

Elections '96: Bipartisan Racist Reaction

The racist reaction which defined the presidential "contest" between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole was brought home a week after the elections with the acquittal of a cop in Pittsburgh and another in St. Petersburg, Florida who had killed young black men. The first-ever Democratic Party presidential nominee to be endorsed by the Fraternal Order of Police, Clinton swept back into office by outflanking the Republicans as the candidate of racist "law and order" and co-opting huge chunks of their program, from welfare-bashing to ever more sinister attacks on the rights of immigrants and other minorities. While liberals applauded the victory of the supposed Democratic "lesser evil," Wall Street hailed Clinton's retention of the White House and continued Republican control of Congress as a victory for untrammelled capitalist greed. "The initial reaction from the markets was euphoric," reported *Business Week* (18 November).

For Marxists, the understanding that the Democrats and Republicans are simply partner parties of capitalist rule in America is a given. But in these elections, virtually everyone—from the big-business media to small-town voters—couldn't help but note that there was little to distinguish the two parties. Clinton's Republican platform was the reflection of a broad ruling-class consensus on domestic policy: keep on grinding the poor and driving down wages to jack up profits. And when it comes to foreign affairs, Clinton has presided over one of the most aggressively militaristic administrations in years. Immediately after the elections, Republican Congressional leaders proclaimed their "common ground" with the White House, while Clinton reciprocated by canvassing leading Republicans for high-level Cabinet appointments. A headline in *U.S. News and World Report* (18 November) expressed the political climate in Washington: "Clinton's Big Choice: Govern as President Bush or President Gingrich?"

The absence of even a semblance of choice was reflected in the voter turnout, the lowest in a presidential election since 1924, with only 49 percent of registered voters bothering to go to the polls. The evident disaffection with both major capitalist parties reflects deep social alienation, as well as a broadly shared distrust of the government. But the desperation that has been produced by a drastic erosion of living standards among wide layers of the population can and has generated responses all over the social and political map.

There is growing despair not only in the black ghettos but in the hills of Idaho

For a Revolutionary Workers Party That Fights for All the Oppressed!



WV Photo

Union demonstration in support of striking nurses in New York City, July 10. To mobilize labor in defense of workers and all the oppressed requires political struggle against pro-capitalist misleaders who tie workers to Clinton's Democrats.

and in the Midwest Rust Belt. In the inner cities and even more so among the black middle class, there is a hearing for black separatist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan. Among self-perceived "middle-class" whites who have been cut out of the "American Dream," there is a tendency to look to all kinds of rightist answers, blaming the ills of society on everything from immigrants to the "ZOG" (Zionist Occupation Government), satanism and black welfare mothers.

To cut through the pervasive cynicism and despair—which in turn fuel more sinister reactions—what is needed is a sharp outbreak of *integrated class struggle* against the racist capitalist exploiters. But the pro-capitalist labor misleaders are in business precisely to *stop* any challenge to the capitalist system. Sweeney's "new" AFL-CIO pulled out all the stops for Clinton's re-election, pouring tens of millions of dollars into the Democrats' election campaigns, while the United Auto Workers tops knifed any possibility of a national strike in the runup to the elec-

tions. If the working class is to wage any serious fight to defend its interests—much less those of all the oppressed—there must be a political struggle to oust these labor lieutenants of the capitalist class as part of a fight for the political independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie and its parties.

Revolutionary Leadership and the Class Struggle

The pronounced shift to the right of the bourgeois political spectrum is integrally linked to the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. For decades, the capitalists' desire to overturn the Soviet degenerated workers state served to a certain degree to suppress antagonisms among the imperialist powers. Now, beset by resurgent rivalries, the various bourgeoisies must ratchet up the rate of exploitation, drive down living standards and slash social programs in order to gain an edge against their competitors.

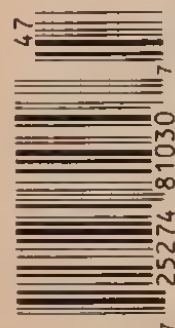
As bourgeois ideologues trumpet the so-called "death of communism," the

capitalist rulers don't think anything stands in their way. They don't worry about workers' struggles, a calculation that is reinforced by the labor misleaders, who operate more like low-wage labor contractors these days than even as political police for the bosses in the unions. Wielding a huge arsenal of state repression—the courts, the cops and the prisons—America's rulers think they can cut welfare, cut out Medicaid and food stamps, deny any and all rights to immigrants, force people to work for next to nothing or let them just die. At the same time, the bourgeoisie is throwing its weight around internationally, trying to make Washington's imperialist "allies" kowtow to U.S. trade boycotts against Iran, Iraq and Libya and the starvation embargo aimed at strangling the Cuban deformed workers state.

What is going on in this country is brutal, but it's the real face of capitalist exploitation. In their unbridled arrogance, the American bourgeoisie thinks it can get away with it. But this is a short-sighted miscalculation. People do not like having no future for themselves and their kids, being treated like slaves, facing sickness, starvation and homelessness.

The power to smash the rule of the bourgeoisie and to use the enormous wealth of this country for the benefit of the many as opposed to the profits of a few lies with the multiracial working class. What stands in the way of unleashing the power of the American proletariat is backward consciousness—most profoundly the deep racism rooted in the

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Young
Spartacus

An Exchange on Nestor Makhno—
**Peasant "Anarchism," Pogroms
and the Russian Revolution**

See Page 4

PDC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Build Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

This year the Partisan Defense Committee is holding its eleventh annual Holiday Appeal fund drive for class-war prisoners. Funds raised through the Holiday Appeal help maintain the PDC's program of monthly stipends to 17 of these prisoners and provide holiday gifts for them and their loved ones. Last year's Holiday Appeal was tremendously successful, raising over \$15,000 in donations.

The level of continued support for this program demonstrates that supporters of the PDC understand the importance of keeping alive the tradition of the early International Labor Defense expressed in the words of James P. Cannon, its founder

and first secretary from 1925 to 1928: "The class conscious worker accords to the class war prisoners a place of singular honor and esteem" (*Labor Defender*, September 1926). It is as clear today as when Cannon wrote these words more than 70 years ago that support of these prisoners is not charity, but rather the duty of fighters against injustice on the outside for those inside prison walls.

Initiated by the Spartacist League in 1974, the PDC is partisan on the side of the working class. The class principles upon which we base our work—principally that an injury to one is an injury to all—have become lost and corrupted over



Jennifer Beach
Class-war prisoners aided by PDC stipend program: Mumia Abu-Jamal, Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), Jerry Dale Lowe. Their fight is our fight!

generations of betrayals and defeats by the misleaders of the workers movement. We are non-sectarian, defending cases in the interests of the whole of the working people, irrespective of particular political views. We rely on the independent power of the working class, and not on the capitalist courts which have thrown the class-war prisoners behind bars.

Here is the latest information on the recipients of our stipend program:

December 1996 marks 15 years of Mumia Abu-Jamal's imprisonment on frame-up charges. Former Black Panther, well-known journalist and MOVE supporter, Jamal was falsely convicted on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop and sentenced to die for his political beliefs. Jamal's case has won support from death penalty abolitionists and anti-racist fighters around the world, whose protests stayed the executioner's hand in the summer of 1995. This year, Veronica Jones, an eyewitness in the shooting for which Jamal was framed up, came forward to provide powerful testimony of Jamal's innocence and of police coercion against witnesses in the case. Jamal's case is currently on appeal to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. His book, *Live from Death Row*, came out this year in paperback.

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), 49 years old, former Black Panther and decorated Vietnam vet, is a victim of a racist FBI COINTELPRO frame-up. Geronimo has now served over 25 years for a murder the government knows he did not commit. This year, the Los Angeles District Attorney's office revealed that Julius Butler, whose testimony put Geronimo behind bars and who was an informer for the FBI and LAPD, was at the same time an informant of the D.A.'s office! Despite this, Geronimo has been denied bail.

Other recipients include:

Jerry Dale Lowe, United Mine Workers member framed up on federal charges in the shooting death of a seab contractor in Logan County, West Virginia during a UMW strike. The seab was part of a convoy leaving the mine, shot in the back of the head from the direction of the bosses' thugs. Lowe was singled out by authorities because he was a militant defender of the picket line. After losing his appeal, Lowe was forced back to federal prison in Ashland, Kentucky in January 1996 to serve almost eleven years for the "crime" of defending his union. There is no parole.

Ed Poindexter, 53, and Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice), 50, former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism. Victims of the racist COINTELPRO program, they were framed up for an explosion in 1970 which

killed a cop. Both were convicted on perjured testimony and sentenced to life. The Nebraska Board of Pardons refuses to commute their sentences to specific numbers of years, which would allow them to be considered for parole. Poindexter is at Lino Lake, Minnesota and Mondo is at Lincoln, Nebraska.

Jean Laaman and Ray Luc Levasseur, of the Ohio 7, were arrested in 1984 and 1985 and are radical activists with a shared history of opposition to racism and imperialism. They were sentenced to 45 years to life under RICO conspiracy laws on allegations of bank expropriations and bombings targeting symbols of U.S. imperialism in the late 1970s and '80s. Jean Laaman is at Leavenworth, Kansas and Ray Luc Levasseur is in the high tech torture chamber of Administrative Maximum at Florence, Colorado.

Hugo Pinell is the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. He is a militant anti-racist and leader of prison rights organizing. He worked alongside George Jackson, who was murdered by prison guards in 1971. Pinell has been in prison over 30 years. Just denied parole again for five years, he is currently serving a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay prison in Crescent City, California.

We also send stipends to nine MOVE members in prisons scattered throughout Pennsylvania who are serving sentences of 30-100 years, framed up for the shooting of a policeman during a massive cop siege of their home in 1978. They are: Chuck Africa, Graterford; Debbie Sims Africa, Cambridge Springs; Delbert Orr Africa, Dallas; Edward Goodman Africa, Camp Hill; Janet Hollnway Africa, Cambridge Springs; Janine Phillips Africa, Cambridge Springs; Merle Austin Africa, Cambridge Springs; Michael Davis Africa, Graterford; William Phillips Africa, Dallas.

These class-war prisoners, while encompassing a range of political perspectives and views, have fought, each in his or her own way, against racist capitalist oppression. Join us in demonstrating our respect for and solidarity with these courageous prisoners who have fought for all of us as we pledge to redouble our efforts until all are set free.

We urge our readers to contribute generously to this year's Holiday Appeal fund drive and help us build this effort. Benefits are being organized in the Bay Area, Chicago and New York. Invite your family, friends and co-workers to attend the benefit in your area. Meet others who are active in this important work. Send in your Holiday Appeal contributions now. Support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send donations to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■



TROTSKY

Capitalism Breeds Misery and Poverty

The U.S. today has the greatest disparity in distribution of wealth among industrialized countries. Liberals and reformists who look to the Democrats hark back to Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "New Deal" in the 1930s, which implemented many of the social programs now being eliminated under Clinton. In fact, the New Deal was aimed at salvaging the system of capitalist exploitation in the face of militant workers' struggles and at

preparing the U.S. for the impending interimperialist world war. In much of Europe, the bourgeoisies felt compelled to place fascist dictatorships in power for similar reasons. As revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote at the time, the Great Depression of the 1930s debunked any notion that workers' living standards could steadily progress under capitalism. What is needed today, as then, is a socialist revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party which rips the means of production from the capitalist rulers and organizes an egalitarian, planned economy.

