

## Break the Blockade of Iraq!

# Defeat U.S. Imperialism!

OCTOBER 16—Bush's invasion of the Persian Gulf has turned the ever volatile Near East into a giant powder keg waiting to explode. Nearly a quarter million American troops plus a massive armada of battleships, bombers and fighter jets have been crammed onto the Saudi sand and the Gulf waters, up against a million battle-hardened Iraqi soldiers. "War looks more and more inevitable," says *Time* magazine (8 October). And the inevitable became a lot more immediate last week when the war-crazed and nuclear-armed Zionist rulers of Israel turned Jerusalem's Al Aksa mosque, the third holiest shrine in all Islam, into a bloodsoaked morgue. "Israeli killings bring war closer," ran the headline in the *London Independent* (10 October).

Washington's bipartisan war mobilization is a deadly danger to working people around the world. Having propped up the butcher Saddam Hussein for the many years it suited them, U.S. rulers are now set to blow away Iraq in order to reassert America's military domination over the planet. For this, Wall Street and its politicians are prepared to spill the blood of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis and of thousands more American GIs. But unless Bush gets a big win with minimal U.S. casualties, he will lose big. And the American rulers are hardly riding a winning streak right now.

Saddam Hussein has refused to roll over and play dead, while in the U.S. popular opposition to war continues to grow. Right from the start of the U.S. invasion it was clear that working people, and blacks in particular, were not buying Bush's war for Big Oil. Since then, support in the polls for Bush's Gulf policy has plummeted from almost three out of four to a little over half the population. And nine out of ten Americans oppose the U.S. starting a shooting war. Now the budget fiasco has revealed and deepened widespread popular resentment against both capitalist parties. "Budget Morass Leaves President in Peril—U.S. Mess Poses Risks for Bush's Stance on Iraq," warns the *Wall Street Journal* (12 October).

Seldom has it been clearer that this is a rich man's government sending the poor off to die for it. Here is a chance for blacks, Hispanics and all working people to mobilize against their exploiters in Washington and Wall Street. Instead various liberals and supposed leftists are pleading for "No More Vietnams" to save the American rulers from another debacle. The interests of American workers lie not in saving the skins of this gang of strikebreakers, racists and warmongers but rather in seeing them defeated. That means standing in defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism. We Trotskyists fight for class struggle here and in the Near East to drive the U.S. out! *Break the blockade of Iraq—Defeat U.S. imperialism!*

### Slaughter in Jerusalem

Even by the standards of three years of murderous rampage against the Palestinian *intifada*, in which the Israeli army has killed hundreds and wounded or imprisoned thousands more, the Al Aksa

massacre on October 8 was a blood-thirsty Zionist atrocity. Several thousand Palestinians had massed around the shrine to defend it from a provocation by an extreme right-wing Zionist fundamentalist group called the "Temple Mount

two months ago that they keep a "low profile" during the U.S.-led confrontation with Iraq. Washington seethed, while its Arab allies quaked in fear over an eruption of popular outrage. But all wings of the Zionist establishment, including

scheme" (*New York Times*, 10 October).

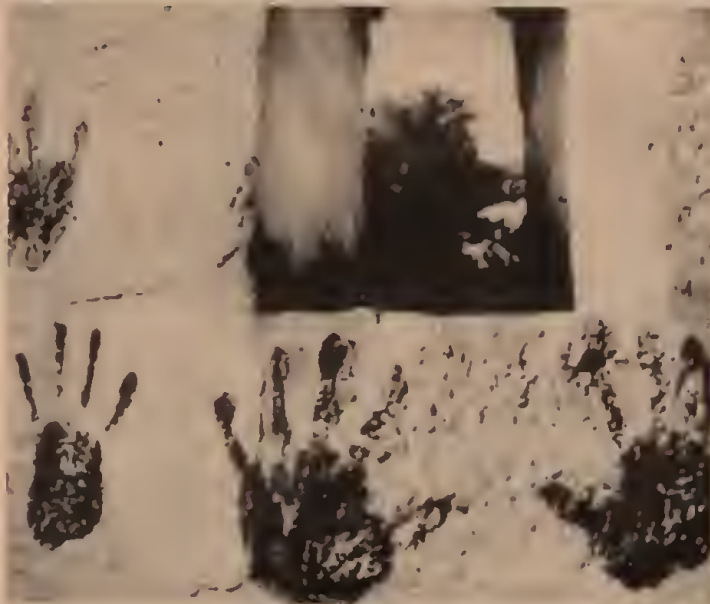
This was a provocation. But the provocateurs were the Zionist rulers, who are out to deliberately inflame Arab hostility to the point of igniting—or creating the pretext for—a shooting war. Israel has been itching for war, even before the U.S. invasion, in order to facilitate its aim of driving the Palestinians out of the West Bank and creating *Lebensraum* for the long-awaited influx of Soviet Jews. (Shortly before the massacre Israel began mass distributing gas masks to all but the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories!) From the moment American troops started piling into Saudi Arabia, the Israelis had harped on the need to take Saddam Hussein out militarily—and fast—even insisting on the use of "non-conventional weapons," i.e., nuking Baghdad. For Israel, as one "senior military source" told the *Washington Post* (6 October), a diplomatic solution in the Gulf is the "most dangerous" outcome possible.

The Zionists rightly fear that the U.S. may begin to see Israel as a "strategic liability" and no longer a "strategic asset." A permanent U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia threatens to deprive the Zionist state of its privileged position as Washington's regional gendarme and thus rupture its multibillion-dollar umbilical cord. With one blow, it looked like Israel had moved the Gulf a big step closer to shooting war and thrown a wrench into Washington's new alliance with Arab regimes. While Bush merely slapped the Israelis on the wrist for failing to exercise "greater restraint," a PLO-sponsored resolution condemning the Israel massacre and calling for UN intervention to "protect" Palestinians garnered overwhelming support in the Security Council, not only from "Third World" countries but even from the U.S.' Western allies.

Ever more desperate to pressure the U.S. to pressure its Israeli clients to accede to a Palestinian bantustan, the PLO caved in on its resolution and

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## War-Crazed Israel Massacres Palestinians



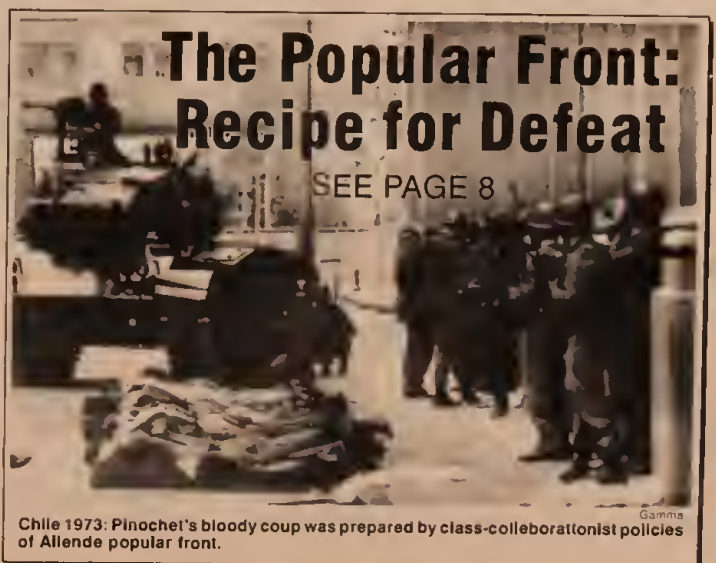
Blood on the walls after Israeli soldiers killed at least 21 Palestinian Arabs, who were defending Jerusalem's Al Aksa mosque against provocation by Zionist fanatics.

Faithful" which, as it has in previous years on that day, intended to march on the Muslim holy site. Israeli border police pumped hundreds of rounds of live ammunition into the crowd, killing at least 21 and wounding more than 150 people. The Israelis continued firing at ambulances carrying away the victims. In its determination to make an example in the blood of helpless people, the Zionist massacre brings to mind the British imperialists' notorious atrocity at Amritsar, India in 1919.

Israel said police started shooting only after Palestinians showered Jewish "worshippers" at the nearby Wailing Wall with stones. "Barrels of stones" found in the mosque, supposedly evidence of a premeditated Palestinian "provocation," turned out to be concrete blocks being used for a construction project. The "PLO provocation" lie was exposed when Zeev Schiff, military expert for the mainstream Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*, affirmed that the Palestinians had gathered at the mosque "to prevent the entrance of the Temple Mount Faithful." And a videotape taken at the time shows that the cops started mowing down Palestinians after Jewish worshippers had left the scene.

This was the Israeli response to the request by their American quatermasters

"liberal" Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek, joined Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir in brazenly defending the massacre, claiming that the PLO was behind "an organized provocation, a Satanic



## The Popular Front: Recipe for Defeat

SEE PAGE 8

Chile 1973: Pinochet's bloody coup was prepared by class-colaborattonist policies of Allende popular front.



# Japan: Workers Battle Cops, Gangsters

TOKYO, October 12—For five straight nights, day laborers of Osaka's Nishinari area fought pitched battles with the hated city police as the workers' accumulated grievances erupted over a corruption scandal involving the yakuza (Japanese underworld). Starting on the evening of Tuesday October 2 the laborers besieged the local police station in increasing numbers every night. By early Sunday morning 1,600 protesters had confronted 2,500 riot police and the area looked like a war zone, with the streets littered with broken bottles and piles of burnt bicycles. Nearby parked vehicles and the local train station were torched.

The laborers fought the Nishinari cops

to a standstill. About 50 people were arrested, but of 186 people injured, 148 were cops! Only a heavy deployment of Osaka riot police and the leaderless direction of the day laborers' protest dissipated this sharp outbreak of worker unrest. Release the jailed Nishinari day laborers!

The Nishinari area, on Osaka's south side, has long been a transient labor area, where workers, generally older and from rural areas all over Japan, try to eke out a living while being squeezed by the yakuza job brokers and harassed by the cops. The laborers have a union, the All Kamasaki Day Laborers Workers Union, but it's weak and has no affiliation with

**Fifty people arrested in Osaka as day laborers fight corrupt cops, linked to yakuza gangs, to a standstill.**



AP

any of the three major labor federations. Wages are ¥10-15,000 per day, a lot more than women make in the service sector, but there's no job stability.

The union has a hiring hall, but it can only provide jobs to about 10 percent of the area's laborers. The other 90 percent are at the mercy of the yakuza job brokers. So most of the estimated 20,000 workers of this area live in flophouses or sleep in the park. The police have video cameras mounted on every street corner and regularly harass the laborers by rousting them from the local parks.

The actual corruption case in Nishinari had no direct link to the laborers, but was a flashpoint for years of grievances. As a local heat reporter wrote: "Day laborers' earnings are sucked into the pocket of the gangsters. But now they found that the money then went to police as bribes in the latest scandal. That was the major cause of the riot" (*Japan Times*, 9 October). The laborers' hatred for the cops is longstanding, as similar battles were fought in 1961 and 1973. So notorious are the South Osaka cops that even the *New York Times* (7 October) noted: "Local sympathy appears to lie with the workers, not the police."

But the Nishinari day laborers are only a day's wages removed from the lumpen-proletariat and exhibit some of the most racist and backward attitudes among Japan's working class. Their isolation from the powerful industrial proletariat and their social backwardness left their flank open to infiltration by the "Bosozoka" motorcycle gangs of young toughs, with ties to the yakuza and many rightist groups. The Bosozoka tried to join the protests and get their "kicks" mixing it up with the local cops. This scum is no friend of labor!

Osaka has the highest concentration of burakumin (an oppressed caste equivalent to India's "untouchables") and Koreans in Japan. The local government, Nishinari construction bosses and their hiring agents have used this to pit other Japanese laborers against their minority class brothers in a vicious yakuza-controlled job competition. This vicious system is enforced by the Osaka cops, who combine the paramilitary brutality of LAPD SWAT teams with Chicago-style police corruption. The local union has tried to defend Osaka's minorities but it lacks the social muscle to smash the yakuza job brokerage racket. A union hiring hall that breaks the vicious discrimination against burakumin and Koreans and is organized on a first-come, first-served basis can provide job stability and dignity to Nishinari's laborers.

The big battalions of Osaka's industrial labor can turn the tide in Nishinari and they have a vested interest in breaking up this sinister alliance of construction bosses, yakuza and cop terror. Standing in the way of this fight are the racist and contemptuous pro-company Rengo "union" leaders who represent the same anti-Korean and anti-burakumin policies in major industry that the yakuza gangs try to enforce in Nishinari. The eruption of the Osaka day laborers blows the lid off of Japan's ostensible labor and social peace. What's needed is a militant and determined labor leadership that will fight against the pro-company union misleaders and integrate Japan's minorities, women workers and the unorganized into real industrial unions. Such a leadership, crystallized in a revolutionary workers party, will champion the fight for the social emancipation of all the victims of racist Japanese capitalism. ■



TROTSKY

## "Popular Frontism" Sabotages Struggle Against Imperialist War

In the Vietnam antiwar movement, reformists sought to build a "broad coalition" of "all" forces opposed to the war. This meant the "mass movement" was to be dominated politically by the defeatist wing of the bourgeoisie. Seeking to confine protests to demands acceptable to Democratic "doves," they tried to exclude radicals and communists like the Spartacist League who fought to break with the bourgeoisie, calling for

"Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution" and for labor strikes against the war. The main broker for the "popular front" was the Socialist Workers Party, the once-Trotskyist party which had degenerated, consolidating as reformists through this role in the Vietnam antiwar movement. Veteran Trotskyist Richard Fraser wrote a powerful indictment of the SWP "antiwar" work, quoted below. Fraser split from the SWP over this issue in 1966.

The Militant says, "Bring the GIs Home." But this only raises another question—how? The party and youth line is that an enlarged peace movement can do it by nationally directed pressure and agitation.

In reality, a more tangible and quicker possibility for the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Vietnam could be accomplished if the National Liberation Front can drive them into the China Sea. This is the active revolutionary solution to the question. But there is no hint of recognition in our literature that this is the most favorable alternative....

Now that for the first time in the modern era, militant antiwar youth and militant southern Negroes are seeking to broaden the concept and scope of both the antiwar and civil rights movements by integrating their aims and directing an appeal to the proletariat, the party and youth claim that such youth are sectarian splitters of the united peace front!

The capitalist class is profoundly fearful of the possibility of the Negro movement identifying itself with the colonial revolution and linking up with the antiwar movement around the issue of Vietnam. Every time a Negro leader opens his mouth on Vietnam or colonialism, the entire capitalist press rakes him over the coals with a line quite similar to that of the party and youth: "It's all right for Negroes to build their own movement on their own grievances, but you only injure the cause of civil rights by taking positions on other social problems, because that will alienate your supporters."

