

U.S./UN/NATO: Hands Off Iraq! Down With the Starvation Blockade!

U.S. Terror Bombers Bleed Iraq

Even as Washington and its NATO allies prepare to deploy tens of thousands of "peacekeeping" forces in Kosovo, wielding the threat of a bombing campaign against Serbia, the U.S. and Britain continue to pound away at Iraq. At least 17 civilians have been murdered in the almost daily air attacks of the past three months, as more missiles and bombs have rained down on the Iraqi people and more sites struck than during the concentrated four-day assault by the U.S. and its British ally last December. This is an exercise in bloody imperialist terror, targeting a semicolonial people which has already seen tens of thousands slaughtered during the 1991 U.S.-led imperialist "Desert Slaughter" and subsequent air attacks, and well over a million more killed as a result of the economic sanctions imposed under the auspices of the United Nations. *Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! Down with the starvation blockade! U.S./NATO: Hands off the Balkans!*

Not content with the ongoing starvation blockade of Iraq, on February 28 the U.S. bombed an oil relay facility which plays a key role in the UN's extortionate "oil for food" program. The facility, which was subsequently repaired, controls a pipeline to Turkey that carries half of all the oil Iraq is allowed to export in order to purchase minimal quantities of food and medical supplies.

In a Spartacist League/U.S. leaflet last December headlined "Defend Iraq!



AP Photos

February bombing of Iraqi oil-pumping station by U.S. and British warplanes threatened cutoff of minimal food and medical supplies Iraq is allowed to purchase.

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!" (see WV No. 704, 8 January), we wrote:

"What's behind the murderous attack on the people of Iraq is Washington's aim of intimidating through sheer terror and blackmail all the semicolonial peoples over which it rides roughshod and maintaining its position as top dog against its imperialist rivals, especially Japan and Germany."

Washington's attempt to maintain a

stranglehold over the flow of Near East oil, which is vital to its imperialist "allies," has led to ever more vocal opposition by France and other European powers to the UN sanctions. Underlining these divisions, in early March French and Italian oil companies joined in signing a deal with Iran, which is also targeted by U.S. sanctions, while Italy hosted a visit by Iranian president Khatami.

The raid on the oil facility was denounced even by Turkey, a stalwart U.S. ally which provides a key air base for American strikes against Iraq. Turkey itself has repeatedly launched murderous invasions of Kurdish-populated northern Iraq as part of a bloody war of extermination against its own Kurdish minority and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). The Turkish denunciation came only days

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Klansmen Murder Gay Man in Alabama

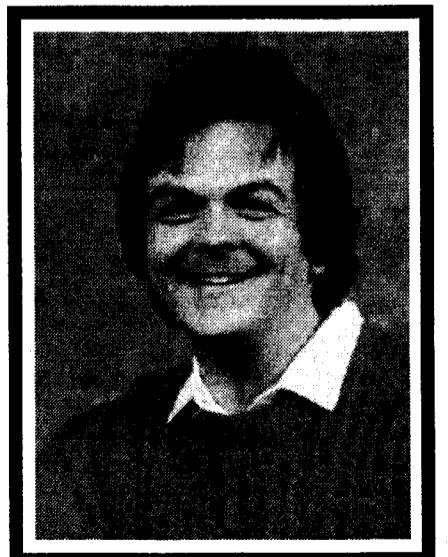
Only months after the torture and murder of 21-year-old Wyoming student Matthew Shepard in October, another gay man has fallen victim to a grisly slaying in Sylacauga, Alabama. Last month, Billy Jack Gaither was bludgeoned to death with an ax handle by two nightriders, who threw his body on a stack of burning tires. One of the two killers was Steven Mullins, a skin-

head who paraded around in a KKK T-shirt. Coosa County sheriff's deputy Al Bradley said Mullins confessed that "he didn't like it because Gaither was gay."