The illusion of the uninterrupted "progress" of all classes has vanished without a trace. The relative decline of the masses' standard of living has been superseded by an absolute decline. Workers begin by economizing on skimpy entertainment, then on their clothes and finally on their food. Articles and products of average quality are superseded by shoddy ones, and the shoddy by the worst. Trade unions begin to look like the man who hangs on desperately while going down in a rapidly descending escalator.

With six per cent of the world's population, the United States holds forty per cent of the world's wealth. Still, one-third of the nation, as Roosevelt himself admitted, is undernourished, inadequately clothed, and lives under subhuman conditions. What is there to say, then, for the far less privileged countries? The history of the capitalist world since the last war has irrefutably borne out the so-called "theory of increasing misery." The increase in the social polarity of society is today acknowledged not only by every competent statistician, but even by statesmen who remember the rudimentary rules of arithmetic....

To save society, it is not necessary either to check the development of technique, to shut down factories, to award premiums to farmers for sabotaging agriculture, to turn a third of the workers into paupers, or to call upon maniacs to be dictators. Not one of these measures, which are a shocking mockery of the interests of society, are necessary. What is indispensable and urgent is to separate the means of production from their present parasitic owners and to organize society in accordance with a rational plan. Then it would at once be possible really to cure society of its ills. All those able to work would find a job. The work-day would gradually decrease. The wants of all members of society would secure increasing satisfaction. The words "property," "crisis," "exploitation," would drop out of circulation. Mankind would at last cross the threshold into true humanity.

— Leon Trotsky, "Marxism in Our Time" (1939)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is November 19.

No. 656

22 November 1996

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Friday, December 6
5 to 8:30 p.m.

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161 Hudson St. (at Larcht)
For more information
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37 S. Ashland (at Montoe)
For more information
(312) 454-4931

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Sunday, December 8
1 to 4 p.m.

Fort Mason Center, Bldg. A-1
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(Marina at Laguna)
For more information
(510) 839-0852

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Castro Courts Pope, Capitalist Rulers

Down With U.S. Imperialist Embargo!

Defend Cuba—For Workers Political Revolution!

On November 19, Cuban president Fidel Castro had a "historic" audience with Pope John Paul in the Vatican, where they agreed to a greater role for the church in Cuba and a visit by the anti-Communist cleric to the island next year. We Trotskyists warn that any involvement in Cuba by the Pope, the patron of Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland, can only be for the purpose of fomenting capitalist restoration.

The Cuban leader's visit to the Vatican came little more than a week after attending the Sixth Ibero-American Summit in Santiago, Chile, his first trip there since 1971. While former Chilean military dictator Augusto Pinochet railed that Castro was the devil himself, thousands of Chilean leftists greeted the Cuban leader with red flags and cheers. But the purpose of Castro's trip was to hohnob with the assembled Latin American capitalist rulers, including Mexican president Zedillo, who is waging a ruthless war of terror against leftist guerrillas and imposing starvation austerity on the working people and peasants. One Latin American diplomat called Castro "a wayward sibling who's trying to reconnect with his family." These days Latin American and West European bourgeois leaders no longer view the graying guerrilla chieftain as a threat and, indeed, believe that capitalism can be restored in Cuba by working through the Castro government.

American imperialism, however, remains determined to avenge itself against Castro for ripping Cuba out of the hands of the Mafia and the United Fruit Company. The differences in policy toward Cuba between Yankee imperialism and the neocolonial Latin American bourgeoisies surfaced at the Santiago conference, which brought together the heads of 23 Latin American states along with Spain and Portugal. The Clinton administration lobbied hard that Castro not even be invited to the Ibero-American Summit, but was rebuffed. The summit also went on record in opposition to the Helms-Burton law signed by Clinton earlier this year, which penalizes foreign companies doing business with nationalized Cuban enterprises originally expropriated from American capitalists.

Washington has tried to destroy the Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers state for more than three decades,

through military invasions, CIA/gusano provocations and economic strangulation. Especially since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the U.S. economic embargo has exacted a terrible toll on Cuban workers and peasants. Direct military action against Cuba remains very much a possibility, and the Pentagon continues to hold onto its military base at Guantánamo. We say: Down with the American imperialist embargo! U.S. out of Guantánamo!

The Castro regime hails the denunciation of Helms-Burton at the Chilean summit and similar anti-U.S. declarations in

Spartacist League has fought for since our inception. At the same time, we have always warned that the Castroite Stalinist bureaucracy which consolidated itself during the Cuban Revolution would undermine the revolution, unless an additional *workers political revolution* placed political power into the hands of the working class itself. A Leninist-Trotskyist party is vitally necessary to lead that political revolution, and to fight to extend proletarian power through socialist revolutions throughout Latin America and in the U.S. imperialist "belly of the beast." Isolated, the Cuban



Chilean leftists greet Castro in Santiago.

various diplomatic forums as victories in its pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with Cuba's capitalist neighbors. A week after the Santiago meeting, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution for the fifth year in a row against Washington's economic embargo of Cuba. Yet for Cuba's workers and peasants, besieged by U.S. imperialism, Castro's diplomatic victories are hollow.

For Revolutionary Internationalism!

It is the duty of all class-conscious workers and leftist youth to defend Cuba against imperialist attack and the threat of capitalist counterrevolution, either from within or without. This is what the

deformed workers state cannot survive.

Castro's nationalist pursuit of "peaceful coexistence"—the hallmark of Stalinism—is counterposed to class struggle and proletarian internationalism. The Havana regime courts foreign capitalist investors, like the Canadian conglomerate which now runs the island's largest nickel smelter and the Mexican capitalists who have invested heavily in Cuban telecommunications. Castro's promotion of foreign capitalist investment and economic "liberalization" is a recipe for disaster. "Dollarization" of the economy has brought acute inequalities, making access to even basic items like food and soap incredibly difficult for anyone who doesn't have dollars. The biggest source of dollars are the overwhelmingly white Cubans who fled to Miami, so ugly racial divisions between black and light-skinned Cubans are being resurrected and intensified. Women are being driven to prostitution in the growing tourist sector.



Fidel Castro in Chile with Mexico's Ernesto Zedillo, enforcer of Wall Street austerity against workers and peasants.

The Cuban bureaucracy would like to follow the road taken by the Chinese Stalinists, who have surrendered vast chunks of China's planned economy to private capital while maintaining the Communist Party's grip on power. Facing the implacable hostility of American imperialism and based on a relatively small island dependent on foreign trade, the options available to the Stalinist bureaucrats in Havana are far more limited than those of their counterparts in Beijing. Nonetheless, the Cuban regime likewise fears and would oppose the rule of workers councils far more than the re-introduction of capitalism.

Meanwhile, in the U.S. the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Jack Barnes acts as uncritical cheerleaders for the Castro bureaucracy. The SWP's adaptation to Castroism in the early 1960s was one of the decisive factors marking its break with Trotskyism, which was fought internally by the Revolutionary Tendency, forerunner of the Spartacist League. Today, the SWP seeks to attract radical-minded youth by proclaiming itself the most consistent defenders of the Cuban Revolution. In fact, its politics are counterposed to genuine defense of the Cuban workers state.

The Barnesites focus almost exclusively on seeking to pressure the Clinton administration to lift the U.S. embargo, while parroting the U.S. bourgeoisie's lies about the "death of communism." In a recent interview, SWP presidential candidate James Harris grotesquely gloated that the breakup of the Soviet Union "was one of the most progressive things that has happened in decades" (*Militant*, 11 November). Yet it was only the existence of the Soviet Union which allowed the Cuban deformed workers state to defy U.S. imperialism over the decades. And in the early 1980s, reflecting its acquiescence to U.S. imperialism, the SWP joined Washington and the Vatican in supporting CIA-backed Solidarność. The Cuban workers and peasants can do without "defenders" like the SWP!

Chile Revisited

The thousands of Chilean leftists who welcomed Castro with red banners are evidence of the Cuban leader's continuing

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On previous visit to Chile in 1971, Castro stood shoulder to shoulder with "constitutionalist" general Augusto Pinochet, architect of bloody 1973 coup.

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Young Spartacus

— An Exchange on Nestor Makhno — Peasant “Anarchism,” Pogroms and the Russian Revolution

We publish below excerpts, taken from a substantially longer letter, which include the writer's arguments on the Makhno movement.

Oakland
27 September 1996

Dear apologists for wage labor
and state capitalism:

I'm writing to refute several egregious Leninoid lies peddled by Joseph Seymour, in part 7 of his series, “Marxism vs. Anarchism” (*Workers Vanguard* (sic), page 7, 8/30/96). In the section of his article dealing with the Russian Revolution of 1917-1921, Seymour claims:

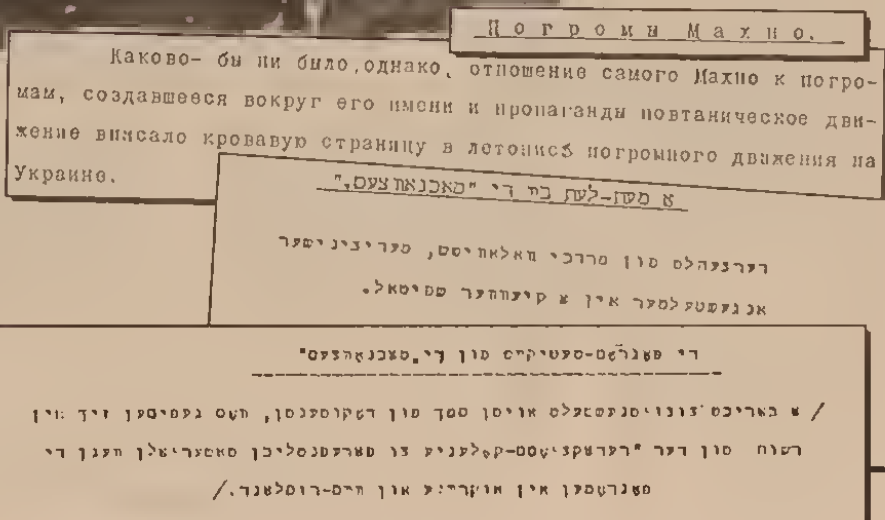
“The most significant counterrevolutionary force under the banner of anarchism was the Ukrainian peasant-based army of Nestor Makhno, which carried out pogroms against Jewish communities and collaborated with White armies against the Bolsheviks.”

Seymour makes these accusations without providing any documentation, and with good reason, for outside of Stalinist hagiographies, Stalin-era fiction like Suslov's [actually, Sholokhov's—*WV*] *And Quiet Flows the Don* and Seymour's imagination no evidence exists to support his claims. Surviving partisans of the Makhnovist movement, for example Makhno's comrade the ex-Bolshevik Peter Arshinov in his *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, the anarchist historian Voline in his work *The Unknown Revolution*, and independent historians who are not friends of revolution or anarchism, like Stanford scholar Michael Palij, in his book *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno*, affirm that:

1. The Makhnovist Movement was a mass revolutionary movement of the poor in the Southern Ukraine, and fielded an army of several tens of thousands of partisans. This revolutionary movement lasted from 1918 until the final wholesale massacre of its partisans, and large numbers of non-combatant sympathizers, by the Bolsheviks in 1921.
2. An important part in the Makhnovist Movement was played by revolutionaries of Jewish origins, among them Voline. He was a key figure in the anarcho-communist “Nahal” confederation in the Ukraine during



Nestor Makhno with members of his peasant army. Whitewash by present-day anarchists to the contrary, Makhnoites did carry out anti-Semitic pogroms, as documented in eyewitness accounts in Russian and Yiddish obtained from YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York City.



the Russian Civil War.

