy of capitulation. So they resort to bureaucratic expulsion, on patently political grounds, and to lies against the Spartacists. As a typical example, they claim that we prettily the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, yet it was the Simón Bolívar Brigade, formed by the Morenoites, which waved a red-and-black flag with the initials of the FSLN (as well as a letter signed by the former "Comandante Zero," Edén Pastora), and which called for a Sandinista government. Likewise over the Falklands/Malvinas war, they hold that the Spartacists took the "asinine" position of opposing "both Argentina and Britain." We said "Sink Thatcher! Sink Galtieri!" while Moreno and his followers placed themselves, explicitly, "in the military camp of the Argentine dictatorship" (*Correo Internacional*, April 1982), playing the game of the genocidal generals who had killed tens of thousands of leftists and by means of this cynical adventure (with the free help of nationalist fake-leftists) sought to head off a general strike, then in the offing.

Behind the puerile insults ("the Spartacist Bat-sect") and oh-so-virile references to "fevered minds" who "bawl" and "whimper" like "petty bourgeois frightened over the danger of a Fourth Reich" and "of the real existence of fascist organizations like Pamyat in Russia," we see the core of the real positions of the PTS: they deny the existence of a counterrevolutionary military danger posed by imperialism in order to declare fundamental theses of Trotskyism and Leninism null and void. Thus they criticize us for fighting for the "unconditional defense of the DDR," and they insist that the actions of the Warsaw Pact troops "during the last 40 years in no way defended the foundations of the workers state of the DDR or the Soviet Union" (letter to the Mexican POS). So therefore imperialism presumably peacefully coexisted with the workers states to these several decades? This is a frontal attack on Lenin, who in his hook on *The State and Revolution* held that imperialism would wage a no-holds-barred war against the dictatorship of the proletariat, as in fact happened. These second-rate Morenoites openly reject the positions of Trotsky, scrapping his defensism of the USSR—which was a constant of his revolutionary politics—because *In Defense of Marxism* was written when "the Second war had already begun in fact."

In the pamphlet in which they publish the "Theses on the Political Revolution" which the PTS document refers to (*Cuadernos de Avanzada Socialista* No. 4,



Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

April 1990), they make explicit their denial of even the possibility of counterrevolution, and hence their denial of the validity of the demand for defense of the workers states. Thus they categorically state in the introduction to the pamphlet that in East Europe, "Definitively, the process that we are experiencing is that of political revolution and not of capitalist counterrevolution." In a separate box they add that "what is posed today is not the danger of imperialist invasion" and therefore, "Any attempt to defend the bureaucracy, in the present conjuncture, claiming the need to defend the workers state," is nothing but "a villainous capitulation to Stalinism...under the 'principled' cover of defense of the workers states." This was, exactly and precisely, the reasoning of Shachtman in 1939-40, who held that there was no invasion of the Soviet Union and therefore defense of the USSR was not applicable. Later, after the Nazi invasion, he "discovered" that there was nothing left of a workers state in the Soviet Union.

If the threat of an imminent West German invasion of the DDR isn't raised today it is because of the presence of Soviet troops—the same ones which the Morenoites want to withdraw as an "occupation army"—and because imperialism intends to swallow the country whole by economic means at first, and then later to mop up the military remnants of the previous regime. We Spartacists are fighting at every step to defend the workers' gains, which are being handed over to imperialism by dying Stalinism. The Morenoites "eliminate" counterrevolution with sophisms while going along with it in reality.

The PTS accuses the ICL of being a "Pabloite sect" and even "Pabloites to the nth degree" when it is Morenoism which has scandalously tailed after every anti-proletarian leadership imaginable. While the Revolutionary Tendency, predecessor of the Spartacist tendency, was fighting



Correo Internacional

Morenoite opportunists hailed feudalist Imam Khomeini in Iran, wrapped their Simón Bolívar Brigade in Sandinista colors in Nicaragua.

inside the American SWP against the capitulation to Castroism and the reunification with Pablo/Mandel's I.S. which gave birth to the United Secretariat, Moreno supported the USec and praised Castro. And although the PTS ascribes to Pablo the authorship of Trotsky's thesis on the dual nature of Stalinism, M. Pablo stood for something quite different, that the Communist parties could "roughly outline a revolutionary orientation"

guided by principles? While the MAS is consolidating as a social-democratic party on the Argentine national terrain, and the PTS oscillates as a satellite around it, without a political compass, their changing international connections will become less and less relevant and their now-superfluous references to Trotskyism will disappear.

Precisely today, when counterrevolution threatens all of East Europe, the ICL



Workers Hammer

While Morenoites consolidate as nationalist social-democratic party in Argentina, ICL fights for Trotskyist internationalism.

(see "Genesis of Pabloism," *Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972). Compare this with what Moreno wrote about Maoism and Castroism (quoted above), which he justified by denying that these currents were Stalinist.