What they mean is that a break from the Democratic or Republican parties would be the next logical step and this must be prevented at all costs....

The newly radicalized elements, many of them politically naive, are still people moving rapidly leftward who desperately require the intervention of revolutionary socialists on the big political questions to aid their development.

In so far as the youth movement is successful in confining the movement to peace only, it will insure a strong development of people's frontism, because a movement which is orientated exclusively to the peace issue inevitably winds up supporting "peace" Democrats.

—Richard Fraser, "On the SWP and the Vietnam Antiwar Movement" (December 1965), reprinted in *Prometheus Research Series No. 3*, "In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser"



LENIN

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# Dublin Spartacist Youth Group

On the weekend of October 6-7, the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group was formed by a small group of students at Trinity College in Ireland. The adherence of young Irish revolutionaries to the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is a modest but significant extension of our tendency.

## Young Spartacus

Participating in the founding meeting were representatives of the Spartacist League/Britain, and messages of greetings were sent from ICL sections including the Spartacist groups in Japan and Mexico.

The comrades of the DSYG have been active in college groups such as the Socialist Society and the Labour Society over past years, participating in a united-front protest which stopped British fascist "historian" David Irving from speaking at Trinity in 1988. Recently the group organized the painting-out of fascistic anti-Semitic slogans. They were also part of an ongoing struggle to distribute abortion information, including distributing a leaflet with others calling for free abortion on demand and women's liberation through socialist revolution.

The work of the International Communist League in Germany was instrumental in convincing the comrades of the correctness and urgency of Spartacist politics, particularly in counterposition to the rightward-moving centrists of the Irish Workers Group/Workers Power. The IWG had published an 18-page pamphlet "Sectarianism and Stalinophilia: The Politics of the Spartacists." Where we fought tooth and nail against imperialist reunification, the IWG/WP were soft-core capitalist restorationists, tailing Social Democracy, calling for Soviet troops out and hailing anti-Stasi riots in which skinhead fascists were prominent. The Dublin comrades rejected the IWG/WP's Stalinophobia for the authentic Trotskyism of the ICL.

Discussions over the national question in Ireland and the nature of reformist parties such as the Irish Labour Party were also key. The founding meeting endorsed the key Spartacist document "Theses on Ireland," which has stood well the test of time since its adoption in 1977. Against Labourite chauvinism and Green nationalism, the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group is committed to raising the banner of proletarian internationalism, not least in the context of Northern Ireland.

The DSYG also addressed the imperialist war buildup in the Persian Gulf, a decisive question facing revolutionar-

ies throughout the world today. For years the sham "neutrality" of the Irish Republic has made it a key component of United Nations military forces, such as those which acted as Israel's northern border guards until the Zionist butchers brushed them aside in their 1982 invasion of Lebanon. The meeting called for trade unions to black (hoycott) imperialist war preparations and for mobilization to "Stop the refueling of U.S. warplanes at Shannon!"

We print below the greetings of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S. to the DSYG.

Dear Comrades:

The Spartacist League/U.S. welcomes the founding of the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group and extends warm greetings to our new comrades in the Republic of Ireland.

In the British Isles, the proletariat's struggle for the social, as well as national, liberation of all of the working people and oppressed is centered on smashing the rule of the bourgeoisie which is concentrated in the south of England, particularly centered in London. This is not to mitigate against the importance of fighting against one's "own" national bourgeoisie.

Together with the Glasgow branch of the SL/B, the establishment of a group in Dublin is another step towards building the revolutionary party that can put

an end to the rule of British imperialism and regional bourgeois powers in the British Isles. James Connolly and John MacLean were not finished Bolsheviks but their spirit of working class intransigence had better march alongside of us.

In North America, among our U.S., English Canadian, Québécois, Mexican and Puerto Rican comrades, the central struggle is against the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant hegemony which is expressed through Wall Street and the White House. Presently, the U.S. imperialists are as war-crazed over the Persian Gulf as Thatcher was over the Malvinas.

As we noted in the article declaring the foundation of the International Communist League, "as the workings of capitalist imperialism create millions of new subjective communists across the globe, the absence of genuinely communist leadership is acutely felt by many and the program of Leninist internationalism can be put forward with great impact." The comrades of the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group have eloquently expressed this sentiment in their applications. At our upcoming SL/U.S. Central Committee plenum we will also be welcoming new comrades from throughout North America who, from different perspectives, have come to the same conclusion.

4 October 1990

# Supreme Court Turns Down Death Row Political Prisoner

On the first day of its fall term, the United States Supreme Court shut its doors to death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. On October 1 the court denied Jamal's petition for review of his conviction and death sentence. Jamal, 36, had challenged the overtly political basis of his conviction and the exclusion of eleven prospective jurors solely because they are black, a challenge going to the heart of the racist death penalty in the U.S. The Court's action clears the way for Pennsylvania governor Robert Casey to sign a warrant of execution.

Jamal, a former Black Panther Party spokesman and supporter of the MOVE organization, was president of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Association of Black Journalists at the time of his 1981 arrest. Jamal became known as the "voice of the voiceless" because he spoke out for the poor and oppressed minorities, first from the streets and then from his radio booth. Because he was an outspoken critic of racist cop terror, he was framed on charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman.

For years, Chief Justice Rehnquist, whose hero is the notorious hanging judge Isaac Parker who sent 164 men to their graves in post-Reconstruction Arkansas, has been the most outspoken proponent of speeding up the assembly line of death. Nearly every day Rehnquist & Co. confirm that in death penalty cases there is no court of "last resort"—just a rubber stamp. The Rehnquist court says that racist application of the death penalty is "irrelevant," and now refuses to hear an appeal about the deliberate exclusion of blacks from the

## Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!



Partisan Defense Committee rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Philadelphia, July 14.

jury that convicted Jamal.

The same day the Court turned down Jamal it also refused to review the death sentence of Joseph Giarratano, who has won wide acclaim as a self-taught legal expert who, while behind bars, has prepared sophisticated legal papers for numerous inmates. Despite widespread support from liberals and conservatives alike, the Court rejected Giarratano's request for a new trial because his law-

yers in earlier stages of his case failed to raise the constitutional violations he cited.

If "Judge Death" Rehnquist is driving the "execution express," Congress is feverishly stoking its engines. In the Senate confirmation hearings for newly appointed Supreme Court Justice Souter they didn't even question his support for capital punishment. And on October 4 the Democratic-controlled House passed

by a two-to-one margin an "anti-crime" bill which expanded the list of federal crimes to carry the death sentence. As frustrated Congressional opponents sarcastically chanted "Kill! Kill! Kill!" Wisconsin Representative David Obey accurately characterized this license to kill by asking, "Would it be possible to bring the guillotines directly to the House floor?"

The new law strips to the bone the centuries-old right of *habeas corpus* against unlawful imprisonment, limiting death row prisoners to one federal *habeas corpus* challenge to the legality of their state conviction and sentence. Dozens of innocent people who were wrongly sentenced to death and later had their convictions overturned would have died under these rules. Proposals to guarantee minimally qualified counsel (three years of experience in felony criminal cases) in capital cases were rejected. Adopting the segregationist "states' rights" principle, the House left such standards to the individual states—such as Mississippi and Arkansas where attorney's fees can be limited to \$1,000 no matter how long or involved the trial may be.

And a macabre front-page article in the *New York Times* (13 October) decries the shortage of "experienced executioners." "Hangmen are a dying breed," sighs the Delaware deputy attorney general, a serious problem now that 2,400 people are on death row and 23 states are "preparing to join the 15 that have executed prisoners since the Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty in 1976." Featured is a picture of Fred Leuchter, the ghoulish "authority" on Nazi gas ovens

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# Wall Street to NYC: Hire Cops, Fire Workers

"The Big Pink Ship," blared the New York *Newsday* front page. Mayor David Dinkins had just threatened layoffs of 15,000 city workers. NYC union leaders had pulled out all the stops to elect black Democrat Dinkins, billed as a classic "friend of labor" liberal. But now Wall Street was turning the screws, declaring a "fiscal crisis" on the order of 1974-76 when tens of thousands of municipal workers were sacked and services slashed. The bankers are demanding that thousands more police be hired and the working people must pay. The racist rulers want a solid blue line of cop power on the streets to enforce their interests.

AFSCME city union leader Stanley Hill cried "betrayal." Teamster top Barry Feinstein said it was "a declaration of war," and even held a strike vote. Their main complaint was not layoffs, however, but that they weren't "consulted." As for action from these labor fakers, don't hold your breath. In the '70s, they showed their "responsibility" to their capitalist masters by agreeing to wage freezes, then whopping layoffs, and allowing the financiers to loot city pension funds. As another depression is taking hold, what's needed is a fight to break the "popular front" stranglehold that shackles workers and minorities to their exploiters through the Democratic Party.

Just as Wall Street is manipulating the economic crisis, the masters of New York have whipped up a frenzy over the recent wave of random, wanton murders and shootings in the city. The fear is real. Ghettos and barrios have become "free fire" zones as drug gangs shoot it out with each other and the cops. The victims are primarily blacks and Hispanics, often children like nine-month-old Rayvon Jamieson, slain by stray gunfire in his grandmother's Bronx kitchen, or Veronica Corrales, the nine-year-old struck by a bullet while sleeping in her family's car on a Brooklyn street. Twenty-three "gypsy" cab and livery service drivers have been murdered this year. But the bourgeoisie doesn't care about them.

It was the September 2 slaying of Brian Watkins, a young white tourist from Utah in town with his family for the U.S. Open tennis tournament, by a Hispanic gang as they mugged his mother on a midtown Manhattan subway platform that set off the media uproar. Now the screeching headlines were not just from trashy tabloids: *Newsweek* called it "New York's Nightmare," *Time* magazine ran a front-page feature on "The Rotting of the Big Apple." Dinkins complained lamely that they didn't run "the good news" about the



Biggart/City Sun  
**Racist cops' job is to break strikes, hold down ghetto masses. Below: striking Eastern, NY Telephone and 1199 hospital workers march in August 1989.**



city. Did we miss something?

Then they started with the numbers game. A "Citizens Crime Commission" had been demanding the hiring of 5,000 new cops. (This "blue-ribbon" committee turns out to consist of top executives from American Express, Mobil, IBM and New York Telephone.) Dinkins only wanted 1,000. After the Watkins murder, Governor Mario Cuomo began trumpeting the 5,000 figure. Afraid of being labeled "soft on crime," Dinkins then upped the ante to 7,500, setting off a bidding war which has now seemingly peaked with Police Commissioner Lee Brown's proposal, approved by the

mayor, to hire 11,000 cops over the next two years.

## A Mayor to Enforce "Sacrifices"

So it was "Fear City" all over again, a real-time replay of the 1977 mayoral election when racist pig Ed Koch campaigned for the death penalty while racist cops handed out flyers to scare the tourists. Since then, the NYC jail population has nearly tripled, almost entirely due to the "war on drugs." The already inadequate health care system is swamped by epidemics of AIDS and syphilis. Now the scourge of tuberculosis has re-emerged among the city's homeless and ghetto poor, with the NYC Health Department reporting that as many as a million New Yorkers are infected with the TB germ. As vicious social service and welfare cuts hit New York, the awesome increase in homelessness earned the city the title of "New Calcutta." The horrifying racist murders of black people in Howard Beach and Bensonhurst brought the city to the flash point. After a dozen years of the infuriating loudmouth Koch, David Dinkins was brought in as a "healer."

Dinkins inherited a city that was literally crumbling, from the bridges to the steampipe system, and a half-billion-dollar budget deficit. We wrote at the time, "It will be Dinkins' job to take this out of the hides of New York's workers, minorities and poor" ("Black Mayor Elected in New York, Barely," WV No.

490, 24 November 1989). But you don't have to take just our word for it. The ruling class' rationale was laid out frankly by the *New York Times* in its endorsement of Dinkins for mayor: "The next mayor will have to ask for, and sell, sacrifice to all New Yorkers, most notably the poor citizens hurt most by reductions in city services. Mr. Dinkins seems better qualified to persuade all New Yorkers to share the burdens ahead."

As the black mayor took office, the NYPD served notice that he would do their bidding, or else. Cops gunned down half a dozen black and Hispanic youths in the weeks following Dinkins' inauguration. But as the city began to fall apart under the battering of economic crisis, there have been repeated complaints of the lack of a strong hand in Gracie Mansion. The *Times* said the mayor "has failed to appear as angry as people seem to want him to be." Dinkins dutifully expressed anger, in his way: "If two nations are in dispute and one diplomat says to the representative of another government, 'Her majesty's government is exceedingly distressed,' everybody knows that means we're mad as hell."

But the capitalist powers that be really hit the roof over Dinkins' settlement of the teachers' contract, in which the union got a 5 percent raise. No matter that it was to be financed mostly by reducing city payments to the pension fund. No matter that it doesn't even keep up with the rate of inflation—i.e., it's a *pay cut*. The *Times* was apoplectic over the teachers' settlement, worrying that other unions will demand similar deals. They demanded Dinkins "abrogate the contract and start over." And when Dinkins responded to the ruling-class hysteria by announcing a wage freeze and increased taxes, and floating the idea of 15,000 layoffs, the *Times* accused him of "lack of a coherent program!"

With the U.S. nose-diving into a major depression, Wall Street wants a CEO in City Hall who's going to force the working people to *eat it*. So they manufactured a crisis to force Dinkins' hand. In 1974-75, the banks secretly dumped \$2.3 billion in city securities, accelerating an impending crash. Now Standard & Poor's has put a credit watch on NYC, preliminary to lowering its bond rating (and upping interest rates), alleging a growing budget deficit. Where does this come from? After Dinkins balanced the fiscal year 1990 budget, an additional \$152 million gap was discovered. This was due to falling real estate and corporate tax revenues, some of it from declining property values, some because of canceled tax assessment hikes due to landlord objections, and to delinquencies—i.e., they just don't pay. But they demand that the workers do.

Last October, Dinkins assured potential big-money campaign contributors that "it may well be that I'll have to tell some of my friends they cannot have all the things they want. But they'll take it from me." Now Wall Street wants Dinkins to deliver.

## Fear and Aggravation

Along with the manipulated economic crisis we have the manipulated crime frenzy. To believe the media, you'd think we're experiencing the worst-ever crime wave. Actually, levels of reported crimes are about as high as during the early 1980s, in the "Reagan recession." The crime rate is rising nationwide, as hefits

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**Bronx block patrol called in cops, who then attacked and beat them: "People don't want the cops around here anymore," said spokesman.**



# Washington Budget Fiasco

They shut down the Statue of Liberty and Washington Monument, and 6,000 campers had to leave Yosemite National Park. Since the Navy Yard was closed down, the Secret Service men took the presidential limousines to a car wash in downtown Washington. To save money they used dollar-off coupons, and as an added economy measure did not tip the attendants. As a "cost-cutting" publicity stunt, instead of taking the Marine One helicopter from Camp David to the White House, Bush returned by car. But he got stuck in Beltway traffic for an hour and a half, one of the Secret Service cars blew a tire and machine gun toting agents had to commandeer a passing police car. And the presidential chopper flew back to Washington empty. Such were scenes from the three-day shutdown of the United States government during the Great Budget Follies of 1990.