3. Jewish communities in the Ukraine furnished numerous combatants to Makhno's Insurrectionary Army. Jewish communities participated in regional revolutionary mass assemblies of workers, peasants and partisans called by the Revolutionary Military Council of the Makhnovist Army.
4. The Makhnovists named one of their free-communist agricultural communes after Rosa Luxemburg, who was of Jewish origins.
5. Nestor Makhno and his comrades issued numerous proclamations against anti-Semitism, and Makhno himself killed instigators of violence against the Jewish population, including a bandit named Grigorev. (See Arshinov's *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, pp. 135-137.)

6. Leah Feldman, who died in London in the late 1980's, was the last known survivor of the Makhno movement in the west. As a young girl, Feldman helped sew uniforms for the Makhnovist Army. Feldman, who was of Jewish origins, vehemently attested to the Makhnovists' violent hostility to anti-Semitism.

In *The Unknown Revolution* (p. 698), Voline quotes a Jewish historian, M. Tcherikover, interviewed in Paris, who was neither an anarchist or a revolutionary:

“It is undeniable that, of all these armies, including the (so-called) Red Army, the Makhnovists behaved best with regard to the civil population in general and the Jewish population in particular.... Do not let us speak of pogroms alleged to have been organized by Makhno himself. This is a slander or an error. *Nothing of the sort occurred*” [my italics].

With regard to Seymour's claim that the Makhnovists “...collaborated with White armies against the Bolsheviks”:

1. Makhno fought against Austrian and German Imperialist forces and their allies among the local gentry, as opposed to the Bolshevik regime, who collaborated with these enemies of the world revolution by signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918.
2. Makhno's forces played a key role in the defeat of the Austro-German invasion of the Ukraine and in the defeat of the Ukrainian nationalist regime of Petliura in 1918.
3. Makhno's forces destroyed a signifi-

cant portion of the White army general Denikin's forces in September and October 1919, thus crippling Denikin's attempt at that time to take Moscow.

4. Makhno's forces played the decisive part in the defeat of the White general Wrangel in late 1920. At that time an agreement was made between the Bolshevik state, signed by Frunze and Bela Kun, and the revolutionaries of the Makhno movement, where Makhno's forces were considered to be effectively a part of the so-called Red Army. This agreement is reproduced in Arshinov and Voline's works. Earlier, in May of 1919, the leading Bolshevik Lev Kamenev had journeyed to Makhno's headquarters and negotiated in person with Makhno.

The Bolsheviks are the only counter-revolutionaries the Makhnovists can be accurately accused of collaborating with.

Space considerations prohibit me from describing in great detail the counterrevolutionary treachery displayed by the Bolsheviks with regard to the Makhnovists. But those who read the sources mentioned above and who also read of how the Stalinists behaved during the Spanish Civil War will note many telling similarities....

Trotskyism is not a materialist weapon for understanding and changing reality, but a dogma, an impoverished amalgam of social democracy and Stalinism; an ersatz “socialism” devoid of social content. Trotskyism is a personality cult worshipping Lenin and Trotsky, around whom all history is made to revolve in a Ptolemaic fashion. The future can't be held hostage by the failures of the past.

For world communist revolution
and the eradication of Leninism,
Max Anger

The Poor, the Bad and the Angry

WV replies: Max Anger's raving defense of Makhno's peasant bandits provides a measure of the dementia that can be induced by bourgeois anti-Communism in the U.S. In their efforts to denounce the Bolshevik Revolution from the “left,” anarchists invariably raise the Makhnoite movement of 1918-21 and the Soviet government's suppression of the 1921 Kronstadt mutiny. We have dealt at length with the latter, notably in an extensive commentary, “Kronstadt and Counterrevolution” (*WV* Nos. 195 and 203, 3 March and 28 April 1978), in the form of a review of Paul Avrich's *Kronstadt 1921*, a definitive account of this event by an American historian sympathetic to anarchism. We have not, however, previously discussed the Makhnoite movement. In addition to substantiating that Makhno's forces did engage in anti-Semitic pogroms, we therefore want to address the general significance of this particular episode in the history of the anarchist movement.

The Revolutionary Partisan Army of Nestor Makhno, as it was officially called, can be understood only in the context of class and national divisions and of the revolutionary turmoil and many-sided civil war which engulfed the Ukraine following the fall of the tsarist autocracy and



Red Army units entering Ukrainian capital of Kiev in 1919. Makhno's peasant partisans initially collaborated with Soviet forces, later attacked Red Army.

the dissolution of the Russian empire. More than 90 percent of ethnic Ukrainians at the time were peasants or rural villagers. The peasantry was saturated not only with anti-Russian but also anti-Polish and anti-Semitic prejudices, fueled in part by the fact that landlords, particularly in the western Ukraine, were predominantly Polish while Jews had historically played the role of middlemen and moneylenders. Industry was concentrated in the eastern area bordering Russia. The industrial proletariat of this region—in the Donbass and the cities of Kharkov and Ekaterinoslav—was predominantly Russian or Russified. The cities also contained large, ghettoized Jewish communities.

The overthrow of the tsarist autocracy and ensuing political chaos unleashed an elemental peasant revolt in the Ukraine as well as in Russia. The basic goals and outlook of the peasants were summed up by a liberal American historian of the Ukrainian civil war:

"Peasants who had always been landless now dreamed of obtaining some land; peasants who owned a little dreamed of getting more. The desire to come out of this 'Time of Troubles' with a private plot and a system of self-government appears to have been virtually universal." [emphasis in original]

— Arthur E. Adams, *Bolsheviks in the Ukraine: The Second Campaign, 1918-1919* (1963)

Militarily, the peasant revolt in the Ukraine took the form of locally based partisan bands personally loyal to their own chiefs, who took the traditional titles of ataman or batko ("little father"). The peasant partisans were generally hostile to the heavily Russian and Jewish cities. Moreover, for well over a year following the October Revolution, much of the Ukraine was alternately under the control of the pro-German, anti-Soviet Rada regime or the German puppet dictatorship of the hetman Skoropadsky. (For a sense of the Ukraine in this period, see Mikhail Baitalsky, *Notebooks for the Grandchildren: Recollections of a Trotskyist Who Survived the Stalin Terror*, Humanities Press [1995].)

Understandably, the core of Bolshevik support in the Ukraine was the Russian industrial proletariat in the eastern region along with a sizable fraction of the urban Jewish intelligentsia. Unfortunately, many of these Russian workers still retained chauvinist attitudes toward the Ukrainian peasant masses. Thus national divisions aggravated the economic conflict between the urban working class and peasant smallholders which was enormously intensified by the conditions of civil war and Western imperialist intervention. The conflict between the Bolsheviks and the Makhnoites was at bottom an expression of this class conflict and not at all a contest between the ideas of Marxism and anarchism. As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky wrote in a January 1938 article titled "Hue and Cry Over Kronstadt":

"Only an entirely superficial person can see in Makhno's bands or in the Kronstadt revolt a struggle between the ab-



Elias Tcherikower

stract principles of Anarchism and 'state socialism.' Actually these movements were convulsions of the peasant petty bourgeoisie which desired, of course, to liberate itself from capital but which at the same time did not consent to subordinate itself to the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Nestor Makhno and the Nature of His Movement

Nestor Makhno was born in 1889, the son of a poor peasant, in the eastern Ukrainian village of Gulyai-Pole in the province of Ekaterinoslav. During the turbulent period after the Revolution of 1905, he joined a local anarchist-communist group which helped finance its activities by armed robbery. On one occasion this resulted in the death of a security guard. When the tsarist police finally rounded up the Gulyai-Pole anarchists, they were sentenced to death by hanging. Because of his youth, Makhno's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment at hard labor. At Moscow's Butyrki prison, he encountered a veteran anarchist (and one-time Bolshevik), Peter Arshinov, who educated the anarchist-minded peasant youth in the doctrines of Bakunin and Kropotkin.

Released from prison as a result of the general amnesty which followed the overthrow of the tsar in February 1917, Makhno returned to his native village, where he placed himself at the head of the burgeoning peasant revolt. In the spring of 1919, the Makhnoite forces were joined by Arshinov and a few months later by the prominent Russian anarchist intellectual Voline. However, the Revolutionary Partisan Army was *not*—present-day mythologizing to the contrary—an anarchist movement. In 1920, the official organ of the Makhnoites, *The Road to Freedom*, edited by Arshinov, stated categorically: "The Makhnovist army is not an anarchist army and does not consist of anarchists" (quoted in Michael Malet, *Nestor Makhno in the Russian Civil War* [1982]).

Rather, Makhno's forces consisted of peasant smallholders who were fighting for their own land and to freely market and dispose of their own produce.

Michael Palij's study of the Makhnoite movement, *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno, 1918-1921* (1976), which Max Anger commends as scholarly and objective, explained:

"It would be a mistake to assume that the peasants in the region of the Makhno movement were anarchists; in reality, they knew and cared very little about anarchism or Marxism.... Although some of the anarchist principles were quite compatible with traditional peasant aspirations, the basic desire of the Ukrainian peasants was not the creation of an anarchist utopia but the expulsion of all the foreign invaders who exploited them and disrupted their way of life."

The handful of agricultural communes established by the Makhnoite leadership in the Gulyai-Pole region encompassed only a small fraction of its followers. The overwhelming majority of Makhno's partisans were committed to their own private property. As Palij put it: "His partisans and the peasants understood the slogan 'free anarcho-communes' to mean free individual farms."

Max Anger's romanticized views notwithstanding, an army of largely illiterate Ukrainian peasants, with no prior experience in political struggle, was hardly capable of assimilating the principles of anarchist-communism. The rival Ukrainian partisan leader Grigorev claimed to be a Left Social Revolutionary (populist) while Makhno raised the black flag of anarchism. Yet, whether they fought under ataman Grigorev or "batko Makhno," the social and political attitudes of the peasant partisans were essentially similar and could not have been otherwise.

This was recognized by a majority of anarchists in the Ukraine and Russia at the time. Both Arshinov and Voline (in his book *The Unknown Revolution* [1955]) recount, quite bitterly, that most anarchists did *not* join or even support the Makhnoite movement, despite appeals from its leadership to do so. In Arshinov's words:

"The majority of Russian anarchists who had passed through the theoretical school of anarchism remained in their isolated circles, which were of no use to anyone. They stood aside, asking what kind of a

movement this was, why they should relate to it, and without moving they consoled themselves with the thought that the movement did not seem to be purely anarchist."

— Peter Arshinov, *History of the Makhnovist Movement (1918-1921)* (1974)

The Makhnoite Movement and the Bolsheviks

Until the spring of 1919, relations between Makhno and the Bolsheviks were generally collaborative. For example, when Makhno was in Moscow in the fall of 1918 he secured a personal interview with Lenin, and the Soviet leader helped smuggle the anarchist militant back into the Ukraine, then under the rule of a German puppet regime propped up by German and Austrian troops. When Bolshevik forces entered the Ukraine a few months later, the peasant partisan bands of Makhno, Grigorev and others rallied to their side and were incorporated into the newly formed Soviet Army of the Ukraine. Makhno's forces were assigned a strategically vital section of the Red Army's southern front facing the counterrevolutionary White army of the former tsarist general Denikin.

Yet even in the period when he was a commander in the Ukrainian Soviet Army, Makhno willfully undermined the defense of the social revolution of which he claimed to be the purest partisan. Historian Arthur Adams writes: "Makhno supplied himself, sometimes by commandeering entire Bolshevik supply trains meant for the Southern Front. In the vast area centered at his home at Gulyai-Pole, he and his lieutenants made it quite impossible for the Communists to collect food or to set up local governments" (*Bolsheviks in the Ukraine*). Adams' account is corroborated in his own way by Arshinov: "The Communist authorities who penetrated into all parts of the region were received as foreigners and intruders.... The attempts to implant Communist institutions resulted in bloody collisions between the population and the authorities."