Gaither's murder demonstrates that the KKK terrorists are a deadly threat not only to blacks but to gays, women and all the oppressed. Fascistic scum also took credit for the bombing of abortion clinics in Atlanta in 1997 and Birmingham one year ago. Another clinic was just bombed in Asheville, North Carolina on March 13. The depravity of the Gaither killing is reminiscent of the heinous Texas lynching of James Byrd Jr., who was dragged behind a truck and dismembered by

racist KKK killers in June last year. In the eyes of right-wing bigots, anyone who does not fit into their idea of (white, Anglo-Saxon, Christian, heterosexual) "Americans" is not fit to live. Dan Gayman, a leading Christian rightist, rants, "If homosexuals refuse to repent and go straight, they should be put to death." He also rails against interracial sex and denounces Jews as the offspring of Satan.

These vicious terror attacks underscore the fact that democratic rights are indivisible. The fates of all those subjected to special oppression in capitalist society—blacks, immigrants, women, homosexuals—are inextricably inter-



Billy Jack Gaither

Daily Home

twined. Liberal sectoralist notions that gays, blacks and others should organize themselves separately and particularly apart from the multiracial working class

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Independence for East Timor!

The following is reprinted from *Australasian Spartacist No. 167 (Autumn 1999)*, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia.

Under intense pressure from the United States and other imperialist powers, in February the Indonesian New Order regime of B. J. Habibie mooted possible

Australasian SPARTACIST

"independence" for East Timor within months unless Timorese nationalist leaders accept a sham autonomy under the continued rule of Jakarta. In 1975, Indonesia invaded and then annexed the former Portuguese colony of East Timor and for 24 years has imposed brutal mil-

itary rule in which some 200,000 have died. Even as various "negotiations" are underway, the Indonesian military continues to carry out murderous operations while arming paramilitary thugs to further terrorise the population. As proletarian internationalists, the Spartacist League, Australian section of the International Communist League, stands for the immediate independence of East Timor, part of our struggle for workers revolution throughout the Indonesian prison-house of peoples.

Jakarta's bloody reign in East Timor has been backed throughout by the U.S. and others, who have armed and trained the notorious Indonesian military killers. None have played a dirtier role than the Australian imperialists, especially under Labor Party governments. The murder-

Spartacist League/Australia contingent at 1997 Melbourne protest against Suharto dictatorship.



ous Suharto regime was a key Cold War ally against the "spread of Communism" in Asia. But following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, today the imperialists are desperately seeking "stability" as millions of workers and peasants face starvation and utter destitution as the capitalists impose brutal austerity throughout Southeast Asia.

Now the Australian Labor Party, for example, proclaims support for East Timorese "self-determination," and the federal Tory government has reluctantly swung into line. Fearing "a political, economic and strategic nightmare" (*Australian Financial Review*, 30-31 January), Australia's rulers oppose independence, pushing instead for "a substantial period of autonomy" as a "transition." To guarantee their "interests" and a neocolonial "solution," the imperialists are already preparing to occupy East Timor with "peacekeeping" troops—especially from Australia—under a UN figleaf. The Australian workers movement has a particular responsibility to oppose the intervention of their "own" rulers, racist overlords of oppressed neocolonies from Papua New Guinea to Fiji. We say: Australian imperialism keep your bloody hands off! No imperialist troops in East Timor!

What the imperialists have in store for the East Timorese is exemplified by the continued racist hysteria of the Australian rulers over the possible inflow of dark-skinned East Timorese refugees. For years, both Labor and Liberal governments have vindictively denied permanent residency to some 1,650 East Timorese refugees in Australia and sought to expel them from the country. We say: Asylum for all East Timorese refugees! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The imperialists have willing allies among the East Timorese petty-bourgeois nationalists. Imprisoned Fretilin guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao as well as the likes of Jose Ramos Horta have always sought to appeal to the imperialist powers and today are willing to act as local frontmen in the exploitation of their "own" people. Gusmao, now under "house arrest," has pledged, for example, to keep the oil profits from the Timor Gap

flowing to Australia's giant BHP conglomerate. We oppose the Timor Gap Treaty, which from the Australian side represents nothing less than imperialist theft over the bodies of the East Timorese.

Meanwhile, the Australian reformist left, which has always pushed illusions in the "democratic" credentials of Australian imperialism, runs point for the capitalist rulers. The International Socialist Organisation peddles calls demanding that Foreign Minister Downer "support an Independent East Timor." Even more grotesque is the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), which appeals to the Australian government to "train" desperate East Timorese refugees in Australia to "enable them to play a role in re-building East Timor" (*Green Left Weekly*, 10 February)! In this the DSP are quite literally frontmen for imperialism.