As far as the claim that the ICL equates the positions of Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg on the national question, this is pure invention. Certainly it is true that both were guided by proletarian internationalism and not one or another variety of nationalism, as is the case with Solidarność, Stalinists of various stripes, and Morenoism. And in addition to bureaucratic expulsions and lies, which for the bureaucrats are the preliminaries to violence, it must be said that the Morenoites have taken over from the Stalinists and bourgeois nationalists the practice of thuggery against political opponents on the left (and even inside their own organizations). Comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. in Los Angeles were victims of a murderous claw-hammer attack on them in October 1982 led by one Nicholas Kramer (a.k.a. León Pérez) which we vigorously denounced. Morenoite militants from the U.S. to Argentina will be aware of Pérez' subsequent dubious career.

The sudden coming apart of Morenoism shortly after the death of its *líder máximo* is not accidental. Moreno not only acted as *caudillo*, but also as the maneuverer-in-chief of a tendency which has been characterized by its constant maneuvers. Who, then, should decide the next turn, since at no point are they

is at its post, defending the workers' gains to prepare the way for new ones. Precisely now that the Stalinists are unmasked as having no arguments and no program for combatting imperialism's new thrust to plunder and dismantle the deformed workers states, and in fact are giving them away, there is a great opening and a crucial need for authentic Trotskyism as the only credible and intransigent communists defending the working class. When the Morenoites accuse oppositionists of being "Spartacist agents" the accusation is of being...Trotskyists. And while the revisionists rock in the wake of bourgeois triumphalism, we say with Trotsky (in *The Revolution Betrayed*) that "The proletariat has not yet said its last word." ■

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Canada...

(continued from page 12)

Quebec bosses who see greater market advantage south of the border.

Quebec: National Oppression and Class Struggle

Quebec was forcibly incorporated into British North America following the defeat of the French garrison on the Plains of Abraham in the citadel of Quebec in 1759. In the Confederation of 1867 the national subjugation of the Québécois was the cornerstone of the newly "independent" Canadian state. For more than two centuries Quebec was kept in benighted, priest-ridden rural backwardness by the English overlords in alliance with the Roman Catholic church. Finally in the 1960s the Liberal government of Jean Lesage moved to modernize and secularize Quebec society in what was known as the "Quiet Revolution." In 1967 when French president Charles de Gaulle declared "Vive le Québec libre!" from the balcony of Montreal's City Hall, he addressed the aspirations of a section of the Québécois middle class (and was asked to leave the country by the Canadian government).

The belated emergence from Church-dominated backwardness produced an upwardly-mobile Québécois petty bourgeoisie who sought to become "maîtres chez eux" (masters in their own house), initially through sharply increased public spending on education and economic development. Where 30 years ago barely 3 percent of Quebec youth graduated from college, today the figure is 20 percent and rising. Quebec's birth rate used to be one of the highest in the Western world; today it is the lowest. Freed from the shackles of clerical provincialism, where priests fulminated from the pulpit against the evils of trade unions, there also emerged the most militant and class-conscious proletariat north of Mexico. Québécois workers faced systematic discrimination on the basis of language; as late as the 1970s many were forbidden even to speak French on the job.

Opposition to such chauvinism and to the brutal suppression of Quebec's national rights, brought home again in the 1970 military occupation of Montreal under the War Measures Act, fueled an upsurge of labor militancy of a scope not seen in North America since at least the 1930s. The province-wide general strike of May 1972 reached near-insurrectionary proportions, with key industrial towns seized by the workers and more than a dozen radio and TV stations taken over to broadcast messages of solidarity. But Quebec's "socialist"-talking labor bureaucrats, cheered on by most of the left, led the workers into a nationalist trap, channeling labor militancy into votes for the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois.

In 1976 the PQ under Lévesque defeated Bourassa's Liberals to form Que-

Canadian troops occupy Montreal City Hall, 1969.



bec's first pro-independence government. Thousands of English-speaking businessmen packed up and left for Toronto, and *parvenu* Québécois capitalists moved into their executive suites. While the labor tops claimed the PQ government would be "progressive," we warned it would use nationalist rhetoric to dupe the workers while cutting their throats—and that is exactly what happened.

Lévesque went after the labor movement with a vengeance not seen since the days of Maurice Duplessis, who ruled Quebec for 18 years with the iron hand of clerical reaction, corruption and savage strikebreaking. Among the main targets were the unions who were the main bastion of support for the PQ's nationalist policies—teachers, government and hospital workers. So vicious were the PQ's anti-labor attacks that former premier Robert Bourassa, who was reviled as the most hated man in Quebec after he jailed the leaders of the province's major labor federations in 1972, was voted back into office. Now the union tops promote the renewed rise of nationalism—only this time even the socialist rhetoric is gone, as they cheer on their new French-speaking capitalist masters.