At the same time, the Makhnoites

continued on page 6



Basil Blackwell Inc



Mikhail Shmigerky

Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky organized Red Army and "Red Cossack" detachments which crushed anti-Semitic pogromists to defend proletarian order.

Makhno...

(continued from page 5)

demanding that the central Soviet government in Moscow supply them with modern weaponry to fight the Whites. But in order to feed the workers in munitions factories or buy arms from abroad, the Soviet government had to collect surplus grain from the peasantry. By preventing this where they held sway, the Makhnoites sabotaged the military struggle against the Whites. In short, the Makhnoites wanted the Soviet workers state to economically support them but they refused—arms in hand—to give any economic support to the Soviet workers state.

Soviet grain collection, often earned out by Russian or Jewish Communists, encountered an increasingly violent response among the Ukrainian peasantry, especially the kulaks, the wealthier peasants. In May 1919, Grigorev openly mutinied against the Red Army command. Declaring the Communists to be the main enemy, the ataman now called for an alliance of all anti-Bolshevik forces including the Russian Whites.

Makhno initially adopted a stated position of neutrality toward the Grigorev revolt, but his military actions were directed solely against the Bolsheviks. He resigned his Red Army command and with his most loyal supporters retreated behind the front lines. According to Palij: "As soon as Makhno left the front he and his associates began to organize new partisan detachments in the Bolsheviks' rear, which subsequently attacked strongholds, troops, police, trains, and food collectors." Needless to say, the Bolsheviks answered the Makhnoites in kind. In early July 1919, Makhno entered into a short-lived alliance with Grigorev. The attacks by Grigorev, Makhno and other armed peasant bands so weakened the Red Army that Deniken's Whites were able to occupy most of the Ukraine by the fall of 1919.

The withdrawal of the Red Army brought about a significant change in the political and ideological character of the Makhnoite movement. Until then, Makhno had been quite hostile to the bourgeois-nationalist forces led by Simon Petlyura, which were concentrated in the western Ukraine. From the fall of 1919 onward, however, the Makhnoites increasingly appealed to anti-Russian Ukrainian nationalism and entered into collaborative relations with the Petlyuraites. Palij notes:

"Makhno's slogans assumed a more pro-Ukrainian, patriotic, and, at the same time, a more anti-Russian tone. Makhno began to brand the Bolsheviks not only as social, but also as national enemies; at the same time, his newspapers blamed the Bolsheviks for preventing the Ukrainian people from 'creating their own life by themselves' and urged them to 'take the authority into their own hands.' Also, the newspapers and Makhno himself appealed to the people to fight against the 'Moscovite oppressors' and to 'liberate

Bolshevik Revolution opened door to emancipation for Jews oppressed under tsarism. Right: Jewish students in Kiev trade school.



our native Ukraine from the Russian yoke!"

In this period, Makhno's partisans shared their surplus weapons with the Ukrainian Army of Petlyura. Though Petlyura, too, styled himself a "socialist," his forces were synonymous with anti-Semitic pogroms. Makhno, according to his former chief-of-staff Viktor Bilush, was even preparing to join Petlyura's Ukrainian Army, but this plan was jettisoned because his lieutenants strongly objected.

When the Red Army fought its way back into the Ukraine in 1920, Makhno did another about-face and offered the Bolsheviks a military alliance against the White army. The Bolsheviks demanded that Makhno explicitly incorporate his forces into the Red Army. In an October 1920 article, Leon Trotsky, then leader of the Red Army, insisted also that the Makhnoites "purge their troop of kulak bandit elements" and warned:

"We, of course, can only welcome the fact that the Makhnovites wish henceforth not to fight against us but with us, against [the White general] Wrangel. But our pact with the Makhnovites must certainly not be temporary in character. The working class of the Ukraine can never, and especially not in conditions of tremendous military danger, allow particular units sometimes to fight in our ranks and sometimes to stab us in the back. Waging war against the world's exploiters, the workers' and peasants' Red Army says: 'Who is not with me is against me, and whoever is with me is to remain in my ranks and not leave them till the end!'"

— Trotsky, *How the Revolution Armed*, Vol. 3 (1981)

After Wrangel's White army was defeated, the Makhnoites sought to establish themselves as an independent military force in the Crimean peninsula with its strategically vital ports on the Black Sea. The Soviet government could not and did not tolerate this situation, especially given Makhno's treacherous history of allying with whatever military force he thought would best ensure his

vaunted "independence." In late 1920, the Red Army suppressed the Makhnoite partisans. This had nothing to do with their formal anarchist doctrines, to which no one at the time paid much attention.

Makhno's Partisans Did Commit Anti-Semitic Pogroms

The war of the Ukrainian peasant armies against the Soviet power was accompanied by anti-Semitic pogroms on a mass scale. "Down with the Jewish Commissars!" was a battle cry of Petlyura, Grigorev and other Ukrainian nationalist chieftains. A member of the Jewish Bund in the Ukraine expressed the sentiments of the Jewish masses at the time: "The armed carriers of socialism, the Bolsheviks, are the only force which can oppose the pogroms.... For us there is no other way" (see "Revolution, Counterrevolution and the Jewish Question," *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 49-50, Winter 1993-94). As we noted in that article: "In its struggle to defend and consolidate the new proletarian state power against the White counterrevolutionaries, the Red Army necessarily had to sweep away the pogromist old order."

Wayward elements of the Red Army who carried out excesses against the population, Jewish or otherwise, were subjected to the harshest disciplinary measures, like summary execution. The various peasant bands arrayed against the Bolsheviks, in contrast, whatever the formal political views of their leaders, either actively fostered or adapted to the backward prejudices of their peasant base. As Trotsky noted in his October 1920 article:

"Exploiting the backwardness of the rural lower orders, their lack of confidence in the revolution, the kulak took the leadership of the countryside and counterposed it to the town.... This was the basis on which both Petlyura's movement and Makhno's grew up. Petlyura regards himself as a statesman, has dealings with the Pope of Rome and with the French Freemasons, whereas Makhno regards himself as an Anarchist. But they both try to find support in a united countryside, raising this in revolt against the advanced proletariat.... Petlyura did this consciously—Makhno, without thinking."

Max Anger and other anarchists contend that, uniquely among Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik partisan forces, the Makhnoites carried out no crimes against the Jewish population. Some of his arguments can be described as circumstantial evidence. The Makhnoites' official proclamations and publications consistently denounced anti-Semitism. They named an agricultural commune after the Polish Jewish revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg. Voline, a leading Makhnoite, was Jewish. Yet these seemingly convincing arguments say nothing about what Makhno's partisans actually did on the ground.

Would Max Anger accept similar arguments from an apologist for the Stalin regime's murderous purge of Soviet Jewish intellectuals in the late 1940s and

early '50s? After all, in the same period that Stalin ordered the killing of famous Yiddish actor Solomon Mikhoels and the arrest of prominent Jewish figures in the infamous "doctors' plot," official Soviet propaganda continued to strongly condemn anti-Semitism and to honor the German Jewish revolutionary Karl Marx. And a leading figure in the Stalin regime at the time was Lazar Kaganovich, a Jew.

Anger indignantly demands "documentation" for our charge that Makhno's forces engaged in anti-Semitic pogroms. Such documentation can be found in the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York City (based before the Holocaust in Vilna, Lithuania), perhaps the world's foremost research and archival center for East European Jewish studies. File No. 29 (Folios 2623-2681) of the Elias Tchenkower Archives at YIVO contains material on the Makhnoites in Yiddish, Russian and French, including contemporary, eyewitness accounts by Jews living in the areas in which Makhno's partisans operated. Thanks to the efforts of John Holmes, a sympathizer of the Spartacist League in the Bay Area who has researched the question, many of the YIVO materials are also available in English translation (as are copies of the original documents) at the Prometheus Research Library in New York, the central archival and research facility of the Spartacist League/U.S.

We did not say that Makhno and his colleagues officially preached anti-Semitism, but rather that his peasant-based army carried out pogroms. This point is also made by I. Klinov in an article polemicizing against Makhno apologists, published in the Yiddish newspaper *Haynt* ([Today], 23 July 1926). Klinov wrote: "There were many instances in which Makhno, led by a group of intellectuals which included Jews, behaved decently and one could even think that Makhno was a protector of the poor Jewish masses; these instances do not make up for the excesses that Jews had to suffer from the Makhnoites as from the other bands." Among the numerous Makhnoite atrocities documented in the YIVO files is one reported by M. Aspiz on 24 August 1922:

"At the end of December 1918 and the beginning of January 1919, Makhno's insurgent detachments fought with the Petlyurites in and around Ekaerimoslav.... The Makhnoites looted and burned the 'Azyorne' marketplace. Also the entire commercial region was looted. As a result, when the battle ended 83 Jewish victims were brought to the cemetery for burial, only a small number of the fatalities being caused by accidental bullets and shells. The remainder were savagely slain by the Makhnoites."

Another account, presented by Wolf-Aaron Dubkin to the Odessa Kehillah (Jewish community organization) in late 1919, described how the previous August "a band of Makhnoites showed up in Bratskeye, near Elisavetgrad." The Makhnoites looted all the Jewish families and murdered a 75-year-old man who tried to prevent his daughter-in-law from being raped. In Kazatin, the secretary of the Poale-Zion organization reported that in October 1919 a unit of Petlyuraites which included around 800 "Makhnoites" from Chudnov took the town. "They murdered the Jews Kodel and Belilovsky. Forty women were raped. The Makhnoites were there for 12 days."

As for the apparent discrepancy between the statement by Tchenkower cited in Anger's letter and the materials in the Tchenkower files, a YIVO archivist speculated to John Holmes that this could be partly explained by the fact that Tchenkower was based in Kiev, while many of the pogroms were perpetrated in outlying areas. Much new documentation on anti-Semitic atrocities by the Makhnoites has come to light with the opening of Soviet archives in the past few years. Before they rush to defend the Makhnoites against charges of anti-Semitic pogroms, we suggest that anarchists read the archival material in YIVO or the PRL.

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Prop 209...

(continued from page 12)

[affirmative action programs] myself" (San Francisco Chronicle, 1 November).

Now Jesse Jackson, black front man for the Democrats, and Patricia Ireland, president of the bourgeois National Organization for Women, are literally hugging Clinton to organize defense of affirmative action! The liberals say they can stop Prop. 209 in the courts. Fat chance! Prop. 187's intended terrorization of immigrants has been largely achieved regardless of court orders supposedly blocking parts of its implementation. The courts are an integral part of the capitalist state, the enforcement arm of the filthy rich capitalists who run this country.

The affirmative action programs set up under the pressure of the social upheavals of the 1960s at best have benefited only a thin layer of minorities and women. In fact, hiring quotas were initially instituted with the aim of breaking the unions and increasing racial divisions in the workforce. Now the ruling class wants to wipe out the minimal access minority youth have to the race- and class-biased system of higher education. What's needed is to mobilize real class struggle against this racist offensive.