At the same time, the DSP serves as publicity agent for the Indonesian PRD, an organisation, supposedly socialist, which has looked to bourgeois opposition figures such as Megawati Sukarnoputri. At a mass rally of 100,000 in Jakarta on February 15, this notorious Javanese chauvinist once again asserted her hostility to the rights of the East Timorese, declaring East Timor to be nothing other than "similar to other provinces in our beloved country" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 February).

The imperialists, the blood-drenched Indonesian regime, the "opposition," the various nationalist forces—all of them seek to continue the brutal exploitation of those who labour. The road to national and social justice for all of the peoples of what is today Indonesia lies only in the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution: the destruction of capitalism through the seizure of state power by the proletariat standing at the head of all the oppressed masses and the victory of workers rule in the advanced capitalist countries. Genuine emancipation for all Asia's toilers and oppressed requires the forging of sections of an international Trotskyist party from Indonesia to Australia to Japan, committed to leading proletarian revolutions to smash capitalism and reconstruct Asia on a socialist basis. ■



TROTSKY

Socialist Revolution and Women's Emancipation

In the tradition of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, we honor International Women's Day, March 8, as a proletarian holiday. Key to the success of the October Revolution of 1917 was the Bolsheviks' championing of all those exploited and oppressed under the Russian tsarist prison house of peoples. Even in the face of dire poverty and imperialist encirclement, the young Soviet state undertook pioneering efforts toward the lib-

eration of women. Many of these policies were reversed under the rule of Stalin's nationalist bureaucratic caste which usurped power in 1923-24, ultimately paving the way for the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. As we fight for new October Revolutions, the International Communist League reaffirms that the struggle against women's oppression is integral to the emancipation of labor itself.

The gist of Bolshevism and the Russian October Revolution is getting into politics the very people who were most oppressed under capitalism. They were downtrodden, cheated and robbed by the capitalists, both under the monarchy and in the bourgeois-democratic republics. So long as the land and the factories were privately owned this oppression and deceit and the plunder of the people's labour by the capitalists were inevitable....

But you cannot draw the masses into politics without drawing in the women as well. For under capitalism the female half of the human race is doubly oppressed. The working woman and the peasant woman are oppressed by capital, but over and above that, even in the most democratic of the bourgeois republics, they remain, firstly, deprived of some rights because the law does not give them equality with men; and secondly—and this is the main thing—they remain in "household bondage," they continue to be "household slaves," for they are overburdened with the drudgery of the most squalid, backbreaking and stultifying toil in the kitchen and the family household.

No party or revolution in the world has ever dreamed of striking so deep at the roots of the oppression and inequality of women as the Soviet, Bolshevik revolution is doing. Over here, in Soviet Russia, no trace is left of any inequality between men and women under the law. The Soviet power has eliminated all there was of the especially disgusting, base and hypocritical inequality in the laws on marriage and the family and inequality in respect of children.

This is only the first step in the liberation of woman. But none of the bourgeois republics, including the most democratic, has dared to take even this first step. The reason is awe of "sacrosanct private property."

The second and most important step is the abolition of the private ownership of land and the factories. This and this alone opens up the way towards a complete and actual emancipation of woman, her liberation from "household bondage" through transition from petty individual housekeeping to large-scale socialized domestic services.

—V.I. Lenin, "International Working Women's Day" (March 1921)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mara Cadiz

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Brosius, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0278-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is March 16.

No. 709

19 March 1999

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Young Spartacus

University of Chicago Protest:

Drive CIA Recruiters Off Campus!

At the University of Chicago on March 8, some 30 students and leftists participated in a spirited picket line protest against recruiters from the Central Intelligence Agency—U.S. imperialism's premier spy agency which has tortured and murdered literally millions of people since World War II. The protest was called by the Spartacus Youth Club and drew students from U. of C. and the University of Illinois at Chicago. Demonstrators, including from the Chicano organization MEChA, enthusiastically picked up our chant: "The biggest terrorists in the world today are U.S. imperialism and the CIA!" As the SYC spokesman at the protest made clear:

"We understand that only victorious proletarian revolution can smash the CIA. But this repressive and bloody state spy syndicate must not be free to send their agents onto campus to recruit for the operations aimed at counterrevolution and suppression of the struggles of the working class and oppressed across the globe!"

