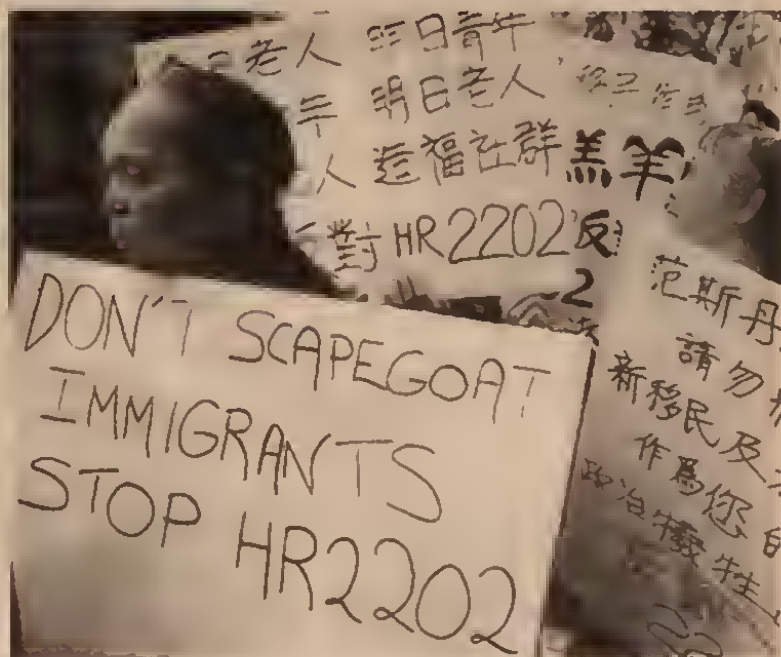


## Democrats, Republicans Ax Welfare, Push Deportations

# Down With Racist War on Immigrants and Blacks!



Border Patrol cops in Texas terrorize Mexican immigrants. Right: Chinese immigrants in San Francisco protest new legislation which would threaten non-citizens on welfare with deportation.



Calvert/Oakland Tribune

## Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Lorraine Parris, a Guyanese-born woman who has lived in the United States for 26 years, was returning from her honeymoon abroad in May with her American husband when she was seized by immigration officials and thrown into a detention center. Parris, a longtime legal resident whose 14-year-old son was born in the U.S., now faces deportation for the "crime" of having been charged with marijuana possession when she was a teenager in the late 1970s.

Lorraine Parris's plight is shared by hundreds of other non-citizen *permanent residents*, who are threatened with deportation as the result of the "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act" passed in April. A little-publicized provision of this draconian law mandates the jailing and deportation of permanent residents who have any prior convictions, including misdemeanors, no matter how old. The list of offenses includes *any* drug charge and even so-called crimes of "moral turpitude" like spitting and subway turnstile jumping! The legislation also eliminates any of the waivers against deportation which previously existed. Once thrown into detention center hell-holes, immigrants are denied any possibility of being released on bond while awaiting appeal.

This vicious dragnet against people whose only crime is to not have been born in the U.S. is part and parcel of an all-sided racist war against blacks and immigrants being waged by the capitalist rulers and their Democratic and Republican parties. In mid-July, both houses of Congress passed a "welfare reform" bill which would eliminate federal welfare programs, from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) to Social Security disability payments. The same week, a Congressional committee approved a chauvinist "English only" bill, which would ax funds for bilingual education and give a green light for a new flood of racist restrictions against immigrants.

The first targets of the "welfare reform" bill are legal immigrants whose benefits will be cut off *immediately*. And, as always, those most heavily affected will be black people. This racist legislation puts a five-year maximum limit on collecting what meager welfare benefits will continue to exist. An article in the *New York Times* (25 July) reported that "of welfare recipients who have been on the rolls more than five years...49 percent are black, 25 percent are non-Hispanic whites, 19 percent are Hispanic and 7 percent are in other racial or ethnic

groups." This latest assault on welfare is an open prescription for starving millions of mothers and children in the inner cities.

### Prop. 187: Spearhead of Racist Reaction

The anti-immigrant provisions of this savage new welfare bill were foreshadowed by the passage in late 1994 of California's Proposition 187, which denies education, health care and any social benefits to "illegal" immigrants. Although the full implementation of Prop. 187 has been shelved by court orders, its intent of intimidating and further marginalizing immigrant communities has effectively been realized. Desperate immigrants fear risking deportation if they go to the hospital or enroll their kids in school. While most Democrats opposed Prop. 187, whose chief proponent was right-wing Republican governor Pete Wilson, in the past few years the Clinton White House has poured vast sums of money into militarizing the border with Mexico, leading to a sharp escalation in racist terror against "illegal" immigrants.

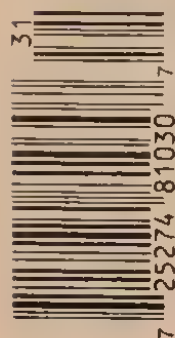
Now the backers of Prop. 187 are pushing a new initiative—called CLEAR—which would make it a crime to rent or

sell property to undocumented "aliens." One of the proponents of "CLEAR" expressed the ominous purpose of this latest assault on immigrants: "This initiative will move them back to their own country, into another state or into a box" (*Los Angeles Times*, 23 July). The murderous intent of these anti-immigrant laws was captured in the televised images of sheriff's deputies in Riverside County, California savagely clubbing Mexican immigrants.

During the protests against Prop. 187 two years ago, some of the pro-Democratic Party Latino organizers pleaded for a distinction to be made between "legal" and "illegal" immigrants. This only plays into the hands of the racist rulers. We warned at the time that Prop. 187 "is the electoral spearhead of a xenophobic offensive against *all* immigrants, inciting a climate of racist hostility particularly against Latinos and Asians" ("Mobilize California Labor to Smash Anti-Immigrant Racism!" WV No. 608, 14 October 1994).

Now this is being brought home with a vengeance in the detention, deportation and plans to eliminate all welfare benefits for foreign-born permanent residents of the U.S. We communists say: Anyone

*continued on page 13*



**HBO Documentary  
Details Cop Frame-Up**

**Free Mumia  
Abu-Jamal!**

See Page 3

**MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM**

Part 6

**1914-1918: Imperialist War and  
the Realignment of the Left**

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# Political Prisoners Stage Mass Hunger Strike

## Turkey: Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression!

For more than two months, over 2,000 leftist Turkish political prisoners staged a defiant hunger strike against the hellish conditions of the "high security" prisons in which they are incarcerated. In a significant act of solidarity, the strike was joined by some 4,000 other political prisoners from the persecuted and oppressed Kurdish minority. By the time the strike was called off on July 28, twelve people had died, while dozens more are seriously ill.

Despite a wave of solidarity demonstrations within Turkey and an outpouring of international protest and outrage, the new Islamic "Welfare Party" government of Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan maintained a hard line against the hunger strikes. "Justice" Minister Sevkettin Kizilirmaci arrogantly dismissed the protests, ranting: "I don't give a damn about foreign press reports and letters from Amnesty International. I only care what happens in the jails." However, on

July 28, the government acceded to one of the hunger strikers' key demands, agreeing to remove political prisoners from a particularly notorious prison in central Anatolia. This came just as trade-union organizations in Istanbul had announced plans for a two-hour general strike on July 29 in solidarity with the leftist prisoners.

We print below a protest letter sent to the Turkish government on July 27 by a gathering in Europe of the Spartacist Youth Groups of the International Communist League. As well, our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) joined in a July 28 demonstration in Berlin of more than a

thousand people, predominantly Kurds but also including Turkish and German leftists. The demonstration was met by a massive mobilization of cops, who repeatedly waded into the crowd to confiscate "Kurdish symbols," including a banner of the banned Kurdish Workers Party (PKK). In Köln (Cologne), a solidarity demonstration was banned outright and 600 mostly Kurdish and Turkish demonstrators were arrested. The actions of the cops underscore the German bourgeoisie's close ties to the terror regime in Turkey. As an SpAD sign said, "Fourth Reich: Godfather of Genocide Against Kurds!" Other SpAD signs at the Berlin protest demanded, "Down With the Ban on Devrimci Sol, PKK and Kurdish Groups!" and opposed the brutal national oppression of the Kurdish people, raising the call "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!"

\* \* \*

President S. Demirel  
Prime Minister N. Erbakan  
Justice Minister S. Kizilirmaci

The youth groups of the International Communist League demand that the  
*continued on page 13*



TROTSKY

### Marxism and Working-Class Struggle

*In the aftermath of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, undermined for decades by Stalinist bureaucratic rule, much of the left has bought the bourgeois lie of the "death of communism." Today the claim that Marxism is an outmoded and failed theory is echoed by a broad spectrum ranging from anarchist-minded youth to pseudo-socialists. However, as Friedrich Engels explained, scientific*

*socialism developed as the theoretical expression of the struggle between labor and capital. It is the task of the revolutionary vanguard party to win the working class to an understanding of its historic interests, embodied in the communist program of world socialist revolution to sweep away capitalist exploitation and oppression and lay the basis for a classless, egalitarian society.*

Modern socialism is, in its essence, the direct product of the recognition, on the one hand, of the class antagonisms existing in the society of today between proprietors and non-proprietors, between capitalists and wage-workers; on the other hand, of the anarchy existing in production. But, in its theoretical form, modern socialism originally appears ostensibly as a more logical extension of the principles laid down by the great French philosophers of the eighteenth century....

In 1831, the first working-class rising took place in Lyons; between 1838 and 1842, the first national working-class movement, that of the English Chartists, reached its height. The class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie came to the front in the history of the most advanced countries in Europe, in proportion to the development, upon the one hand, of modern industry, upon the other, of the newly-acquired political supremacy of the bourgeoisie. Facts more and more strenuously gave the lie to the teachings of bourgeois economy as to the identity of the interests of capital and labour, as to the universal harmony and universal prosperity that would be the consequence of unbridled competition.... But the old idealist conception of history, which was not yet dislodged, knew nothing of class struggles based upon economic interests. Knew nothing of economic interests; production and all economic relations appeared in it only as incidental, subordinate elements in the "history of civilisation."

The new facts made imperative a new examination of all past history. Then it was seen that *all* past history was the history of class struggle; that these warring classes of society are always the products of the modes of production and of exchange—in a word, of the *economic* conditions of their time; that the economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which we can alone work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical, and other ideas of a given historical period. But now idealism was driven from its last refuge, the philosophy of history; now a materialistic treatment of history was propounded, and a method found of explaining man's "knowing" by his "being," instead of, as heretofore, his "being" by his "knowing."

—Friedrich Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (1878)



LENIN

Leftist hunger strikers in Istanbul prison.



## Brazil: Down With Police Attacks on Volta Redonda Union!

Police attacks and provocations continue to escalate against the Municipal Workers Union (SFPMPV) in the steel city of Volta Redonda, Brazil. According to recent reports from Liga Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LM/LQB), 15 cops surrounded a June 19 union meeting to prevent workers from attending. Outrageously, union secretary Arthur Bonizetti Fernandes had called on the capitalist courts to cancel the union meeting. The meeting itself was disrupted and cut short by physical provocations by Arthur and his thugs against the elected union president, Geraldo Ribeiro.

Last March, Arthur orchestrated a deadly invasion of another SFPMPV meeting by the notorious Brazilian military police. In defense of the union, the International Communist League launched an urgent international solidarity campaign organized by the Partisan Defense Committee. We declared: "It is vital that the police and state authorities who give them their orders are sent a message that the labor movement and defenders of democratic rights the world over stand in solidarity against this cop provocation against combative sectors of the Brazilian workers movement" ("Brazil: Police Hands Off Volta Redonda Union!" WV No. 642, 29 March).

The escalating police assault against the SFPMPV is part of an effort by Volta Redonda's Popular

Front government, which includes representatives of Lula's Workers Party, to destroy the municipal workers union. At the same time, the SFPMPV is crippled internally by the presence of cops—the armed fist of the capitalist state—within the union. The Arthur faction has appealed to this police "hase" in its sinister campaign to oust union president Geraldo and his adviser, LM leader Alexandre Honorato "Cerezo," who have called for removing the cops from the union.

Geraldo was recently suspended as union president for one month by a court order. The LM/LQB reports that the SFPMPV president also faces charges for opposing the racist layoff of a black woman worker and bringing this case to the attention of the union membership! Another union militant, Marcello Carrega, is charged with showing "disrespect" to a police officer—Carrega refused to move a van that was blocking a workplace during a June 21 nationwide general strike. Some 50,000 troops were put on call during the strike, which was called in opposition to government austerity measures and murderous repression against landless peasants.

We demand: Cops and courts hands off the Volta Redonda municipal workers union! Police out of the unions! Reinstate Geraldo Ribeiro! Drop all the charges against Geraldo and Marcello!

## WORKERS VANGUARD



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

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No. 649

2 August 1996



# HBO Documentary Details Cop Frame-Up

## Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal made national headlines again following the July 7 airing of "Mumia Abu-Jamal: A Case for Reasonable Doubt?" on Home Box Office. The HBO documentary, produced by the British independent TV network ITN, offers a graphic account of the 1982 frame-up trial and conviction of Jamal—an outspoken journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther—on charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner the previous December.

The HBO special makes it abundantly clear that Jamal's "trial" was a mockery of justice in which evidence was suppressed, black jurors were summarily excluded, witnesses were intimidated and testimony was fabricated. It notes that trial judge Albert Sabo was widely known as a "hanging judge" who has sent more people to death row than any other sitting judge in the U.S. The ITN crew interviewed trial witnesses as well as Jamal's defense lawyer and the prosecutor at the 1982 trial, and brought in independent experts to assess prosecu-

legs, all lies." The HBO documentary takes apart the prosecution's "evidence" against Jamal point by point.

An interview with independent forensic expert Herbert MacDonnell cut the ground from under the prosecution contention that the presence of Jamal's gun at the scene showed he did the shooting. Pointing out that the police did not carry out the most elementary tests, not even smelling the barrel of the revolver to see if the gun had recently been fired, MacDonnell said, "That's not very forensic, that's common sense." MacDonnell concluded that much of the evidence against Jamal at the 1982 trial "would have been seriously questioned and perhaps destroyed by a good cross-examination, which could not be effected because there was no forensic scientist there."

As for Jamal's supposed "confession" when he was at the hospital to be treated for a near-fatal gunshot wound inflicted by Faulkner, the documentary quotes from the official report by Gary Wakshul, the cop who was with Jamal the entire time between his arrest and his medical treatment: "During this time the

HBO documentary widely publicized frame-up of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.



Singletary, who did not appear at the trial. Singletary recounted how the cops intimidated him and repeatedly tore up his statements, in which he wrote that the running man was the shooter. Finally, Singletary recalled, he relented and wrote "word for word" a false statement dictated by the cops, even though he knew Jamal "was being wrongly, falsely accused."