Yet organizers of the current protests are bent on continuing their bankrupt strategy of alliance with the class enemy. To this end they are eagerly promoting widespread illusions in the "liberal" wing of the university administration. From Berkeley and Santa Cruz to San Diego and Riverside, the main official demand of the campus protesters is to call on the administration not to enforce Prop. 209. At UC Santa Cruz, organizers hailed as a "great victory" the establishment of a "Post Prop. 209 Commission" headed by the chancellor, and a few dollars set aside for minority recruitment. At Berkeley, many look to the "anti-209" chancellor Tien, and in San Diego protesters there invited him to join them.

The campus administrations are not allies in the fight against racism but ene-

mies! Their job is to run the universities on behalf of the capitalists, turning out the future technicians and bureaucrats the capitalists need while ruthlessly suppressing student protest against injustice. Just look at the history of Berkeley—from the crackdown on civil rights activists which sparked the free speech movement in the 1960s, to assaults on protests against the dirty imperialist war in Vietnam, to the persecution of anti-apartheid activists, and now the brutal arrest of anti-racist protesters by Chancellor Tien's campus cops. We say: *Abolish the Board of Regents and the administration—for worker/student/teacher control of the university!*

Students who want genuine racial and social equality must demand that everyone have the right to an education! This is a minimum requirement to cut through the race and class discrimination built into capitalist America. The SYC fights for open admissions with no tuition—free quality education for all! To combat massive unemployment which has especially ravaged minority youth, we fight for jobs for all through a shorter work-week with no loss in pay. But any serious step toward genuine social equality runs up hard against the capitalist profit system, which is racist to its very core.

Prop. 209 is an integral part of the capitalists' ongoing class war against workers and the oppressed. Anti-racist students must broaden the struggle by linking up with the multiracial working class—the only force with the social power to defeat the ruling class. This means, for example, supporting embattled campus workers also targeted by Prop. 209, including the Association of Graduate Student Employees who are planning a strike this month against the UC administration's union-busting. As an SYC speaker told Berkeley protesters on November 7:

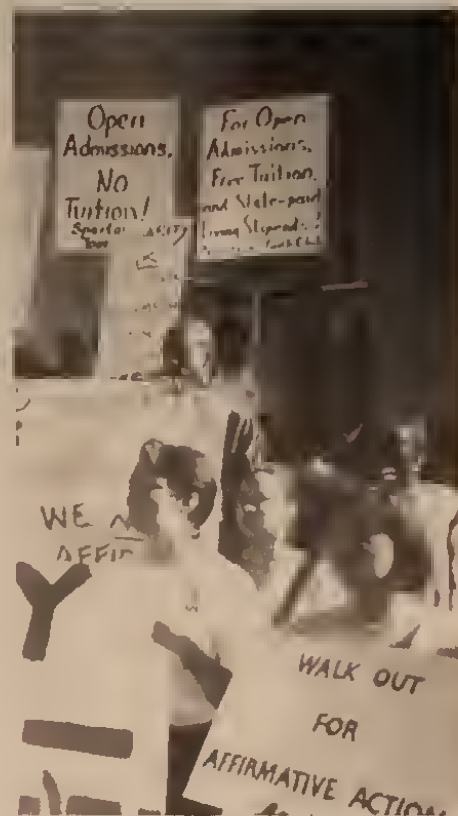
"The capitalists have decided to throw millions of youth on the scrap heap. They won't educate them because they don't have jobs for them, so they just hire more cops and build more prisons.... The leaders of this protest have just kept their demands within what is acceptable to the capitalists. We call for what is needed by the working class, and

seek to mobilize their power so that their children can have a future."

The reformists of the Committees of Correspondence (CoC), self-proclaimed "socialists" who openly hack the racist Democratic Party, are working overtime to keep the protests within "respectable" boundaries. Trailing along on their left flank is the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) with its front group, the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN). At Berkeley, BAMN endorses calls for the chancellor to "openly resist" Prop. 209. The *San Francisco Examiner* (9 November) quoted Tanya Kappner of BAMN declaring that "We need [Chancellor Tien] to guarantee specifically that he will maintain the same numbers of black and Hispanic students at this school." In other words, the BAMN "revolutionaries" are happy to settle for the current token representation of minorities at UC Berkeley—where barely five percent of students are black and less than 14 percent Latino—and look to the capitalist administration to defend it!

Now the student bureaucrats running the current campus protests, including the CoC, are distributing a grotesque anti-communist diatribe against the RWL/BAMN titled "Divide and Disrupt" which rebuffs the RWL/BAMN as a "vanguardist Trotskyist party" whose members show "many indications of being agent provocateurs." They smear the RWL as "violent" in a sinister bid to set them up for police repression. This anonymous piece of filth sounds like it was written by J. Edgar Hoover, with tales of how the RWL seeks to "subvert coalitions" and "co-opt crowds." They even denounce "sectarians" for "constantly trying to sell newspapers"—a harsh clearly aimed at the Spartacists, since the liquidationist RWL no longer even produces its own newspaper.

Far from being the Red Menace, the RWL/BAMN simply tries to put a more tactically militant face on the same liberal reform pressure politics the CoC pushes. But the vicious redbaiting pushed by the CoC aims to keep opposition to the racist offensive from posing any threat to the capitalist status quo.



Spartacus Youth Club opposes racist rollback of affirmative action, fights for opening universities to all working-class and minority youth.

Thus the bureaucratic anti-communist "facilitators" at a November 11 UC Berkeley open "planning meeting" hysterically shouted down an SYC speaker when he raised the call for open admissions.

In opposition to Prop. 209 and the racist status quo of Clinton, Chancellor Tien and the reformists, the SYC fights to win anti-racist students to the program and perspective of *socialist revolution*, to put an end to racism and exploitation once and for all and create a genuinely egalitarian society on the basis of a planned socialist economy. The only social force with both the power and the interest as a class to carry out such a revolution is the integrated working class whose labor produces all wealth. We aim to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party that can lead that struggle to victory. Join us! ■

which is open by appointment to left-wing activists and qualified scholars.

Finally, the fact that Makhno's forces contained many pogromists is indicated by the material cited in Max Anger's own letter, the significance of which he distorts, either out of ignorance or deceit. It is true that Grigorev was a pogromist. It is also true that he was killed by Makhno's men. But it is *not true* that he was killed because he was a pogromist.

When Grigorev mutinied against the Red Army in May 1919, his forces carried out one of the worst atrocities in the

entire Ukrainian civil war, killing some 3,000 Jews in the village of Elisavetgrad. Yet in early July Makhno entered into a military alliance with Grigorev against the Bolsheviks. However, Makhno and his colleagues distrusted Grigorev as an unprincipled adventurer who might suddenly turn on them. By getting rid of the ataman, they also hoped to incorporate his followers into their own army.

And that's just what they did. After Grigorev was killed at a joint assembly of the two partisan forces in late July, according to Arshinov's account: "The

assembly also decided that the partisan detachments formerly under Grigorev's command would henceforth be part of the general insurrectionary army of the Makhnovists." Thus, Makhno and his anarchist colleagues knowingly recruited en masse into their ranks men who only a few months before had massacred thousands of Jews.

Certainly Makhno, Arshinov, Voline and their cothinkers professed hostility to anti-Semitism. But they hated themselves on an army composed of small property owners. That is why a

majority of anarchists in the Ukraine and Russia at the time did *not* support the Makhnoite movement. Moreover, many Russian anarchists, such as Vladimir (Bill) Shatov, supported the Soviet workers state and fought with honor in the Red Army. Yet today almost all Western anarchists retrospectively embrace the Makhnoites as their own. Why is that? Because in their hostility to Leninism, they have bought into the anti-Communist prejudices which pervade the bourgeois societies in which they live and which have shaped their political consciousness. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

CHICAGO

Alternate Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m.
Next class, December 4: *The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class*, University of Chicago, Cobb Hall, Room 106, 5811 S. Ellis
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

LOS ANGELES

Alternate Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m.
Next class, December 4: *For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! Build a Multiracial Class-Struggle Workers Party!*; UCLA, Boelter Hall, Room 5514
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m.
Next class, November 30: *Marxist Economics*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m.
Next class, December 5: *The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class*; San Francisco State University, Student Union, Room B116
Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

SANTA CRUZ, CA

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, January 14: *The USSR's Degeneration: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; UCSC, Student Center, Third World Lounge
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturdays, 12 noon. Next class, December 7: *The Fight for a Revolutionary Party Today*, University of Maryland, College Park, Stamp Union, Room 2146
Information and readings: (202) 872-8240

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Gasaway/SF Bay Guardian

Workers World, SWP and other self-styled "socialists" endorsed April 14 San Francisco pep rally for racist "law and order" Democrat Clinton, supported for re-election by Fraternal Order of Police (right).



AP

Elections...

(continued from page 1)

forcible segregation of the black masses at the bottom of society—and a thin, brittle layer of corrupt, pro-capitalist union bureaucrats.

Today, the labor misleaders see their main job as overseeing strikebreaking, layoffs and the decimation of the unions. This has led to mass unemployment particularly in the ghettos, as the factories that once employed millions of black workers have been turned into rusting hulks. Having thus made their own contribution to the devastation of the inner cities, the labor tops have of course done nothing to oppose the savage attacks on the poor, blacks and immigrants. Rather they push the racist poison of "America First" protectionism, taking aim at immigrants and foreign workers in the interest of safeguarding the corporate holdings and profits of the American ruling class. Thus they feed into the racial, ethnic and national hatreds which the ruling class fosters to divide the working class.

For labor to fight in its own interests it must champion the rights of all the oppressed. For the unions to become fighting organizations in defense of the interests of the working people, the labor misleaders who keep them tied to their exploiters must be replaced with a class-

struggle leadership. This is integrally linked to the fight for a multiracial workers party to lead a socialist revolution which will take industry out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and build an egalitarian socialist society.

Democrats' Fake-Left Waterboys

With the rapid accumulation of social pressures in the U.S., things can and will blow. But this could go in every and any conceivable direction. Ours is a revolutionary Marxist perspective of a proletarian, internationalist fight for a workers America. In this we recall a 1948 speech by James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, on the election policy of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP):

"In the terrible crisis that is impending in America there are possibilities for all kinds of political manifestations, from the most revolutionary to the most reactionary. We must not get mixed up in bourgeois politics of any kind. We must not let our party become involved in any kind of substitute for genuine working class action. All of the activities of our party must be compressed within the framework of the class line. We must have in view the perspective of the terrific social crisis that is impending, when things will move at such terrific speed that some of the comrades who are impatient today may be left behind. We must foresee the possibilities of a rapid radicalization of the American working class, which will

almost overnight confront us with a genuine class movement on the political field."

This stands in marked contrast to the recent election campaign of the reformist shell of Cannon's SWP. SWP presidential candidate James Harris proclaimed that "working people need a break from the parties of the rich." But this populist rhetoric masks a program which fosters deep illusions in the bourgeois parties and the capitalist state. This summer, the SWP appealed to the racist Clinton to send federal troops to "protect" black churches from racist arsonists. For months, the SWP echoed the perennial calls of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP) to "fight the right"—a code word for support to the Democratic "lesser evil"—as it decried ultraright Republican candidate Pat Buchanan as the supposed leading edge of American fascism. Meanwhile the SWP itself has grotesquely tried to "intersect" genuine fascists like KKKer David Duke, selling its paper at Duke election rallies in Louisiana a couple of years ago and recently hailing a polite debate with KKKer David Duke at a California campus (see "Fascist Duke Spews Racist Filth at Cal State Northridge," *Young Spartacus* pages, WV No. 653, 11 October).