The protest had a polarizing effect on the campus. The campus newspaper, the *Chicago Maroon* (9 March), quoted a student who said that "everybody was talking about it." Another local campus paper, the *Chicago Weekly News* (11 March), correctly identified the SYC as "hard-core communist" in a caption to a photograph of the demonstration. It comes as no surprise that the CIA chose to recruit at U. of C.—notorious as a bastion of class privilege and an architect of U.S. imperialist mass murder. As the SYC leaflet building the protest laid out:

"The Economics Department played a key role in the CIA-sponsored right-

wing military coup in Chile in 1973. Milton Friedman and his 'Chicago School' cothinkers were braintrusts for Pinochet's bloody junta, which murdered, tortured, and starved to death tens of thousands of workers, peasants and leftist intellectuals. In 1975, the Spartacus Youth League led hundreds of students in a militant campaign to drive Friedman and his cohort Arnold Harberger off campus through protest and exposure. Today the Spartacus Youth Clubs are looking for a few class traitors—students who want to do away with this system of racism and war through socialist revolution."

Our sign reading: "A-Bombing of Hiroshima—U. of C. Physics Department's Contribution to Imperialist Mass Murder" addressed the fact that research at U. of C. paved the way to the A-bomb incineration of 200,000 Japanese and Koreans in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The "ivory tower" U. of C. is the leading landlord in the Chicago neighborhood of Hyde Park, and—backed by a private army of campus cops—has long been a bulwark against the black population of Chicago. In a city that is more than 40 percent black, barely 4 percent of U. of C. students are black. Protesters carried a sign demanding: "Nationalize the University of Chicago—For Open Admissions, No Tuition!" The chant "They seek their spies at U. of C., Think-tank for the bourgeoisie!" was perhaps the most popular among picketers.

DSA, Spark: Cheerleaders for CIA-Backed Counterrevolution

The University of Chicago is a natural spawning ground for all sorts of repul-

sive right-wing groups, which we ran into while building for the demonstration. These include the "Libertarians," who preach robber-baron laissez-faire capitalism, and the "Objectivists," disciples of far-right anti-Communist ideologue Ayn Rand who seek to become some kind of capitalist "supermen." One SYC placard at the protest read: "Libertarians, 'Objectivists': Love Imperialism, Hate the Reds, Screw the Poor." Among the CIA's fans at U. of C. are a number of students from reactionary "exile" milieus like those who fled the Vietnamese Revolution. The Cuban Revolution and especially the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam were victories for the workers and oppressed of the entire world. This was driven home in our chant: "Remember Bay of Pigs—CIA, you lost! Remember Vietnam—CIA, you lost!"

Then there are those "leftist" anti-communists like the Young Democratic Socialists—youth group of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)—which has its national center at U. of C. In their longstanding championing of U.S. imperialism against communist "totalitarianism," the DSA's fore-

bears have been on the take of the CIA for decades. As far back as 1959, DSA founder Michael Harrington took part in a CIA-funded anti-Communist provocation against an international gathering of leftist youth in Austria (see "DSA, CIA and Meese," WV No. 406, 20 June 1986). Gloria Steinem, a prominent feminist and member of the DSA's predecessor organization, is well known to have been on the CIA payroll. The DSA "state department socialists" also serve as waterboys for the AFL-CIO trade-union bureaucracy, which has long acted as the labor lieutenants of U.S. imperialism against leftist and Communist-led unions throughout the world, earning it the name "AFL-CIA." An SYC sign summed it up: "DSA: Pimps for the Democrats, Handmaidens for the CIA!"