HBO reported how "star" prosecution witness Cynthia White—the only one who claimed to see Jamal shoot Faulkner—was pressured by the cops into repeatedly tailoring her testimony to implicate Jamal in exchange for having charges for prostitution against her dropped. HBO quotes a declaration by Veronica Jones, another prostitute who was present at the scene, declaring that the cops tried to force her to make a similar deal: "They were trying to get me to say something that the other girl said." Jones has recently revealed that days before she took the stand in Jamal's trial, she was intimidated into changing her true statement that she saw two men flee the scene immediately after the shooting. On the basis of this new evidence of police coercion, Jamal's defense team has applied to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court to have his case remanded to the Court of Common Pleas (see "New Evidence of Cop Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal," WV No. 647, 7 June).

In his HBO interview, 1982 trial prosecutor Joseph McGill repeated the argument he used to secure the death sentence against Mumia, namely that Jamal endorsed a Mao Zedong quotation which appeared in the Black Panther newspaper: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." As Mumia has repeatedly emphasized, the murderous repression by the racist capitalist state against the Black Panthers certainly demon-

strated the aptness of that statement! Jamal himself was a target of the FBI's COINTELPRO war against black radicals from the time he emerged as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Philadelphia Black Panthers in 1969.

Though it refers to the voluminous FBI files on Jamal, the HBO documentary does not portray the massive extent of the FBI's racist vendetta against Jamal and the Black Panther Party. The COINTELPRO terror operation left in its wake a bloody trail of frame-ups and assassinations, with 38 Panthers killed and many others imprisoned to this day. The death sentence for Mumia is the long arm of COINTELPRO reaching into the courtroom. As we noted in the PDC pamphlet: "This sinister web of spying, intimidation and frame-up is not an aberration which can be cleansed from the system, as liberals would have it. Rather it goes to the very core of the capitalist state which, with its cops and courts, its prosecutors and executioners, is an instrument for the repression of the working class and the oppressed."

The racist machinery of death grinds on. Last year 56 people were executed; 20 more have been put to death this year. This is the fate the racist rulers seek for Mumia Abu-Jamal. The HBO documentary is a valuable weapon in Jamal's fight, publicizing to a wide audience the facts of the racist frame-up which sent him to death row. But Jamal's case amply demonstrates that any reliance on the capitalist "justice" system is a deadly illusion. It was only after an outpouring of international protest, including from trade unions representing millions of workers, that Jamal's execution was stayed in August 1995. What's urgently needed is to mobilize the social power of the working class and its allies in struggle to demand: **Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!** ■



June 1995 protest in New York City against threatened execution of Jamal.

tion "evidence." The documentary also featured a prison interview with Mumia in which he powerfully reaffirms his innocence. This was the first press interview Jamal had been allowed since his civil suit against prison authorities for cutting him off from the media, a gag order which was recently partially overturned in court (see "Jamal Wins First Round Against Prison Gag Order," WV No. 648, 5 July).

Predictably, the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police went ballistic, calling for a boycott of HBO. When the documentary was rebroadcast on Court TV several days later, it was followed by a "panel discussion"—which included a retired New York cop, a Philadelphia judge and a right-wing D.A.—aimed at drowning the powerful evidence of Jamal's racist frame-up by the cops and courts in a welter of "law and order" bombast. But even an unsympathetic *New York Times* (11 July) review of the HBO documentary grudgingly conceded that it "does construct a strong argument for reasonable doubt."

As we remarked in the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (July 1995), the prosecution's 1982 case—centered on a gun found at the scene, supposed "eyewitnesses" and a sham "confession"—consisted of "three

negro male made no comments." In the HBO interview, Mumia underlines that it took over *two months* for the cops to say anything about a purported "confession"! Furthermore, Dr. Anthony Coletta, the physician who was on duty at the hospital when Jamal and Faulkner were brought in, told HBO:

"I was with Jamal from within a moment or two of him being brought into the emergency room, throughout this entire time in the emergency room and on into intensive care unit, and he neither made any confessions to me nor did he say anything that would be even remotely in the way of a confession to any other individuals."

Even as he lay near death awaiting treatment, Mumia was surrounded by cops, who continued to beat and torture him with guns drawn. Describing the harrowing scene at the hospital, Mumia's sister Lydia Wallace related his words to her from his bed: "I'm innocent, I'm innocent. They're trying to kill me, they're trying to kill me."

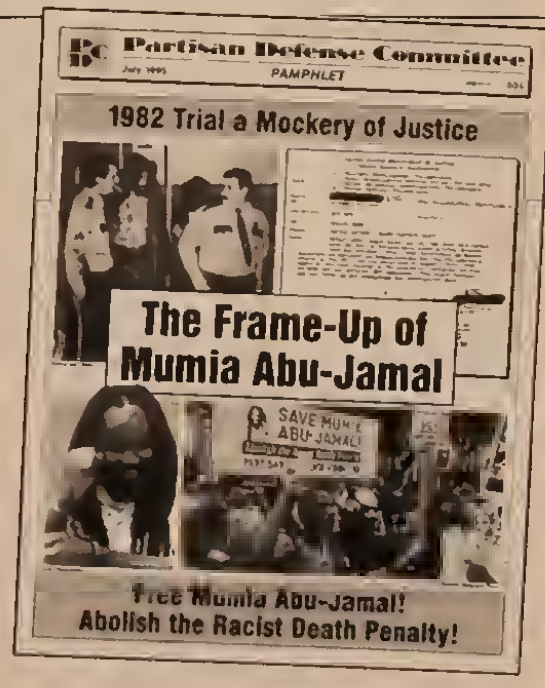
The ITN crew interviewed a number of witnesses present the night Jamal and Faulkner were shot. Dessie Hightower repeated his testimony at the trial that he saw a black man running from the scene of the shooting. As HBO pointed out, Hightower was the only witness at the 1982 trial who never changed his story. HBO also interviewed William

### GET YOUR COPY!

Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, **The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal**, exposing in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party.

**\$.50** (16 pages)

Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee  
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station  
New York, NY 10013







## Protests Demand:

# Drop All Charges Against Chicago Anti-Klan Protesters!

As six of nine anti-Klan protesters arrested last month prepared to enter Chicago's Cook County Circuit Court on July 23, dozens of their supporters chanted, "Chicago is a union town—Drop the charges now! Chicago is a black town—Drop the charges now!" The anti-Klan protesters face up to a year in jail on trumped-up charges stemming from a successful defense against Klan terror on June 29. Instead of dropping the charges, the judge held over the hearing until September 9, consolidating the cases of most of the anti-racist activists. In an obscene provocation, Cook County prosecutors are also attempting to force the anti-Klan protesters to be tried together with the one Klansman who was arrested on June 29.

The united-front picket line demonstration outside the courthouse was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, which together with the Labor Black

**Chicago, July 23: United-front demonstration initiated by Partisan Defense Committee in defense of arrested anti-Klan protesters.**

Struggle League called the June 29 action which resulted in the trouncing of the KKK vermin. Addressing the courthouse rally, PDC counsel Jonathan Piper recounted the violent cop attack against those who came out to stop the Klan on June 29. Piper also described how the "defendants were put in the back of a patrol wagon with the windows shut tight and the engine running in 100-degree weather. That was an outrage designed to punish and intimidate all the protesters. But the intimidation failed, as we can see by the spirited turnout here today."

Among those joining anti-Klan defendants at the courthouse picket were Chicago transit workers and several leftist organizations. In addition to the PDC, LBSL, Spartacist League and Spartacus

Youth Club, endorsers and speakers at the protest included Refuse & Resist and the League for the Revolutionary Party. A young AFL-CIO "Union Summer" participant and a Refuse & Resist activist were among those arrested on June 29, along with supporters of the SL. Also speaking outside the court was a representative of the Coordinadora Internacional en Apoyo del Pueblo de México. A number of newspapers and television and radio stations sent reporters to cover the protest, and CLTV led its 8 a.m. news broadcast with an interview with defendant Gene Herson who is the PDC labor coordinator.

Following the picket, demonstrators cheered the defendants as they entered the courthouse, then followed them into

the hearing. In a tradition from the civil rights movement, when the defendants were told to rise in court, their supporters rose with them. After the hearing, protesters filed out behind the defendants in a powerful display of solidarity. The crowd then gathered at a nearby coffee shop, where the defendants warmly thanked people for turning out.

The July 23 demonstration was endorsed by more than a dozen union locals and labor officials, including Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-507, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 308, the Chicago ATU Black Caucus, and Katie Jordan, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Demonstrators heard statements of support from United Steelworkers District 7, the SEIU (Service Employees) Western Region African-American Caucus, AFSCME Local 3506, Union Summer participants in California and others. As

## Labor Support Grows for Anti-Klan Defendants

**173**  
General Service Employees Union  
SEIU AFL-CIO, CLC  
July 16, 1996

**UNITE!**  
July 16, 1996  
Mr. Jack O'Malley  
States Attorney of Cook County  
60602

**FIRE BRIGADES UNION**  
SCOTTISH REGION  
July 16, 1996

**CANADIAN UNION OF POSTAL WORKERS**  
SYNDICAT DES POSTES DU CANADA  
July 16, 1996

**AFSCME**  
In the public service  
Oakland, California  
July 18, 1996  
Mr. Jack O'Malley,  
States Attorney of Cook County  
Chicago, IL 60602  
We are writing you regarding the arrests, made on June 29th, 1996, of trade unionists, anti-racist activists, and young organizers of the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program. We understand that those arrested were part of an organized effort to counter a staged race-hate provocation by the "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" in downtown Chicago.  
We members of AFSCME Local 444 are water workers of a wide racial and ethnic diversity that we are proud to represent. It boggles our sensibilities that, in the context of the growing arson assaults against black churches in the South, synagogues, and other places of worship, anti-Klan activists are assaulted and arrested by the police. We think, especially in these times, that such anti-racist actions that occurred on June 29th are a performance of a necessary public service. The police should keep their hands off of intelligent workers, unionists, and activists who take the initiative to stop these terrorists in white sheets.  
AFSCME 444 applauds those efforts to sweep race-terror and genocidal maniacs off the streets!  
We appreciate your attention to our concerns, and hope that you and your office will act intelligently and drop the charges against all the anti-Klan protesters.  
Sincerely,  
Dan Virgin, President  
& the membership of AFSCME 444

**LOCAL 82**  
July 18, 1996  
Mr. Jack O'Malley  
States Attorney of Cook County  
Chicago, IL 60602

**INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION**  
Local 10  
July 18, 1996

**NATIONAL PORTAL MAR, MARITIME UNION**  
LOCAL 388 AFL-CIO-CLC  
July 18, 1996

**UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA**  
DISTRICT 7  
July 21, 1996  
Dear Brothers and Sisters  
We send our solidarity to the arrested anti-Klan protesters in the upcoming trial. We strongly support your important action to drive out the KKK and make it clear that racism will not be tolerated. It is important to realize that it is up to the many people who are the intended victims of the KKK—people of color, union members, working-class people in general, and gays and lesbians—to stop the Klan and the hate they preach. Standing by peacefully and begging the police or politicians to do this will never stop the Klan and only disregards the power we can have if we are organized and stand strong. Stop giving immunity to the perpetrators of racist hate and violence!  
As former Union Summer activists, we demand that the AFL-CIO step forward in defending the protesters (some of whom are unionists and one of whom is a Union Summer intern) and stop appeasing the police and politicians who are obviously not serving the interests of the working class or people of color. We demand that all charges be dropped against the anti-Klan protesters.  
With respect, support, and admiration,  
Laura Alveres and Momoko Otani  
Union Summer interns/San José

**LOCAL UNION 308 - AMALGAMATED TRANSIT UNION**  
AFL-CIO-CLC  
Chicago, Illinois  
July 10, 1996  
Mr. Jack O'Malley  
States Attorney of Cook County  
Chicago, IL 60602  
Dear Mr. O'Malley:  
I am outraged that charges have been brought against nine (9) people who demonstrated in Daley Plaza on June 29 against the Ku Klux Klan, while the Chicago Police provided protection for these racist firebombers. Are we to stand back and allow these cowardly terrorists to torch black and latino churches here in Chicago.  
As the Vice President of ATU Local 308, I demand that all charges against the anti-Klan protesters be dropped.  
Sincerely,  
Hector M. Flores  
Vice-President



# Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Stop Racist Terror!

We reprint below a call by the Partisan Defense Committee issued on July 11.

When a gang of KKK nightriders dared show their faces in Daley Plaza on June 29, they found themselves sprawled on the pavement. The united-front defense against Klan terror—initiated on less than 24 hours' notice by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League (LBSL)—brought out nearly 100 outraged unionists, leftists and youth. The Klansmen were stopped as they marched provocatively—armed with bolt-studded shields and flagpoles wielded as clubs—toward the anti-fascist protesters. The trouncing the Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" got was an important affirmation that the KKK cross-burners and lynchers will not be tolerated in Chicago. *This was a victory for all working people and minorities!*

The protesters turned out on June 29 to defend us and ours against the nightriders and cross-burners. The Chicago police came to the rescue of the KKK, attacking the anti-Klan protesters with pepper gas and mace and setting up a line behind which the Klansmen could rally and spew their racist filth. *Nine anti-Klan protesters were arrested on trumped-up charges, including bogus claims of assaulting the police, and now face up to a year in jail.* Those arrested include trade unionists and a young organizer in the AFL-CIO's "Union

Summer" program, as well as anarchists, a supporter of the leftist "Refuse & Resist!" group and several supporters of the PDC and the socialist Spartacist League, with which the PDC and LBSL are affiliated.

Klan "rallies" are an incitement to lynch-mob terror. The profusion of Klan and Nazi actions across the Midwest this summer and last year comes in the context of an ominous and escalating epidemic of arson attacks against black and integrated churches in the South. And it is not just in the South: two weeks before the Klan showed up in downtown Chicago, a cross was burned outside the home of a black family in Blue Island. The KKK terrorists are a deadly threat to blacks, Jews, Hispanics, gays, Catholics, unionists and leftists.

Defense of the anti-Klan protesters arrested on June 29 is a vital necessity for the labor movement and all opponents of racist terror. Just as we stood together against the Klan terrorists on June 29, we must now all stand together in defense of those arrested for doing what's right. An injury to one is an injury to all! Without submerging whatever particular political viewpoints we may have, it is urgent for us all to come together in a *united front* to defend the anti-Klan protesters against victimization. We call on trade unions, black and Hispanic community groups, leftist organizations and all the other would-be victims of the fascist nightriders to turn

out—with your own signs and union banners—on July 23 and the other court dates to demand: *Drop all charges against the anti-Klan protesters!*

Trade unionists know that the KKK is a deadly enemy of organized labor, from the lynchings of labor and civil rights organizers in the past to the cross-burning against a poultry workers' organizing drive in Alabama last year. A big step toward galvanizing the ranks of labor to fight against the current wave of big business assaults on jobs and unions would be for Chicago's integrated labor movement to mobilize its social power in defense of the nine arrested anti-Klan protesters.