As for Gus Hall's fossilized CP, it has promoted the Democrats as the "progressive" wing of American capitalism since the "New Deal" era of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the mid-1930s. Now, the CP

has dispensed even with running its own candidates as a fig leaf, as Hall urged his depleted ranks to defeat the Republicans, proclaiming: "The elections will decide whether our country will move forward in a more progressive, democratic direction or continue moving backward, to the right, and even in a dangerously fascist direction" (*Political Affairs*, September-October 1996).

But with the Democratic presidential candidate barely attempting to differentiate himself from the Republicans, Clinton was seen as too hard a sell for most ostensibly "socialist" reformists. Both the Democratic Socialists of America, whose leaders have served as advisers to Democratic Party administrations since the 1960s, as well as the more "radical" social-democratic Solidarity outfit came out for Ralph Nader, a Democrat running as a candidate of the Green Party. Solidarity bemoaned the demise of "erstwhile insurgencies such as Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition" which had previously provided a convenient vehicle for backhanded support to the Democratic Party (*Against the Current*, September-October 1996).

While some saw Nader as a critic of corporate America, his stance was an overt appeal to refurbish the image of the Democratic Party. As Nader himself put it, "Corporations will always try to pull the Democratic Party to the right, and

St. Petersburg, Florida

Killer Cop Walks, Black Protesters Tear-Gassed

Defend Uhuru—Drop the Charges!

On November 13, a new wave of protests broke out in the black neighborhood on the south side of St. Petersburg, Florida after a white cop, James Knight, was found not guilty in the shooting death of black youth TyRon Lewis the month before. On October 24, Knight pumped five bullets into Lewis, who was sitting in a car with his hands up after being stopped by the police at an intersection. Lewis' killing sparked immediate angry protests. To quell the demonstrations, 600 cops and National Guard troops were mobilized to occupy the area under a state of emergency. Aided by an orchestrated media campaign, the cops went after a black nationalist group, the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement, which was raising bail for those arrested in the protests. Meanwhile, sensing an opportunity to foment race-terror, Ku Klux Klan fascists publicly appeared downtown.

Immediately after last week's decision by an 18-member grand jury—which included only one black person—to let Knight walk, the cops launched a

series of provocations against the black neighborhood, particularly targeting Uhuru, which had begun distributing flyers denouncing the verdict. As cops blocked off the area, police cruisers swarmed in to arrest four members of Uhuru, all on minor violations like driving cars without license tags. While the bourgeois media reported that the police moved in to suppress "rioting," *the cop invasion was planned weeks ago*. One Uhuru supporter was arrested at the house which serves as the group's headquarters, where scores of people were meeting to protest the verdict. Declaring the gathering an "unlawful assembly," police launched an assault using tear gas and pepper gas on the men, women and children inside the house.

As the number of street executions by racist cops skyrockets, the capitalist rulers are fearful of another explosion like the one that rocked Los Angeles and other cities following the 1992 acquittal of the cops who beat black motorist Rodney King. This was said in so many words by a St. Petersburg police spokesman in explaining why



Rivenbark/AP

November 13: Black demonstrators protesting racist verdict are attacked by cops.

they sealed off the black neighborhood. The St. Petersburg cops' assault on black protesters is part and parcel of the system of racist state terror exemplified by the brutal beating of King and the killings of TyRon Lewis and countless other minority youth.

Three Uhuru supporters have been arrested. With its program of strident

black nationalism, Uhuru has in the past played into the capitalist rulers' divide-and-rule schemes, for example by spewing vile anti-Asian bigotry. Nonetheless, it is vital for all opponents of racist repression to defend all those arrested for protesting cop terror in St. Petersburg. We demand: Drop all the charges! Hands off Uhuru!

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

On Farrakhan's "Atonement Day"

The following column is dated October 16, when Louis Farrakhan organized a "World's Day of Atonement" rally outside the United Nations building in New York City to mark the first anniversary of the Million Man March.

Ona Move! Long Live John Africa!

On this day a question comes to mind.

For what do the capitalists of Babylon have to atone? In this land, mislabeled as the land of the free, over a million men and women stagnate in cages, an estimated three million people are in search of a home, and over 30 million subsist in direst poverty.

For what do we have to atone? Is our poverty, our homelessness or our captivity a sin? And if it be a sin, who has sinned against whom? And who needs to atone?

This nation has become a Vampire under the jugular vein of our Mother Earth, it has slaked its sordid thirst with the blood of millions. It threatens to poison the very foundation of Life for its highest principle of profit.

Who needs to atone?

It has made law a commodity of the wealthy and justice a bitter memory, its courts are corrals of New Age slavery, its judges are priests of property. Its legislators representatives of repression. Its schools are cemeteries of consciousness.

Who needs to atone?

For the unfree, for the poor, for the homeless, for the damned, atonement brings nothing but another nightmare at day's end.

What slavemaster dare ask his slave to forgive



him? The freed need freedom. The poor need the resources with which to live. The homeless need decent housing. And the damned need a true salvation.

For them, for us, for us all, revolution is the only solution.

Let us unite. Let us organize. Let us rebel against a system that, as John Africa says, "GIVES NOTHING BUT PAIN TO OUR FAMILIES, OUR BABIES."

Ona Move! LONG LIVE JOHN AFRICA!

© 1996 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

there's got to be a pull to the left" (*New York Times Magazine*, 20 October). Moreover, the Greens represent not an alternative to corporate capitalism but a "left" face of capitalist austerity. While eco-conscious yuppies salve their conscience by putting their wine bottles in the right recycling containers, behind the Greens' diatribes against "consumerism" and their calls for ecological conservation lies a deeply conservative program which dovetails with the interests of the capitalist rulers who seek to drive down the living standards of the working class. And in the impoverished "Third World," this program amounts to telling the masses that they should get by without electricity, clean water and the most minimal necessities accessible through modern technology.

Of those self-proclaimed socialist groups which ran candidates in the elections, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) had the most visible campaign, getting slightly over 29,000 votes compared to the SWP's 11,513. But Workers World's nominally independent campaign was belied by its years of joining in "coalitions" with and cheerleading for Democratic Party "progressives" like Jesse Jackson and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. Indeed, the WWP was compelled to admit that its popular-frontist "National People's Campaign" against Gingrich's "Contract With America" was a vehicle for the Democrats, hypocritically complaining that "many elements in the progressive movement began arguing that the only way to stop the right was to get behind the Democratic Party" (*Workers World*, 15 August). And *Workers World* (14 November) hailed the election of a black (Democratic!) Congresswoman in Georgia and



Mass picket during 1989 Pittston miners strike, sold out by union tops. AFL-CIO misleaders suppress workers' struggles in service to Democrats.

an Asian American (Democratic!) governor in Washington as "signs of resistance to the reactionary onslaught."

Finally, there was the glossy campaign of David North's Socialist Equality Party (SEP), formerly the Workers League, which managed to scrape up some 2,700 votes. But this peculiar "equality" party not only dismisses the fight against racial and sexual discrimination, but is positively hostile to it. Front and center in the SEP's election platform was an attack on affirmative action—this in an election year marked by a virulently racist bipartisan assault on welfare and affirmative action. (Meanwhile, with the consummate cynicism which is a hallmark of North's outfit, in California, where thousands of youth have taken to

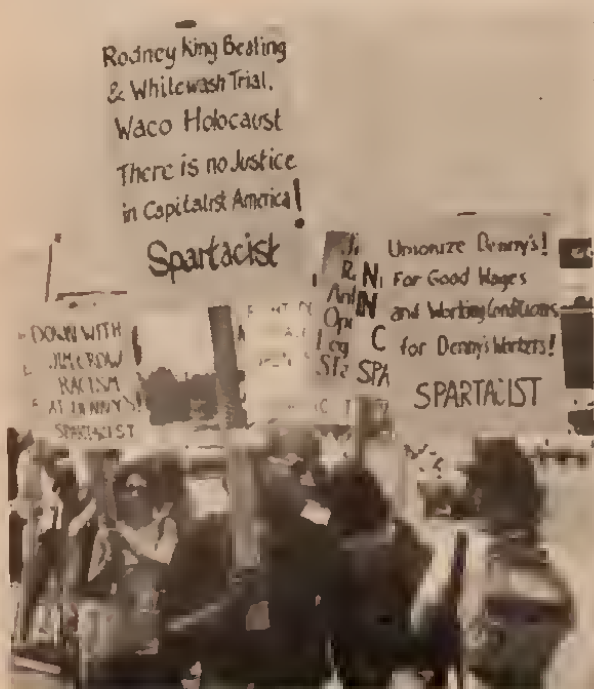
the streets in defense of affirmative action, the SEP issued a leaflet opposing Proposition 209, which bans state affirmative action measures.)

The core of the SEP's program is profoundly reformist, pushing among other things for the bourgeoisie to reallocate its economic resources: "Tax codes would have to be radically revised to place the greatest burden on those who can afford it, the corporations and the rich" (*International Workers Bulletin*, 11 November). This may sound like standard "tax the rich" reformist tinkering, but it's not even that. David North is ever so solicitous to the interests of the ruling class, assuring that "Our aim is not to reduce the rich to conditions of penury." In fact, the aim of communists is the

expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class. In a socialist society, they too will be able to find meaningful employment, if they want to eat.

For Marxists, election campaigns can provide an opportunity for a wider hearing among the working people for a program of struggle against the racist rulers, a platform for revolutionary agitation and propaganda. However, none of the supposed "socialists" claiming to be an alternative to Clinton's Democrats warranted a vote from class-conscious workers and radical youth, because not one of them offered a clear political break from capitalist politics on any decisive question. In any case, bourgeois elections are but a pale reflection of the class struggle, a shell game to reshuffle the political representatives for the capitalist class. Workers and the oppressed will never come to power through another class's ballot.

What is needed is a genuine workers party, one which organizes class struggle, which seeks to mobilize the power of labor to defend the rights of blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, women, gays and all the oppressed. Examples of this are the labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee over the years to stop fascist race-hate provocations. Such a party can only be forged in irreconcilable struggle against all support—both open and backhanded—to the partner parties of capitalism. The capitalist rulers cannot be pressured to act on behalf of the oppressed and exploited; they and their profit system must be swept away through workers revolution. Only after the power of the deadly racist capitalist rulers is broken will there be an opportunity to carry out the measures necessary to rebuild this society for the benefit of all. ■



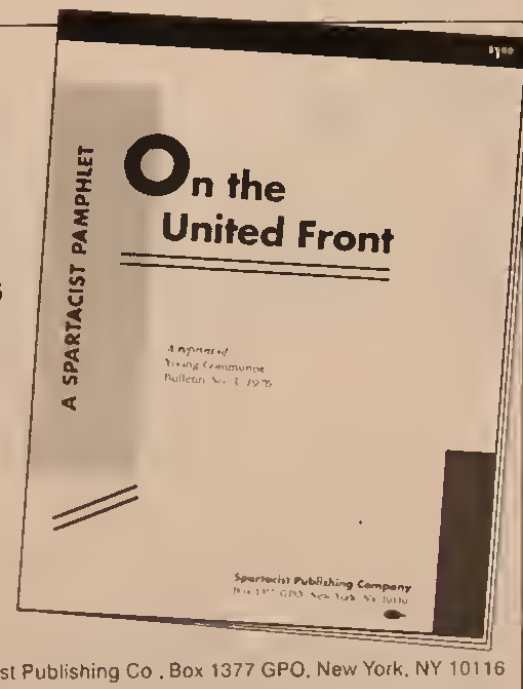
WW Photo

Spartacists launched nationwide campaign against racist discrimination at Denny's restaurants in summer of 1993. The fight for black liberation is key to workers revolution in the U.S.