Nationalism and Self-Determination

The Trotskyist League of Canada (sympathizing section of the International Communist League) has consistently championed Quebec's unconditional right of self-determination—i.e., to independence—not out of nationalist support for separation but rather internationalist commitment to remove barriers (such as the forcible subjugation of Quebec by English Canada) to the class unity of the English-speaking and French-speaking workers of North America. As the TLC stated in a Central Committee memorandum on Quebec following the 1976 election of the Parti Québécois (see "Quebec

Nationalism and the Class Struggle," WV No. 145, 18 February 1977):

"In oppressed nations within multinational states the question of whether or not to *advocate* independence depends on the depth of national antagonisms between the working people of the different nations. If relations have become so poisoned as to make genuine class unity impossible within a single state power, we support independence as the only way to remove the national question from the agenda and bring the class issue to the

struggle for proletarian power throughout North America. But this has been undercut by the national arrogance of the existing leadership of the English Canadian working class—in particular the social-democratic New Democratic Party which waves the Maple Leaf flag of Anglo-chauvinism and refuses to recognize Quebec's right to self-determination. Correspondingly, this has inflamed nationalist sentiments among Québécois workers which their union leaders have used to tie them to "their own" capitalist exploiters.

In the 1970s sundry "left" nationalists and syndicalists raised the call for an "independent socialist Quebec." But no strategy based on separatism—including the utopian "socialist independence"—can truly show the way forward for the working masses of Quebec. As we argued at the time, a Quebec "Commune" would have to be extended through socialist revolution throughout North America or it would be crushed. Now Québécois workers face the prospect of an independent bourgeois Quebec "ghetto." At nearly 10 percent, the Quebec unemployment rate is already among the highest in Canada, and with enforced French unilingualism it will be hard to get out.

The proletariat of Quebec will find their social as well as national liberation only within the framework of a continental socialist revolution. That requires a proletarian internationalist leadership



Montreal, January 1983. Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) protests union-busting attack by Parti Québécois leader René Lévesque during 1983 public workers strike.

fore. The Bolsheviks did not find it necessary to *advocate* independence for the oppressed minority nations in tsarist Russia, yet Lenin did support the call for Norwegian independence from Sweden."

At this time we continue to unconditionally defend Quebec's right to independence while not advocating the exercise of that right. Despite escalating national hostilities, it has yet to be decisively demonstrated that the cause of proletarian class unity can only be resolved through separation for Quebec. However, should conflicts over language rights, immigration policies and other issues inflame national antagonisms to such a point—a distinct possibility in the present situation—then we would be obliged to demand independence.

Certainly the potential for a deep cleavage in the Canadian labor movement was seen at the biennial convention of the Canadian Labour Congress in Montreal last May. When the CLC tops submitted a position paper which opposed Meech Lake from the standpoint of the Anglo-dominated status quo, the delegation from the Quebec Federation of Labour threatened to quit the convention if it was even discussed.

Yet Quebec workers have played a key role in sparking cross-Canada labor actions. In several rail and postal strikes of the 1970s and '80s, the initiative was taken by Montreal union locals. Given the high degree of integration of the North American economy, this militant and combative working class has the potential for playing a leading role in the

forged in opposition to the bureaucratic misleaders of the Canadian labor movement whose reactionary nationalism has only served to encourage feelings of hostility among the working people while protecting the bosses' profits, whether they be Canadian, American or Québécois.

Chauvinist Reaction on the Rise

Today's national polarization in Canada is shot through with ugly chauvinism on both sides. Early this year more than 50 cities and towns in Ontario passed resolutions rejecting the federal government's policy of bilingualism and banning municipal services in French. French-speaking residents of the steel town of Sault Ste. Marie were told to "speak white." Demonstrators for "English rights" in Brockville, near the Quebec border, were filmed burning and stomping on Quebec flags. In the Prairies, the far-right Reform Party has garnered mass support through anti-French bigotry mixed with racism and a populist anti-tax campaign.

Meanwhile, in Quebec racist anti-immigrant banners have been prominent in nationalist demonstrations, and the cops and pogromist mobs repeatedly lash out against black and Native Indian minorities (see page 12). The main school board in Montreal recently tried to ban all students, including hundreds of thousands of immigrant children

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Toronto, July 4. Trotskyist League of Canada demonstrates to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, fights anti-French chauvinism in Canada.

Bush's America...

(continued from page 1)

as UAW tops go in for racist Japan-bashing rather than fighting the bosses who have destroyed hundreds of thousands of jobs.

The media are filled with hoopla about the supposed triumph of capitalism. Wall Street thinks full-page ads boasting that East Europe is "trading Marx for dollars" can paper over the homeless families lined up at American soup kitchens. But the demolished blast furnaces in Youngstown and paved-over auto plants in Detroit are graphic illustrations of the decay of capitalism.