Just a few months ago, Bush invaded the Persian Gulf oil fields and proclaimed himself commander in chief of a "new world order." He gloried in bipartisan support and the global alliance against Saddam Hussein's Iraq. "War in the Gulf" headlines were great for presidential opinion-poll ratings...so long as no one was dying. Suddenly, Bush has become a laughingstock. "We're really getting slaughtered," exclaimed one Republican strategist, "because the President looks indecisive and the Administration looks rudderless." A president who is now widely viewed as a gross incompetent and a wimp will have a hard time sending American soldiers to fight and die for Big Oil.

The entire U.S. government—the White House and Congress, Republicans and Democrats—is being treated with open contempt by the American population. The latest *New York Times*/CBS News poll shows that two-thirds of the electorate wants to dump the incumbents of both parties. What began as a typical game of Washington budget haggling has become a lightning rod and outlet for long-building popular hostility to the greedy misrulers of this country. You don't have to be a Marxist to see that the Senate is a millionaires' club. Just turn on C-SPAN and watch.

The budget package was finally unwrapped on September 30 after four and a half months of closed summit talks among the "Big Eight" at Andrews Air Force Base—White House aides John Sununu and Richard Darman, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and five Democratic and Republican Congressional leaders. The summeeters came up with a predictable soak-the-poor budget. Cuts in Medicare funding while making the elderly pay more out of pocket for health care. Higher taxes on liquor, cigarettes and gasoline. But no new taxes for the

\$100,000-a-year crowd.

Even public appeals by Bush and Democratic Congressional leaders couldn't sell this stinker. A Washington state Republican Congressman reported his mail was running ten to one against the budget package. Columnist Bob Morse summed up popular feeling in the *San Francisco Examiner* (3 October):

"The rich once again have called upon the lesser classes to clean up their mess, the deficit created during the Reagan

cutting taxes on capital gains and raising income tax rates for the highest brackets. "Read my lips," quipped *New York Newsday*. "The man doesn't believe in anything," quoth the MacNeil-Lehrer Report. Reagan, at least, made the 28 percent top tax bracket a matter of political faith.

The media are rightly treating the whole business as entertaining political farce. *New York Times* (11 October) columnist Anna Quindlen noted that: "In

of control while Tokyo and Frankfurt financiers are pulling their money out of the U.S.

## Government By and For the Rich

When Reagan/Bush took over in 1980, they pushed through a massive tax cut for the rich under the guise of a general tax cut. What about the resulting budget deficit? "Not to worry," the Reaganites retorted. Cutting taxes, they argued, would so stimulate entrepreneurial energy and capital investment that national income would grow by leaps and bounds. Total tax revenues would thus increase even at lower rates. This was to be the miracle of "supply-side" economics.

Of course it was nonsense, and the Reagan gang knew it. Reagan's budget director David Stockman spilled the beans a long time ago. The tax cuts were expressly designed to create massive budget deficits in order to force through dismantling and slashing of social programs (Social Security, Medicare, federal aid to housing and education, etc.). At the same time, Reagan's smashing of the PATCO air controllers strike in 1980 ushered in a decade of union-busting, giveback labor contracts, two-tier wages and overall an intensified exploitation of the working class.

In short, the rich got a lot richer at the expense of the workers and poor. In the past decade, income from stock dividends has increased by 49 percent, from interest payments by 106 percent and from capital gains by 109 percent. The richest one percent in this country increased their annual income from \$300,000 to \$550,000. During the same period, the purchasing power of the income of the average American family fell by \$2,000, while real hourly wages for blue-collar workers were cut by 5 percent. Young workers today are earning 25 percent less than their parents earned in the early 1970s. And the country is now sinking into a recession to boot!

The growing awareness that this is a government by the rich, for the rich, to screw the working people got a big boost with the \$500 billion S&L bailout swindle, which outraged large sections of the American people who hadn't paid much attention to Washington's previous fiscal shenanigans. "It's clear that Americans have a high level of disgust for us," Oklahoma Democratic Congressman Mike Synar noticed last summer (*Newsweek*, 13 August). Since then the level of disgust has grown a lot higher. Everybody's now talking about popular hostility to the bipartisan Washington establishment and the anti-incumbent mood in the country.

continued on page 11

Friedman/Black Star



Texas working-class family is jobless, as Southwest bankers rake in billions from S&L swindle and Big Oil practices highway robbery at the gas pump.

party time. Finally, when the bills are due, trickle-down economics works. So you say the plebeians should just quit their evil habits, like smoking, driving and Medicare."

In Congress, the revolt against the bipartisan summeeters' budget was led by Republican House whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia in the name of defending the Reaganite faith, the main tenet of which is representation for the rich, without taxation. The revolt of the Republican right encouraged a majority of both parties to vote down the budget package on October 5. After all, what Congressman wants to vote for Medicare cuts and gasoline tax increases a month before the midterm elections?

To show his displeasure at an uppity Congress, Bush then vetoed a stopgap measure to keep the U.S. government operating. A few days later, Congress passed a bipartisan agreement to cut the deficit \$40 billion this year by agreeing to let "details" like where the money was going to come from get worked out in Congressional committees. Meanwhile, Bush changed his position three times within 48 hours on a tradeoff between

bank lines, drugstores, supermarkets and parking lots Americans have gathered in a spirit of grand unanimity to discuss the possibility that the people who run the Government are completely out to lunch." And out to lunch at the taxpayers' expense. Washington abounds with jokes reflecting the bitter infighting within the Republican Party. Bush is in a room with Saddam Hussein, Muammar Qaddafi and Newt Gingrich. He has a revolver with only two bullets. What does he do? You're right: He shoots Newt Gingrich twice.

Underlying the farcical aspects of the budget crisis is the collapse of America's financial house of cards. Washington is trying to reassert itself as world policeman while the debt-ridden U.S. economy is shakily propped up by Japanese and German money. "We're mobilizing for war with a fiscal situation that is worse than any time since the Great Depression," observed Chicago financial analyst David Hale (*Newsweek*, 17 September). The S&L debacle jeopardizes the solvency of the entire banking system. Soaring oil prices have panicked the stock markets. And the federal deficit is out



Elderly patients at Brooklyn's Kings County Hospital: White House/Congress take elm et Medicaid. Bush presidency, inaugurated with glitz and glitter, means government by the rich, for the rich.



# Militants Split from Ernest Mandel's USec

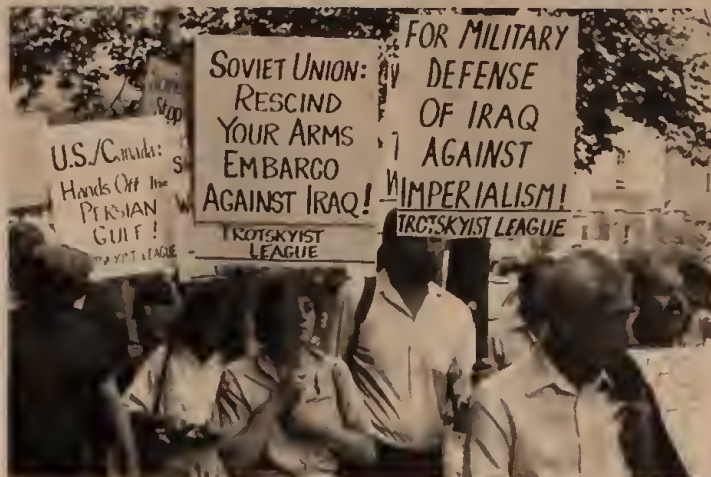
## Trotskyist Regroupment in Canada

Socialist Challenge, the English-Canadian affiliate of the United Secretariat (USec), has just undergone a debilitating and perhaps fatal split. The declaration of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency (RMT), "Against United Secretariat Liquidationism—For Trotskyism!" calls "on all comrades who agree with this document to join us in pursuing the only principled course open to Trotskyists, the course of fusion with the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and its Canadian section, the Trotskyist League. This is the only road in the fight for Trotskyism!" The RMT includes the majority, and most active members, of the Edmonton, Alberta branch, where their irregular newspaper *Socialist Challenge* has been published.

In declaring the International Communist League in May 1989, we based ourselves on the understanding that with the terminal crisis of Stalinism, our program of Leninist internationalism could have great impact in winning subjective communists around the world to the banner of Trotskyism. In contrast, the USec, having spent the last decade in the embrace of Cold War anti-Sovietism, has no answers for those militants who want to struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression. It is in a state of disarray and paralysis, split between those who openly support capitalist counterrevolution and those Mandelites who can't figure out who to tail after today.

And it is not only the USec. Our active fight against counterrevolution, from Afghanistan to East Germany, was key to the recent fusion of the Grupo Esparquista de México with the Trotskyist Faction, which broke with the followers of the late Nahuel Moreno, particularly over the Morenistas' support to capitalist reunification of Germany. The Canadian RMT was likewise increasingly propelled by the events in East Europe and the Soviet Union to see the ICL as the only genuine Trotskyists.

When these comrades, who include two founding members of Socialist Chal-



Toronto, August 26: Trotskyist League of Canada in protest against imperialist war moves.

a movement shopping list, as our political intervention is reduced to coalition-style demand swapping." In a word, they were tailing after alien class forces.

Repelled by the deeply ingrained cynicism and all-sided Menshevism of the organization, they initially sought to fight for elementary norms of disciplined functioning, invoking the heritage of James P. Cannon's Socialist Workers Party as an example. This got them nowhere. Increasingly these comrades began to develop criticisms of the organization's overall political liquidationism. Initially this centered on the domestic terrain, with arguments against Socialist Challenge's capitulation to the chauvinist, right-wing social democrats of the New Democratic Party in English Canada while its Quebec organization, Gauche Socialiste, simultaneously capitulated to the rising tide of bourgeois nationalism in Quebec.

As they began to investigate the political views of other tendencies, including the Spartacists, these comrades came to realize that SC/GS's political adapta-

Ten years ago the USec marched under the banner of "Solidarity with Solidarność" in demonstrations that ran the gamut from social democrats to outright fascists. The RMT's document notes that not only has the USec refused to retract its support to Solidarność, but it "is apparently willing to expand its line throughout the region. Without the slightest qualification the 'Manifesto of the Fourth International,' submitted by the United Secretariat to the World Congress in 1991, 'unreservedly support[s] the uprisings of workers and peoples in Eastern Europe.' (Two, three, many victories for capitalist restoration!?)"

The document points to "a particularly repugnant example" of this in the issue of the USec's *International Viewpoint* (18 September 1989), which printed an article praising the Nazi collaborators of the Estonian "Forest Brothers." And when it came to the capitalist annexation of East Germany, a whole wing of the USec—including Nat Weinstein's Socialist Action group in the U.S. and the Matti wing of the French LCR—fell into line behind the imperialists:

"In a shocking display of opportunism, the minority Matti-Weinstein grouping defends the capitalist *anschluss* as an act of 'self-determination' of the German proletariat. This amounts to open support to imperialism! Although technically opposed to the counterrevolutionary sell-out of the GDR, the United Secretariat majority grouping did nothing to combat the takeover, choosing instead to liquidate politically into the 'United Left' in East Germany.... Tailing after the 'Germany, one fatherland' PDS, the United Left's policy harmonized with the treacherous course of the German SPD, which spearheaded the counter-revolution by 'prettifying' the *anschluss* with a human face to the East German workers."

### Join the International Communist League!

Notably one of the bridges which took the comrades of the RMT from the USec to the ICL was the Fourth International Tendency's *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*. Last May they wrote a letter to *BIDOM* praising "the way it makes the rich arsenal of past ideas and experience in the revolutionary movement accessible to a new generation of militants." We too would like to thank the FIT, for the bits and pieces of the Trotskyist heritage that these comrades found in *BIDOM* helped lead them to see the ICL as the genuine item. No wonder USec sections as a rule don't publish Trotsky's writings these days.

Another irony in the political evolution of these comrades is that their exposure to Spartacist politics came through being

assigned to answer an SC member who was raising "Spartacist"-like criticisms of the USec. Incapable of responding, the comrade who landed this assignment republished a document written 13 years ago by former SL/U.S. member Bob Pearlman as his entry fee for membership in the reformist Socialist Workers Party. After reading our reply to Pearlman's anemic document, he began an intensive study of our politics which was extended to other members of the Edmonton branch.

It's a real index of the rightward degeneration of the USec that the Socialist Challenge leadership could find no response to our politics other than retailing lurid tales of Spartacist debauchery, cultism and bureaucracy which they borrowed from the "Bolshevik Tendency." This is a long way down the road from the left-centrist Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group who in the mid-1970s at least attempted to take us on politically in "Spartacist League: Anatomy of a Sect."

This document was reprinted in our "Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League" series, which has also reproduced the BT's materials. An organization that was a bureaucratic cult, as the ICL was depicted to the RMT comrades, could have no reason to publish a series of bulletins with opponents' criticisms. Nor would such an organization have a display case containing the press of all of its leftist opponents readily accessible for the membership. And in contrast to the USec, which the RMT noted was "renowned for its short memory" of its many and varied political zigs and zags, we make the history of our political positions available in the bound volumes of *Workers Vanguard* and *Spartacist*.

For that matter, what kind of cult would publish a document by a veteran American Trotskyist, Dick Fraser, in which Jim Robertson, the supposed "supreme leader" of the ICL, is characterized as "the ultimate product" of the "worst aspects of Cannonism and Shachtmanism" (in the just-published Prometheus Research Series bulletin "In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser")? Naturally, we think that our organization combines the best aspects of Cannon's granite programmatic firmness together with the more open internal life of Shachtman's organization. But that is not what Fraser meant. Nevertheless, we had very amicable and collaborative relations with comrade Fraser which grew closer over the years as the result of an increasing political convergence of views.

In contrast, when the RMT asked the SC/GS leadership for tendency rights they were informed that they were no longer members of the organization! Apparently these blundering bureaucrats who run the USec's operation in Canada were constitutionally constrained from simply throwing out the CC member who was in the RMT. Instead, when she came to the Central Committee meeting to argue their positions, a motion was put forward suspending her from membership before she got a chance to open her mouth.