In January 1994, unionists from the Chicago area—particularly members of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308—formed a solid core of the PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization when the Klan tried to stage a provocation against Martin Luther King Day in Springfield. And in June 1982, when Hitler lovers tried to stage a vile provocation against Gay Pride Day in Chicago, some 3,000 unionists, blacks, Jews and others turned out for a Spartacist-initiated united-front labor/black mobilization to stop the fascists.

This time as well, there could and should have been thousands in Daley Plaza to stop the Klan. But the plan for the KKK rally—agreed to at least a week earlier by Mayor Daley's Democratic Party administration—was subjected to a news blackout. This was

clearly aimed at preventing a massive, militant outpouring by the Klan's many intended victims as the city's political establishment gets ready to host the Democratic Party convention later this summer. The role of the police and the city authorities on June 29 and before and since should make it clear as day that working people and minorities can rely only on our own organized strength to fight racist terror.

The vendetta now being prosecuted by Cook County State's Attorney Jack O'Malley against the anti-racist demonstrators is yet further evidence that the capitalist "justice" system is a system of racist and anti-working-class injustice. Recently, O'Malley had to release four black men who were shown to have been framed up and falsely imprisoned for 18 years—including well over a decade on death row for two of them—for a 1978 murder that they didn't commit. Under capitalism, racist frame-up is the law of the land. And as the drive to execute outspoken black journalist and death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal shows, the death penalty is racist legal lynching.

If the cops and courts get away with punishing anti-fascist fighters for making a stand against race-hate provocations in this heavily labor, black and minority city, it will be a green light for the racist terrorists everywhere. Behind the police cordon on June 29, one of the Klansmen ranted against blacks, gays and Jews and threatened: "Chicago is a town that we will reclaim." This vile taunt is a direct challenge to labor and minorities to defend our rights and our very lives against the fascist filth. That challenge must be met and defeated. *All out on July 23 and the other court dates! Drop the charges against the anti-Klan protesters!*

the PDC speaker chairing the demonstration explained, the defense campaign "is a continuation of our work mobilizing to stop the fascists and strengthen the working class for social and political struggle."

Letters demanding that the bogus charges against the anti-Klan protesters he dropped have poured in from a wide range of unions, from the ILWU longshore union on the West Coast to the Fire Brigades Union in Scotland. *Black Scholar* editor Robert Allen, in a letter to the Cook County State's Attorney urging that the charges be dropped, wrote: "These demonstrators were protesting the racist, terrorist KKK, which has a long and bloody history of attacking African Americans, Hispanics, Jews, Catholics and many others." Ohio 7 class-war prisoner Jaan Laaman wrote: "I want to send you a Loud, Strong, Red salute of solidarity from all the political prisoners at Leavenworth!" Writing from his prison cell, Laaman hailed the June 29 anti-Klan action as "absolutely necessary," adding: "Protecting, supporting and fighting for those who were arrested is just as necessary."

Several speakers at the united-front courthouse rally pointed to the role of the police in protecting the KKK terrorists. A Spartacist League spokesman linked the resurgence of fascist provocations to the bipartisan government assault on workers and minorities: "Republican and Democratic attacks on unions, on civil rights, on immigrants, on abortion rights—attacks mounted by the capitalists through their parties to smash all opposition to their profit-mad assault on the very ability of America's working and poor people to survive—have emboldened the Klan, whose expressed desire is to claim Chicago for race-terror."

As the fight to stop the racist, union-hating Klan shows, defense of black rights and labor rights cannot be separated. The heavily integrated labor movement must be mobilized in the fight

against racial oppression, particularly in Chicago, which has long been known as "Segregation City." It was in the suburb of Cicero in 1966 that Martin Luther King Jr. was driven out by a rabid racist mob as he led a march for integrated housing. And conditions in Chicago's ghettos have only worsened since then, as the capitalist bosses destroyed thousands upon thousands of unionized industrial jobs. In the absence of labor struggle, the growing despair in the ghettos has fueled the rise of sinister nationalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan.

An LBSL speaker at the protest pointed out: "Farrakhan, the reactionary nationalist demagogue who wanted Malcolm X dead, seeks to turn the anger of the ghetto against Jews and other minorities. Farrakhan's vile anti-Semitism only strengthens the hand of racist reaction. Farrakhan doesn't fight the Klan, he makes deals with them." The speaker counterposed the need for a class-

struggle fight against racial oppression: "Black freedom will only come along the road of proletarian revolution. For labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations to smash Klan terror! We are for a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed!"

The treatment meted out to the arrested anti-Klan protesters by the cops and courts amply shows that relying on the forces of the capitalist state in the fight against racist terror is suicidal. We seek in particular to mobilize the integrated trade unions which represent tens of thousands of workers in Chicago, along with black and Hispanic organizations, youth groups, gay rights groups and all other opponents of Klan/Nazi terror, in mass, militant protest actions. United-front protests, in which a broad range of organizations are free to raise their views in the context of a common action, is the key to defending the June 29 anti-Klan activists and all

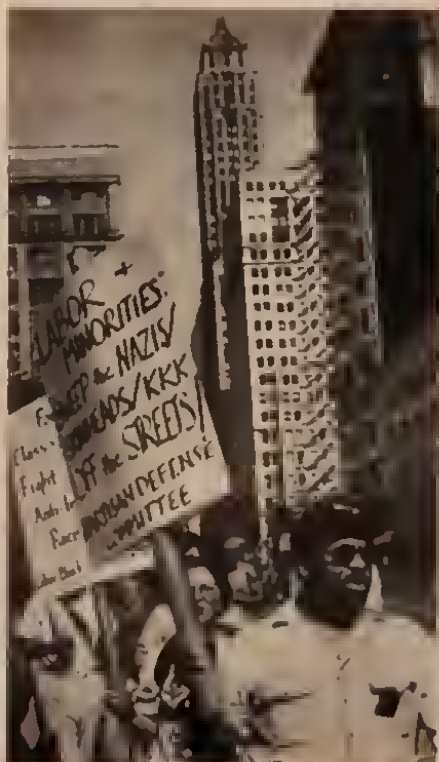
victims of capitalist repression.

The next court date, for defendant Glen Jackson, is July 29, while defendant Dennis Glass is scheduled to appear on August 21. The cases of other defendants will be heard on September 9. The fight to defend the anti-Klan protesters is the fight of us *all*. Pack the courtroom to show your solidarity! Send protest statements to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph St., Chicago, IL 60602.

Send copies of protest statements and urgently needed financial contributions for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to the Partisan Defense Committee.

CHICAGO: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone: (312) 454-4931;

NEW YORK: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone: (212) 406-4252. ■



June 29 protest in Chicago against KKK race-hate provocation. Klan terrorists were trounced, their führer Thomas Robb (standing behind cop) bloodied.



## Rifondazione Comunista: Reformist Prop for Government of Austerity, Racism

MILANO—The victory of the center-left Ulivo (Olive Tree) alliance in the Italian parliamentary elections last April catapulted the social-democratic heirs of the Communist Party (PCI), the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS), into government. This marks the end of 50 years of exclusion of the left from national government. In fact, the PDS was the dominant force in the Ulivo coalition. Yet it was ushered in with the support of Washington, the blessing of the Pope, and the consent of the *Confindustria*, the association of Italian capitalists. It is also supported by most of the Italian left, particularly Rifondazione Comunista (RC), another remnant of the PCI, which postures as a "left" alternative to the PDS but pursues similar reformist politics. Though RC is not yet a formal part of the Ulivo government, the votes of its deputies are decisive in giving the coalition its parliamentary majority.

It was clear from the start that the new government intends to slash social welfare programs, drive down workers' living standards and wage war on immigrants. The Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), section of the International Communist League, opposed any support, however critical, to the class-collaborationist Ulivo coalition, including votes for its RC and PDS components. We declared:

"The Ulivo government will be anti-worker, anti-women, and anti-immigrant. A powerful response by the workers is necessary to defeat the all-sided attack that the bourgeoisie is waging against them.... But for the workers to win, it is necessary to wage a political fight against the PDS, the RC and the trade-union bureaucracy, and to forge a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement."

—"Left Face of Capitalist Austerity in Italy," WV No. 645 (10 May)

### The Ulivo Government: Nationalism and Racism

The Ulivo is a classic, albeit rather right-wing, popular front, a coalition tying parties of the working class to the parties of the bourgeoisie. The new government is headed by the anti-abortion Catholic prime minister Romano Prodi. It includes Christian Democrats who were rescued from the "Bribe City" (*tangentopoli*) scandal and are supported by the Catholic hierarchy, the "aspiring nun" Rosy Bindi, two recent prime ministers who were both leading figures in the Bank of Italy—Lamberto Dini and

Carlo Azeglio Ciampi—as well as Antonio Di Pietro, the former magistrate in the *mani pulite* (clean hands) "anti-corruption" campaign.

Immediately upon taking power, the center-left coalition reached out to the far right wing on the basis of virulent Italian chauvinism. In his inaugural speech as president of parliament—and again at a fascist-organized meeting at the University of Palermo—PDSer Luciano Violante called for "respect" for "the honest choice" of those who had supported the fascist Mussolini. Another PDS member, Assistant Defense Minister Massimo Brutti, honored the head of Mussolini's air force, Italo Balbo, on the

the 1980s and '90s. It was in the name of the popular front that the PCI disarmed the anti-fascist *Resistenza* when Italian workers had power in their reach at the close of World War II, thus opening the road to the consolidation of bourgeois rule and a wave of anti-working-class repression.

The LTd'I's warnings were confirmed as soon as the new government came to power. One of its first acts was to renew the racist decree of the Dini government which allows immigrants to be sent to prison for not having proper documentation or for demonstrating "a standard of living that is too high"! Simultaneously, mobilizations of racist

of the country are still a small minority. The CLP's real fire has been directed at immigrants. Bossi has organized a large "security squad" dressed in green shirts (the uniform of the Romanian fascists in the 1930s). As his goons brutally expelled a state television crew from a Northern League meeting at Pontida in June, Bossi screamed in German for the TV crew to get out, "Raus! Raus!" These racists have also organized paramilitary patrols in Milano to throw immigrant vendors out of the street markets. In Monza, a city in the industrial belt north of Milano, Bossi's Green Shirts organized a racist demonstration of 150 people against Southern Italians.



Fiorani/Sintesi

Immigrants face racist attacks from center-left "Olive Tree" coalition government, which includes the Party of the Democratic Left, led by Massimo D'Alema (right).

centenary of his birth. And at the June 2 festivities celebrating the 50th anniversary of the republic, President Luigi Scalfaro called for allowing the return to the country of the heirs of the Savoy monarchy, whose reign ended after the fall of Mussolini and who are currently banned from the country by the constitution. Senate vice president Ersilia Salvato, an RC leader, pointedly refused to oppose this reactionary proposal.

The LTd'I has consistently warned, both during the 1994 parliamentary election campaign of the "Progressive" coalition of the PDS, RC, Greens and others and during the Ulivo campaign this spring, that the popular front in power would lead to an increase in racist terror and all-sided reaction. This is the bitter lesson of the popular front, from Spain in the 1930s to Allende's Chile in the 1970s to Mitterrand's France in

terror have increased in the streets. The SAP police "union" launched vigilante squads including off-duty cops to patrol the streets at night against "drugs and prostitution," code words aimed at immigrants. On June 9 and again on June 13, the heavily immigrant San Salvario quarter of Torino was besieged by mobs of racists shouting "N-----s equal drug-pushers."

The elections also emboldened the racist Northern League of Umberto Bossi, which garnered an unexpectedly strong vote of 10 percent nationally and as much as 30 percent in parts of the North. Following the election, Bossi set up the Committee for the Liberation of Padania (CLP), aimed at securing the secession of the wealthier Northern part of the country from the poverty-stricken South. Even within Bossi's movement, those who want to separate from the rest



Merlini/Team

In the 1950s and 1960s, internal migration from the South provided the basis for industrial development in the Northern regions. The labor of Southern workers enriched those sections of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie in Northern Italy who are today screaming for secession. Many of these workers still live in the industrial centers of the North, and in Monza there was a spontaneous reaction by passers-by against the racist Green Shirt provocation.

Over the years, the Italian working class has demonstrated its combativity. The question is one of revolutionary leadership. What is needed are mass mobilizations of workers and immigrants to smash racist terror and fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants and their families. The primary agent of racist terror against immigrants is the bourgeois state, with its police, jails and judges. Workers must fight to rid the union movement of cops. We call for powerful united-front protest actions by the organized workers movement, joining with all the oppressed, to stop racist deportations.

Not only is the popular front opposed to defending immigrants, it is in the forefront of the racist terror campaign. RC disgustingly amnestied the anti-immigrant provocation in San Salvario on June 13—in which it participated—calling it a "festival" and denying it was racist because there were "banners against criminality and slogans against the local administration" (*Liberazione*, 12 June). Yet this "festival" was mostly made up of the fascist thugs of the Italian Social Movement/National Alliance (MSI/AN). Taking its cue from the San Salvario gangs, the PDS in Nichelino, a suburb of Torino, went so far as to propose "patrols made up of the unemployed" which could "bring suspect

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Anti-abortion prime minister Romano Prodi (left) owes his parliamentary majority to the votes of Rifondazione Comunista, headed by Fausto Bertinotti (right).



La Repubblica



## Washington Buys Russian Elections

Boris Yeltsin's re-election as president of Russia in a July 3 runoff ballot was cheered by Western stock markets. The capitalist media exulted that the defeat of Yeltsin's opponent, Gennadi Zyuganov, meant "The End of Russian Communism"—though, in fact, Zyuganov's Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) is a thoroughly bourgeois-nationalist party. And U.S. president Bill Clinton hailed Yeltsin's victory as evidence that the Russian people had "turned their backs on tyranny" and were "turning the corner towards freedom."

For all its lingo about promoting Russian "democracy," Washington enthusiastically welcomed Yeltsin's embrace of the sinister ex-general Aleksandr Lebed, an open advocate of bonapartist "order." Lebed's appointment to the powerful position of national security chief was in fact the most significant outcome of the election. This strident chauvinist and virulent anti-Semite is a self-professed admirer of former Chilean military dictator Augusto Pinochet, whose 1973 coup led to the slaughter of tens of thousands of Chilean workers and peasants. In particular, Lebed holds up Pinochet as a model for combining police-state terror with "free market" economics dictated by Wall Street.