Not surprisingly, the DSA has been one of the prime backers of the "Students for a Free Tibet" at U. of C. Acting as a hammer for capitalist counterrevolution in China, the "Free Tibet" movement is nothing but a front for the CIA, which inspired and armed the 1959 Tibet uprising and has financed the Dalai Lama ever since. The rule of the Tibetan

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Young Spartacus

International Women's Day Forums

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, March 25, 7:30 p.m.
Vanderbilt Hall, Room 214
New York University School of Law
40 Washington Square South
For more information: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

Tuesday, March 23, 7 p.m.
International Student Centre
33 St. George Street
(north of College St.)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

The Communist Fight for Women's Liberation in the Muslim East

CHICAGO

Tuesday, March 30, 7 p.m.
Ida Noyes Library Lounge, 1st floor,
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1661 Napier Street (off Commercial)
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Mass Student Protests in Mexico

MEXICO CITY, March 16—The National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) has been rocked with militant protests by students and campus workers against anti-working-class attacks on education. Yesterday, while students blocked the administration building, UNAM officials met at a secret location to impose tuition. Our comrades in the Juventud Espartaquista, youth group of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, have participated in the protests, including all-night building occupations, helping to barricade and guard occupied buildings from right-wing law students and cops trying to bust in on behalf of the administration. They also have engaged in lively debate of our Marxist strategy for students to ally with the labor movement in strike action against these attacks. We reprint below a translation of the March 10 leaflet issued and distributed by our comrades.

Free education has been repeatedly under attack in Mexico throughout the last decade. The imposition of tuition at UNAM will surely be followed by increased tuition at most other public universities, such as the National Polytechnic Institute, the second largest university in the country. Many other state universities already charge tuition, such as Mexico City's Autonomous Metropolitan University. If the bourgeoisie has been hesitant in imposing tuition at UNAM, it is only because of the fear of a large social explosion, since repeated attempts have been met by struggles of students and workers. In 1986, a joint struggle of students and, as today, electrical workers, prevented a similar "plan" from coming into effect.

At the same time as the Mexican bourgeoisie, following the dictates of its U.S. imperialist masters, is trying to eliminate free public education, it is also attempting to privatize the electric companies which were nationalized in the early 1950s and supply power all over Mexico. The privatization of this industry would mean mass layoffs, a sharply lowered standard of living for workers and the weakening of the powerful electricians unions, SME and SUTERM, all for the sake of "competitiveness" as demanded by the International Monetary Fund and the NAFTA "free trade" agreement. Such a move would clear the road for further privatizations, mainly of the oil industry that was nationalized in the late '30s. The privatization threat has been met by protests of SME electricity workers. The student and workers movements have intersected, leading to demonstrations of mutual solidarity, such as a joint march two weeks ago that drew several tens of thousands of students and workers.

A student strike at UNAM on March 11 paralyzed several faculties and high schools, affecting over 90,000 students, and also showed the solidarity and will

Down With the Capitalist Offensive— For Free Quality Higher Education for All!

to fight of workers at the university, who joined student pickets and refused to work. Giving a clear example of the role of the bourgeois state, the cops of Auxilio UNAM, the university's own police force, massed outside the struck faculties, threatening and attacking the pickets. As our comrades have stressed, any struggle that the university workers engage in will be directly threatened by

public education that any gain made by the working class and the oppressed will always be under constant threat by capitalism which is based on the making of profit.

Today, class struggle centered on the proletariat is necessary to put a halt to the elitist attack against public education. The Juventud Espartaquista is dedicated to winning students who will take the side



Carlos Mamahua

March 4: Mass protest by students and workers against UNAM plans to impose tuition, purge poor and working-class students.

the presence of these cops—the armed thugs of the bourgeois administration on campus—inside their union. We fight for the independence of the unions from the bourgeois state—Cops out of the unions and off campus! The solidarity shown by university and electricity workers during these struggles underlines the point we have fought to bring to workers and students: that the proletariat must stand at the head of all the oppressed.