The comrades of the RMT did learn from Cannon that program was decisive. We have no doubt that there are others in the United Secretariat who don't buy the imperialist lie of the "death of Communism," who don't want to ride in the baggage car of counterrevolution, who can see through the USec's masquerading as "the Fourth International." To them we say, join us in the task of reorganizing a Fourth International that Trotsky would have recognized as his own. ■



Canadian Mandelites, led by Barry Weisleder (second from right), joined with Stalinists in attempt to exclude Trotskyist League from raising revolutionary politics at 1981 El Salvador protest in Toronto.

lenge, one of whom was a full Central Committee member, joined the USec in Canada they thought they had joined a Trotskyist organization. So they were somewhat bewildered to find that their work as members of Socialist Challenge was not to win people even to the Mandelites' nominal version of "Trotskyism," but instead to simply be the "best builders" of other "movements." Rather than building an independent proletarian leadership, as Trotsky called for in the Transitional Program, they were chasing after the will o' the wisp of Mandel's "new/mass/broad vanguards" to do the job instead. The RMT's founding declaration noted: "Our 'transitional programme' is reduced to nothing more than

tions were not born yesterday, and were not simply a domestic question. Shortly after Bush sent U.S. troops to the Persian Gulf, as the USec wallowed in social-pacifism, the Edmonton comrades organized a militant protest against the imperialist invasion that made a point of calling on Moscow to drop its embargo against sending arms to Iraq. Increasingly, they came to understand the centrality of the Russian question to the USec's liquidationism. Their declaration states: "The past decade has seen an escalating rightward drift of the United Secretariat, which has ever more openly abandoned the defense of the USSR and the deformed workers' states against counterrevolution."



# Resignation from Canadian CP

## "I Leave Because I Am a Communist"

We print below a letter of resignation from the Communist Party of Canada by Yossi Schwartz, a six-year CPC member in Toronto, distributed to delegates at the party's national convention on the weekend of October 5-8.

Following the line of CPC leader George Hewison, the Toronto convention voted to abandon even a reference to "Marxism-Leninism," and to single-mindedly focus on "left unity" with the wretchedly right-wing social-democratic New Democratic Party. A "left" opposition around Ontario party leader Liz Rowley expressed mild opposition to some of the most blatantly liquidationist aspects of Hewison's "new thinking," while veteran former CPC leader Bill Kashtan showed a bit more fight but offered only nostalgia for "better times" in the past.

In contrast, Schwartz has been fighting for the revolutionary alternative of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevism. He had been a supporter of the international Spartacist tendency (now International Communist League) for a period in the 1970s, but then returned to the Stalinist fold. Recently, he became prominent within the Canadian CP in opposing Gorbachev's pro-capitalist "market reforms" and appeasement of imperialism. In a letter to the CPC's *Canadian Tribune* (29 January), Schwartz called for "a revolutionary working-class party based on Leninist internationalist principles to replace both wings of Stalinism" as the answer to escalating nationalist antagonisms in the Soviet Union. The paper's Gorbachevite Moscow correspondent Fred Weir responded by denouncing Schwartz's call for a return to Leninism as "ultra-left purism, voluntarism and authoritarianism" (*Canadian Tribune*, 12 February).

In February Schwartz initiated a petition signed by 21 "members and friends of the Communist Party of Canada" denouncing East German (DDR) prime minister Hans Modrow and his Socialist Unity Party (SED) for supporting capitalist reunification of Germany: "A unified Imperialist Germany is a real danger not only to the Soviet Union but to the whole world." As an alternative, the authors pointed to the massive January 3 protest in East Berlin's Treptow Park against a fascist desecration of the Soviet war memorial as "vivid evidence that the political revolution in the D.D.R. can lead to a genuine worker Democracy based on workers and Soldiers councils." They added:

"Why then does the S.E.D., supported by the reformists in the USSR, prefer to capitulate?

"Is it possible that they are afraid of the Workers' political revolution more than they are afraid of the Imperialists taking over East Germany?"

Before resigning, Schwartz distributed a document he had fought for as a delegate at the Ontario provincial conference two weeks earlier. Titled "A Call to All Communists," his document denounced the CPC's support to the imperialist invasion in the Persian Gulf and warned:

"The Communist Party of Canada is at a crossroads. The alternatives posed are either destruction or total capitulation. I argue for another alternative, the program of genuine communism: Trotskyism. I urge those comrades who, despite past capitulations and anti-working class positions carried out under the name of the

Israel in 1963. Throughout my time in Israel, I was an active defender of national rights for the Palestinian people. When the Communist Party split in 1965 I went with the Snch group, but when this group supported Israel in the 1967 war I left the organization. Following this, I investigated and was won over to the views of Trotskyism.

In 1980, I rejoined the Israeli CP and four years later joined the Communist Party of Canada. The victory of the Vietnamese Revolution, despite its Stalinist leadership, had a great impact on my

leaders of our party, who want to abandon anything remotely resembling "communism" as they crawl before the social democrats, is simply the completion of a process that began many years ago. Comrades, this organization hasn't had anything to do with the struggle for communism for decades.

I leave this party not merely because of its past anti-working-class positions, nor only because it has been an instrument in the service of the Soviet bureaucracy rather than of the working class, but because this party is incapable



International Communist League uniquely fought against capitalist reunification of Germany. In 30 December 1989 anti-fascist demonstration in East Berlin, Trotskyist banner says: "For the Communism of Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg! For a Leninist-Egalitarian Party!"

CPC, want to be Leninists to join with me. Better sooner than later when you face the bitter prospect of a simply "personal" existence or of a lifetime of servility to the social democrats."

That bitter prospect is confronting CPC members now. The party is a demoralized wreck, as much of the membership has simply voted with their feet in the past year and quit. What is left is rapidly on the road to full-fledged social democracy. With Stalinism collapsing in its death agony, the program of Trotskyism is ever more clearly the only road to a communist future.

\* \* \*

Toronto, October 7, 1990

Members of the Communist Party:

I am resigning from the CPC. The shameful document "The Communist Party and A New Decade" is just another indication of the further degeneration of the CPC into the camp of social democracy.

I first joined the Communist Party of

decision to rejoin the party. Although I was fully aware of the many betrayals of the working class that had been carried out by the Stalinist parties internationally, the victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants over U.S. imperialism led me to believe that it was possible that the Communist Party could be an instrument for the victory of the working people over the capitalist exploiters. Moreover, unlike the Trotskyists whose numbers were small, the CP could claim it had more "influence." But as history has proven repeatedly, and as has been proven to me through bitter experience in the last years, *program is decisive*.

Like many other comrades in the party I have felt bitter and betrayed by Gorbachev's repeated sellouts to the imperialists—from the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan to handing over the DDR to the Fourth Reich. Once again, I found the only answers and the only program to defend the interests of the working people and oppressed internationally in the revolutionary politics of Trotskyism. The total capitulation of the

"We the undersigned declare unambiguously, our opposition to any sellout of the DDR. Let our position that the SED break immediately all negotiations for capitalist restoration, our call for the building of workers councils in defence of the DDR, be known not only to the Canadian workers but to the SED and the German working class."

21 members and friends of the Communist Party of Canada, February 1990

### Trotskyist League of Canada/Revolutionary Marxist Tendency Public Forums

#### On the 73rd Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

## For the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

#### Speakers:

Miriam McDonald, Trotskyist League  
Andrew Rodomer, Revolutionary Marxist Tendency

Sat., Nov. 3, 7:30 p.m.

Room 034, Students Union Building, University of Alberta

For more information (403) 436-5105

EDMONTON

#### Speakers:

Miriam McDonald, Trotskyist League  
Andrew Rodomer, Revolutionary Marxist Tendency  
Bill Whitney, member of the International Left Opposition, founding member, Canadian section of the Fourth International

Lillian Whitney, member of the Spartacus Youth League in the 1930s

Friday, November 9, 7:30 p.m.

Britannia Community Centre, Room E3, 1661 Napier

For more information (604) 255-0636

VANCOUVER

#### Speakers:

John Mesters, Trotskyist League  
Yossi Schwartz, former member, Communist Party of Canada

Sat., Nov. 10, 7:30 p.m.

International Student Centre, 33 St. George (north of College St.)

For more information: (416) 593-4138

TORONTO

Canada as well because this party is shamefully tailing the imperialists against Iraq. In a word: I leave the CPC because I am a Communist.

I leave in order to join the historical struggle of building the urgently needed communist International. Today this means fighting to reforge the Fourth International established by Leon Trotsky in 1938 as the continuity of the Third, Communist International established in 1919. The only organization fighting for this is the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), whose Canadian section is the Trotskyist League.

I call on all members of the CPC who refuse to serve the capitalist class, those who see themselves as Leninists, to join me in this historical struggle.

Join the International Communist League!

—Yossi Schwartz  
Lakeshore Club



# Shackling the Workers to Their Exploiters



UPI  
Chile 1970: Salvador Allende's popular-front regime...

Gamma  
Paved the way for bloody coup three years later.

## The Popular Front: Recipe for Defeat

"Build the new antiwar movement..."  
"Organize a broadly-based movement among the American people to Bring the Troops Home Now..."

Haven't we seen this somewhere before? These are some of the appeals issued for the October 20 peace marches. Today it's for "No U.S. intervention in the Middle East"; two decades ago it was "U.S. out of Vietnam." Even before the first shots are fired, there is already widespread hostility in the American population, particularly among minorities and workers, against another dirty war for U.S. domination of the world. That sentiment can be the basis for building a revolutionary opposition to imperialism. But the reformist organizers of a "new antiwar movement" want to tailor it to an alliance with liberal capitalist politicians whose only beef with Bush is that they don't want a *losing* war in the Persian Gulf.

Behind the sugary phrases of "broad unity" and classless appeals to "the American people" is the program of class collaboration. They want to mask the counterposed class interests of the workers and capitalists, to bind the oppressed to a wing of their oppressors in the name of "peace" and "democracy." Stalin baptized it the "People's Front" in 1935. But it's an old program that was called the "left bloc" in the early 1920s and "coalitionism" at the beginning of the century. The *popular front* is the negation of the most fundamental principle of working-class politics: independence from the bourgeoisie. And by standing as a roadblock to revolution, it is a recipe for bloody defeats of the proletariat.

In Spain in the 1930s, in Chile in the 1970s, the popular front prepared the way for the victory of the butchers Franco and Pinochet by holding back and repressing a revolutionary upsurge. In 1914, the "class peace" of the reformist social democrats with "their own" bourgeoisie led to the slaughter of millions of proletarians in World War I. In the U.S. with its far lower level of class consciousness, the popular front has been expressed in "unity" around the Democratic Party, with reformist leftists acting as brokers. The FDR New Deal coalition in the 1930s, extending from racist Dixiecrats to the Communist Party, and Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" in the '80s are examples of this treacherous policy.

But there is one example of victorious proletarian struggle that swept aside the popular front, in Russia in 1917, under Lenin and Trotsky. While the Mensheviks clung to the princes and generals and capitalist lawyers, the Bolsheviks call to "Break with the bourgeoisie, take the power" won them mass support. This culminated in the October Revolution, which was also the first successful "disarmament" and "antiwar" movement in history: the workers stopped the war by disarming the bourgeoisie. This is the program of the Spartacist League and the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), who fight to defeat imperialism through international class struggle.

### "Break with the Bourgeoisie"

In his 1937 pamphlet, *The Peoples' Front: The New Betrayal*, James Burnham, a leader of the American Trotskyists, wrote:

"For the proletariat, through its parties, to give up its own independent program means to give up its independent functioning as a class. And this is precisely the meaning of the Peoples' Front.... The establishment of the Peoples' Front, by definition, requires agreement on a common program between the working-class parties and non-working-class parties. But the non-proletarian parties cannot agree to the proletarian program—the program of revolutionary socialism—without ceasing to be what they are."

Whatever terms are used, the essence of the popular front is the collaboration of leaders and parties which claim to stand for the interests of the working

class and socialism with representatives of the capitalist class. The popular front usually comes to the fore when the bourgeoisie cannot rule in the old way, when capitalist society is disrupted and polarized by war, economic depression or deep political crises. At this point the reformist leaders of the working class offer their hand in "unity" with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie against the right. Everywhere and always, by heading off revolution it lays the basis for restabilization of the capitalist order—often through bloody white terror.

The prototype of all subsequent popular fronts came in France, shortly after the turn of the century. The country was violently polarized by the Dreyfus Affair—the frame-up of a Jewish officer by the reactionary military high command. The country stood on the edge of civil war. To defuse this crisis, the prominent Socialist politician Alexandre Millerand entered a "liberal" bourgeois government in which the military command was represented by none other than General Galliffet, the butcher of the Paris Commune of 1871. In her articles on the crisis of the French social democracy, Rosa Luxemburg condemned the "socialist ministerialism" of Millerand in collaborating with the butcher of the workers Galliffet.

A decade later, on the outbreak of World War I, Millerand's spirit of coalitionism with the bourgeoisie triumphed as the reformist misleaders of the workers movement supported their respective imperialist "fatherlands." This was sym-

bolized by the vote of the German Social Democracy for war credits on 4 August 1914. August 4th sounded the death knell of the Second International. However, as the armies commanded by tsars, kaisers and "democratic" politicians turned Europe into a slaughterhouse, growing antiwar sentiment reached revolutionary proportions. The first break in the war front and in the imperialist system was the February 1917 revolution in Russia which overthrew the tsar.

The February Revolution soon led to the popular-front government of the petty-bourgeois liberal Alexander Kerensky, which included both the bourgeois Cadets and the reformist "socialist" Mensheviks. Later, on the eve of the Spanish Civil War, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky wrote:

"In reality, the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism. For it is often forgotten that the greatest historical example of the People's Front is the February 1917 revolution.... Under the sign of this People's Front stood the whole mass of the people, including the workers', peasants', and soldiers' councils. To be sure, the Bolsheviks participated in the councils. But they did not make the slightest concession to the People's Front. Their demand was to *break* this People's Front, to destroy the alliance with the Cadets, and to create a genuine workers' and peasants' government."

—Leon Trotsky, "The Dutch Section and the International," *Writings* [1935-36]

It was the Bolsheviks' implacable struggle against popular frontism that led to



At 1971 antiwar conference (left), SWP goons assaulted members of Progressive Labor and Spartacists for opposing presence of bourgeois politician—Democratic Senator Vance Hartke was keynote speaker. SWP antiwar honcho Fred Halstead with social-patriotic sign (right).





the October Revolution, when for the first time in history the proletariat took power.

"No Greater Crime"

Having sided with "their own" bourgeoisie in world war, it was a small step for the German Social Democrats under Ebert and Noske to suppress proletarian revolution in 1918-19. They called in the Freikorps, the precursors of Hitler's brownshirts, to crush the Spartacus uprising, leading to the assassination of the revolutionary leaders of the German working class, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. By restabilizing the German bourgeois order in the early 1920s, the Social Democrats paved the way for the victory of Nazism a decade later.