The elections were immediately followed by a sharp escalation in terror against dark-skinned people. Seizing on mysterious rush-hour bombings of trolley buses in Moscow a week after the elections, Mayor Yuri Luzhkov, a key Yeltsin ally, claimed these were terrorist acts carried out by the "Chechen diaspora." Targeting Chechens and other Caucasian and Central Asian peoples, Luzhkov vowed to round up and expel "not only homeless down-and-outs but also those elements we consider dangerous."

At the same time, Yeltsin flagrantly repudiated his pre-election promise to end the unpopular war in Chechnya, a traditionally Muslim region in the Caucasus conquered by the tsarist empire in the early 19th century. Only days after the election, in the fiercest attack in months, Russian artillery bombarded two villages near the Chechen capital of Grozny, killing dozens of civilians. In the past year and a half, over 30,000 people, mainly civilians, have been killed in the savage colonial-style war in Chechnya and 600,000 have been driven from their homes. We of the International Communist League call for the defeat of the Russian invasion forces and for the right of Chechnya to decide its own fate.



Days after re-election, Yeltsin violated truce in Chechnya, launching bloody army assault on Chechen towns.

Russian president Yeltsin with Imperialist patron Clinton. Below: Yeltsin's new national security chief Aleksandr Lebed, surrounded by Cossack admirers, a sinister chauvinist who seeks "strongman" rule.



Only six months ago, the Russian president had sunk to a 6 percent approval rating in opinion polls and ranked seventh in a field of presidential contenders. As late as mid-March, Yeltsin had all the preparations in the works for canceling the elections outright. As a report by David Remnick in the *New Yorker* (15 July) details: "One of Yeltsin's aides had already drafted a series of *ukazi*—decrees—on the dissolution of Parliament, the banning of the Communist Party, and the cancellation of the June 16th elections." Fearing destabilization and wanting to maintain some façade of "democracy," Yeltsin's imperialist patrons instead "bought the elections fair and square."

In the months before the elections, the imperialists showered \$14 billion in

loans on the Russian regime. Yeltsin promised to pay \$1.6 billion in back wages for workers in the public sector, to help clear up \$4 billion in unpaid wages in private industry, to write off debts of collective and private farmers, to raise pensions and student benefits, etc.

The Russian president and his imperialist backers wasted no time reneging on these promises: The post-election cold shower served only to underscore a *Washington Post* (5 July) headline which acknowledged that "Hard-Up Workers Greet Yeltsin Win with Little Joy." Indeed, it is a measure of the pervasive immiseration produced by capitalist restoration that despite the demonization and fear-mongering in the Russian media that a KPRF victory would mean a return to the Stalinist gulag, some 40 million people voted for Zyuganov.

Yet for Marxists there could be no question of extending any support to Zyuganov in the presidential elections. As we wrote after the KPRF won more than a third of the seats in the Russian Duma (parliament) elections last December:

"While many people supported Zyuganov's Communist Party because they lived better under the Soviet collectivized and planned economy, despite its bureaucratic deformations, the heavy vote for the KPRF does not represent a step forward for the working class in Russia. Despite its red flags and talk of restoring the Soviet Union, the KPRF is neither a communist nor even a reformist working-class party, but rather a bourgeois-nationalist party which promotes Russia's imperial ambitions."

The plight of Russia's working people and subjugated nationalities will not be bettered by replacing one set of nationalist thieves and butchers at the head of the Russian capitalist state with another.

What is necessary is the reawakening of the dormant working class and its entry into the arena of class struggle, fighting for its interests and those of all the oppressed on the road to a socialist revolution that sweeps away the new exploiters and their state. Key to this is the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party of the working class.

### "Wild Capitalism" and Would-Be Bonapartes

By the time of the first round of the elections in mid-June, it was expected that Yeltsin and Zyuganov would finish neck-and-neck in front. What was not expected was the strong showing of Lebed, who came in third with 15 percent of the vote. It turned out that Lebed's campaign was largely financed by the Yeltsin camp in order to take votes away from Zyuganov. The tactic worked as the bellicose ex-general effectively co-opted the main themes of the KPRF campaign—exaltation of traditional Russian culture, advocacy of a strong state dominating the region of the former USSR, "law and order," and a crackdown on pervasive government corruption. When asked by the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (24 June) whether he intended to become president at the end of Yeltsin's term, Lebed replied, "Possibly sooner." No sooner had the final votes been tallied than another power struggle erupted in and around the Kremlin, with Lebed pitted against Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, spokesman for the powerful natural gas monopoly, and newly reappointed economic czar Anatoly Chubais, a darling of the Western bankers.

Lebed's meteoric rise expresses a powerful tendency in post-Soviet Russia for a "strongman" who can tame the present conditions of "wild capitalism," well described by American economist Rudi Dornbusch:

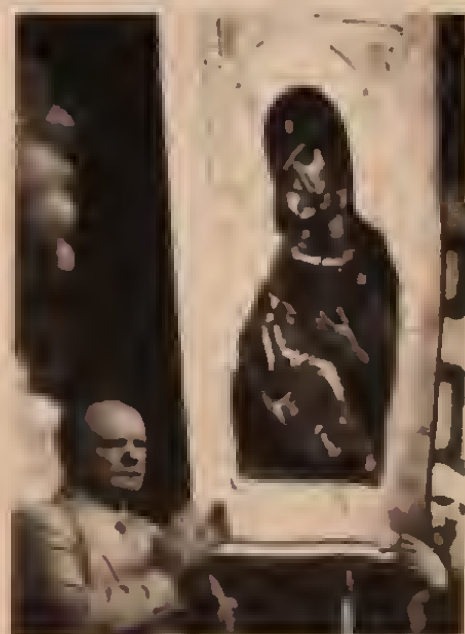
"Around the world, the lobbies of five-star hotels are now full of champagne-sipping Russian gangsters who gained control of state-owned assets. Yes, there are opportunities in Russia—enough to get many thousands of criminals instant wealth. But that wealth is created by corruption, theft, and violence on a scale probably unprecedented in history...."

"Property rights are mostly a matter of how much more an investor is likely to put up in the future. And physical safety has to do with who shoots faster."

—Business Week (15 April)

Russia's new capitalists very much want to establish more Western-style rules of

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KPRF leader Gennadi Zyuganov, embodiment of Russian chauvinist "red-brown" coalition.



# Young Spartacus

Parts One through Three of this series (published in Workers Vanguard Nos. 640, 641 and 642) dealt with the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures such as Proudhon and Bakunin, up through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Parts Four and Five (published in WV Nos. 643 and 646) analyzed the anarchist and syndicalist movements in the period preceding World War I. The next and concluding part will discuss the impact of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and the formation of the Communist International.

by Joseph Seymour

A famous American tale by the early 19th-century writer Washington Irving tells of "Rip van Winkle." Rip, a ne'er-do-well villager in New York's Hudson River Valley, drinks a magic brew shortly before the American War of Independence and sleeps for the next 20 years. He awakens in a strange and totally unanticipated political world. Having fallen asleep as a subject of King George III of England, he now finds himself a citizen of a new republic, the United States of America, with a president named George Washington, someone he had never heard of before.

If a left-wing Rip van Winkle in Europe or North America had fallen asleep in 1913 and woken up ten years later, he too would have found the political world utterly unknown and totally unexpected. He would have seen former anarchist and syndicalist militants now joined together with erstwhile left-wing Social Democrats (Marxists) in a new international movement calling itself Communist, a term not widely used on the left for half a century before then. Other leading pre-war anarcho-syndicalists would be found allied with socialist parliamentarians against the Communists. He would find that anarchism and syndicalism simply no longer existed as significant tendencies. At the same time, those parties still calling themselves Social Democratic had openly repudiated proletarian revolution in favor of class collaboration and nationalist militarism, and in many cases had ministers in various European capitalist governments.

In France before 1914, the syndicalist Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor—CGT) had been the dominant labor organization. Now there existed two rival trade-union federations, one affiliated with the Communists, the other with the reformist Socialist party. In Italy, the homeland of the Bakuninist movement in the 1860s and '70s, anarchism had been marginalized and the newly formed Communist Party was hegemonic on the far left. In the United States before World War I, the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) had been the most important organization to the left of the Socialist Party. But by the early 1920s, both the Socialist Party and the IWW had become empty shells: all the vital, combative, forward-looking elements of the American left had regrouped into the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky.

Only in Spain did the anarchists and syndicalists continue to represent a major component of the workers movement into the 1920s. This Iberian exceptionalism derived in large part from the fact that Spain was not a combatant in the first imperialist world war. Hence the Spanish left did not experience the wrenching struggles between

## MARXISM VS. ANARCHISM

### From 1848 to the Bolshevik Revolution



Robert Hunt Picture Library

#### Part 6 1914-1918: Imperialist War and the Realignment of the Left



**Bolshevik parliamentary deputies (above) exiled to Siberia for carrying out agitation against World War I, which slaughtered millions of workers. Right: Manifesto of 1915 Zimmerwald antiwar conference, drafted by Leon Trotsky.**

social-chauvinists and internationalists which dominated working-class politics elsewhere in Europe and also in North America.

Pre-1914 Social Democracy, anarchism and syndicalism died on the battlefields of Tannenberg and the Somme,

Verdun and Caporetto along with millions of European youth. Despite their differences, the foremost "orthodox" Marxist, Karl Kautsky, the leading anarchist Peter Kropotkin and the French syndicalist founder Fernand Pelloutier shared certain basic premises. All were

shaped by the stability of the European bourgeois order, the steady growth of the workers movement and the relative democratic freedoms available to them at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The leaders and theoreticians of the main currents of Social Democracy, anarchism and syndicalism believed the era of violent revolutions and counterrevolutions in West and Central Europe lay in the past. They all looked forward to the establishment of a just, egalitarian and humane society by essentially "civilized" means supported or at least accepted by all reasonable men of good will.

This rosy vision of orderly social revolution was blown to smithereens by the guns of August 1914. In the first volume of his insightful biography of Trotsky, *The Prophet Armed* (1954), the Polish Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher explained how future Communists were forged in the charnel house that had become Europe:

"The slaughter of the next few years, in which millions of people laid down their lives to wrest a few yards of land from the enemy, taught them to despise and hate the humanitarian façades and shams of the European body politic. They concluded that if civilized governments in pursuit of their national power-politics found it possible to exterminate millions of people and to maim scores of millions, then it was surely the Socialists' duty to shrink from no sacrifice in the struggle for a new social order that would free mankind from such folly. The old order was giving them a lesson in ruthlessness. The 'Gothic lace-work' of European civilization had been torn to pieces and was being trampled into the mud and blood of the trenches."

#### The Trauma of August 1914

The full-scale European war which broke out in August 1914 had been anticipated and feared on the left. Almost three decades earlier, Friedrich Engels had predicted with startling precision:

"The only war left for Prussia-Germany to wage will be a world war, a world war, moreover, of an extent and violence hitherto unimagined. Eight to ten million soldiers will be at each others' throats and in the process they will strip Europe bare as a swarm of locusts. The depredations of the Thirty Years' War compressed into three to four years and extended over the entire continent: famine, disease, the universal lapse into barbarism...."

—Introduction to Sigismund Borkheim's pamphlet, *In Memory of the German Blood-and-Thunder Patriots, 1806-1807* (1887)

In the following years, the issue of militarism and how to struggle against it became a dominant concern in the Second (Socialist) International, one which increasingly demarcated its left and right wings. A resolution on militarism adopted at the International's 1907 Congress in Stuttgart, Germany concluded with an amendment proposed by Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and the Russian Menshevik leader Julius Martov:

"If a war threatens to break out, it is the duty of the working class and of its parliamentary representatives in the countries involved, supported by the consolidating activity of the International [Socialist] Bureau, to exert every effort to prevent the outbreak of war by means they consider most effective...."

"Should war break out nonetheless, it is their duty to intervene in favor of its speedy termination and to do all in their power to utilize the economic and political crisis caused by the war to rouse the peoples and thereby to hasten the abolition of capitalist class rule."

The German Social Democracy (SPD) in this period was generally regarded as a model of a Marxist-led workers party and the central core of the international socialist movement. Hence, when on



4 August 1914 the Social Democratic fraction in the German Reichstag (parliament) voted for war credits, the effect on revolutionary Marxists the world over was traumatic. Luxemburg suffered a nervous collapse in reaction to the wave of national chauvinism which swept the German social-democratic workers movement. Lenin at first refused to believe the report of the Reichstag vote in the SPD's organ, *Vorwärts*, dismissing that issue as a forgery by the Kaiser's government. In his autobiography, *My Life* (1930), Trotsky recounts his feelings at the time:

"The telegram telling of the capitulation of the German Social Democracy shocked me even more than the declaration of war, in spite of the fact that I was far from a naive idealizing of German socialism.... I did not expect the official leaders of the International, in case of war, to prove themselves capable of serious revolutionary initiative. At the same time, I could not even admit the idea that the Social Democracy would simply cower on its belly before a nationalist militarism."

What the German Social Democracy was for Marxists before 1914, the French Confédération Générale du Travail was for syndicalists and many anarchists: the strongest and most respected workers organization internationally representing their doctrine and tradition. For example, in 1913 the American IWW journal *Solidarity* published a translation of the pamphlet "French Syndicalism" by CGT general secretary Léon Jouhaux. Year after year, the French syndicalist leaders had solemnly proclaimed that they would respond to a declaration of war with a revolutionary general strike. But when war was in fact declared, they immediately joined the "union sacrée" in defense of the French capitalist state, with Jouhaux preaching "hatred of German imperialism" as he spoke for "those who are going off to war."

Peter Kropotkin's support for Britain, France and Russia against the Central Powers came as probably an even greater shock to anarchist militants than the German Social Democrats' infamous vote for war credits was to Luxemburg, Lenin and Trotsky. Kropotkin had hitherto been regarded as a man of unimpeachable revolutionary integrity and idealism, not only by anarchists but also by many non-anarchist leftists. Born into the upper echelons of the Russian nobility, he had been living in exile in England for three decades when the war broke out. The proponent of the solidarity of the human community at once became indistinguishable from the most rabid British or French chauvinist. Even a highly sympathetic biography acknowledges that "all Kropotkin did, like any militarist, was to talk of bigger and better cannons, to exhort his friends to 'defend themselves like wild beasts,' and to repeat the current exaggerated atrocity stories of the Germans 'fighting like devils and trampling on all the rules of humanity'" (George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Anarchist Prince* [1950]). The old Russian populist and anarchist now defended the tsarist imperial state with the lame argument that the military alliance with Britain and France would result in a "strengthening of the liberalizing forces in Russia."