Labor and minorities are under full-scale assault in Bush's "kinder, gentler" America. Millions have given up any hope of finding a job, millions are homeless. And many of those who are still working are "just a paycheck away" from the soup lines. But while the bosses' labor lieutenants lead the workers quietly out of the plants, and stab their struggles in the back, many are desperately looking for a way to fight.

Down and Out on Fifth Avenue

To the yuppies headed for Wall Street and their latest leveraged buyout deals floating on oceans of junk bonds, the three million homeless in America are jarring, unsightly reminders of reality. When the NY-NJ Port Authority bus terminal issued a handful of "panhandler licenses" to limit begging this spring, the first person in line was *New York Times* copy editor James Benagh—to make sure "there was one panhandler the less."

In 1894, Anatole France ridiculed bourgeois law which "forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread." From Portland, Oregon to New York, police spend hundreds of thousands of dollars to sweep the homeless out from under bridges and inside subway tunnels, where people have built beds and homes inches from the 600-volt third rail. Last year, at least 79 homeless people died in NYC subways alone. But the tunnels are chosen by thousands over the barracks shelters, where TB is epidemic and they are treated like criminals.

While the Port Authority hoses the homeless off the sidewalks, and Transit Authority cops drag sleeping passengers off New York subways, the tabloids



Donald Trump and wife Ivana at home in Palm Beach mansion (above) while homeless and hungry shelter in railroad tunnel under New York's Riverside Park, near planned site of "Trump City" development.



are filled with the "plight" of New York's chief hustler, Donald Trump. Unable to meet interest payments on his casino junk bonds, Trump was given an "allowance" by his bankers of a paltry \$450,000 a month. (This doesn't include the budget for his Boeing 727, his 282-foot yacht, another \$385,000 in "expenses" and \$2.1 million a month in debt

service.) And they railroaded Longshoremen's Association official Tony Scotto out of the union and into jail for earning \$100,000 a year!

Trump, who is so deep in hock to Citibank and Chase Manhattan that they can't afford to let him go under, will have to pay out of his own pocket for his 50-room Trump Tower apartment with a

12-foot waterfall. Meanwhile, they are trying to run a whole community of homeless out of their camp in the Trump-owned railroad tunnel on the West Side of Manhattan. We have an alternative proposal: let the homeless take over Trump Tower, and see how Donald likes it in the tunnel.

The Impoverishment of American Workers

The workers of East Europe are fed fantasies about the American Dream, where every worker has a good job, with a house and a two-car garage, and maybe a boat. These days it's more likely to be a two-family garage: when the earthquake hit the Bay Area last fall, leaving hundreds of Latino families homeless in the town of Watsonville, it turned out many had been living in the garages.

Many young workers have no hope of even leaving home, much less buying one of their own. Of the 63 million working-age people without any job, "the fastest-growing contingent is young, 16 to 24 years old" (*New York Times*, 16 July). Moreover, real wages paid to young people have fallen by more than 20 percent over the last decade and a half. The *Times* goes on to lecture that "Americans would be better off if labor participation declined a bit."

For the capitalists, higher unemployment is "beneficial" by holding down wages. Real unemployment, including those who have given up looking and those who can only find part-time work, is double the government's figure of 5.3 percent. In auto, heavily unionized, one-quarter of the Big 3 auto workers lost their jobs between 1978 and 1989. The average age of an auto worker is now 45, almost a death sentence for somebody working on a grueling assembly line.

For the working class, it has been a brutal downhill slide into an "American nightmare." This is the only industrialized capitalist country where wages have been falling. The real wages of U.S. workers have plummeted over 15 percent since 1973. And from 1980 to 1989 industrial workers in the U.S. saw their wages fall anywhere between 10 and 30 percent (Labor Research Association's *Economic Notes*, May-June 1990). It's not just the unemployed, "this is the employed becoming ever more squeezed" (*New York Times*, 16 July).

Today, the richest 1 percent of the American population gets almost as much in after-tax income as the bottom 40 percent—double the share of the

Canada...

(continued from page 9)

from southern Europe and the English-speaking Caribbean, from speaking anything but French on school property—even during recess!

As the Trotskyist League argued in its 1977 memorandum: "While we recognize and seek to redress the historic discrimination against use of the French language, particularly on the job and at school, we do this by fighting for equal language rights for all, not for new discriminatory regulations." While various fake-leftists championed French unilingualism in Quebec we pointed out that it would "provide a perfect excuse for the denial of language rights to French-speaking minorities by English chauvinists in other provinces."

The smug nationalists who campaign for a "unilingual French Quebec" could care less about the nearly one million French speakers elsewhere in Canada. When French-speaking residents of Alberta challenged legislation enforcing English unilingualism, the Quebec government went to court...to support Alberta's "English only" laws! As the country divides along national fault lines, minorities everywhere—non-French speakers in Quebec, Francophones in English Canada, immigrants most of all—will be targets for yet more chauvinist abuse.