The stabilization of capitalist imperialism in Europe in the early 1920s conditioned the bureaucratic degeneration of Bolshevik Russia under Joseph Stalin. In 1931-33, Stalin and the German Communist Party refused to call for a workers united front with the Social Democrats against the mounting fascist menace. Then, in reaction to Hitler's taking power unopposed, Stalin flip-flopped and called for unity of the workers parties with the "progressive" bourgeoisie against fascism. This policy of the "People's Front" was proclaimed by Georgi Dimitrov at the Comintern's Seventh Congress in 1935. In both France and Spain, the People's Front led to the defeat and demoralization of the working class by the forces of reaction, leading to World War II.

In 1934, under the impact of the Great Depression and the victory of Nazism in Germany, the French working class mobilized in the streets against the fascists. But the insurgent workers were chan-



Leftist militiamen in Spanish Civil War. Stalinist-led Popular Front suppressed anarchist (CNT) militants and the centrist POUM in the name of capitalist "democracy."

only demoralized the revolutionary forces. Trotsky wrote:

"There was no lack of heroism on the part of the masses or courage on the part of individual revolutionists. But the masses were left to their own resources while the revolutionists remained disunited.... The 'republican' military commanders were more concerned with crushing the social revolution than with scoring military victories. The soldiers lost confidence in their commanders, the masses in the government; the peasants stepped aside; the workers became exhausted.... By setting itself the task of rescuing the capitalist regime, the Popular Front doomed itself to military defeat."

—"The Lessons of Spain: The Last Warning" (December 1937)

Upon the victory of the counterrevolution in 1939, Trotsky summed up the experience of the Popular Front: "There can

France, nor is it in the midst of a Civil War, as is Spain.... The issue is not yet posed in terms of the immediate struggle for state power.

"But just as the issue of state power can be settled in favor of the proletariat only by the independent revolutionary class struggle of the workers... in the same way, at the more elementary stages, the interests of the proletariat can be served only by the appropriate methods of class struggle, and are fatally undermined by the class collaborationist methods of the Peoples' Front."

—"The Peoples' Front: The New Betrayal"

In the early '30s, as the German Stalinists were denouncing the Social Democrats as "social fascists," the U.S. Communist Party dubbed Franklin D. Roosevelt the "American Hitler" and labeled his New Deal policies "fascist." Three years later, the CP changed its policy overnight to one of acting as a pressure group on the Democratic Party. This policy of "fight the right" has continued up until today.

The 1936 CP convention "declared the issue was the American derivative of fascism vs. defense of democracy and the people's social needs." Roosevelt was anointed the leader of the "anti-fascist forces." While formally fielding its own candidate, under the watchword "Defeat Landon at all costs!" the CP threw themselves into the FDR re-election campaign. CP leader Earl Browder proclaimed as the new slogan, "Communism is 20th Century Americanism." While CPers played a leading role in organizing the new mass industrial unions of the CIO, they sought to head off their explosive potential by tying them politically to the Democratic Party.

Two recent personal histories by leading Communist Party cadres capture the degree to which the Stalinists saw the popular front as their "main chance." In her *Autobiography of an American Communist* (1977), Peggy Dennis sees

the popular front as the high point of American Communism: "Not before nor since has our Party successfully carried through such a complex and valid policy and activity as it did in the years 1935, 1936 and 1937." Similarly, in *Dorothy Healey Remembers: A Life in the American Communist Party* (1990), Healey revels in the CP's "close ties with top national labor people," in "the time of our greatest involvement in the class struggle." But what was that involvement?

In 1934, there were three citywide general strikes: in San Francisco, led by the Stalinists; in Minneapolis, led by the Trotskyists; and in Toledo, Ohio, led by A.J. Muste's American Workers Party, which fused with the Trotskyists. By 1937, the struggles to organize the CIO unions led to the Flint sit-down strike and bloody confrontation with the state in the Battle for Little Steel in Chicago. Capitalist private property was directly challenged. But the Communist Party wielded its influence to funnel newly radicalized workers and blacks into the Democratic Party. Particularly criminal was its betrayal of the black masses, trading on the authority it had established in the earlier period when it championed anti-racist struggles such as the campaign for the Scottsboro Boys. Dennis describes how the party denounced the call for socialism as "not only illusionary but reactionary."

As the imperialist countries moved toward World War II and redivision of the world, the policy of the People's Front tied the masses to Roosevelt and the party of war. As James Burnham wrote:

"Most significant of all is the application of the Peoples' Front policy to 'anti-war work'.... The Stalinists aim at the creation of a 'broad, classless, Peoples' Front of all those opposed to war.' 'The truth is, of course, that through the Peoples' Front, the Stalinists are making ready to support the government, and to recruit the masses for such support, in the new imperialist war.'"

This is the selfsame policy pursued by the reformists today, including some who falsely call themselves Trotskyists, in building their various "broad," classless "antiwar coalitions" in the name of "the American people."

And sure enough, when Roosevelt entered World War II in December 1941, the Stalinists went all out for the war effort. They portrayed it as a "war against fascism," whereas in fact the war between the German/Japanese/Italian "Axis" and the American/British/French "Allies" was an interimperialist conflict over hegemony in Europe and the Pacific and to redivide colonial spoils. In pressuring American imperialism to aid the Soviet Union—for example, pushing for a "second front" in Europe—the CP reached new lows in class collaboration, repeatedly betraying the working class

continued on page 10



Three Faces of the Popular Front: Alexandre Millerand, Alexander Kerensky, current French president François Mitterrand.

neled into the Popular Front headed by the right-wing Socialist Leon Blum and including the bourgeois Radicals (liberals). The first act of Blum's Popular Front government, supported by the Stalinists, was to liquidate the general strike of May-June 1936. French CP leader Maurice Thorez declared, "there can be no question of taking power at this time," and therefore, "one must know how to end a strike." After betraying and demoralizing its supporters, the Popular Front was displaced by a succession of right-wing regimes, paving the way for the Vichy regime of collaboration with Nazi Germany.

In July 1936, the Spanish Popular Front government faced an attempted coup of right-wing officers led by General Francisco Franco. While the working class turned back the militarists in most of the urban centers, the Spanish bourgeoisie went over en masse to the Franco camp. Yet the Popular Front regime, dominated by social democrats and Stalinists, remained wedded to capitalism, through the agency of a handful of bourgeois lawyers and politicians who Trotsky called "the shadow of the bourgeoisie." It refused to grant land to the peasants, opposed independence for the Spanish colony of Morocco, enabling Franco to retain the loyalty of his Moroccan troops, and in the 1937 May Days drowned the insurgent Barcelona workers in blood. Far from shoring up "democratic" capitalism against fascism,

be no greater crime than coalition with the bourgeoisie in a period of socialist revolution."

Several decades later, the same fundamental lesson applied to the Chilean popular-front government of Salvador Allende, a self-declared Marxist. Allende's "Unidad Popular" regime consisted of his own Socialist Party, the pro-Moscow Stalinists and representatives of some small "left" bourgeois parties. As a condition for becoming president of Chile in 1970, Allende vowed not to touch the established officer corps, which included such reactionaries as General Augusto Pinochet. We warned at the time: "Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready" ("Chilean Popular Front," *Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970). Three years later this is exactly what happened.

Popular Front in Red, White and Blue

The lessons of the popular front were (and are) no less relevant in the very different conditions in the United States, where there is no mass workers party. James Burnham wrote in 1937 of the Stalinists' application of their line in the U.S.:

"The United States is not faced with a developing revolutionary crisis, as is

THE WAR TODAY

Bulgars Roused Over Nazi Tirup

Alfred East 4 p.m. News, Frank R. Kelly, Richard Boudreau, Will E. Evans

By NABY WITTE

Editor: David East

PEOPLES' WORLD

27 May 1944

Bridges Proposes:

NO POSTWAR STRIKES

5th Column Slinks Roosevelt to Buy Shipyards Support Mounts

Anti-Semitic Leaflets Appear in War Plans, Headlines, Quizzes

Shipyard Future

Amour Plans

Produce recent

THE OLD ONE-TWO

ATOMIC BOMB

SOVIET DEFEAT

Daily Worker

10 August 1945

In the name of "anti-fascist unity," during World War II the Stalinist American CP helped break strikes, lauded A-bombing of Hiroshima.



# Popular Front...

(continued from page 9)

and the oppressed. The Communist Party sabotaged the 1940 march on Washington for Negro rights, rammed the no-strike pledge down the throat of the CIO, denounced the miners led by John L. Lewis as a Nazi "fifth column" when they struck in 1943 and 1944.

Dorothy Healey recounts with pride her appointment to a regional war labor board which was formed to "head off strikes." And she recounts, somewhat shamefacedly, that "we raised no objection when Japanese-American citizens, including some of our own comrades...were sent to relocation camps in the western desert." But in subordinating the class struggle to their popular-front alliance with the Democrats, the CP undermined the defense of the Soviet Union. For the imperialists were, and still are, determined to wipe out the gains of the October Revolution.

In contrast, the Trotskyists fought for black rights, defended the striking miners, opposed the no-strike pledge, and defended the Japanese Americans against deportation to the concentration camps. At the same time they unconditionally defended the Soviet Union against imperialism, fighting a faction fight in 1939-40 against a petty-bourgeois minority led by Max Shachtman and Burnham which abandoned Soviet defense when it became unpopular with the popular front (over the Soviet invasion of Finland). For their uncompromising opposition to the imperialist war and their class-struggle union militancy, 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, headed by James P. Cannon, and the Minneapolis Teamsters were jailed by the Democrat Roosevelt to applause from the Stalinist CP.

In January 1944, CP national secretary Browder proclaimed:

"We frankly declare that we are ready to cooperate in making [American] capitalism work effectively in the postwar period.... We Communists are opposed to permitting an explosion of class conflict in our country when the war ends."

—quoted in Art Preis,

*Labor's Giant Step* (1964)

The "People's Front" reached its logical conclusion in June 1944, when Browder liquidated the party, following the lead of Stalin who dissolved the Comintern a year earlier. And in August 1945, the *Daily Worker* cheered Truman's atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. (Neither Dennis nor Healey mention this obscene cheerleading for imperialist war crimes.) This wanton slaughter was also intended to intimidate the Soviet Union. It was, in fact, the opening shot of U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet Cold War. And Truman's crusade against Communism began with a red purge in the CIO which



San Francisco longshoremen battle police in 1934. Stalinists helped channel mass labor upsurge into Roosevelt's New Deal.

anticipated the McCarthyite witchhunting by several years. These were the fruits of American-style popular-frontism.

## Vietnam Antiwar Popuilar Front

Part of the mythology being sold to young antiwar activists today is that it was the "Out Now!" peace crawls that forced American imperialism to withdraw from Vietnam. This rewriting of history is shared by the reformists, who want to pat themselves on the back, and right-wingers who peddle the Hitlerite stab-in-the-back lie. But it was the Vietnamese peasants and workers, waging a social revolution at the cost of two million dead, who handed U.S. imperialism its biggest defeat. As tens of thousands of radicalized youth who hated U.S. imperialism were marching, the reformists sought to confine the "antiwar movement" to the program of *bourgeois* defeatism and class collaboration, in order to make sure there was no challenge to capitalist class rule.

Thus the ex-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party organized protests around the social-patriotic slogan "Bring our boys home!" (We Spartacists said that "our boys" were the South Vietnamese NLF and North Vietnamese soldiers.) A 1964 SWP campaign sticker read: "Withdraw the Troops From Viet Nam and Send Them to Mississippi," as if racist American imperialism would use its army to defend black rights! In its organizational maneuvering against the CP, the SWP would criticize the Stalinists' "multi-issue" coalitions calling for negotiations as backhanded support to the Democrats. But SWP-led antiwar organizations cohered around the demand "Out Now" were designed to appeal to liberal Democratic Party politicians who wanted to cut the losses from the *losing* imperialist adventure in Vietnam.

"Single-issue" or "multi-issue," the reformist-led "antiwar movement" was a popular front. Every other summer and fall it would simply dissolve into election

campaigns for Democratic "doves." And the SWP often outflanked the Stalinists from the right—for example, by trying to exclude radical contingents carrying NLF flags. The SWP hired on as the political cops of the antiwar movement. At a meeting of their popular-front National Peace Action Coalition, on 2 July 1971, the SWP drew a blood line for the bourgeoisie, beating up members of Progressive Labor Party and the Spartacist League who protested the presence

scious workers deeply mistrusted—the arrogant anti-union "limousine liberal" politicians, for example—the antiwar movement cut itself off from the working class, the one social force which could have taken truly powerful antiwar action through strikes. And they ensured the disappearance of their "movement" as soon as U.S. troops were withdrawn (two years before the war was over), so that today those who oppose U.S. imperialism's rape of Grenada, the invasion of Panama, the war moves in the Persian Gulf must begin all over again.

During the Vietnam War, the reformist organizers of the popular front played, on a smaller scale, the same role as their Stalinist and social-democratic predecessors did 50 years ago. And while U.S. imperialism was defeated in Indochina, it was able to contain the social unrest at home. This gave it time to withdraw, lick its wounds, recover and emerge more reactionary than ever. Just a few years after the fall of Saigon in 1975, Democrat Jimmy Carter launched Cold War II in 1979 in response to the Soviet military intervention against CIA-organized *mujahedin* (holy warriors) in Afghanistan. And Vietnam-era liberal "doves" and the antiwar "radicals" joined with the Reaganite right in whipping up anti-Soviet hysteria.

This is the history which today's refor-



Alfred Eisenstaedt

CP leader Earl Browder (right, at Madison Square Garden rally in 1936) proclaims red-white-and-blue popular front.



on the podium of Democratic Senator Vance Hartke. An SL leaflet stated:

"The Spartacist League opposes the presence at anti-war actions of conscious representatives of our class enemy, the capitalist class."

"...Hartke represents the class enemy pure and simple. He has no more place in the anti-war movement than Nixon, for both are conscious agents of the same class: the capitalist class which aims to smash the Vietnamese social revolution and all revolutions which threaten world capitalism. They differ only as to tactics."

—"Pop Front Sealed in Blood!" (July 1971)

Even at its height, the Vietnam antiwar movement never transcended "protest politics" to pose the fundamental question of power—which class shall rule? This ensured as well the movement's essentially middle-class and student composition from start to finish. Although the majority of working people surely were opposed to the war, above all in its later years, the reactionary top leaders of labor exemplified by AFL-CIO head George Meany were the last bastion of support for the government's bloody escalations. The vast masses of workers and the black community never turned out for the "peace parades"—they could not be mobilized by the "peace" leaders because these respectable gentlemen were manifestly not serious about really changing society.