Kropotkin's pro-war views were by no means an individual aberration within the anarchist movement. The leading intellectual lights of the anarchist movement in France—Jean Grave, Charles Malato, Paul Reclus—came to the defense of their "own" capitalist state. The Austrian anarchist scholar Max Nettlau, a recognized authority on Bakunin's life and writings, likewise supported the war, in his case on the side of the Central Powers—Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany and the Habsburg Austro-Hungarian empire.

Men and women who had worked closely together for years, even decades, became bitter political enemies over-



W.W. Norton & Co. photos

Traitorous leaders of Social Democracy like Friedrich Ebert (left) helped mobilize young German workers for fratricidal slaughter.

night. Lenin denounced Kautsky, whom he had previously respected as the outstanding contemporary Marxist theoretician, as a "consummate hypocrite and a past master in the art of prostituting Marxism." The veteran Italian Bakuninist Errico Malatesta now branded Kropotkin, his "old and beloved friend," as a "government anarchist." French syndicalist leader Alphonse Merrheim, as Lenin recounted in an article on the 1915 Zimmerwald antiwar conference, bitterly declared: "The party, Jouhaux, and the government are three heads beneath the same cap" (Robert Wohl, *French Communism in the Making, 1914-1924* [1966]).

Antiwar socialists, syndicalists and anarchists found they had far more in common with one another than with their former comrades and co-thinkers turned chauvinists and militarists. The realignment of the left manifested itself most clearly in France, where all tendencies in the socialist, syndicalist and anarchist movements were well represented.

Before 1914 the two main poles of the French workers movement had been the "orthodox" Marxist faction of Jules Guesde in the Socialist party and the syndicalist CGT, with the eclectic socialist Jean Jaurès acting as an intermediary between the two. Jaurès was assassinated by a right-wing royalist fanatic on the eve of the war. Guesde and Jouhaux became twin pillars of the *union sacrée*: the "Marxist" socialist as minister without portfolio in the "Cabinet of National

Defense," the syndicalist union leader as a "commissioner of the nation."

The relatively small number of French leftists who opposed the war organized themselves around the Committee for the Resumption of International Relations. The core and best-known figures in this group were revolutionary syndicalists—Alphonse Merrheim, Pierre Monatte and Alfred Rosmer—who were joined by dissident socialists and anarchists, some of them fresh from the trenches. Leon Trotsky, in exile in France until his expulsion from the country in 1916, played an important and in a sense leading role in organizing and directing these antiwar militants. Also centrally involved was another Russian émigré revolutionary, Salomon Lozovsky, at the time a wayward right Bolshevik, who later became head of the trade-union international affiliated with the Communist International. The French left-syndicalists' international sympathies were deepened by their close collaboration with the two Russians, which brought them into contact with a kind of Marxism then unknown in West Europe. One French veteran of the Committee later recalled how Trotsky and Lozovsky "talked of making a revolution as if they meant it."

To be sure, the differences between Marxian socialism, syndicalism and anarchism remained valid and important in terms of how to organize society after the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it made no sense to debate this question with men who, in close and direct

collaboration with the bourgeoisie, were actively supporting their own capitalist states. The fundamental dividing line between revolutionaries and reformists, between internationalists and social-chauvinists, superseded the prewar categories of socialism, syndicalism and anarchism.

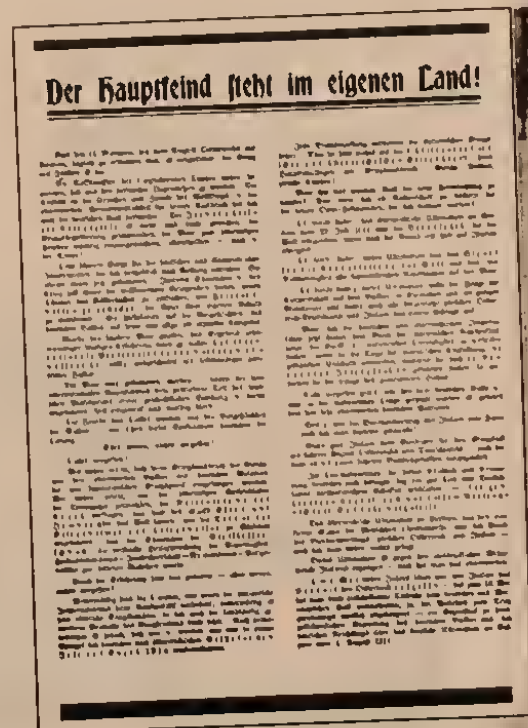
## Behind Social-Patriotism

The formation of the Communist International in 1919, under the profound impact of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, culminated the realignment of the left which had begun in August 1914. The development of the Zimmerwald anti-militarist movement was especially a direct precursor of the Comintern. However, by no means all of the antiwar leftists of 1914 joined the Communist International. For example, the Russian Menshevik Julius Martov, who considered himself an "orthodox" Marxist, the French syndicalist Alphonse Merrheim and the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta all came out against the war and denounced the chauvinism and militarism of their erstwhile co-thinkers. Yet all three would oppose the Communist International and instead respectively seek to revive (though without success) the Social Democratic, syndicalist and anarchist movements as they had existed before 1914. After the war, Martov and Merrheim would reunite with the main currents of Social Democracy and chauvinist syndicalism.

Why had the principal organizations of the working class, whether led by purported Marxists (Germany) or syndicalists (France), betrayed their declared principles and supported their own capitalist states in the European imperialist war? Why were men like Kropotkin, who had devoted their entire lives to the cause of social revolution, suffering imprisonment and exile for their beliefs, now defending the very regimes that had persecuted them and their comrades? Was the collapse into social-chauvinism rooted in the nature of the pre-1914 Social Democratic, syndicalist and anarchist movements? The way in which these questions were answered would in large part determine which antiwar leftists became Communists and which did not.

Like all important and complex historical developments, the social-patriotism which engulfed the European left with the outbreak of the First World War had many causes operating at different levels. At one level, social-patriotism represented the bureaucratization of the workers movement in West and Central Europe, which had increasingly manifested itself in strong opportunist tendencies. As Lenin wrote in

continued on page 10



Declaration by heroic German revolutionary socialist Karl Liebknecht: "The Main Enemy is at Home!"



Dietz Verlag



## Anarchism...

(continued from page 9)

March 1915:

"Certain strata of the working class (the bureaucracy of the labor movement and the labor aristocracy, who get a fraction of the profits from the exploitation of the colonies and from the privileged position of their 'fatherlands' in the world market), as well as petty-bourgeois sympathizers within the socialist parties, have proved the social mainstay of these [opportunist] tendencies and channels of bourgeois influence over the proletariat."

—"The Conference of the RSDLP Groups Abroad"

The difference between reformism and revolutionary leadership is not the fight for reforms, but the acceptance—"for now"—of capitalism. Reformists therefore seek to collaborate with their "own" bourgeoisie, especially with the much-looked-for "progressive wing" (a category which already by 1914 had little significance, above all in the imperialist countries). As the bourgeoisie is by its nature national in scope, the idea of a "national interest" between us and "our" bosses is a crucial underpinning of the whole reformist endeavor.

The material root of reformism is the social divisions within the working class: the privileged outlook of the so-called "aristocracy of labor" which—under conditions in which the working class is not



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Prominent anarchist Peter Kropotkin (left) was branded a "government anarchist" by longtime colleague Errico Malatesta (right) for supporting Imperialist Britain, France and Russia in World War I.

tant and accepted role in the economic and political life of the French Third Republic.

The second generation of CGT leaders was personified by Léon Jouhaux, who became the organization's general secretary in 1909 at the age of 30. By then the CGT leadership was busy negotiating wage agreements with employers' associations and discussing legislation with Socialist parliamentarians. Even before the war, Jouhaux showed a strong incli-

from the leadership to the ranks. If the syndicalist leaders had attempted to resist the war mobilization, he contended, "the working class...would not have left to the police the job of shooting us; they would have shot us themselves" (quoted in *French Communism in the Making*).

Merrheim was here confusing, deliberately, two different questions. One is whether the syndicalist leaders should have opposed the war; the other is how they should have acted on the basis of that opposition. Obviously, there was no question of attempting the oft-threatened general strike against the war mobilization. Even a small protest demonstration might have been adventurist in the conditions of August 1914. The principled and effective course of action for revolutionaries was to carry out antiwar propaganda and agitation in the factories and the army under conditions of illegality, even in the face of imprisonment.

Here the difference between the French syndicalists and the Russian Bolsheviks is strikingly clear. In Russia, too, the outbreak of war produced impassioned support for the government on the part of the masses, including the industrial working class. In his *History of the Russian Revolution* (1932), Trotsky recounts: "The revolutionary ideas were barely kept glowing in small and hushed circles. In the factories in those days nobody dared to call himself 'Bolshevik' for fear not only of arrest, but of a beating from the backward workers."

Nonetheless, the Bolshevik Party was militantly opposed to the war and this was generally known throughout the Russian empire. The Bolshevik deputies in the Duma (the impotent parliamentary body set up by the tsarist autocracy) voted against the war credits and were duly sent to exile in Siberia. In the factories, the small and hushed circles of Bolsheviks grew larger and more vocal as the initial patriotic fervor gave way to war-weariness and hostility to the tsarist regime. Precisely because the Bolsheviks had courageously opposed the social-patriotism of the masses in 1914, three

years later they were able to lead the mass of workers in socialist revolution, replacing the Romanov autocracy and the bourgeois liberal government of Aleksandr Kerensky with a government of workers and peasants councils (soviets).

Social-patriotism cannot be fully or adequately explained by the careerist ambitions and/or political cowardice of various leading figures in the workers movement. The large majority of worker militants in West and Central Europe—heads of local unions, shop stewards, secretaries of socialist party branches—strongly supported the war while still regarding themselves as good socialists or good syndicalists. German Social Democrats saw themselves defending their organizations—and therefore the future of socialism in Germany—against tsarist Russian imperialism. French socialists and syndicalists believed they were defending the future social revolution in France against the imperialism of Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany. The ideological root cause of social-patriotism in the First World War lay in the essentially national conception of social revolution prevalent in all major tendencies of the European workers movement.

Polemizing against Stalin's doctrine of "socialism in one country" as applied to Soviet Russia in the 1920s, Trotsky observed that pre-1914 German Social Democracy had also believed in socialism in one country:

"The patriotism of the German social democrats began as a legitimate patriotism to their own party, the most powerful party of the Second International. On the basis of the highly developed German technology and the superior organizational qualities of the German people, the German social democracy prepared to build its 'own' socialist society. If we leave aside the hardened bureaucrats, careerists, parliamentary sharpers, and political crooks in general, the social-patriotism of the rank and file social democrat was derived precisely from the belief in building German socialism. It is impossible to think that hundreds of thousands of rank and file social democrats (let alone the millions of rank and file workers) wanted to defend the Hohenzollerns [ruling dynasty] or the bourgeoisie. No. They wanted to protect German industry, the German railways and highways, German technology and culture, and especially the organizations of the German working class, as the 'necessary and sufficient' national prerequisites for socialism."

—*The Third International After Lenin* (1928)

Exactly the same could be said of French nationalism and the French syndicalists. Indeed, the syndicalists were even more explicit in espousing a nationally self-sufficient workers revolution. The CGT's 1906 Charter of Amiens declared: "The trade union, which is today a fighting organization, will in the future be an organization for production and distribution, and the basis for social reorganization." Neither in this statement of basic principles nor in any other programmatic document did the French syndicalists project that such a social reorganization would or should be on a



Musée Social

French revolutionary syndicalist Alfred Rosmer conducted antiwar agitation in the paper of the metal workers union (white spaces show government censorship).



united for revolutionary aims—feels its immediate interests counterposed to those of the minorities, the youth, the unskilled, not to mention the oppressed colonial masses. This relatively better-off layer of the exploited is the social basis for the labor bureaucracy.

The leadership of the German trade unions had long been the core social base of the SPD right wing. The union leaders consistently and effectively opposed the campaign of the SPD left led by Rosa Luxemburg to organize mass strikes against the anti-democratic suffrage laws in Prussia. Some SPD rightists, notably Gustav Noske, were so open and vocal in their defense of German imperialist interests that they were taken to task for this by the party's immensely respected founding father, August Bebel (who died in 1913).

The bureaucratization of the French syndicalist movement was less developed than that of German Social Democracy and the division between its left and right wings not as clear-cut or long standing. The founding fathers of the CGT such as Pelloutier and the former anarchist militant Emile Pouget were genuinely dedicated to the emancipation of the working class. However, their "children" inherited a going concern which had come to play an impor-

nation to abandon or water down the union movement's revolutionary traditions in order to expand its influence. Taken to task by some anarchists for lack of militancy, the Jouhaux leadership responded in 1913:

"We strongly reaffirm our right, in accord with the whole of organized labor, to modify our forms of recruitment and of propaganda in line with the modifications introduced in the domain of industry by our adversaries. In our opinion, a movement which failed to take account of the transformations going on about it and froze in a fixed attitude would be a movement without life, without influence, without future."

—quoted in Val R. Lorwin, *The French Labor Movement* (1966)

One can say of Jouhaux as of Noske that the war simply provided the perfect opportunity to realize their deeply rooted opportunist appetites.

If some Social Democratic and syndicalist leaders supported the war to further their careers, others did so out of political, and in some cases personal, cowardice. That is, they capitulated before the wave of chauvinist hysteria which engulfed the masses in August 1914. After the war Merrheim, who was then moving to the right, sought to explain away the CGT's collapse by shifting the burden of responsibility



no credit

Russian and Austrian soldiers fraternizing at the front in 1917. Increasing war-weariness led to radicalization of European masses.



Europe-wide and ultimately worldwide basis. Nor did they consider how long a social revolution in France could survive if the rest of Europe, centrally Germany, remained capitalist.

The emphasis on decentralization and local autonomy central to anarchist and syndicalist doctrine made these movements prone to national forms of organization. The Socialist International, founded in 1889, was a federation of national parties. An attempt in 1907 to form a rival anarchist international was stillborn. The syndicalist movement—numbering tens of thousands of militants in various countries in this period—had no international body at all.

What "proletarian internationalism" meant in the syndicalist movement was mutual support among workers organizations that were essentially national in character. The leaders of the French CGT were ever willing to defend, through financial contributions and publicity, Italian or American syndicalist militants who were being persecuted by their own bourgeois states. But it would have been unthinkable for French syndicalists that the leaders of Unione Sindacale Italiana or the American IWW should have a decisive say in determining the program and policies of the French workers movement. And of course the reverse was just as true.