On the United Front

A Spartacist pamphlet originally printed in 1976 as *Young Communist Bulletin* No. 3

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Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

Three anti-Klan protesters continue to be persecuted by the capitalist courts and cops for their participation in a June 29 protest against the Ku Klux Klan in Chicago's Daley Plaza. Gene Herson, the Labor Coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee and Jeff Lyons, a supporter of Refuse & Resist, face up to one year in jail, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker, faces up to two years—all on bogus charges of assault and battery against police. Originally scheduled to go on trial on December 2, the three are now to appear in Cook County Circuit Court on that day for a status hearing to set a date for the trial. The Partisan Defense Committee has issued an appeal for unions, black and Hispanic groups, leftists, students and all opponents of fascist terror to join in a united-front protest to demand, "Drop all charges against the Anti-Klan Three!" Mobilize outside the courthouse, 1340 South Michigan Avenue, at 8:30 a.m., December 2.

What the three anti-Klan militants confront is a vendetta by Chicago cops, and behind them the Daley city administration. In preparation for the Democratic National Convention last year,

mer, Chicago authorities were desperate to prevent any protests. The cops protected the deadly Klan racist terrorists on June 29. Police launched a series of attacks against the more than 100 anti-fascist protesters after a provocation by Klansmen—armed with holstered shields and wielding heavy flagpoles as clubs—had been successfully routed. The demonstrators had struck a blow on behalf of all victims of fascist terror and the cops were incensed.

As Leroy Collier, president of the Pasadena, California branch of the National Association of Letter Carriers, wrote in a letter protesting the arrest of the anti-Klan demonstrators: "The actions of the police—indiscriminately beating and spraying protesters with pepper gas at close range—is indicative of the current political and social climate in America. Attacks on people of Color, poor people, labor unions, immigrants, gays and lesbians are a reality."

The fascists are emboldened by the climate of racist reaction whipped up by the rulers of America—Democrats and Republicans alike—as they shred any and all social programs for the working-

class and the poor, particularly minorities. At the same time, with the gap between rich and poor growing wider by the day, there is an accelerating drive by the state, its cops and courts to suppress protest, denying such elementary constitutional rights as freedom of speech and assembly.

The current vendetta by the Chicago police is aimed at reinforcing the cops' authority to trample on the democratic rights of the population as a whole. As noted in a letter to the Cook County State's Attorney by a representative of the Service Employees International Union in Springfield, Illinois: "A grave injustice will be served in prosecuting the brave protesters against the Klan hatred. Pursuing charges against the protesters sends a clear message to hate groups like the Klan that they are welcome and their violence against African Americans, Jews, Hispanics, Gays and others is okay and has the support of our society's institutions."

Statements protesting the state's attempt to victimize the anti-Klan militants have been sent by a wide range of unionists and others both in the U.S. and internationally, including Chicago's

Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, the Fire Brigades Union in Scotland, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Robert Allen, the editor of *The Black Scholar*, black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, and Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in the Bay Area. Join in the defense of the Anti-Klan Three—it is vital to the defense of the rights of all of us against the racist terror of the KKK and its police protectors.

Funds are urgently needed to cover the legal costs of this defense effort. Donations should be sent to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters").

Send protest statements demanding that the charges be dropped to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Mail donations and copies of protest statements to the PDC in Chicago at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4281.

Stop German Fourth Reich's Anti-Communist Witchhunt!

We publish below an edited translation of a leaflet issued by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany on November 19, following a new wave of arrests of leading officials of the former East German (DDR) deformed workers state and its ruling Stalinist party, the SED.

On November 12, the Federal Constitutional Court headed by Social Democratic (SPD) witchhunter Jutta Limbach upheld a ruling condemning "DDR injustice" following a legal appeal. Right after that, the former commander of the DDR border troops, Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten, was arrested on charges of murder of East Germans illegally attempting to cross to the West years earlier. The following day the Berlin State Court issued a warrant against four former members of the SED Politburo, Egon Krenz (who succeeded Erich Honecker as DDR leader in late 1989), Günther Kleiber, Horst Dohls and even Günther Schabowski, who is known for having "opened" the Berlin Wall. Mass trials against "several hundred suspects" from the former DDR's National People's Army (NVA) are to follow. Additionally, members of the DDR National Defense Council convicted in the 1993 Honecker trial, including Heinz Kessler, are to be jailed. We Spartakists demand: Hands off the ex-DDR bureau-

crats and border guards! Free Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten now!

The Fourth Reich's anti-Communist witchhunt is being fired up again, this time at a point when the German ruling class has set about smashing the hard-won gains of the working class; when the Bonn government, with the support of the SPD, has decided on mass deportations of Bosnians (while war minister Rühe plans the reinforcement of the German army in the Balkans); and as the law on "foreigners" is to be tightened yet again. Simultaneously, Red Army Faction supporter Birgit Hogefeld, who survived the GSG 9 ("anti-terrorism" unit) ambush in Bad Kleinen, has been given a life sentence. And in Lübeck Safwan Eid, one of the victims of a fascist firebombing, is himself facing racist class "justice."

The Stalinists were a parasitic caste resting on the proletarian property forms of a bureaucratically deformed workers state, who exercised a monopoly of political power over the working class by bureaucratic police-state methods. But the Stalinists are being tried by the wrong class for the wrong crimes. For the German bourgeoisie, itself no stranger to police-state methods, the real crime of the Stalinist leaders of the former DDR is that they symbolize the mil-

itary victory of the former Red Army that resulted in the expropriation of capitalism in a third of defeated imperialist Germany. Because the Berlin Wall constituted a defense of the collectivized economy of the DDR, albeit in bureaucratic fashion, the bourgeoisie hated the wall, and we Trotskyists defended it. Now the same ruling class that feared workers revolution in Germany and put the Nazis in power in 1933—in order to brutally smash all working-class organizations through state terror and paramilitary violence—haughtily accuses the remnants of bankrupt Stalinism of "crimes against humanity!"

We Spartakists defended the DDR against capitalist counterrevolution, while fighting for socialist revolution in West Germany and for proletarian political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy and to establish a government of workers and soldiers councils. The West German bourgeois state, self-proclaimed successor state to the Third Reich, was able to annex the former DDR only because of the collapse of bankrupt Stalinism and because Gorbachev restrained the 350,000-strong Soviet forces based in East Germany as a bulwark against NATO. The Stalinist bureaucrats ultimately stood at the head of the counterrevolution, handing the

DDR to the imperialists. They sold out the East German proletariat just as the SPD and SPD-led DGB trade-union federation leaders sell out the working class today.

As soon as the DDR and the Soviet Union were destroyed, the German capitalist rulers had no more reason to retain the benefits of the "welfare state." Now the vengeful German bourgeoisie, mistakenly believing that the bankruptcy of Stalinism has ended the threat of workers revolution, shakes its fist in the face of the workers by seeking to make an example of the old Stalinists. The SPD, which acted as the Trojan horse for capitalist counterrevolution in the ex-DDR, drives forward this ruling-class retribution. Since 4 August 1914 they have loyally served their capitalist masters, drowning in blood the Spartakist-led workers revolution of 1918-1919. During the Cold War, the SPD served as the ideological bulwark of pro-imperialist anti-Communism throughout Europe.

All workers organizations should oppose these prosecutions and show trials, which from the viewpoint of the ruling class are really aimed at the working class itself. Hands off the accused in the "Wall trials"! Freedom for Safwan Eid, Birgit Hogefeld and all leftist political prisoners! ■

Castro...

(continued from page 3)

popularity throughout Latin America, a measure of the considerable authority he retains for having led a revolution and challenged U.S. imperialism. But that authority has been used for decades to stifle revolutionary opportunities which could have brought assistance to the Cuban workers state.

There is no clearer example of that than Castro's role in Chile in the early 1970s. Despite the fact that workers revolution was a real possibility in Chile at the time, never and nowhere did the Castroites call for the working class to organize and seize state power. On a state visit to Chile in 1971, Castro stood shoulder to shoulder with Pinochet in a military review, reinforcing the illusions pushed by the "socialist" president Salvador Allende that the Chilean generals and their armed

forces—the backbone of the capitalist state—would be loyal to "constitutional democracy" while Allende pursued his "peaceful road to socialism." As we said at the time, Allende's popular-front government acted to demobilize the working class, paving the way for Pinochet's bloody coup—sponsored and supported by the U.S.—in September 1973, in which Allende himself was killed. While espousing a perspective of peasant-based guerrilla uprisings in various parts of Central and South America in the mid-1960s—which led to a string of bloody defeats—the Castro regime has always relied on diplomatic maneuvers with "progressive" capitalist regimes to curry support against the U.S.

A decade after the bloodbath in Chile, Castro set the stage for a similar counter-revolutionary debacle when he explicitly advised the petty-bourgeois Sandinista regime in Nicaragua not to take "the Cuban road." The Sandinistas never ex-

propriated the Nicaraguan landlords and capitalists, pursued an impossible "mixed economy," and eventually handed power back to the *contra* capitalists. Besides their common heritage as petty-bourgeois guerrillas, what Castro and the Sandinistas share is the same opposition to mobilizing the only revolutionary class created by capitalist society—the working class.

As we wrote in "Cuba, Castro and Che: The Mystique of the Guerrilla Road" (WV No. 630, 6 October 1995): "The future of the Cuban Revolution hangs in the balance of class struggle outside the Caribbean island, and this fact underlines the urgent necessity for revolutionary struggle here in the U.S., in Latin America, and elsewhere." Chile today is a prime example of both the possibilities for proletarian struggle and the danger of bourgeois reaction. In the past year, the country has been convulsed by strikes of copper miners, teachers and municipal workers. There have been three walkouts at mines

owned by Phelps Dodge Corporation and at the state-owned CODESA pits. In late October, a march by striking civil servants in downtown Santiago was broken up by police using water cannons and tear gas. And days before the summit began, the head of the Chilean Communist Party, Gladys Marin, was arrested and thrown into jail for calling Pinochet a psychopath at a memorial service for *los desaparecidos*—those, including Marin's husband, Jorge Muñoz, who were "disappeared" during the dictator's bloody reign of terror.

There have been and will be ample opportunities for proletarian revolution in the Caribbean, Mexico and Central and South America. The key requirement for victory in the struggles which lie ahead is the forging of Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties, built in irreconcilable opposition to all variants of petty-bourgeois nationalism. That is the aim of the International Communist League. ■

Africa...

(continued from page 12)

powers participated in the UN-sponsored "humanitarian" rape of Somalia four years ago, where U.S. helicopter gunships massacred hundreds of unarmed men, women and children in the streets of Mogadishu and Belgian troops killed hundreds more in the port of Kismayu, raping Somali women and throwing children into the Juba River to drown. Canadian units shot through with Klan-type fascists engaged in outright torture and murder. Their crimes were covered up by the Canadian high command, provoking a scandal which forced the resignation of the country's defense minister last month.

We bitterly recall the last U.S. military intervention in Zaire in the early 1960s, also carried out under the UN's blue flag. When that country, the former Belgian Congo, gained independence, the imperialists were determined to retain its vast copper, cobalt, manganese and zinc riches for themselves. Setting up a puppet secessionist movement in the mineral-rich client state of Katanga, the imperialists organized a bloody civil war against the militant nationalist government of Congolese independence fighter Patrice Lumumba (see "25 Years Ago: How CIA Murdered Patrice Lumumba," *WV* No. 405, 6 June 1986). The CIA had Lumumba murdered and installed a pliant dictatorship headed by Mobutu Sese Seko, who over the past three decades has amassed a personal fortune worth billions of dollars over the backs of the impoverished masses. Malcolm X, in one of his last speeches in 1964, captured the hypocrisy of imperialist "humanitarianism" as he tore into the American media for covering up Washington's atrocities in the Congo:

"You won't write that American planes are blowing the flesh from the bodies of black women and black babies and black men. No. Why? Because they're American planes. As long as they're American planes, that's humanitarian."