Careful not to pose the basic class questions which shape society, careful not to "alienate" the enemies which con-

scious workers want to repeat. Thus *Socialist Action* (October 1990) calls to "reach out" to "all the American people who see no need for themselves or their loved ones to die in a war that can only profit the oil companies and a government beholden to them." So just about any Democrat or Republican can join this "broad" coalition except perhaps their Texas delegations! They add: "This is the wrong war in the wrong place. The right war is the political war on poverty at home." With this talk of "war on poverty," they're looking back to the most right-wing section of the antiwar movement, which in the 1964 elections called for "Part of the way with LBJ."

There were thousands of others, however, who were chanting, "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?" As the Vietnam War progressed, the antiwar movement polarized and a left wing formed which hated the SWP and CP popular-fronters who were doing the donkey work for the Democrats. By fighting against class collaboration, to break with the bourgeoisie and calling for labor strikes against the war, the Spartacist League recruited heavily from these militants. Today, while Socialist Action, Workers World, the CP, SWP and other reformists are desperately searching for Democratic doves to tail after, there are many others who will join with us in the struggle to wrest power from the blood-drenched U.S. imperialists, rather than to save their system from sinking in the Persian Gulf. ■

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# Budget Fiasco...

(continued from page 5)

Republican "populist" ideologue Kevin Phillips has written a new book, *The Politics of Rich and Poor* (1990), predicting that the Democrats will make a comeback since the Republican-dominated government in Washington is increasingly identified with the filthy rich, the corporate raiders and S&L bandits. But the Democrats are hardly seen as the party of economic populism. Far from it. They present themselves as the party of "fiscal responsibility," arguing that Reaganomics was undermining the long-term health of American capitalism. In 1984, Walter Mondale's domestic program consisted of raising taxes. In 1988, Dukakis ran as a capitalist efficiency expert, peddling the "Massachusetts miracle"...and higher taxes.

Because of the Democrats' unpopulist economics, hostility toward the bipartisan Washington establishment is being exploited by right-wing demagogues. In Massachusetts, John Silber, running on a program close to soft-core fascism, won the Democratic nomination for governor. In Louisiana, "former" Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke won 44 percent of the vote (and over half the white vote) in the Republican primary for U.S. senatorial candidate.

But while right-wing demagogues can exploit popular disgust with the Washington power structure, the current mood in this country is certainly *not* right-wing. Especially since they've been told the Cold War is over, the American people don't see why they should face tax hikes or service cuts when slashing Pentagon spending can net many billions. A recent CBS News poll shows that 58 percent want to reduce the budget deficit by cutting the Pentagon's funding, while only 17 percent support *any* cuts in Medicare. When the *New York Times* (6 October) did a man-in-the-street survey in Omaha, Nebraska on the budget crisis, one respondent declared:

"And I'd cut some of this military spending. If these countries overseas want our bases out, let's take them out. I don't feel

an attack from the Russians or the Chinese is imminent, so what are we doing there?"

What the American rulers are doing there is using military power to secure their exploitation of working people around the world. That's what the invasion of the Persian Gulf oil fields is all about. And the U.S. is prepared to attack

Medicare funding, over three times spending on public health and 4.5 times the money going to education. Fifteen cents out of every dollar in taxes goes straight into the coffers of Wall Street, Tokyo, City of London and Frankfurt banks.

It is unthinkable that any Democratic or Republican politician would propose

Foy/Washington Post



**Social Security employees rally at Capitol last month, against threatened "furloughs" due to budget cuts.**

the Soviet Union to restore capitalist exploitation in that country, though Wall Street and Washington now figure Gorbachev is going to do that job for them.

Capitalism means imperialist war abroad and the immiseration of the working people at home. The working class allied with the black and Hispanic poor must bring down this rotting, parasitic, war-driven system and establish a workers government and a planned socialist economy.

## Down With the Two Capitalist Parties! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

In 1980, the national debt for every man, woman and child in this country was almost \$4,000. Today, it is over \$12,000. Over the past decade the fastest-growing component of the federal budget was not military spending but interest on the national debt, which more than tripled from \$53 billion to \$166 billion last year. Interest payments now dwarf all other items in the federal budget except the military. Interest payments are almost twice the amount of

a cap on interest payments or moratorium on debt service. Even the so-called "left wing" of the Democratic Party represented, for example, by black California Congressman Ron Dellums, a member of Democratic Socialists of America, would never suggest cutting Wall Street's share of the federal budget. Dellums and his friends would no doubt argue that this is impossible. Unless the U.S. government pays the going market rate of interest, financiers will not lend their money to the Treasury. The government would then have to raise taxes enormously or run the printing presses, thereby producing runaway inflation. Within the framework of the capitalist system this is quite true. And since the Democrats and Republicans support the capitalist system, they are fundamentally agents of Wall Street (and are currently acting as agents of foreign bankers as well).

This is demonstrated by the present budget crisis. Who is pushing for cuts in Medicare and higher gasoline taxes? Obviously not American working people. The pressure is coming from international finance capital, which is threatening higher interest rates and other forms

of economic blackmail unless the deficit is cut. The bipartisan summitteers' budget was designed above all to win the approval of Wall Street's main man in Washington, Federal Reserve head Alan Greenspan—a former protégé of kooky right-wing ideologue Ayn Rand. The house organ of world bankers, the *London Economist* (6 October), warns that unless the U.S. budget deficit is cut radically, America's "creditors will go on strike. If they do, the dollar will collapse and America will have to choose between much higher interest rates (and thus a much deeper recession) and rapidly rising inflation." Like a choice between being shot or hanged.

In fact, the U.S. is already experiencing a creditors strike of a sort. Japanese moneybags have been pulling out of the American market—they've dumped \$9 billion in U.S. Treasury bonds in the first half of the year—in order to cover their losses at home from the Tokyo stock market crash. German capital is not available because it's needed for investment in the former DDR. So who's going to buy all those T-bills? This underscores the global interdependence of the world capitalist system. The financial collapse in Tokyo causes hardship not only for Japanese working people but for American working people as well.

The *London Economist* threatens the American people with a world bankers strike. The only effective answer is the expropriation of the financial and industrial parasites who are running and ruining this country. One of the most satisfying effects of a socialist revolution will be canceling everyone's debts, forcing the Wall Street yuppies to go out and work to rebuild the country they've looted.

To break the stranglehold of the Wall Street banks, it is first necessary for the working class and oppressed minorities to break with the bankers' parties—the Democrats and Republicans—and to build a revolutionary workers party. The main obstacle to building a workers party is the racist, anti-communist AFL-CIO bureaucracy which binds organized labor to their exploiters. Oust the bureaucrats—For a class-struggle leadership of the trade-union movement! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

## Бюллетень Спартаковцев № 1



## Spartacist Bulletin No. 1

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Новое объемное **Введение**, анализирующее текущие события в Советском Союзе с позиций троцкистской исторической перспективы.

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#### Материалы из архива троцкизма:

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Опровержение клеветы на одного из самых талантливых командиров Красной Армии.

##### Когда произошел советский термидор?

Перепечатка трудов Льва Троцкого:

Из Переходной программы:

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Глава V из *Что такое СССР и куда он идет?*:

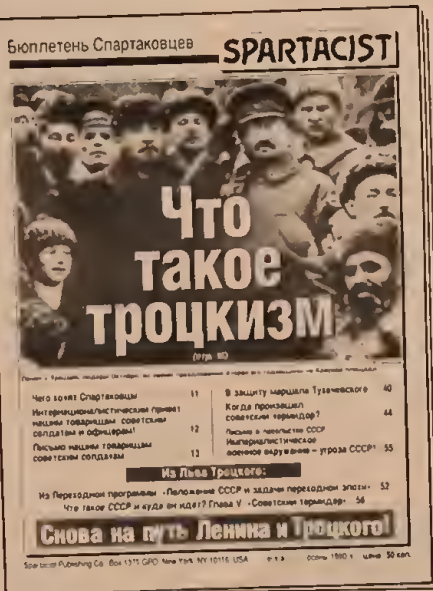
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Published in English as "Trotskyism: What It Isn't and What It Is!" February 1990. An in-depth analysis of the real positions of revolutionary Trotskyism against the revisionist currents, particularly in light of the events in Germany.

Three pieces from the intervention of the ICL into the upheavals in the DDR during the last year including **What the Spartacists Want** and letters to soldier comrades distributed to Soviet troops stationed in the DDR.

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##### In Defense of Marshal Tukhachevsky

Translated from *Workers Vanguard* No. 321, 14 January 1983. Refutation of slanders against one of the Red Army's most brilliant leaders.

**When Was the Soviet Thermidor?** From *Spartacist*, English edition, No. 43-44, Summer 1989.

Reprints from the writings of Leon Trotsky:

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# New York...

(continued from page 4)

conditions of increasing poverty and social desperation, but the murder rate in New York is still less than half that of Washington, D.C. or Detroit. The objective of the media's fear campaign is to whip up popular frenzy over the escalation of random violence into a campaign for more cops, stiffer prison sentences, gun control and the death penalty.

The fact is, cops do not "protect" the population—they terrorize it. Increasing the numbers of cops on the streets will not decrease crime, it will only result in more beatings and killings, and an explosion of arrests necessitating more and bigger prisons. Already over a quarter of young black men spend time in jail, a waste of human potential which is truly criminal. "Law and order" campaigns are thinly disguised attempts to maintain the racist status quo by giving free rein to the terrorists in blue. From the standpoint of New York's "Masters of the Universe," viewing the unruly rabble from their penthouses and through the smoked glass windows of their stretch limos, strengthening the repressive apparatus—the courts, the prisons, and especially the police—while disarming the population is the only possible response to crime.

A recent *Newsday* series has focused on "gun-wielding teens" as the source of violence, and the New York Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus is calling for tougher gun control laws. But gun control is no answer to crime. There will always be plenty of weapons in the hands of criminals, nuts and cops—only the victims are defenseless. It is a simple democratic right for the population to keep and bear arms, as even the Constitution stipulates. The police defend the interests of the ruling class, meanwhile pursuing their own unappetizing activities. We uphold the right of individuals to effectively defend themselves. Gun control kills blacks!

Linked to the demand for more cops is an ominous advocacy of vigilantism, from Dinkins' "community patrol groups" to the call by the right-wing Republican candidate for governor, Pierre Rinfret, for a "vigilante system" of 100,000 auxiliary police. Any kind of vigilantism in this capitalist system is necessarily racist. Whether it's carried out by white mobs, the Guardian Angels or Muslim block patrols, the targets are almost always black. A horrific example is the recent torching of three homeless people in Brooklyn's impoverished Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood by a gang known as the "Crack-Busters." Norma Reilly, a young black woman, was burned to death and two others critically injured, when the van in which they slept was doused with gasoline and set alight by murderous thugs carrying the "war on drugs" to its logical conclusion.

The ruling-class campaign for more police has had an undeniable effect, and even many ghetto residents buy the



New York, 1987: Spartacists and Labor Black League protest cops' shotgun murder of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs.

more cops = less crime equation. But as members of the Morris Avenue Block Patrol in the Bronx found out, the cops have their own idea about stopping crime, which is closer to "the only good one is a dead one." After calling in the police to arrest a teenager with a gun, residents were horrified when seven cops began heating the handcuffed prisoner, then clubbed and arrested block patrol members who attempted to intervene. As the angry mother of one of those arrested asked, "Why in the hell is [Dinkins] putting on more police? They're not helping us at all, not the way they beat up people out here. They should be putting up better houses, better schools, and better playgrounds. That's what we need."

Increasingly, the racist cops beat and arrest anyone who even questions their actions, especially anyone black or Hispanic. Last month, when 150 outraged midtown passers-by came to the aid of a sobbing New Jersey woman whose car was being towed by the hated "brownies," the area was flooded with squad cars and tow trucks. As the crowd chanted "Leave her alone!" the cops spotted one of only two black men present, college student John Andrews, and arrested him. Andrews was beaten, handcuffed, thrown into a squad car, and taken to jail. The young woman went on the Phil Donahue show to denounce the racist police, and collected money to pay Andrews' bail. But for two days the police claimed they couldn't find him in the jail system!

## A Dying System

In America's cities today, street crime is pervasive. To wipe this out you have to get rid of the capitalist system which breeds the poverty that makes thousands so desperate they steal and kill to survive. To fulfill the basic human needs of housing, education, health care and employment requires the forging of a socialist society. This is not some empty platitude. As capitalism is being reintroduced today in the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe, one of the first results (along with unemployment lines and soup kitchens) is the reappearance of thievery and mugging which had been virtually unknown for decades.

The shootings, violence and mass drug addiction that characterize contemporary America are the symptoms of a deeper societal sickness. With unemployment sky-high and the welfare rolls jam-packed, many in the ghettos may never have a job in their lifetime. Recently, 101,000 people applied for 2,000 NYC garbage collection jobs! Meanwhile thousands roam the streets picking up bottles and cans to return for a nickel apiece. This level of desperation is the sign of a dying social system.

The skyrocketing rents of the last few years have resulted in record numbers of homeless families, of whom only a "lucky" few will receive city housing in filthy "welfare hotels." These hellholes have become a symbol of New York's failure to provide even minimal housing for the poor. People are so afraid of them that thousands prefer to live on the streets and in the tunnels of New York. A recent article on the track cleaners who fight rat infestation in the subways gave a chilling glimpse of what "life" is like for the homeless who inhabit them. One supervisor reported:

"I found one guy at the Times Square station who was being eaten alive by rats." One leg was gnawed to the bone, he says, and the workers had to throw ammonia on the rats to drive them away from the man. Even more dismaying, he says, is "strong evidence that homeless people are eating the rats."

—Chief-Leader, 17 August

In this portrait of 20th century barbarism, hideous poverty is combined with

## Jamal...

(continued from page 3)

who claims the Holocaust never happened. Leuchter was hired by the state of Illinois to design the death machine used in the milestone execution of Charles Walker last month (see "State Hires Nazi Executioner—Illinois Starts Up Assembly Line of Death," WV No. 510, 21 September).

Jamal's case is what the racist death penalty is all about. On death row because of his political views and associations, Jamal's case has won widespread support as the case for all opponents of the death penalty to rally around. Thirty thousand people around the world have signed petitions and written Pennsylvania governor or Casey demanding Jamal not be executed. Among them are Pennsylvania state representative David Richardson, Congressman Ronald Dellums, actor Ed Asner, Rev. Joseph Lowery and Operation PUSH. Trade unions representing millions have taken a stand with Jamal and against the state's racist "legal" lynching. This summer an international campaign of demonstrations and rallies initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee brought together trade unionists, socialists, civil rights activists, students and death penalty abolitionists in ten cities around the world to demand that Jamal not die.