The power of the integrated, binational labor movement must be mobilized to smash racist attacks and demand full and equal language rights for all!

For Socialist Revolution Throughout North America!

"History's bequest to Canada is to be the country of the American counter-revolution," wrote the ever-Tory British *Economist* (23 June). From the start, Canada was an artificial creation of the British, who sought to safeguard their North American interests, and of the defeated counterrevolutionary "United Empire Loyalists" who fled the American Revolution. In a rare moment of honesty, Canada's Tory prime minister Mulroney, commenting last February on the possible separation of Quebec, asked: "What is Canada without it? There's no country. It's like an adjunct of the United States."

To shore up its flagging economy against imperialist rivals in West Europe and Japan, the U.S. bourgeoisie made a "free trade" pact with Canada. For Quebec's entrepreneurs, increasing their trade south of the 49th parallel is one of the key arguments for independence. For the rest of the country the combination of the free trade pact, which is increasing north-south trade/investment links, together with collapse of the Meech Lake accord, is unleashing yet more centrifugal forces which, particularly if Quebec secedes, could spell the complete demise of

Canada as an independent state.

Some months ago Montreal businessman Aldan Furlong laid out the following scenario to the London *Guardian* (27 March): "If Quebec goes, British Columbia and the Prairies will seek to join the U.S. within a year or two, and Newfoundland may be even quicker." Newfoundland was one of the provinces which held out against Meech Lake and opinion polls show that the greatest sentiment for joining the U.S. comes from the population of Canada's dirt-poor Atlantic provinces, which would be completely cut off from the rest of the country if Quebec separated. Within days of Meech Lake's collapse, western premiers started seeking more independence for their own provinces. William Vander Zalm, the ultraright nut-case premier of British Columbia, raised the call for "sovereignty-association" for his fiefdom.

The U.S.-Canada "free trade" pact provoked an outburst of Canadian nationalism from the union tops and the NDP, who accused the Mulroney government of "selling out" Canada to the U.S. But this was an essentially equitable deal between the Canadian bourgeoisie and Wall Street. Moreover, the English-speaking people of Canada and the U.S. already share a common language, culture and highly integrated economy. Certainly, Quebec nationalists should not be sanguine about their prospects for "independence" in the context of sharply

increased economic integration with the U.S. But it is Mexico that will really pay as U.S. imperialism turns its attention to extending "free trade" from the "Yukon to the Yucatán." This would be nothing more than an attempted wholesale takeover of Mexico by Yankee imperialism in alliance with its Canadian imperialist underlings.

When the free trade pact was introduced 18 months ago, we wrote:

"As Marxists we are for the increasing economic unity of the world on a democratic and egalitarian socialist basis. This is a very different kettle of fish from a deal aimed at strengthening the power of the U.S. bourgeoisie...."

"When the bourgeoisie talks of the benefits of free trade, they mean strengthening their hand against the unions and tearing apart social programs. Yet the way to fight this is not by protectionist poison, setting Canadian and U.S. workers at each other's throats, but by common class struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their Canadian junior partners."

—"Canada Trade Pact Elections," *WV No. 467*, 16 December 1988

What is desperately needed is a revolutionary internationalist leadership that can unite the working people from Montreal to New York City, Vancouver to Los Angeles and Mexico City in a fight to defend minority rights and national self-determination, to break the power of capital and establish their own class rule which will achieve genuine liberation for all of the exploited and oppressed. ■

UPS Teamsters: Vote It Down! Strike to Win!

With their current contract set to expire on the last day of July, 140,000 Teamsters at United Parcel Service have begun voting by mail on the company's three-year contract offer—a measly 50 cents an hour raise each year. In the last ten years, UPS workers have seen real wages slashed by 10 percent, while their profit-bloated bosses raked in a cool \$5 billion after taxes, almost \$700 million last year alone.

Workers at the UPS 43rd Street facility in New York City have told WV that management is barraging them with anti-strike scare propaganda to force a yes vote. Now the company has started victimizing workers even before a strike! Long Island shop steward Frank Farino was fired last week after letting coworkers know where he stood on the company's insulting "offer" by wearing a "Just Say No" T-shirt.

A solid strike by UPS workers could bring these union-hating money gougers

to their knees. UPS is a key cog in the economy, handling 2.7 billion packages a year. An industry analyst admits that "UPS could not work through a strike" and "competitors would not have anywhere near enough capacity to accommodate all of UPS's business." But the International Brotherhood of Teamsters tops and the self-styled "democratic" opposition in the union are telling the workers to lie down and act dead.