The contradiction in French syndicalism between its anti-militarism and hostility to imperialism on the one hand and its nationally limited concept of social revolution on the other was exploded by the First World War. Some leading syndicalists like Monatte and Rosmer moved forward to Communist internationalism; others such as Jouhaux and eventually Merrheim moved backward to trade-union reformism.

## Kropotkin and Anarcho-Chauvinism

The material pressures underlying social-patriotism in the mass workers organizations were not applicable to the anarchist movement, made up as it was of relatively small groups of adherents to this philosophy. Kropotkin, Jean Grave, Max Nettlau and the other pro-war anarchists were not motivated by bureaucratic careerism, nor were they confronted with pervasive chauvinist prejudices among their rank-and-file supporters. Quite the contrary. The large majority of anarchists were appalled by the bellicosity of Kropotkin and his co-thinkers.

They were also greatly puzzled by it. Errico Malatesta accused his old comrade of a kind of political amnesia: "Kropotkin seems to have forgotten the antagonism of the classes, the necessity of economic emancipation, and all the anarchist teachings" (quoted in *The*



Revolutionary Marxist Rosa Luxemburg, shown speaking in 1907, denounced growing conservatism of German Social Democratic Party leaders even before the war.

*Anarchist Prince*). A group of Russian anarchists in Switzerland found the support by prominent anarchists to the Western imperialist states and their tsarist allies to be "totally incomprehensible." Many non-anarchist leftists voiced similar views, among them Lenin, who had respected Kropotkin's idealism. When Kropotkin died in 1921, having returned

Mikhail Bakunin a generation earlier, had divided into two main currents. The propagandists, best represented by Kropotkin, devoted themselves to expounding the principles of anarchism in books and pamphlets, public talks and educational classes. The syndicalists concentrated their efforts on organizing and building trade unions.



B.D. Vigilev



Penguin

Lenin and Trotsky became leaders of the left wing of the international workers movement during World War I.

to Russia from England, Lenin commented to Alfred Rosmer: "It's a pity that at the end of his life there was an inexplicable lapse into chauvinism" (quoted in *Lenin's Moscow* [1971]).

So where did the phenomenon of anarcho-chauvinism come from? As we have previously indicated, by the 1890s the anarchist movement, launched by

social struggle in the streets, factories and rural villages with academic debate. Like Social Democratic parliamentarians and syndicalist union officials, Kropotkin and other prominent anarchist propagandists became habituated to the "liberal" bourgeois order in West and Central Europe in the era before World War I. Hence they defended their "own" capitalist states which they had come to accept, albeit not in a fully conscious way, as guardians of their political freedom and intellectual respectability.

A significant exception was Errico Malatesta, who remained involved with the workers movement in his native Italy, where he and his comrades often operated under conditions of illegality. At one point Malatesta was convicted of belonging to a "seditious association" and imprisoned on the island of Lampedusa but managed to escape and make his way back to London. This veteran Bakuninist—the last of the footloose revolutionary adventurers of mid-19th century Europe—was increasingly critical of the literary and peaceable direction which the anarchist movement was taking. He wrote in 1906:

"It seems to me today that the anarchists have let themselves fall into the opposite fault to the violent excesses. We now need rather to react against a certain tendency to compromise and a quiet life which is displayed in our circle. It is more necessary now to revive the languishing revolutionary ardor, the spirit of sacrifice, the love of risk."

—quoted in James Jolt,  
*The Anarchists* (1964)

But a revival of revolutionary ardor and the spirit of self-sacrifice did not occur in the anarchist movement, which a decade later splintered under the impact of the First World War. Rather the revival of revolutionary ardor found its expression in the newly formed Communist International. The Bolshevik-led proletarian seizure of state power in Russia in October 1917 had an electrifying effect on advanced workers and radical leftists—not only in Europe and America but also in the colonial world, where militant workers, anti-colonial fighters, emancipated women and leftist intellectuals flocked to the banner of Communism.

The founding of the Communist International in 1919 not only polarized the Socialist parties, whose best elements sought to become Communists (while the worst would make a career of anti-Communism up to and including the physical liquidation of revolutionaries). It had a similarly fundamental effect on the anarchists and syndicalists: the revolutionary elements either rallied to the side of the October Revolution (e.g., Victor Serge, Alfred Rosmer and American IWW leader James P. Cannon, later the founder of American Trotskyism) or found themselves abruptly marginalized as footnotes to history, which was the fate of such once-promising organizations as the IWW or the Socialist Labour Party based in Scotland.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Once it became clear that anarchists like Kropotkin, Elisée Reclus and his son Paul, Jean Grave and Max Nettlau neither advocated nor practiced individual terrorism, they gained a certain acceptance in bourgeois intellectual circles. The anarchist propagandists thus came to inhabit the world of universities, academic journals and scholarly societies. Their day-to-day lives were indistinguishable from the bourgeois intellectuals with whom they constantly interacted and engaged in "civilized" debate over social and political theory.

Kropotkin's home in the London suburb of Bromley became a salon for "progressive" representatives of the European intelligentsia like the Anglo-Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw and Danish literary critic Georg Brandes. The Kropotkin who regularly attended meetings of the posh Royal Geographical Society was a far cry from the young radical agitator who worked among artisans and factory workers in Switzerland and France and declared, "Everything is good for us that falls outside legality."

The anarchists dogmatically maintained that any leftist militant who became a parliamentary deputy or salaried trade-union official would inevitably abandon his principles and accommodate himself to the bourgeois order. Yet leading anarchist intellectuals were in their own way corrupted and co-opted into bourgeois society. They had replaced

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## For Mass Pickets to Defeat the Strikebreakers!

# Winnipeg, Canada: Cops Brutally Attack Boeing Strikers

VANCOUVER—Minutes after midnight on July 11, dozens of Winnipeg cops waded into a picket line of Boeing workers who had just walked out on strike. Picketers were clubbed to the ground and sprayed directly in the face with pepper gas. An amateur videotape, played on Canadian national TV, showed a cop viciously pummeling a unionist who was being held down by four other cops. Striking members of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) Local 2169 were brutally kicked as they lay pepper-gassed on the ground.

Describing how the cops locked handcuffed strikers into police wagons and then continued to spray them, one striker said bitterly, "They were really enjoying what was going on." Even as picketers desperately tried to douse their eyes with water from street puddles, a police supervisor stopped a 911 operator from calling an ambulance. Now, 13 picketers are charged with causing a disturbance! As

the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in a protest letter to Winnipeg's chief of police, "It is an outrage that the victims of this cop violence are being prosecuted for defending their picket line and themselves.... We demand that all the charges against the 13 members of CAW Local 2169 be dropped immediately."

The police assault on Boeing workers was a naked demonstration of the role of the strikebreaking cops—the armed fist of the capitalist state. Yet the response of a leader of the social-democratic New Democratic Party was to call on the cops' masters in the Justice Department to conduct a "review." Meanwhile, the *Vancouver Sun* (20 July) reports that the head of the Manitoba Federation of Labor "said a public inquiry is needed to discourage future violence." What is needed to "discourage" the cops' violent strikebreaking attacks is the mobilization of labor power in mass pickets surrounding the Boeing plant!

The 850 Boeing workers are on strike

against the company's union-busting plans to get rid of high-seniority workers. This comes in the wake of a 69-day strike against Boeing plants in the U.S. last fall. The U.S. strike was called off by the International Association of Machinists (IAM) tops who, throughout the strike, tried to divert workers' anger into chauvinist protectionist appeals for a "partnership" between the union, the company and Clinton's White House to "save American jobs."

As we noted at the time, "The IAM brass would sooner pit U.S. workers against 'foreigners' than call for joint strike action that necessarily threatens the profitability of U.S. capitalism" ("Boeing Strike Called Off as Bosses Were Hurting," WV No. 636, 5 January). Likewise the leaders of the CAW, who have been in the forefront of mobilizing Maple Leaf flag-waving protests to "save Canadian jobs," kept Boeing workers in Winnipeg on the job throughout the U.S.

strike. Now Canadian cops are busting picketers' heads in Winnipeg to ensure that Boeing production in the U.S. can continue.

The Winnipeg Boeing plant produces composite wing components which are critical for the company's Seattle-based operations. When strikers tried to stop trucks from crossing the lines, the cops went on their rampage. Under cop protection, Boeing has succeeded in shipping out nearly 50 semi-trailers loaded with production equipment, about 40 percent of the facility's capacity, to the main plant in Seattle. The only "solidarity" the IAM tops have offered the Canadian Boeing strikers is to have Seattle Boeing workers wear black arm bands!

Militant mass pickets are needed to stop the scabs and their police protectors. U.S. Boeing workers, as well as Teamsters, rail and all transport workers, must refuse to handle Boeing parts from Canada. This is a chance for Boeing workers in the U.S. to rip up the lousy sellout foisted on them by the IAM misleaders and go out in joint strike action. What stands in the way of such a class-struggle fight are the union tops who tie the interests of the working class to their capitalist exploiters with their racist protectionism. The task is to forge a class-struggle leadership of the unions as part of the fight for a revolutionary workers party that unites workers internationally in the struggle to sweep away all the capitalist bosses. ■

## Italy...

(continued from page 6)

activities and dangerous situations to the attention of the city cops and the carabinieri!"

And when RC staged its Milano *Liberazione* festival on July 12, one of the speakers at this "Communist" gathering was city councilman Philippe Daverio, a member of the Northern League. A comrade of the LTd'I protested this racist's presence: "The Northern League organizes fascist Green Shirts to beat up immigrants, sends the police against the Leoncavallo social center, calls all immigrants drug-pushers and all immigrant women prostitutes. A party which invites this racist scum to speak is not a communist party!" Inviting the racist Northern League to its events is nothing new for RC, which simultaneously uses physical force to prevent the LTd'I from distributing revolutionary propaganda to RC members.

### The Left: Popular Front and "Death of Communism"

Most of the Italian left has moved sharply to the right under the influence of the imperialists' "death of communism" campaign following the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union. The Italian section of the late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) enthusiastically supports the RC leadership; Italian USec leader Livio Maitan voted for confidence in the



La Repubblica

Cops attack October 1994 workers demonstration in Rome against government austerity.

Prodi government like all the rest of RC. The followers of Ted Grant in Italy, who are buried in RC, enthused over Ulivo's electoral victory: "It is correct and normal that millions of workers react to this result with satisfaction and that they celebrated in the principal Italian cities" (*Falce Martello*, 25 April). The same article promises support to this capitalist government "when they carry out correct measures."

The small group around *Voce Operaia* (VO) is the most flagrant example of capitulation to the "death of communism." They have now decided to com-

pletely throw out the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, stating in the May 1996 issue of VO:

"The Western proletariat has changed its composition and nature and has become in large part a bourgeois proletariat, a labor aristocracy that benefits from and is complicit in imperialist exploitation. Such a class could never have earned out a socialist revolution in the conditions existing in the imperialist countries during the decades after the Second World War."

So VO writes off the possibility of the proletariat in the imperialist countries playing any revolutionary role. This lie serves to justify the betrayals of the Stalinists and the social democrats after World War II in Italy, Greece and France; again in May 1968 in France; in the "hot autumn" of 1969 in Italy, and on many other occasions. In the eyes of VO, "The 'Trotskyist' movement that emerged to fight against both [Stalinism and social democracy] and to build a new revolutionary international has failed under the weight of its historic mission" (VO, April 1996). VO goes on to denounce Trotsky's "errors" in the Transitional Program, proclaiming: "The bourgeoisie in this century has been much more revolutionary than many so-called revolutionaries spread out over the world."

Another fake-Trotskyist group inside RC is centered around the newspaper *Proposta* and led by Franco Grisolia and Marco Ferrando. The role played by these self-styled "Trotskyists" is truly insidious, as they provide "leftist" arguments on behalf of the RC leadership with the

aim of convincing recalcitrant members of RC to support the popular front. After RC supported the Prodi government, *Proposta* presented a left face and claimed to be in "opposition." Yet it remained buried inside RC even as RC played a critical role in providing a majority for the new government and then supported Prodi's austerity bill. While discontent among RC's base grows over the leadership's continual bowing and scraping, *Proposta* has systematically called for a vote for Ulivo—as it did previously for the "Progressives."

*Proposta*'s support to the popular front is longstanding. In January 1995, it even called for a vote to the Vatican's Partito Popolare. The following May it declared the "main task of communists" to be opposition to the rightist prime minister at the time, Berlusconi. Last year, *Proposta* supporters within the RC leadership even stood to the right of the RC majority, arguing to support the Dini government against a motion of no confidence because the motion had been raised by the right (*Corriere della Sera*, 24 October 1995).

The current popular-front government in Italy is particularly right-wing, but any popular front represents a betrayal of the interests of workers, minorities and all the oppressed. As a formation politically dominated by the bourgeoisie, the popular front in government remains within the limits of capitalism, subordinating the interests of the working class to the interests of big capital. The half measures which it sometimes takes will make everybody unhappy, from the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie to the proletariat, thereby opening the road to the open forces of reaction to put themselves forward as the "opposition" to total ruin. The popular front lulls the workers with the illusion of a capitalist solution to their problems, thereby undermining their class consciousness and demoralizing them.

The LTd'I's irreconcilable fight against the popular front has provided it with a hearing among leftist youth, including the more serious members at the base of RC. Those RC members who want to fight for a socialist future must draw the lessons of the betrayals of the PCI and RC and break with the popular front. The place for those militants who want to fight for socialist revolution is in the LTd'I, where they can join in the struggle to build a Trotskyist vanguard party as part of a reformed Fourth International. ■

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Rc portaborracce per un governo borghese, anti-donne e razzista!

Rompere con il fronte popolare! Costruire il partito di Lenin e Trotsky!



# Immigrants...

(continued from page 1)

who made it to this country has the right to stay. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Black misleaders like Nation of Islam head Louis Farrakhan have abetted the ruling-class war on immigrants by sowing nativist chauvinism among the black population. Farrakhan's tirades against Asians, Arabs and Jews play right into the bosses' insidious "divide and rule" schemes. Likewise, various black demagogues in California who supported Prop. 187 argued that Latinos are "stealing" jobs and social services from blacks. As we wrote at the time in "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!" (WV No. 612, 9 December 1994):

"While the anti-Latino nature of Prop. 187 is perfectly obvious, it is less clear to many that this measure is part of a broader racist offensive whose main and central target is the black ghetto poor. Depriving 'illegal' immigrants of food stamps and their children of school lunches will legitimize eliminating these programs entirely. The bipartisan drive to 'end welfare as we know it,' in the words of Bill Clinton, has been given an enormous boost by the passage of Prop. 187."