Among racist killer cops across this country, Philadelphia's are in a league by themselves—from raids on Black Panther Party headquarters to the barbaric 13 May 1985 bombing of MOVE. Backed up by the courts' racists in black robes, they are committed to putting Jamal on

a grotesque bureaucratic maze from which there seems to be no way out. Thus the city had promised to shut down single-room-occupancy hotels by July 31. But as they assigned residents to renovated city-owned apartments, thousands more homeless suddenly appeared. The *New York Times* (20 September) reported that "welfare officials attributed a surge in the number of homeless families to the city's policy of giving homeless people in welfare hotels priority in getting new apartments." In the Orwellian words of Koch's Human Resources Commissioner, building housing "encourages homelessness!"

As the city crumbles, the various ethnic populations are increasingly pitted against each other in competition for a shrinking share of the crumbs. This has led to the picketing of Korean-owned greengrocers by black nationalist hustlers like Sonny Carson. This anti-Asian bigotry plays straight into the hands of the racists. Meanwhile, demagogues like FBI fink Al Sharpton play cynical pressure politics with black people's lives, whipping up nationalist anti-Semitic demagoguery and then parading through the streets of Bensonhurst when the only force between the crowds of racists and the black marchers are the racist cops. As we have repeatedly and emphatically said, blacks can only lose in a race war in this viciously racist country.

The crucial task is to forge a revolutionary leadership that fights for black liberation, mobilizing the power of the workers movement in its own class interest and in the cause of all the oppressed. This means breaking with the "popular front," through which the union bureaucrats tie their membership to Democrats like Dinkins, the front men for the capitalists. Mass marches and strike action against layoffs and wage freezes, and integrated mass mobilizations against racist attacks, can be steps toward a class-struggle workers party.

What's needed is a fight for power against the Wall Street junk bond manipulators, the real estate speculators, the union-busting industrialists, against the bourgeoisie and its state. It will take socialist revolution to build a just society where homelessness, poverty, racist terror and endemic crime are abolished. ■

a conveyor belt to the electric chair. When over 200 people rallied for Jamal at the Church of the Advocate in his Philadelphia hometown on July 14, Fraternal Order of Police president Richard Costello slanderously branded Jamal's supporters a "misfit terrorist group" and suggested they be jointly executed with him on an "electric couch."

From his tiny death row cell Jamal continues to speak out in columns printed in papers across the country. In the *Philadelphia Tribune*, Jamal responded to Costello's remarks by exposing the nature of Philly's racist cops, who are dedicated to silencing his voice forever:

"Who has instilled terror in whom? People felt chills of remembrance that this threat came from the very people who planned and executed the murderous Mother's Day Massacre of Osage Avenue, when men, women and babies were incinerated in their home; the same people who slew African-Americans while handcuffed; the same state force that shot young Stacey Whitted of West Philly to death with utter impunity; the same group that liquidated Winston C.X. Hood, Cornell Warren, Jose Reyes, William Green, on city streets, with utter impunity; the same body that shot 700 people between 1971-1981, killing over 300 of the mostly Black, Puerto Rican and poor, white youths, with total, utter impunity."

Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die! We need to organize massive protests, take his case to the Supreme Court of the masses. The working people are the social force with the power to save this courageous man and stop this deadly killing machine. To join the international campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. Telephone: (212) 406-4252. ■

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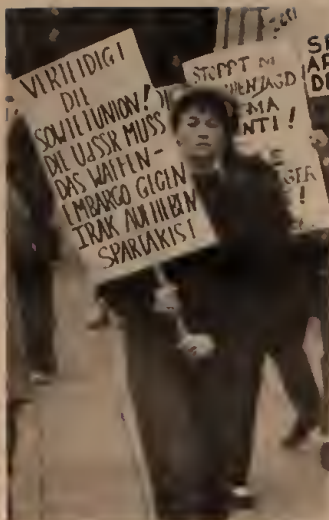
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(Signed) Jim Norden, (Editor)





Spartakist



Le Boichévk



Daily Telegraph

International Communist League demands "Break the Blockade of Iraq!" and denounces Soviet complicity with U.S. invasion, at demonstrations in Berlin, Paris and Sydney, Australia.

## Break the Blockade...

(continued from page 1)

accepted a "compromise" which Washington could swallow. But the Israelis weren't buying it, and refused to allow the UN investigating team mandated by the resolution into Jerusalem. "The whole idea was to get this issue behind us and get back to Iraq," moaned one Bush aide. Israel obviously has a different idea. Now Shamir has announced that Soviet Jews will be settled in East Jerusalem, earlier "promises" to Washington to the contrary.

The Zionists will not be "pressured"

of the three-year-long *intifada*, that even the corporatist Histadrut trade-union federation recently threatened an indefinite general strike against falling living standards. Meanwhile massive Soviet Jewish immigration is straining Israeli society at the seams, creating large numbers of homeless. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party, committed to the right of self-determination for both the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian peoples. Defend the Palestinian people—Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

### The Crumbling Gulf Alliance

Even before the Israeli atrocity, the U.S. had been having trouble holding its alliance together. Washington's Arab

dispatching troops to join a U.S.-led operation in the Gulf. Meanwhile, the counterrevolutionary Estonian Defense League made a television appeal for "volunteers" to join the imperialist forces.

Bush's talk of the "whole world against Saddam Hussein" is sounding ever more hollow. Nor, by all accounts, is the embargo having any serious effect in demoralizing the Iraqi people or driving the country to the wall. And while Washington's propaganda mill continues to churn out horror stories about random rape and slaughter in Kuwait, an American refugee said, "To tell you the truth, I have not seen any looting. When they stop you in the street and ask you to show your I.D., they are very nice" (*New York Times*, 11 October). Saddam Hussein is far less "nice" to his own people, particularly leftist workers and Kurdish and Shi'ite minorities, whom he has butchered mercilessly. But all the U.S. wants is to install a dictator of their choice. It is the Iraqi masses who must sweep Saddam's murderous Ba'athist cabal away, in the course of defending their country against imperialist aggression.

### For Class War Against Imperialist War!

The Pentagon is now putting the last pieces in place for an attack against Iraq. According to the French news magazine *L'Express*, whose source is said to be an aide to U.S. Secretary of Defense Cheney, the Pentagon's latest plan is a four-day blitzkrieg to begin on a moonless night in November. "Operation Night Camel" will come at an estimated cost of 20,000 U.S. dead (and with promiscuous American air bombardment, you can be sure many times that number of Iraqis will be slaughtered).

The U.S. was supposedly going to use its night-vision goggles, "stealth" fighter planes and other devices to "take out" Iraqi defenses in a dead-of-night attack on Iraqi forces, allowing the Army and Marines to "mop up" without suffering heavy losses. But even before the shooting has started, the Army has had to restrict its low-level night-flying exercises as a series of air crashes has already taken the lives of over 30 GIs, more than died during the whole invasion

of Panama. Wait until they find themselves in the heat and dust and chaos of actual battle.

"No matter how it's done, it's going to be bloody," admitted Bernard Trainor, a retired Marine lieutenant general and analyst for a Harvard think tank (*Los Angeles Times*, 13 October). Military analysts compare Iraqi defense fortifications in Kuwait to the trenches of Verdun in World War I, where more than a million soldiers were killed and wounded in several months. The Iraqis have erected razor wire, followed by parallel rows of minefields several hundred yards deep, between which lie nine-foot-wide anti-tank ditches "studded with 55-gallon drums of napalm that can be detonated by remote control."

The U.S. lost 50,000 dead in Vietnam over a number of years, and that war started tearing American society apart. If Bush gets 20,000 GIs killed in a matter of days the country will explode. Most major church organizations have come out openly against U.S. military action in the Gulf. A late September poll revealed that "9 out of 10 Americans are not ready for their country to start a war" and "nearly half of those surveyed suggested they would be suspicious if the United States said Iraq had started a war" (*New York Times*, 1 October). People bitterly remember President Johnson's lies in 1964 about a North Vietnamese "attack" in the Tonkin Gulf which served to whip up a blank check bipartisan war resolution.

What's needed to smash the imperialist war plans is class struggle at home and abroad—an anti-capitalist movement of the working class to topple the ruling classes from Washington to the Near East. To this end the international proletariat must unconditionally fight for the defeat of U.S. imperialism in its war with Iraq, which we defend while seeking the overthrow of Saddam Hussein by the Iraqi working class. *Labor action* can derail this war: stop the loading and transport of war supplies to the Persian Gulf! Break the imperialist blockade of Iraq! We need a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government—down with the Democratic/Republican property party! This is what the Spartacist League will march for on October 20. ■



AFP

U.S. aircraft carrier Saratoga passes through Suez Canal, part of invasion fleet heading for Persian Gulf.

into accepting any version, no matter how limited and deformed, of Palestinian national rights. The PLO nationalists seek to use the militant Palestinian protesters to solicit ever more UN resolutions or provide cheering sections for one or another murderous Arab bourgeois regime. It is a telling indictment of these petty-bourgeois nationalists that they still plead with the UN to defend the Palestinian people—even with the UN providing the fig leaf for the present massive U.S. invasion of the region and after the UN-brokered evacuation of PLO fighters from Lebanon in 1982 led directly to the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

The expansionist Israeli capitalist state must be destroyed from within. Palestinians constitute a key section of the workforce in Israel. Under an internationalist leadership, the combative and cosmopolitan Palestinian masses can be the spark for class struggle throughout the region and assist in breaking the Hebrew workers from the death grip of Zionism. The economy of this garrison-state is in such a shambles, in good measure as a result

allies have been feeling the heat from their own populations about falling in line behind U.S. imperialism—in one case, literally: on October 12 the second most senior official in Mubarak's Egypt was gunned down by assassins on a Cairo street. "The Egyptian forces in Saudi Arabia would not participate in any offensive," stated Major General Mohammed Ali Bilal, the commander of Egyptian forces in the Gulf (*Washington Post*, 9 October). Now Syria is delaying the deployment of an armored division for the Gulf forces.

Among Washington's imperialist allies, former British Conservative prime minister Edward Heath is flying to Baghdad, supposedly to negotiate a hostage release with Saddam. And French prime minister Mitterrand got flak from the Americans last week for floating a negotiated deal with Iraq over Kuwait. Criminally, one of the most steadfast U.S. allies these days continues to be the Kremlin. Gorbachev press secretary Vitali Ignatenko told *Time* (15 October) that the Soviet Union had "not ruled out"

Spartacist  Forum

## Break the Blockade of Iraq! U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!

Speaker: Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee

Friday, November 2, 7:30 p.m.  
Holmes Hall, Room 104  
Los Angeles City College

Saturday, November 3  
Room and time to be announced  
U.C. Santa Barbara

LOS ANGELES

For more information: (213) 380-8239



# Fact Sheet...

(continued from page 16)

• Meanwhile, Israel has enough chemical weapons and atomic warheads (over 200) to blow up the whole region, and then some. Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu exposed this doomsday machine (and was sentenced to 18 years in prison—in solitary confinement—for his service to humanity). In a recent exposé, former Mossad agent Victor Ostrovsky confirmed Vanunu's report: "He said they were building those bombs and they'd use them if needed. That's true" (By Way of Deception).

• The U.S. threatens World War III over the "rights" of the emir of Kuwait, but backs Israel to the hilt despite Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories and slaughter of Palestinian people. The Israeli massacre of over 20 Palestinians at the holiest Muslim shrine in Jerusalem was just a hint of the genocidal program of the Zionist rulers, who seek a "final solution" to the "Palestinian problem" in the Persian Gulf crisis. Gas masks are being distributed to the entire Israeli population—but not to Palestinians.

• Whose blood is Bush willing to fight to the last drop of? In Vietnam, one out of every three GIs was black



Cambio 16

Kurdish victims of poison gas attack by Iraqi nationalist regime of Saddam Hussein.



Nickelsberg/Time

Gorbachev's withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan emboldened U.S. imperialism to reassert itself as "cops of the world."

and the armed forces in the Gulf are heavily black and Hispanic. When General Colin Powell toured the troops in the Gulf he was met with a chorus of demands from young men and women wanting to know "when can we go home?" Women in the military must wonder why their lives are on the line to defend Saudi Arabia which subjects women to feudal oppression. One black student on the West Coast voiced the sentiment of millions when he said: "Black people have been dying in this country's wars for 200 years, and what has it gotten us? Nothing" (San Francisco Examiner, 24 August).

• Pumped up over the so-called "death of Communism," the U.S. thinks the "post-Cold War world" is a free market for American imperialist aggression. And the Kremlin criminally endorses U.S. war moves which have massed a huge expeditionary force just 700 miles from the border of the USSR. As Trotskyists we stand for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. A genuine communist leadership would send Baghdad the weapons they need to defeat the U.S. invasion.

• What's dying is Stalinism—the antithesis of Lenin and Trotsky's communism. Stalin liquidated the Bolshevik cadre, the Bolshevik program for world revolution and the Communist International, vainly seeking "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Now the Gorbachev

regime has given in to capitalist takeover of East Germany, and threatens the remaining gains of the October Revolution at home with their "500-day plan" to restore the capitalist market. We say: Gorbachev out! Workers soviets to power!

## The UN Flg Leaf Brigade and Imperialist Mappmaking

• The United Nations which many liberals and leftists look to is a body to supervise the division of the spoils of the world as carved up by the imperialists after World Wars I and II. Seventy years ago, Lenin rightly denounced the League of Nations (the UN's predecessor) as a "den of thieves." For years the UN was led by former General Secretary Kurt Waldheim, a certified Nazi war criminal.

• It was under the UN flag that General Douglas ("Nuke China") MacArthur led Democrat Truman's brutal war against the Korean people 40 years ago. Over three million Koreans were killed by American bombs and bullets as U.S. imperialism sought to "roll back Communism" in Asia.

• Near East borders ("lines in the sand") have been drawn and redrawn many times. The British and French



U.S. Army

1950: U.S. General Douglas MacArthur led U.S. Imperialist war against the Korean people under the banner of the United Nations.

## German Seamen Refuse to Sail to Persian Gulf

In early October, seamen aboard the German tanker *Western Gallantry* refused to sail to the Persian Gulf, and demanded that they instead be flown home at company expense. The tanker had sailed from Houston, Texas with a shipment of aircraft fuel, which it turned out was intended for U.S. forces in the Gulf. An agreement between the shippers and the OTV union stipulates that merchant seamen have the right to refuse work in hazardous zones. Yet the tanker's captain didn't inform the seamen where they were heading until they had reached the Suez Canal. Once they realized what their destination was, 13 of the 15 crew refused to be part of this "suicide mission," and were flown home.

What is necessary is to broaden such actions into labor political protests against the imperialists' war plans. We

reprint below a telegram from the candidates of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League, to the seamen saluting their action.

Berlin  
10 October 1990

To the seamen of the tanker  
"Western Gallantry"

From the Bundestag election candidates  
of the SpAD

We salute your refusal to transport aircraft fuel for the U.S. Army, which is planning air attacks against Iraq that will mean mass murder of the Iraqi population! Your action sets an example to all working people for organizing working-class resistance against the NATO war preparations.