Even after the entire National Negotiating Committee called for rejecting the contract, IBT president William McCarthy insisted on a vote on the insulting company offer. And Teamsters for a Democratic Union and Ron Carey, president of NYC Local 804, who is the TDU's choice to replace McCarthy in next year's union election, instead of preparing to strike, whine that McCarthy should go back to the table. The TDU's *Convoy Dispatch* says that "a

vote no does not necessarily cause a strike."

It's no surprise that the TDU crowd oppose strike action—they're the ones who invited the feds into the union. Using sinister RICO "racketeering" laws, under the TDU-inspired "monitorship," government "anti-corruption" snoops are sinking their tentacles into every Teamsters local in the country. You can bet they'll be busy in a national UPS strike. Adding insult to injury, the feds have already billed the union over \$12 million to pay for this union-busting.

Decades of "Justice" Department intervention into the Teamsters, from Dave Beck's days to now, haven't "cleaned up" the union—it has strengthened the chains that tie the union to the bosses' state. The Kennedys went after Jimmy Hoffa for organizing union power that could shut the country down. From drug testing

witchhunts to government-supervised union elections to police scabberding—the cops, the courts and capitalist politicians are on the *other side of the class line*. Government hands off the unions!

To win a big pay raise and boost in pensions, to end the two-tier wage structures and the killer pace enforced by the tyrannical management at UPS, will take a militant strike, bringing together part-time and full-time, inside workers and drivers, in mass picket lines that no scab would even try to cross. A strike by the highly integrated UPS workforce—almost 10 percent of the entire IBT membership—could spark a powerful fight to reverse the concessions of the last ten years and break the feds' stranglehold on the union. Union militants still seething over the last contract betrayal must begin now to forge a leadership committed to class struggle.

wealthy a decade ago. And as working people are getting poorer overall, blacks are becoming poorer relative to whites. While real income for men between the ages of 20 and 29 fell almost 18 percent between 1973 and 1987, for black men of the same age group wages tumbled almost 28 percent (*Newsday*, 3 January). Black family income has fallen to 65 percent of whites', and half of black children live below the federal government's pitifully low poverty level.

Meanwhile, health care benefits that were considered a unionized worker's "right" a decade ago are being chopped away. And union safety protection is ripped away as the industrial "accident" rate escalates. Last year over 10,000 workers died on the job, and more than six million were injured. Every week brings another story of a chemical plant explosion in Texas or another transit worker killed on the tracks in New York or Philly. In the last year, bitter strikes were fought at New York phone and Pittston coal to defend long-established medical coverage.

The wholesale destruction of the labor movement that began with the AFL-CIO tops' capitulation to Nixon's wage controls during the Vietnam War, which they supported, followed by the mass firing of PATCO air controllers, has cut the number of unionized workers to 16 percent of the workforce. Among workers in private industry it is 12.4 percent, one-third of the peak in the 1950s.

War on Blacks, Poor

The deliberate ripping up of the workers' organizations and their standard of living has been magnified for the black population. Black migration from rural poverty and Jim Crow segregation in the South continued from the 1930s and '40s through the 1960s, as black workers gained tremendous social power in the auto and steel plants of the Midwest, the core of the CIO unions. Now, with the depopulation of Detroit, racist terror "Up North" and migration out of the Midwest rust bowl, for the first time this century the percentage of blacks living in the South has increased.

In 1990 America there is no promise of jobs in the North or anywhere else. Black unemployment is more than double that of whites for any age group. The ghettos have been turned into dumping grounds for "surplus" population, to be kept in line by cop terror. A recent study found that one-fourth of black men age 20 to 29 are in prison or on parole. Far more black men are in jail than in colleges.

The phony "war on poverty" has been replaced by a very real war on the poor. A Bush cabinet council just submitted its report on "re-thinking" anti-poverty

programs. "A White House official summarized the upshot this way: 'Keep playing with the same toys. But let's paint them a little shinier'" (*New York Times*, 6 July).

In the U.S., 22nd among developed countries in infant survival, the cost of an infant aid program would be a few thousand a year per child. As a pediatric researcher noted: "this is an example of a problem that if we throw money at it...

enshrines the electric chair—extending the death penalty to eleven new federal crimes. By a vote of 94 to 6, both wings of what Gore Vidal has aptly called the "property party" voted in the Senate to strip death row inmates of the right to any more than a *single federal appeal* of the constitutionality of their sentence.

This comes in the context of a witch-hunting climate of general social reaction which includes full-scale assault on

powdered "yuppie" cocaine, you would have to sell about \$50,000 worth or 500 grams.

The drug witchhunt is a war on the working class, designed to terrorize and regiment the population. In the last year alone, over four million workers and job applicants were tested. It's not the state's business what anybody does in their personal life. The solution to the crime associated with drugs is simple—take the money out of the business by decriminalizing it. You can bet that people who scream the loudest against this are those who would lose their profits or their excuse for state terror, or both. Take Attorney General Thornburgh and other top Justice Department officials, jetting around the country in planes seized from drug dealers. And the FBI turns up with \$22 million in \$20 bills.