Months later the same forces that were behind Prop. 187 began pushing a new initiative—to be voted on in November—aimed at overturning affirmative

**Desperate immigrants wait outside federal offices in New York City in hope of securing legal residency.**



designed to buy some social peace at a time of massive and widespread ghetto upheavals and the rise of radical black groups such as the Black Panther Party, as well as to co-opt a layer of civil rights activists.

In the aftermath of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the ruling class feels it no longer needs even the façade of any measures of social justice to hold up as a "democratic" capitalist alternative to Communism. At the same time, the imperialist powers are no longer bound together by an anti-Soviet consensus dominated by Washington. Today the barons of Wall Street want to dispense with the overhead of even a minimal social welfare program, as they gear up for heightened competition with their chief imperialist rivals, Japan and Germany.

America's capitalist rulers now think they have free rein to rip up any and all social programs. This is conditioned by the absence of any significant social struggle and in particular by the prostration of the pro-capitalist labor tops in the face of two decades of savage attacks on trade unions, jobs and wages. The income gap between the fabulously wealthy few at the top and the increasingly impoverished masses of working people at the bottom is today wider than it has ever been.

Refusing even to defend the narrow economic interests of their own members, the union misleaders turn a blind eye to the all-sided assault on welfare mothers, ghetto youth, immigrants and the poor. In going after the most vulnerable sectors of society, the racist rulers target all working people. Axing welfare programs has little or nothing to do with "saving tax dollars." Rather, the aim is to further drive down wages. As an article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (25 July) noted, "A flood of welfare recipients into the job market would depress pay for millions of other low-wage workers." Meanwhile, the widespread creation of phony "workfare" programs has meant a direct attack on municipal unions. In New York City over the past couple of years, 17,000 unionized jobs have been slashed, with welfare recipients now being forced to do the same work at a fraction of the cost.

The attacks on welfare are also part of the racist rulers' drive to promote divisions within the working class. This is what is behind the racist equation of blacks with welfare, even though the vast majority of welfare recipients are white. Similarly, stigmatizing immigrants as "freeloaders" is aimed at isolating them in order to maintain a pool of superexploited and unorganized workers, in constant fear of deportation, to slave at subminimum wages in the sweatshops, fields and factories. By whipping up a climate of racist reaction, the capitalists seek to ratchet up the rate of exploitation

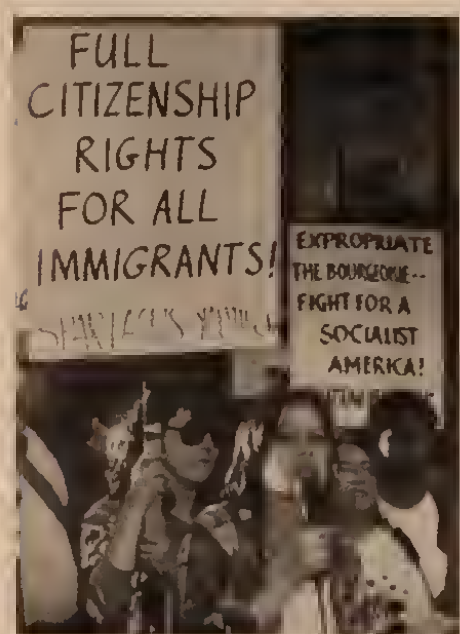
of the entire working class.

Fomenting raw racist hatred has long been a fundamental prop for maintaining the brutal system of capitalist exploitation in the U.S. Well into the 20th century, the American bourgeoisie pushed anti-immigrant bigotry to divide the industrial working class. Following the mass migration of blacks to the North beginning around World War I, anti-immigrant xenophobia was supplanted by anti-black racism. Today the racist

on drugs" which targets ghetto youth and the "war on terrorism" which is particularly aimed at immigrants. The rulers calculate that they can get away with going after the most vulnerable layers of society, who have little or no social power. But the massive increase in repression is ultimately aimed at the workers movement, as evidenced in the rapid growth of professional strikebreaking outfits.

The capitalist class is emboldened by the abject refusal of the labor misleaders to lift a finger in defense of the oppressed. Fighting for the rights of immigrant workers is necessary not only as a defense of democratic rights, but is key to revitalizing the decimated trade-union movement. Particularly in California, Latino workers have played a militant and combative role in labor struggles. Mobilizing the social power of the working class to fight against deportations and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants is essential to any serious drive to organize the unorganized.

Despite decades of deindustrialization and mass layoffs which have hit the black proletariat particularly hard, black workers still constitute a disproportionately large section of the trade-union movement. These black proletarians can serve as an important bridge to link the power of organized labor to the defense of the ghetto poor. The fight to win jobs, housing, decent health care and education for all will take the mobilization of the working class, leading behind it the oppressed ghetto and barrio masses, in a revolutionary struggle against the whole system of capitalist exploitation.



**San Francisco, April 5: Demonstration against videotaped cop beating of Mexican migrant workers.**

action programs in California. Now, the "welfare reform" bill has been passed with an overwhelming bipartisan majority by Congress.

## From "New Deal" to Raw Deal

The social programs which are now being completely disbanded by the capitalist rulers were introduced as part of Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal." In the face of an upsurge of militant workers' struggle in the 1930s—many of them led by members of the Communist Party, Trotskyists and other leftists—these programs were introduced to quell social unrest through ameliorating some of the more devastating effects of capitalist exploitation. Similarly, the "war on poverty" programs of the 1960s were



**Heliole detention center in Elizabeth, New Jersey: scene of cop riot against asylum seekers in 1995.**

rulers seek to pit white against black, and all against the desperate immigrant.

## For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The assault on immigrant rights is part and parcel of an escalating drive to reinforce the repressive powers of the capitalist state. Despite the lack of any real social struggle, the rulers are cognizant that the massive income disparity has generated seething anger at the bottom of this society. Fearing explosions of discontent, to preserve their rule they must bring the iron heel of repression down harder. That is what's behind the "war

This requires a political struggle against the AFL-CIO misleaders who police the unions on behalf of the capitalist bosses and tie the workers to the racist Democratic Party. Far from fighting anti-immigrant racism, the trade-union bureaucrats foster chauvinist prejudices with their drive for trade protectionism, which scapegoats foreign workers for the loss of jobs in the U.S. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed, a party which fights to sweep away this system of racism, repression and poverty, replacing it with an egalitarian socialist society. ■

## Turkey...

(continued from page 2)

Turkish state keep its bloody hands off Turkish and Kurdish leftist prisoners. For 70 days over 2,000 prisoners, including women militants, have been on hunger strike and 315 of those are even refusing to take liquids. They are protesting against the horrendous conditions faced by political prisoners in the Turkish police state. As we write this, eleven prisoners have already died and many more are at immediate risk of dying. Many are reported to be in comas, with no chance of ever fully recovering.

The prisoners' 31 demands include an immediate stop to torture; a stop to the mistreatment and harassment of visitors; the abolition of disciplinary penalties which include arbitrary exten-

sions of prison terms; removal of prisoners from isolation cells and free access to the media. They are also protesting against the new "Stammheim" high-tech prisons. Such 21st-century torture chambers were used by the German state to kill RAF [Red Army Faction] prisoners.

We demand that the prisoners' series of demands be met in full and the death squad army units stay out of the jails. Lift the ban on Devrimci Sol, the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and other left-wing political groups! Stop the murderous attacks on the Kurds, Alawites, other minorities, workers and youth! Free all leftist political prisoners! Free Kurdish political prisoners and all victims of Turkish state terror!

Spartacist Youth Groups  
of the International  
Communist League  
(Fourth Internationalist)

## Defend Ann Arbor Anti-Klan Protesters!

Five of the people arrested in the June 22 demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan still face felony charges; conviction could mean as much as four years per count (see "Ann Arbor: Drop Charges Against Anti-Klan Eight!" WV No. 648, 5 July). The Anti Fascist Defense Fund has been set up to help defray legal expenses. Send contributions to: P.O. Box 2635, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.



# Russian Elections...

(continued from page 7)

the game—e.g., that CEOs don't simply get offed by their competitors. And, of course, the same holds true for executives of multinationals and foreign banks operating in Russia.

The elections indicated that Russia's new exploiters are beginning to cohere as a politically conscious class. In late April, 13 major bankers, oil tycoons and industrial barons issued a barely veiled appeal that the elections—which had provoked warnings of civil war on all sides—be called off in favor of "a political compromise that can prevent acute conflicts that threaten Russia's basic interests" (*Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, 22 May). The proposed compromise was the formation of a broad coalition government including the KPRF, on the condition that it "not insist that society repudiate the hard-won achievements of the past decade." The statement ended by warning that "our country's entrepreneurs have the necessary resources and will to influence both politicians who are too unprincipled and politicians who are too uncompromising." The call for a coalition government was also taken up by Zyuganov and Lebed.

What is clear here is that until the Western imperialists weighed in heavily, many of Russia's new capitalists were not wedded to Yeltsin's re-election. But thanks to the deep pockets of the International Monetary Fund, Yeltsin was able to piece off those sectors of the new exploiters, who in the end united behind his candidacy.

## Centrists in the Camp of Russian Chauvinism

When Yeltsin seized the reins of political power in August 1991, the ICL declared, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin/Bush Counterrevolution!" In contrast, much of the left internationally enthused over the "democratic" capitalist-restorationist forces led by Yeltsin and supported by the imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys. Today, with Yeltsin widely despised, not only in Russia but even in mainstream Western social-democratic and liberal circles, many fake lefts have hopped on the KPRF bandwagon.

A prime example is the British centrist Workers Power (WP) group, which called for a "critical vote" to Zyuganov's KPRF as "an instrument of pressure for workers immediate needs and demands" (*Workers Power*, June 1996). Even while conceding that "its main ideological core is its repeatedly proclaimed patriotism," Workers Power prettifies the KPRF as a "bourgeois workers party" with "both historic and current links to the degenerated workers' state and the working class."

WP's ludicrous assertion that Russia remains a degenerated workers state is

little more than a cynical cover for its earlier shameless support to Yeltsin's counterrevolution. Moreover, the idea that the KPRF is any kind of workers party is a complete fiction. Unlike the remnants of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Poland and Hungary, which transformed themselves into social-democratic parties linked to the trade-union movement, the KPRF is not based on or organically tied to the mass organizations of the working class, and it does not even claim to represent the class interests of the proletariat.

WP praises Zyuganov's outfit for stopping the fascist demagogue Zhirinovskiy "from monopolising the discontent of millions." In fact, the KPRF has largely supplanted Zhirinovskiy with similar chauvinist/populist appeals. For years, the Russian Stalinist has-beens have cohabited with outright fascists in a "red-brown coalition." Zyuganov himself is a virtual embodiment of this grotesque bloc: he is a former head of the fascistic Russian National Sobor and a prominent figure in the "left-right" National Salvation Front.

Having called on Russian workers to vote for the KPRF candidate, Workers Power then cynically proclaimed—after he lost!—that "Zyuganov does not deserve the confidence of those millions...who voted for him," remarking that "Zyuganov's thoughts on religion, patriotism and Russia's national destiny have been widely denounced as un-Marxist" (*Workers Power*, July-August 1996). "Un-Marxist"?! Zyuganov is a raving Russian chauvinist. One of his chief advisers is the rabid anti-Semite Aleksandr Prokhanov. And Zyuganov himself is no less an anti-Semite. His tract *I Believe in Russia* sounds like it was lifted straight from the anti-Semitic Zionist forgery, the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which has again become a bible for Russian chauvinists. Zyuganov rants:

"Jewish influence grew not by the day, but by the hour. The Jewish Diaspora traditionally controlled the financial life of the [European] continent and became more and more the owner of the controlling interest in all the stocks of Western civilization and its socioeconomic system."

—quoted in *New York Review of Books* (23 May)

## Russian Nationalism and Sham "Anti-Imperialism"

As Geoffrey Hosking, a professor of Russian history at the University of London, pointed out: "If one disregards the rhetoric for a moment, however, then much of the difference between Yeltsin and the Communists vanishes" (*London Independent*, 5 April). Why, then, the hostility toward the KPRF among the NATO powers? To some measure, the imperialists were concerned that a KPRF electoral victory might lead to increased expectations among the downtrodden Russian masses. But the fake-lefts' pollyannish assertions to the contrary, there is no reason to believe that this would have taken the form of class struggle. The KPRF's appeal is based on Russian chauvinism with a veneer of populist



Truhanenko/NY Times

"Free market" misery: coal miners in Vladivostok protest non-payment of wages.

rhetoric. A Zyuganov victory would likely have intensified chauvinist backwardness within the working class.

More importantly, the NATO powers opposed the KPRF not because it stands for communism in any sense but rather because it represents Russian imperialist ambitions. Even under Yeltsin, there have been serious tensions between Washington and Moscow, for example, over the expansion of NATO into East Europe and the interests of American oil companies in the Caucasian oil fields. The KPRF's talk of "restoring the Soviet Union" is in fact a call for an expanded Russian-dominated imperialist state.

The small British Socialist Action group, formerly a denizen of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat swamp, openly embraces the KPRF's chauvinist "patriotism." Its position in this regard is both more intellectually honest and more reactionary than that of Workers Power. An article in *Socialist Action* (April-May 1996) lays out the core of its position, that defense of the Russian state against Western imperialist influence and pressure is in the present historic juncture progressive:

"With Russia's existence once again threatened, progressive patriotic demands, such as opposing NATO expansion and rejecting IMF interference in economic policy, are therefore completely entwined with the other demands necessary to defend the Russian people from social, economic and national catastrophe."

As the Chechen war so clearly demonstrates, the main targets of Russian nationalism are not the NATO powers and IMF but the non-Russian peoples of the former USSR. Far from being some sort of ersatz "anti-imperialism," the

KPRF's chauvinist program reflects the real interests of the new Russian bourgeoisie, which understands that to build a capitalist state strong enough to play a world role requires that it dominate and exploit the industrial and agricultural resources of the Ukraine, the oil fields of the Caucasus, the mineral wealth of Kazakhstan and the cotton fields of Central Asia. And that is the common program of Yeltsin, Lebed, Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy. Thus the position of Socialist Action amounts to support for Russian subjugation and oppression of the Ukrainians, Azeris, Georgians, Uzbeks, etc.

For self-described leftists to vie with nationalist demagogues in East Europe and the former USSR on their own chauvinist terrain can only further disorient the working class and strengthen the system of capitalist exploitation to the benefit of world imperialism. The Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union, culminating in counterrevolution, offers a powerful if negative proof that the interests of the working class can only be defended with the perspective of international proletarian revolution. As we wrote in the Spartacist pamphlet, *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled* (August 1993):

"The proletariat which made the October Revolution learned from Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks that it was part of an international struggle. It understood that its only prospect for survival lay in the extension of the revolution to more advanced industrial powers....