* * *

The National Autonomous University of Mexico and the remains of public education in Mexico are now under a renewed attack by the bourgeoisie with the "Barnés Plan," which is a copy of the "Carpizo Plan" of the last decade which also aimed to exclude thousands more youth from universities, high schools and CCHs [science and humanities colleges]. Even before this plan, automatic admittance to university had been limited and the cost of services exorbitantly increased. The bourgeoisie—through its arm in the UNAM, the administration—is demonstrating with this new attack on

of the proletariat for the rest of their lives and fight in the interests of the oppressed as part of the struggle for socialism. Against the extensive illusions in "dialogue" with the capitalist government and its representatives in the university administration, we fight for students to ally themselves with the power of the working class against these attacks. The priorities of this capitalist government are clear: maximize the rate of exploitation and maintain capitalist rule, squashing workers strikes and throwing working-class youth out of schools. This government does not want an educated working class because this would represent a potential challenge to their whole system of capitalist oppression and injustice. The actions of the ruling class recall the slogan of the fascist Spanish Falange: "Down with intelligence! Long live death!" Capitalist society offers no kind of future for working-class youth. We Spartacists say: "For free, quality education with a public stipend for all students to make this real, in the countryside just as in the cities! Nationalize the private universities! Down with all quotas and admission exams! Abolish the administration, arm of the capitalist state in the universities! For worker-student-teacher administration of the universities! For united strike action by students and workers to stop these attacks!"

On March 4, some 50,000 workers and students marched together in a demonstration against the attacks on education. However, the road to victory is blocked by the poisonous nationalism which ties the exploited to their capitalist exploiters. The march concluded with the singing of the national anthem, while the SME bureaucracy pushes its slogan "Mexico for the Mexicans." There are great illusions that the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution], an alternative face of the same capitalist rule in Mexico, could somehow represent workers and leftist

students. The PRD is a bourgeois party committed to the defense of the capitalist order. Leon Trotsky's theory of *permanent revolution* shows us that in countries of belated capitalist development, like Mexico, the bourgeoisie is so weak

and finds itself so tied to its imperialist bosses that only the proletariat, fighting as a tribune of the people in the interests of all the oppressed, can resolve even the most elementary democratic demands through a socialist revolution, establishing a society where those who labor rule.

Because of its direct relationship to the means of production, because it makes the mechanisms of production function collectively and on an international level and has only its labor as a means of subsistence, the proletariat is, in effect, the only class with the power and the historic interest to put an end, once and for all, to the exploitation of man by man. It is for this reason that we Spartacists fight for the political independence of the proletariat and are dedicated to building a proletarian, internationalist, revolutionary party. Our song is not the national anthem, but the *Internationale*. Our flag is not the "tricolor," but the red one of proletarian internationalism. Mobilize the power of the working class in defense of public education!

With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union—the first workers state in the world—the world bourgeoisie believes that there is no kind of obstacle to their attacks against all the conquests of the working class and the oppressed. The threat of privatization of the electrical industry, in response to the imperialist demands of "competitiveness," is fundamentally a direct attack on the living standards of the workers and against the electrical unions, the SME and SUTERM. At the same time, the Mexican bourgeoisie strengthens its repressive apparatus in order to quash any mobilization and exterminate once and for all the peasant rebels of Chiapas. Army out of Chiapas! Stop the privatization of the electrical industry! Stopping the repressive, privatizing bourgeois onslaught requires *internationalist* class struggle in opposition to the conciliantist and nationalist politics of the current misleadership of the proletariat, which subordinates the workers movement to the bourgeoisie and its parties—the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party], PRD and PAN [National Action Party] and its satellites—principally through the vehicle of nationalism.

Posing as a "Marxist alternative," the pseudo-left deserves a separate mention. The Stalinoids of En Lucha (known also as the publishers of *Los Antojos*), in *En Lucha* No. 6 say that "the defense of free education should not fall only upon students," given that "in order to defeat capital it will be necessary to unite the resistance of the people into a single one. The 'meeting of rebellions' which the indigenous peoples have called for, can and should produce, sooner or later, a single general rebellion." What they understand

Espartaco

Publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México

No. 11, Spring-Summer 1998

\$.50 (24 pages)

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CIA Protest...

(continued from page 3)

"Lamaocracy" meant nothing but slavery for women and abject squalor for all but the caste of privileged monks.