Imperialists Compete to Exploit African Masses

With the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, conflicts between rival imperialist power blocs dominated by the U.S., Germany and Japan have increasingly come to the fore, as the competing bourgeoisies no longer feel compelled to subordinate their differences to the overriding goal of destroying "red Russia." Like other recent UN "peacekeeping" operations, the planned intervention in Central Africa presents an arena for the imperialist powers to jockey for position against one another. Behind the thin veneer of imperialist "unity" lies a sharpening clash for domination in black Africa between the U.S. and France, whose competing capitalist rulers view the peoples of central Africa as expendable pawns to be exploited—or murderously sacrificed—in their insatiable quest for profit and power.

For the French bourgeoisie, control of its former colonial empire in sub-Saharan Africa is seen as key to its pretensions of being more than a second-rate imperialist power. Today, Washington is seeking to



Der Spiegel

Racist U.S. occupation force in Somalia (above) terrorized civilian population. Right: Congo (now Zaire) independence leader Patrice Lumumba, murdered in CIA operation during imperialist intervention in early 1960s.



extend the tentacles of its "New World Order" into France's traditional *chasse gardée* (private hunting ground), in particular pushing South Africa's ANC government to front for a U.S.-financed "African Crisis Response Force." French president Jacques Chirac railed last year that "the Anglo-Saxons dream of pushing France out of its position in Africa without paying a price" (*Economist*, 12 August 1995). More recently, a Clinton administration spokesman haughtily sniped: "Some people in Paris seem to live under the delusion that certain parts of Africa can be the preserve or the domain of a certain colonial power—ex-colonial power, by the way" (*New York Times*, 17 October).

Imperialist intrigues form the backdrop to the human tragedy being played out today in central Africa. In 1990, France sent hundreds of troops to prop up Rwanda's Hutu-dominated government, and dispatched troops again three years later, as *Interhamwe* death squads were carrying out a horrendous slaughter, mainly of Tutsi people, which left at least 500,000 dead. In 1994, after a Tutsi-dominated regime supported by Washington took over, Paris launched "Operation Turquoise" to create a "safe zone" for the Hutu militias. The *Interhamwe* also terrorized Hutu refugees in Zaire, preventing them from returning home. Meanwhile, U.S. Special Forces are acting as "advisers" to the current Rwandan army.

France first proposed the latest military intervention earlier this month, as the Hutu militias appeared to be in danger of being overrun by Tutsi forces. After initially halking, the U.S. finally agreed to a joint intervention headed by a French-speaking general from Canada, America's junior partner. In the last few days, France has moved troops into its former colony of Congo (Brazzaville), across the river from the Zairian capital of Kinshasa, and into the Central African Republic, where a few months earlier French troops bloodily suppressed an uprising against their neocolonial satrap.

As we underlined two years ago, the Tutsi-Hutu conflict is a direct legacy of colonialism (see "The Rwanda Horror," *WV* No. 601, 27 May 1994). Resorting to racist colonialist stereotypes reminiscent of Rudyard Kipling's "white man's burden," the imperialist media portray this as an "age-old," "tribal" conflict. But the Hutu and Tutsi people have a common language, culture and territory. In pre-

colonial times there existed a permeable, occupational division between cattle-owning Tutsi and subordinate Hutu cultivators. But imperialist ideologues adopted the supposedly lighter-skinned Tutsi as a superior "race," while artificial borders carved up the various peoples among different countries. Colonialist "divide-and-rule" policies combined with desperate land pressure, rural poverty, starvation-level austerity imposed by the International Monetary Fund and continuing neocolonial exploitation have compacted distinct Hutu and Tutsi communities with murderous antipathy toward each other.

South of Rwanda in Burundi, some 150,000 civilians have died over the last three years in fighting between the Tutsi-dominated army and Hutu militias. Last year, Zaire's Mobutu banned all Tutsi from government employment. An expulsion order against some 400,000 Tutsi in eastern Zaire two months ago provoked the rebellion that routed the Zairian army and the Hutu militias controlling the refugee camps. This in turn set off chauvinist, anti-Tutsi demonstrations and pogroms in Kinshasa last week. France's push for imperialist military intervention came amid fears that the conflict in Zaire—a prison house for 250 different ethnic groupings—could spread and topple the various neocolonial regimes in the region. A French spokesman said, "They all have ethnic problems of their own that spill over borders. They are afraid if Zaire becomes a maelstrom they will get splashed in the mud and will not be able to save themselves" (London

Financial Times, 14 November).

In the last few years, the imperialists have slashed economic and military aid while pressuring the neocolonial rulers to head off potential social explosions by allowing their opponents a share of power. The result of this has been a series of largely ethnic civil wars across the continent. With Mobutu incapacitated by cancer in one of his villas on the Riviera, the imperialists are dogged by the fear that mineral-rich and strategically placed Zaire could blow up in their faces.

South Africa: Regional Powerhouse

South African president Nelson Mandela's decision to commit troops to the "UN" expeditionary force is a measure of the neo-apartheid rulers' regional imperialist ambitions. The ascendancy of a layer of ANC politicians as black front men for white capitalist rule, not only in the government but in such major mining conglomerates as Anglo American, has facilitated South Africa's renewed push for influence throughout the region. An article in the *New York Times* (6 July 1995) commented, "With apartheid dead, South Africa's pent-up entrepreneurial energy is exploding all over Africa"—including railroads in Zaire, mines in Ghana, hotels in Kenya and a host of other ventures. The article cited a South African economist expressing the view of the bourgeoisie that "the rest of Africa is our hinterland." This, too, has alarmed French imperialist interests. The newsletter *Lettre d'Afrique* warned of "increasingly aggressive financial, industrial and commercial competition, in particular by Anglo-Saxons and Japanese, in league with South African firms."

While the bourgeois-nationalist ANC leaders further the interests of the racist bourgeoisie and serve as junior partners to British and U.S. imperialism, the black masses who looked to it for liberation continue to suffer brutal racist discrimination and mass unemployment. Yet the South African proletariat is the largest and most combative in the region. The expropriation of the South African bourgeoisie through socialist revolution and the creation of a black-centered workers republic would mean not only the emancipation of the non-white masses in that country but would open the road to social transformation throughout the rest of that horribly impoverished continent.

Such revolutionary struggle must be based on an internationalist perspective. In South Africa, this means in particular championing the rights of immigrant workers from Mozambique and other neighboring countries. A key task is to reach out to workers in the imperialist centers in West Europe and the U.S. In particular, the black proletarians of sub-Saharan Africa must appeal to the oppressed black working masses in the U.S. and to the French working class, which has recently engaged in militant struggle not only for its economic interests but in defense of black African immigrants. What is necessary is the forging of internationalist Trotskyist vanguard parties standing at the head of the proletariat and leading behind it all the oppressed and dispossessed. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Imperialist Hands Off Central Africa!

NOVEMBER 19—An imperialist expeditionary force nominally headed by Canada is set to descend on the black central African countries of Zaire and Rwanda. Thousands of soldiers from eight countries, including the U.S., France and neo-apartheid South Africa, are to take part in the United Nations-sponsored mission, supposedly aimed at ensuring "humanitarian" aid to Rwandan Hutu refugees who had been trapped in eastern Zaire without food, caught in fighting between Tutsi rebels and Zairian-backed Hutu militias.

After U.S.-supported Rwandan Tutsi forces succeeded in engineering a mass exodus of refugees back to Rwanda last week, the Clinton administration temporized about sending in combat units. But advance guards of U.S. and Canadian troops have already landed, and Washington today announced it will go ahead with a contingent of up to 1,000 "logistics" support troops. Several days earlier, Clinton also declared that he intends to keep 8,500 "peacekeeping" troops in Bosnia for at least another 18 months.

In the name of "peace" and "humanitarianism," the would-be masters of the world in Washington ride roughshod over semicolonial peoples around the globe. With the collapse of the Soviet Union removing the restraint of any countervailing force, U.S. imperialism has been emboldened in the past few years to



AP photos

Hutu refugees leaving Zaire to return to Rwanda, caught in war between rival forces supported by U.S. and France. Right: U.S. troops preparing to join imperialist expeditionary force in central Africa.



launch one invasion after another, from the grisly slaughter in Iraq in 1991-92 to racist occupations of Somalia and Haiti. As revolutionary internationalists, we say: *U.S. and all imperialist-led forces get out and stay out of central Africa! U.S. imperialism, get your bloody hands*

off the world!

A U.S./UN military occupation of central Africa would do nothing to ease the terrible suffering of the people in that region and can only pave the way for a far greater slaughter—by rival ethnic groups or at the hands of the imperialists

themselves. The real aim of the imposing show of military force being readied for central Africa is to affirm the imperialists' "right" to assert their control over their neocolonial slaves wherever and whenever they please. Many of the same

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California

Student Protests Erupt Against Racist Prop 209

Young Spartacus

OAKLAND—The day after the November 5 elections, outraged anti-racist students took to the streets and occupied buildings on a number of California campuses to protest the passage of Proposition 209—the cynically misnamed "California Civil Rights Initiative" which outlaws affirmative action in public education and government contracting and hiring. Hundreds of students at the University of California's Santa Cruz campus assembled before dawn to blockade and shut down the student services building. At San Francisco State University, more than 400 marched through the streets surrounding the campus, while students also staged protests at state universities in San

Diego and Sacramento.

Several hundred marched through the UC Berkeley campus and down city streets, then occupied the campus bell tower, the Campanile, a Berkeley landmark. Campus police savagely attacked this peaceful student protest, arresting 23 in a predawn raid. The following Monday, more than 20 students were arrested at UC Riverside after occupying the administration building. The Spartacus Youth Club, which took part in the demonstrations in Berkeley and Santa Cruz, demands that charges against all the protesters be dropped, immediately!

Proposition 209 crystallizes the capitalists' drive to eliminate every last vestige of the gains won through the civil rights movement some 30 years ago. Under Prop. 209, the already meager number of black students accepted to college will likely drop by another 70 percent, and Chicano students by 79 percent (*Third World and Native American Student*

Students protest outside San Francisco State University against passage of measure abolishing affirmative action.



Repreza/Golden Galer

Press, UC Santa Cruz, 31 October). This is a racist *purge* of the campuses. Prop. 209 is also the spearhead for a racist assault directly targeting the heavily integrated government workers unions. And California's racist governor Pete Wilson, a chief instigator of Prop. 209, has already declared it to be a model for the "private sector." As we said last month: "Taken together with the devastation of welfare by Democratic president Clinton and Congress and the widespread destruction of manufacturing jobs, Prop. 209 is a declaration that no black person need ever be hired again" ("California: Vote No on Prop 209!" *WV* No. 654,

25 October).

In 1994, huge demonstrations against Proposition 187, the anti-immigrant predecessor of Prop. 209, were dominated by the slogan "Prop. 187—No! Kathleen Brown—Yes!" Brown, the Democratic candidate for governor at the time, lost to Republican Wilson despite railing, like him, against "illegal immigrants." This time there weren't even any big demonstrations, as Clinton openly went for the racist vote. Clinton waited until the last week to declare "opposition" to Prop. 209 that sounded like an endorsement, bragging, "I've actually gotten rid of some

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