"Only as part of the struggle to reforge an authentic world party of socialist revolution can the workers of the former Soviet Union cohere the leadership they need to sweep away the grotesque horrors they now confront." ■

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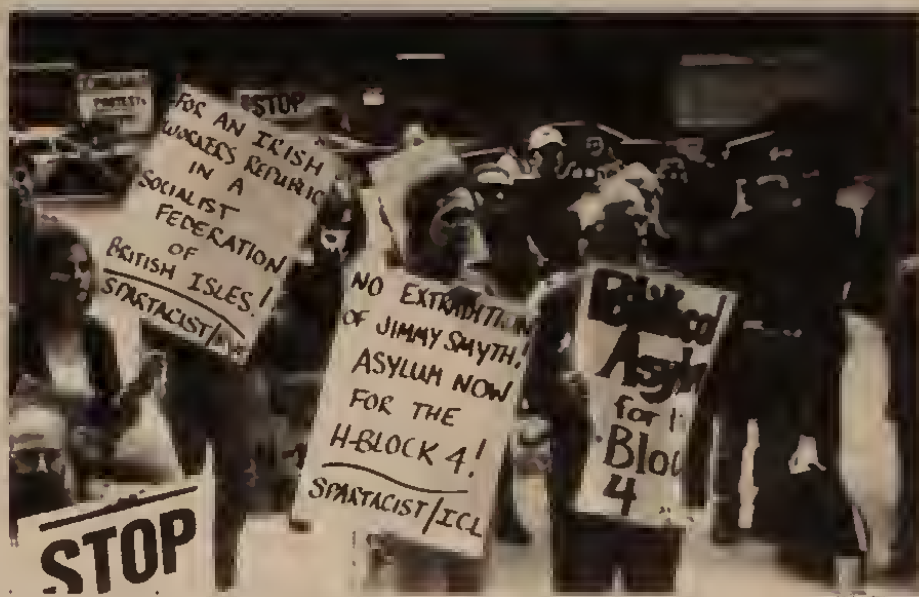
# Asylum Now for the "H-Block Four"! No Extradition of Jimmy Smyth!

We reprint below a letter by the Partisan Defense Committee protesting the impending extradition of Jimmy Smyth and the three other members of the "H-Block Four." After escaping from British imperialism's H-Block dungeon in Northern Ireland and fleeing to the U.S., Smyth was arrested in San Francisco in 1992. Last year, the U.S. Court of Appeals reversed an earlier decision by a U.S. District Court blocking his extradition. On July 2, Smyth's appeal against extradition was rejected. Two weeks later, Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor turned down his request for time to prepare an appeal for political asylum. Secretary of State Warren Christopher may sign an extradition order at any time.

14 July 1996

Warren Christopher  
Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C.  
Dear Sir,

The Partisan Defense Committee demands that Jimmy Smyth be granted asylum in the United States. We demand the immediate release from federal prison in California of Smyth together with the rest of the "H-Block Four," Kevin Barry, Artt, Raymond Kirby



San Francisco, July 15: Demonstration against threatened extradition of Jimmy Smyth.

and Pol Brennan. We protest the attempt to extradite these four, whose only "crime" was to be horn poor and members of an oppressed Catholic minority in a country occupied by the British imperialist army. Smyth has been living in San Francisco as an ordinary working person since 1984. Following his release on \$1.5 million bail from two years in prison after he was

hounded down by the U.S. government, Smyth has been quietly renovating houses with his girlfriend and tending bar. Acting in concert with the British, the U.S. has spent well over a million dollars to extradite him.

Smyth continues to proclaim his innocence of the attempted murder of an off-duty security guard in Northern Ireland. He was convicted in 1973 by

one of the many special "juryless" star chamber trials where 97 percent of cases result in conviction and 90 percent of those were based on "confessions" extracted under torture. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison, but in 1983 he was among 38 prisoners who escaped in the highest break-out in British history. He has every reason to fear for his life if he is extradited back to the infamous H-Block torture chamber in Northern Ireland.

While imprisoned, Smyth took part in the historic "blanket protests" in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh prison, refusing to wear convict uniforms unless the British government recognized the captured nationalists as political prisoners. Under these hellish conditions, prisoners protested through hunger strikes. Smyth's cellmate, Raymond McCreesh, died of starvation as did internationally known Bobby Sands in May 1981.

Smyth presented evidence in his extradition hearings showing that the same guards who assaulted and tortured prisoners while he was there still remain at their posts. The H-Block Four focused unprecedented attention on the disgraceful history of torture, repression and murder by the British government in Northern Ireland.

No extradition of Jimmy Smyth! Grant asylum now for Smyth, Artt, Kirby, Brennan and all victims of British imperialist repression!

Sincerely,  
Kathy Ikegami

cc: President Bill Clinton  
U.S. Attorney General of the  
Northern District  
Irish-American Unity Conference

## Ireland...

(continued from page 16)

Protestant and Catholic workers.

The recent sham elections to the Stormont "forum," which excludes Sinn Féin but admits the Loyalist paramilitaries, confirms that Major is playing the "Orange card" for all it is worth. In this he has the full backing of the Labour Parties in Britain and Ireland. So-called "respectable" Unionist leaders like David Trimble, a veteran of last year's "Siege of Drumcree," are leading fascist mobs in Portadown. Virulent anti-Catholic enmity is being whipped up by Loyalist demagogues like Ian Paisley, who portrayed the ban on the Orange march as a sellout to the Duhlin government, and spoke ominously of the situation as a "powderkeg."

Sinn Féin's chimera of a "negotiated" settlement, under the good offices of U.S. imperialism and the government of the clericalist state in southern Ireland, is in the process of being shattered against the harsh reality of Loyalist resistance. The current conflagration starkly reveals Sinn Féin's nationalist strategy, shared by both the "armed struggle" wing and the Gerry Adams "negotiating" wing, as a complete dead end. Particularly since the end of the IRA ceasefire, both Catholics and Protestants fear and dread the resumption of sectarian murder by the Loyalist paramilitaries and the IRA, likely on a much worse scale than before. The IRA's criminal bombings in London and Manchester have fuelled

anti-Irish chauvinism in Britain, which is poisonous to the working class.

Whether through "armed struggle" or "negotiation," nationalists inevitably seek a solution within the framework of capitalism and imperialism, which today includes the palpable possibility of a "Bosnia-type" scenario, i.e., communalist war. Forced population transfers are a real possibility, in which Protestants, given their relative weight in the population, would be concentrated east of the Bann, and Catholics concentrated in the western part of the province towards Derry. The term "ethnic cleansing" was invoked repeatedly this week, as Catholic families were forced from their homes, and schools and churches were firebombed; Protestant families in Catholic areas are also under threat.

In Portadown, spokesperson for Blair's contemptible Labour Party Mo Mowlam praised the Progressive Unionist Party—a front for the fascist Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), whose band accompanied the triumphant Orangemen in their march through the town. Arthur Scargill's SLP claims to offer an alternative to Blair's New Labour Party, and calls for the immediate withdrawal of the British Army, but their "Little England" perspective is revealed by their failure to oppose the imperialist deal.

Lahourite left groups such as Tony Cliff's SWP and Militant have been busy peddling illusions in the British imperialist deal, refusing even to call for British troops out. In 1969 the SWP endorsed the troops being sent in by the Labour government in Britain, claiming it would provide a "breathing space" for the Catholics. This was as preposterous then as it is now. Catholics in Portadown, surrounded and imprisoned by the RUC and army, noted that more plastic bullets were fired on them in minutes than on Loyalists during four nights of rioting.

Militant and the Alliance for Workers Liberty (AWL) have been so infatuated with the imperialist "peace process" as to sponsor UVF murderer Billy Hutchinson in their meetings. Protesting outside one such meeting in London last month, Spartacist placards pointed out: "AWL Spits on Memory of Michael



Clinton with Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams.

Loughran and Edward Morgan—Murdered by Hutchinson/UVF." Workers Power calls for the British Army to get out, but then simultaneously supports Labour (in Britain and Ireland), and the nationalist, capitalist strategy. They claim: "We recognise that a progressive solution requires that the working class come to the head of the national struggle. But that does not prevent us from solidarisng with those who are fighting for independence under the banner of petit-bourgeois nationalism—i.e. a capitalist united Ireland" (*Workers Power*, April 1996). This vista of forcibly subjugating the Protestant community is reactionary and is being used by Loyalist leaders to inflame the situation today. Genuine Trotskyists oppose forcible reunification of Ireland and "self-determination" for one nation or grouping in the situation of interpenetrated peoples, where this can only be achieved at the expense of the other. In such situations, only workers revolution can bring about a just solution to national oppression, whereas capitalist

solutions necessarily fan the flames of communalism.

The prevalence of sectarianism in the North is not proof of some unbridgeable religious divide, but is fostered by the hellish conditions of capitalist existence. While the Catholics are an oppressed minority, the condition of working-class Protestants is almost as bad, and the Loyalist paramilitaries are recruiting heavily from among lumpenised youth in the ghettos of Belfast. The working class have at times been able to achieve unity in struggle, such as the Belfast shipyard and engineering strike of 1919, or the struggles of the unemployed in the 1930s. In 1993 Protestant workers in the shipyards walked off the job on a couple of occasions, protesting the murder of Catholic workers by Hutchinson's UVF. Such openings are vital, and are conceivable even in the present period. However in the absence of a revolutionary leadership such class unity can be easily destroyed by state repression, Loyalism and Irish nationalism.

As communists we seek to intervene, attempting to alter the course of the conflict towards a class determination. We fight for workers revolution, on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea. Our proletarian perspective requires an internationalist struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism, smashing the sectarian Orange statelet in Northern Ireland and the vicious clericalist state in the south in a struggle to establish a federation of workers republics in the British Isles. This requires the construction of Leninist vanguard parties, rooted in the working class of all the peoples of these islands. ■

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## British Troops Out of Northern Ireland!

# Imperialist "Peace" Fraud Fuels Orange Terror

The bitter reality of the U.S.-brokered "peace deal" in Northern Ireland has been brought home in the recent rampages by frenzied mobs of the anti-Catholic Orange Order. In early July, gangs of Protestant "Loyalist" thugs shut down whole towns, attacking Catholic homes, to enforce their "right" to march through a Catholic enclave in Portadown. The July 11 Orange march was protected by the Loyalist-infested Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), who surrounded the Catholic area and terrorized Catholic protesters. The RUC and British troops then brutally suppressed Catholic protests which erupted throughout the North, killing one demonstrator, who was crushed under the wheels of a military vehicle in Derry.

The immediate precipitant to the savage renewal of communalist terror, overwhelmingly directed against the Catholic population but which also has the Protestant population living in fear, was the May "elections" in Northern Ireland called by British prime minister John Major. Hoping to placate the Ulster Unionist Party of David Trimble, whose votes are needed to maintain Major's deeply unpopular and weak Conservative government, these sham elections were called to determine who would be allowed to participate in the "peace" talks, which are headed by former U.S. Senator George Mitchell. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain denounced this as an "Imperialist 'Peace' Deal Election Fraud" (*Workers Hammer* No. 151, July-August 1996).

Although candidates from Sinn Féin—associated with the Irish Republican Army (IRA)—got over 15 percent of the votes, their highest electoral poll ever, they were nonetheless excluded from the talks. While the British rulers continue to arrogantly demand that the IRA "decommission" its weapons as the price of admission, the "peace" talks have become a forum for Unionist terror, with Trimble standing at the head of the howling mob of Orangemen in Portadown. The emboldened Loyalists are now threatening to stage their "Apprentice Boys" march on August 12 through Derry, intending to take the same route they did in 1969, when a rampage by the RUC and Loyalist thugs against Derry's Catholic Bogside neighborhood provoked intense battles and led to the introduction of British troops. Three years later, British troops carried out the infamous 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry.

While much of the British left either refuses to oppose the British imperialist presence in Northern Ireland or tails after the Green nationalists of Sinn Féin, our comrades have consistently called for the



British Imperialism's Royal Ulster Constabulary cops brutalize Catholic protesters in Portadown, Northern Ireland, July 11.

immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops as part of a revolutionary-internationalist perspective. We reprint below a July 12 statement jointly issued by the Spartacist League/Britain and the Dublin Spartacist Group.

Pressure in Northern Ireland is escalating to a frenzy of anti-Catholic hatred, whipped up by pogromist Loyalist mobs. For five days and nights thousands of rioting Loyalists massed at Drumcree in Portadown, and battled the British Army and RUC, who originally banned the Orange march from going through the Catholic enclave of Garvaghy Road. The day the ban was announced the body of a Catholic taxi-driver, Michael McGoldrick, was found in nearby Lurgan, bearing all the hallmarks of a Loyalist death squad assassination. Over the next days and nights Loyalist mobs repeatedly blockaded and effectively shut down entire towns and villages throughout the North; Catholic families have had to flee as their homes were burned out; from Belfast to Derry workers have been sent home early as public transport was cancelled and roads and bridges were shut.

After five days the ban was abruptly reversed and the RUC and British Army, in full riot gear, brutally cleared Catholic residents out of the way so that the thousands-strong Orange march could strut down the Garvaghy Road. Catholic residents protested this atrocity, but had their streets blockaded by Saracen armoured cars and were viciously attacked by the RUC with batons and plastic bullets. Afterwards one Catholic

woman said bitterly, "We are second class citizens, and that's all we have ever been in this country."

We have repeatedly warned that: "Any imperialist 'deal' will be bloody and brutal and will necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority. And it would not do any good for working-

class Protestants either" (*Workers Hammer* No. 138, November-December 1993). The grim truth of this statement is now being displayed in the streets of Northern Ireland—the Loyalists have been emboldened, the level of violence is escalating, and there is a widespread sense of foreboding. The Loyalist rampage is the direct fruit of the imperialist-brokered "peace deal," and is reminiscent of the reaction to the Sunningdale Agreement in 1974, or the Anglo-Irish Accord of the 1980s.

The "peace" fraud is premised on the blood-soaked British Army remaining in place—the British government has seized the opportunity to send in over 1,000 more troops, including from the Parachute regiment, murderers of 14 Catholics on Bloody Sunday in 1972. We demand: RUC/Army out of Catholic areas! British troops out of Northern Ireland now! A proletarian axis must prevail, as the only way out of the spiral of reaction. Not Orange against Green, but class against class! There is an urgent need for the formation of integrated workers militias—incorporating both Protestants and Catholics—to combat British Army and RUC rampages as well as sectarian terror, both Orange and Green. Forging such militias is integrally linked to the construction of a revolutionary vanguard party that has the confidence of both

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Police barricades protect Protestant Orange Order in provocative march through Catholic area of Belfast.