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

There is plenty of appetite for hard class struggle. Workers poured into Camp Solidarity in southwest Virginia to back the Pittston miners' battle last year. When the strikers carried out one of the first plant occupations in decades, 5,000 miners and their families massed in support. Thousands of unionists joined solidarity marches for the Eastern strikers. Greyhound workers with their backs to the wall have stayed on the picket line, assaulted by cops and run down by scabs, rather than see their jobs and wages be further slashed to pay off the bosses' junk bonds.

Yet every one of these class battles, like earlier strikes of Phelps Dodge copper workers and Hormel meatpackers, has gone down to defeat. Why? Because from PATCO to Greyhound, the working class has been knifed in the back by the pro-capitalist labor traitors on behalf of their Democratic Party masters. Not content with just "selling out" to maintain the status quo, the bureaucracy has given back union gains, and isolated and destroyed hard-fought strikes. And the AFL-CIO tops, with their CIA dollars, have been on the front line of U.S. imperialism's dirty war on workers from Central America to Poland to the USSR.

Despite the bourgeoisie's wishful thinking about the triumph of capitalism spelling the "end of history," their decaying system can only be sustained through the most brutal state terror, from the rape of Panama to the army of cops occupying the ghettos and barrios of America. It is the urgent task of class-conscious workers here in the imperialist heartland to construct the revolutionary workers party that can wrest the productive wealth of this country away from the capitalist class and create a planned socialist economy on an international scale. ■



New York City, May 3. Striking Greyhound, Domsey textile and Eastern Airlines strikers march in union solidarity demonstration.

we can make healthier children." But the administration shelved any idea of an "investment in children" because it's "not likely to show an immediate reward." The Bush official concluded: "It was fun to think about these things. But for the time being, we concluded that we don't want to do anything new."

Far from being the brainchild of the Reaganite right, this war on the poor is embraced by both the partner parties of American capitalism. It was Democratic Senator Daniel Moynihan, author of racist "benign neglect," who wrote the genocidal "workfare" program of the "Family Security Act." Moynihan hurls, "The act redefined welfare. Absent fathers were to provide child support. Young mothers were to find work." But as we said in "Genocide U.S.A." (WV No. 463, 21 October 1988):

"This is not welfare reform, it's a plan to turn the ghettos into vast cemeteries—because there are no jobs to get. The aim of this legislation is to see to it that layers of the minority population die, because this decrepit capitalist system no longer needs them."

"Sometimes You Need Dirty Harry"

But one industry in America is booming—the death industry. The Senate just passed and sent to the House a bill which

women's right to abortion, censorship and "anti-porn" crusades, a battery of laws allowing the government to seize your assets before you're convicted of anything. And to assert state monopoly of armed force, they're trying to disarm the populace. They've got the Bill of Rights in their cross hairs.

In the name of the bipartisan "war on drugs," Bush's "drug czar" William Bennett recently called for *beheading* of drug dealers! A piece in the *New Yorker* (23 July) reports that in a speech, Bennett announced there will also be "a dramatic increase in orphanages," as the feds swoop into public housing projects to rip children who "are not being raised at all" from their parents. Bennett threatens: "Sometimes you need Mother Teresa, and sometimes you need Dirty Harry."

Some in the bourgeois press have noticed that, as Ron Harris wrote in the *Los Angeles Times* (22 April), the "war on drugs has in effect become a war on black people." If you're black in the cities of America, when the cops show up it's "assume the position" and Fourth Amendment rights against search and seizure are out the window. In a striking codification of class "justice," federal law sets a five-year mandatory sentence for sale of five grams of crack, about \$125 worth. To get the same sentence for

WORKERS VANGUARD

Anglo-Led Chauvinism Spurs Quebec Separatism

Nationalist Antagonisms Split Canada

Chanting "Quebec for the Québécois" and "In-dé-pen-dance!" more than a quarter million people marched through downtown Montreal June 25 to celebrate St. Jean-Baptiste Day, the national holiday of Quebec. As the London *Guardian* (25 June) commented: "With Quebec's blue-and-white fleur-de-lis flag hanging from every other balcony, over the doors of corner groceries, and from the car radio aerials, one could be forgiven this weekend for thinking one was already in an independent country."

Two days earlier the so-called "Meech Lake accord"—a last-ditch effort by the federal Tory government which sought to win Quebec's endorsement of the 1982 Canadian constitution by amending it to officially recognize Quebec as a "distinct society"—collapsed in a wave of English Canadian chauvinism. As the deadline for ratification of this approached, fans at Toronto Blue Jays games were booing at the French verses of the national anthem. Two provinces refused to endorse the "accord," and on June 23 Conservative prime minister Brian Mulroney pronounced it dead.