Actions like yours by American and other workers to stop the transport of munitions would be a powerful blow against a horrible imperialist war in the Near East. Despite the bloody dictator Saddam Hussein, Iraq must be defended against the imperialist oil pirates, whose war drive is directed against the Soviet Union and all working people! Break the blockade of Iraq! USA/NATO—Out of the Persian Gulf! Bundeswehr out of the Mediterranean!

Toralf Endrueweit  
Renate Dahlhaus  
Jana Strauchfuss  
for the Spartacist Workers Party  
of Germany

## French Seamen Protest Troops to Persian Gulf

PARIS—As part of their contribution to the U.S.-led war moves against Iraq, the French imperialists are sending some 4,000 troops to the Persian Gulf in what they call "Operation Dagger." To transport troops and war matériel to the Gulf, the army commandeered ships of Mediterranean maritime companies. But these plans were held up by protests and opposition from French seamen.

On September 19, the Bouches-du-Rhône local of the Communist Party-led CGT union federation protested against "the mobilization of nine civilian ships and their crews for the war," and proclaimed they would not work the ship or accept the requisitioning of seamen. In Marseille, CGT seamen aboard the *L'Esterel* stopped work for several hours. The previous evening in Bastia, maritime workers organized by the Corsican STC union federation refused to crew the ferry *Corse* which was heading for the Gulf, demanding additional safety pay before they would go.

According to the bourgeois press, in Corsica the CGT seamen's local helped the company get the *Corse* under way. This reported action of the local CGT was strikebreaking!

Two days after the declaration of the CGT local in Bouches-du-Rhône opposing the war mobilization, a demonstration of some hundreds of union militants, mainly from the CGT and French CP, was held in Toulon. This was designed not to mobilize further opposition but, on the contrary, to head off any real working-class action against the war. Finally,

when French "Socialist" president Mitterrand signed a requisition order, the CGT fell back on a "conscientious objector" clause—putting the onus for protesting onto the individual seamen.

The militancy is there, as shown by the ongoing strike by Dunkirk longshoremen to save their union. But the French Communist Party (PCF) and CGT are not trying to mobilize working-class opposition to the blockade of Iraq. They seek to pressure Mitterrand so sanctions will be carried out "under the auspices of the UN."

The Stalinist degeneration of the Communist Party was vividly reflected in the colonial question. Back in 1924-25, the PCF called for proletarian solidarity with independence fighters in the Moroccan Rif Mountains against the imperialists' dirty colonial war. In 1949-50, CGT dockers in Marseille held strikes and demonstrations for "peace in Vietnam," although this was only after the PCF had been thrown out of the popular-front government where they had called for Vietnam remaining part of the "French Union." Over Algeria, the PCF came out for independence only at the last minute, and only carried out a few stoppages with pacifist slogans.

The declaration of the Bouches-du-Rhône CGT is indicative of working-class opposition to the imperialists' war against Iraq. The Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League, seeks to intervene in mobilizations against the war to free them from the grip of social chauvinism and place them on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

## Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

### Bay Area

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Oakland, California Phone (415) 839-0851

### Chicago

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

### New York City

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





**Black GI in jungles of Vietnam. Sign reads: "U.S. Negro Armyman! You are committing the same ignominious crimes in South Vietnam that the KKK clique is perpetrating against your family at home."**

divided the region in the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 (revealed to the world by the Bolsheviks after they took power and abolished secret diplomacy). Kuwait was created by British high commissioner Sir Percy Cox, who handed the territory to the Sabah family as a means of limiting Iraq's access to the sea.

• Kuwait is an artificial country whose entire workforce is imported. Its oil wealth was created by Palestinians and other foreign workers, Pakistanis, Indians, Sri Lankans and Bangladeshis, who have no rights.

• Now Turkey, a NATO member and U.S. ally, expects to be rewarded with the Kurdish province of Mosul in northern Iraq in return for the use of Turkish soil as a launching pad for a U.S. invasion of Iraq. Assad's Syria, yesterday's "terrorist" whipping boy for Ronald Reagan, has been rebaptized as an "Arab moderate" regime for joining the U.S.' unholy alliance against Iraq.

• Since the end of World War II, it has been the conscious policy of America's rulers to use religious fundamentalism and reaction as an organized force for counterrevolution. John Foster Dulles, the architect of nuclear "brinkmanship" against the Soviet Union, wrote of Eastern religions: "Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us and our task is to find and develop it."

• The U.S. and Saudi Arabia have armed and funded the *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan, including the notorious Saudi Wahabi fundamentalists, who rape and murder every "infidel" woman they find. In Afghanistan, the U.S. and its feudal allies were waging war against the Soviet Army in defense of illiteracy and women's enslavement. We Spartacists said "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" in 1980 and denounced Gorbachev's withdrawal last year. Through an international campaign organized by the Partisan Defense Committee, we raised over \$40,000 to aid the civilian population of heroic Jalalabad fighting a bloody *mujahedin* siege.

• Many Arab nationalists and left groups like the Workers World Party push the myth of "the Arab Revolution," in which all the Arab regimes in the region are supposedly waging a revolution against Zionism and imperialism. In fact, all the various sheiks, colonels, dictators, and the kill-crazy maniacs in Tel Aviv are enemies of the Palestinian people and oppressors of their own working masses. What's needed is to unite

the toilers of the region in *class struggle* behind an internationalist, revolutionary party.

• When the Socialist Workers Party and Workers World talk of the "Arab East," what they mean is denying the Jews in Israel the right to exist. We defend the right of self-determination for both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking nations. By carving out a state based on the expulsion and subjugation of the Palestinian Arabs, Zionist Israel is a deathtrap for Jews! Hebrew-speaking workers must throw off their Zionist rulers and join with their Arab class brothers in a common struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East. Defend the Palestinian people—Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

### For Class Struggle Against the Warmakers

• Many left groups, like Workers World Party and Socialist Action, are trying to rebuild the Vietnam antiwar movement. In the October 20 demonstrations, they seek to channel anti-imperialist student and working-class opposition to the war mobilization in the Near East into the arms of Democratic Party "doves." But Bush and the Democrats flap their wings in unison for U.S. imperialism in the Persian Gulf!

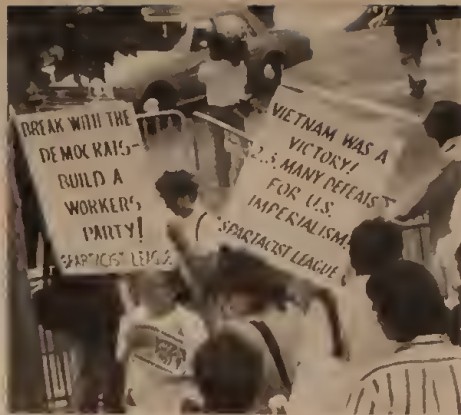
• The organizers of the October 20 demonstrations raise the slogan "No More Vietnams!" This is a deliberate attempt to "unite" workers and youth repelled by America's attempt to grab the world's oil resources for U.S. big business with those who want to *save U.S. imperialism* from more *losing* adventures abroad. That's why Richard Nixon, a certified U.S. war criminal, entitled his memoirs *No More Vietnams!* As internationalists, our side was the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants



**Rape of Panama, December 1989: U.S. bombing of the Panama City barrio of El Chorrillo killed thousands.**

who freed their country from capitalist exploitation and colonial bondage. The Spartacists say: *Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!*

• The right wing claims that the Vietnam War was "lost on the home front" and Vietnam vets were spat on by leftists when they returned home. This is a lie—like Hitler's "stab in the back" myth that Germany lost World War I because of Jews and Bolsheviks. U.S. imperialism was defeated on the battlefield by the Vietnamese, who were fighting a revolutionary war. Despite the U.S.' assassination of tens of thousands through



**Oakland, September 19: Spartacist League puts forth class-struggle program in protest against U.S. Invasion of Persian Gulf.**

"Operation Phoenix," despite *two million* Vietnamese killed, the Vietnamese people drove the U.S. imperialists out.

• It was the right wing and the government who spat on Vietnam vets, because GIs spat on the imperialist war. Many returning soldiers went straight into antiwar demonstrations! Antiwar activists tried to recruit soldiers and veterans, putting out antiwar literature directed at soldiers and setting up coffeehouses near army bases. Inside the armed forces there were antiwar petitions, mass "sick-outs," sit-down strikes and brig rebellions. More than a few gung ho officers were "fragged" (from fragmentation grenades). Today many Viet vets are strong opponents of U.S. war moves in the Persian Gulf.

• Black soldiers in particular, who were always given the most dangerous and dirtiest missions, returned with passionate political hatred for a government that drafted them to die abroad and shafted them at home. Many joined the Black Panther Party, as did Geronimo Pratt, a black GI who won two Purple Hearts in Vietnam. The FBI and LAPD seized Pratt in a massive cop assault on L.A. Panther headquarters, and he has been in jail on frame-up charges for nearly 20 years.

Bush's "Operation Desert Shield" will be no walk-over for the U.S., like their rape of Grenada or Panama. U.S. government officials reportedly expect 20,000 American casualties in the first days of fighting—when the body bags start coming back there could be a social explosion at home.

The organized working class, allied to the youth and minorities, must be mobilized against the war machine: For a new, class-struggle leadership of the labor movement—For labor political strikes against the impending war! Action by longshoremen, Teamsters, shipyard and transport workers to stop the supply of munitions would be a powerful blow against U.S. imperialist war moves in the Near East.

Bush's "New World Order" echoes Hitler's "New Order." The massive U.S. war mobilization is a dangerous trip wire for World War III. We of the International Communist League declare that the only way out of this system that spawns poverty, racism and war is through international socialist revolution.

Spartacus Youth Clubs  
13 October 1990

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# WORKERS VANGUARD



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## PERSIAN GULF FACT SHEET

Bush, the Pentagon and the Democratic-controlled Congress are plunging into war in the Persian Gulf. They want to grab the oil and regain supremacy as top cop of the world. It's the biggest military mobilization since the murderous war against Vietnam—well over 200,000 American troops are already deployed. Working people and minorities have no interest in dying so this racist ruling class can continue to lord it over the Near East, squeeze its imperialist allies and stick it to the Soviet Union. To stop imperialist war we have to fight the capi-

talist system which breeds it. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for *class struggle* here and in the Near East to drive the U.S. out of the Persian Gulf and topple all the sheiks, colonels and Zionist butchers. The international working class has a side—with Iraq and against the U.S. government! A defeat for U.S. imperialism would be a victory for workers and the oppressed. We will be marching in the October 20 demonstrations under the banner: *Break the Blockade of Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Join us!*

## Break the Blockade of Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism!

**The first casualty in imperialist war is truth. Here are some facts that expose the lies, global ambitions and bloody destruction planned by the U.S. government.**

- Bush says it's all about "freedom" and "sovereignty." Nonsense. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are oil-rich absolute monarchies run by billionaire emirs and kings. In Kuwait only 70,000 men out of a population of over two million had the right to vote for a "parliament" which was dissolved as soon as it met! Saudi Arabia is a feudal dictatorship with no constitution, no elections,

### Young Spartacus

few rights for laborers and no rights for women. It is the largest state where chattel slavery still exists. These are Washington's glorious allies for "freedom" and "our way of life."

- Bush says the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait threatens the oil "lifeline." The real threat is from Washington, which is using its huge military apparatus to seize control of world petroleum supplies. The U.S. has fallen behind Germany and Japan in the economic race, but with its hand on the oil spigot it can bully its former enemies into forking over billions to pay for its occupation forces. The U.S. (which has enormous oil reserves) now guards Saudi oil fields with American troops (another 25 percent of world supply) and wants Kuwait and Iraq's oil as well (another 20 percent).

- Liberals and even some leftists say we should pressure the Democrats to pressure Bush to stop war in the Gulf. But this is a *bipartisan* war mobilization. From hardline Dixiecrats to Jesse Jackson, Democrats are marching to the beat of Bush's war drums.

- Many liberals, radicals and some not-so-radicals (like the Communist Party) claim to oppose U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf and instead support the "peaceful" alternative of UN sanctions against Iraq. This blockade is starving the Iraqi and Jordanian masses, and thousands of foreign workers and refugees trapped in the Gulf. Those who oppose the demand to break the blockade of Iraq do so in order to avoid defending Iraq ("the enemy") in a war with the U.S. But the sanctions which they endorse are backed up by troops, warships, combat aircraft and bombers. The blockade is an *act of war*

whether conducted under the Stars and Stripes or under the transparent cover of the blue flag of the United Nations.

- Washington is preparing to kill thousands upon thousands of Iraqi people. Former Air Force chief of staff General Michael Dugan got sacked for revealing the U.S. plans to kill 100,000 by making "downtown Baghdad" a prime target of a massive bombing campaign.

- "If we have a pretext, a *casus belli*, we go," said one senior White House aide (*New York Times*, 27 September). The warmakers in Washington will easily fabricate such a pretext. The infamous Tonkin Gulf Resolution passed by Congress in 1964 gave President Johnson carte blanche to devastate Vietnam using the pretext of a nonexistent "attack" by North Vietnamese patrol boats on U.S. destroyers off the North Vietnamese coast.

- Washington says Saddam Hussein is a "war criminal." *The biggest war criminal in the world is the U.S. government!* From the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the firebombing of Tokyo, from the carpetbombing of Vietnam to the thousands killed by U.S.-sponsored contras in Afghanistan and Central America—millions have been slaughtered by U.S. imperialism. Even in "peacetime," the U.S. supports and arms regimes of

London Express Photos



Women enslaved to the veil under feudalistic Saudi monarchy (right). In the late '70s, beheading of a Saudi princess (above) for adultery with a commoner shocked the world.

torturers and dictators from Latin America to South Korea and South Africa, to keep untold millions powerless and starving throughout the so-called "Third World."

- For years Hussein was a U.S. ally and prime candidate for regional "policeman of the Gulf." In 1963 the CIA helped Hussein's Ba'athist Party murder an estimated 5,000 members of the powerful Iraqi Communist Party. Now the U.S. wants to topple Hussein and replace him with another dictator of *their* choice—like they did next door in Iran in 1953, installing the bloody Shah Pahlavi (and in the process taking back partially nationalized Iranian oil fields). Hussein is indeed a butcher of his own people, especially militant workers and Kurds. He must be toppled by the Iraqi working masses and national minorities who have suffered so terribly under him.

- The U.S. says Hussein has chemical weapons and *now* complains he might use them. (They said nothing when Hussein dropped chemical weapons on Iranian troops and thousands of Kurdish villagers inside Iraq.) The U.S. not only has a huge stockpile of chemical and nuclear weapons, it is the *only* country ever to nuke anyone!

continued on page 14

Nogues/Sygma