Quebec Liberal Party premier Robert Bourassa immediately broke off constitutional negotiations and began "non-partisan" consultations on Quebec's future with Jacques Parizeau, leader of the nationalist opposition Parti Québécois (PQ). The PQ has declared that it is for complete independence while Bourassa holds up the European Economic Community as a model for relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada—more popularly known in Quebec as



Montreal, June 25. Over a quarter million people march for Quebec independence under the fleur-de-lis flag.

"sovereignty-association" (partial independence plus economic association with Canada). The status quo, Bourassa emphasized, is *not* an option.

T-shirts at the St. Jean-Baptiste celebration read "Enfin oui René" (Finally Yes René), referring to René Lévesque, the former PQ premier of Quebec who

lost a 1980 provincial referendum on "sovereignty-association." Ten years ago only 40 percent voted "yes" in the PQ referendum. Now opinion polls claim over two-thirds of Quebec's population, and nearly 80 percent of French speakers, support some form of independence.

A half-dozen federal Conservative MPs including Mulroney's chief Quebec lieutenant Lucien Bouchard have quit the party to campaign for independence. While all three Quebec labor federations have endorsed the call for secession, the current separatist drive is being led by a recently emergent Québécois bourgeoisie. Bernard Lemaire, president of the Cascades forestry group, assured Wall Street investors: "We are ready. We have the economy and viable companies. We won't be scared twice." The *Washington Post* (21 May) commented approvingly:

"In the 1970s, Quebec's separatist movement was centered in smoke-filled union halls and university campuses. But today, the spirit of Quebec nationalism has drawn increasing force from the oak-paneled boardrooms of gleaming new office towers that loom over downtown Montreal—monuments to the emergence of a powerful French Canadian business elite...."

"More sovereignty for predominantly French-speaking Quebec is viewed less as a political objective and more in practical terms by increasingly self-confident French Canadian industrial leaders, who are asking themselves what they can do in newly expanding international markets to lessen their economic dependence on English Canada."

So it's bye-bye, Maple Leaf, hello fleur-de-lis—all in the name of profit for
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Quebec Mohawks in the Crossfire of Nationalism

On July 11 heavily armed members of the Quebec Provincial Police stormed a roadblock manned by Mohawks of the Kahnésatake reserve near the village of Oka, 30 kilometers west of Montreal. The Mohawk defenders fought back, reportedly reinforced by Vietnam veterans from the U.S. side of the border, where another war has been raging on the St. Regis reservation over gambling. The assault was driven off after a three-hour firefight in which six police vehicles were destroyed. Mohawk casualties were light, while the cops came up one short.

The Mohawks are seeking to protect their historic burial ground from the proposed expansion of a private nine-hole golf course. Now a thousand provincial cops, bolstered by Royal Canadian Mounted Police units, have sealed off the reserve. Food shipments have been interdicted, movement in or out forbidden, doctors were refused entrance to treat the injured. As the cops turn Oka into a firebase and dream of a revenge bloodbath, racist vigilante

squads are terrorizing local merchants, threatening "accidents" if they sell supplies to Mohawks.

In support of their besieged comrades, other Mohawks from the Kahnésatake reserve blocked the Mercier Bridge at Châteauguay, one of the main commuter links between the South Shore of the St. Lawrence River and Montreal. There, the backlash of racist national chauvinism has been tinged with outright fascism. Night after night, howling lynch mobs of up to 4,000 gather at police lines, waving the fleur-de-lis flag of Quebec. Chanting "Vive le Québec libre!" and "Québec aux Québécois!" they have burned effigies of Natives and screamed for blood, attacking anyone who "looks Native."

Tribal leaders denounced the police raid on Oka as a reprisal by the Quebec government for the collapse of the Meech Lake accord. In its final days, Meech Lake was blocked in the Manitoba provincial assembly by a lone Cree legislator, Elijah Harper. Native leaders have called on the Conservative govern-

ment in Ottawa to intervene. But it already has: Canadian Armed Forces units have been moved into position to back up the provincial police—the same army that placed Quebec under martial law in 1970. And Ottawa dismisses the Mohawks' land claim at Oka by citing a 1717 title deed signed by the King of France!

At press time, the Mohawks were dug in at the bridge; reports circulate that government forces may attempt to storm their structural steel-reinforced earthworks. While unemployment on the reserves runs at 90 percent, amid utter immiseration and the highest suicide rate in the world, many young Mohawk men work for periods as iron workers walking the beams of major construction sites in cities throughout eastern North America. Montreal labor has a special responsibility to come to the aid of the beleaguered Mohawks who are fighting for their existence against a capitalist system whose expansion has meant genocide for the Native peoples of this continent.



Oka, Quebec. Mohawk fighter resists racist Canadian police siege.