The CIA's bankrolling of the Dalai Lama is an expression of the central purpose of this agency of imperialist terror from the time of its inception: the fomenting of capitalist counterrevolution throughout the world, directed especially against the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state. To this end, in the 1980s the CIA sponsored Polish Solidarność and financed and armed the Afghan mujahedin cutthroats against the Soviet Army. We said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" because its intervention there opened the road to the liberation of the horribly oppressed Afghan women and raised pointblank the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. The victory of the CIA-backed fundamentalist cutthroats, who would throw acid in the faces of unveiled women and flay alive those who taught young girls to read, has made Afghanistan today, under Taliban rule, a living hell for women. In honor of

International Women's Day, the U. of C. protesters opposed the role of *all* religious fundamentalism in oppressing women, chanting "From the U.S. to Iran, Free Abortion on Demand!"

As Trotskyists we unconditionally defended the USSR, a degenerated workers state, and the deformed workers states of East Europe against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, while calling for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies whose rule sapped and ultimately sold out those countries to capitalist restoration. Our position is sharply counterposed to fake-Trotskyists like Spark, one of whose supporters joined us on the picket line. Our comrades highlighted the contradiction between his protest of CIA recruiters and the fact that Spark, like the DSA, has regularly lined up on the same side of U.S. imperialism in Poland and Afghanistan. Unwilling to engage in such necessary political debate, the Spark supporter slinked off after some 15 minutes on the picket line.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union was a monumental historic *defeat* for the world proletariat, ushering in increased rivalries between



Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth League initiated 1975 campaign of protest against U. of C. professors Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger, braintrusts of bloody Chilean junta.

the U.S. and its imperialist rivals such as Germany and Japan. Today, the bloody hand of the CIA is seen in its use of the cover of United Nations "weapons inspection" teams to aid the repeated U.S. terror bombings of Iraq, which along with the starvation blockade have killed well over a million Iraqis. While the U.S. claims to "protect" the Kurds in northern Iraq, it orchestrated the kidnapping of Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the nationalist Kurdistan Workers Party, who faces possible execution at the hands of his Turkish captors.

As the Spartacist League speaker at the demonstration pointed out:

"Marxists understand that imperialism is not a 'bad policy' that can be changed through reform or by pressuring the government. It is the highest stage of capitalism featuring intense competition

between the highly developed capitalist countries for sources of profit and spheres of influence. The CIA is known as 'Murder, Inc.' It murders to insure capitalists' profits, it murders to defend private property and it will commit any crime in order to reinforce the domination of U.S. imperialism over the world's peoples."

The demonstration ended with the singing of the *Internationale*—the international workers anthem. We fight for new October Revolutions as the only alternative to capitalist enslavement, imperialist wars and brutal oppression of neocolonial peoples. The SYC is a training ground for revolutionaries who want to join the side of the working class and fight to build a revolutionary party to lead the workers and oppressed in overthrowing racist capitalism and smashing its secret police once and for all! Join us! ■

"Free Tibet": Rallying Cry for Counterrevolution in China

For Unconditional Military Defense of China Against Imperialist Attack and Internal Counterrevolution!

In recent years, one of the most backward and inaccessible regions on the earth has come to the fore as a cause célèbre for Hollywood movie stars as well as imperialist politicians. The cause for "freedom" for Tibet from Chinese rule has also managed to make a significant number of liberal and leftish youth behind one of U.S. imperialism's longstanding anti-Communist crusades. They have been aided by a seemingly endless barrage of films ex-



Lama, Tibetan high priest of counterrevolution, at

Spartacists denounce Dalai Lama and his "Free Tibet" movement as CIA tools in drive for counterrevolution in China.

WORKERS VANGUARD
28 August 1998

as a "general rebellion" is explained clearly in a pamphlet from *Tepoztlán Rebelde* (a collective of which En Lucha was a part) from March 1997, when they told the Tepozteco peasants during local elections that it was "necessary to check off the logo of the PRD." And it was under the auspices of this bourgeois party that the "Tepozteco people" drew up their list of candidates, while the pamphlet claimed that said list had been drawn up "without the interference of any party"! That is the real meaning of their "general rebellion." Now, amalgamating the proletariat as simply another sector of the oppressed, in a recent assembly in the science department at UNAM they proposed the formation of a "front" with the workers of the SME, which they will do everything possible to maintain under the ideological hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

The self-proclaimed Marxist organizations present at UNAM are in a "combative" frenzy for "unity," the "front," etc., which serves only to detract from the necessity of united worker and student struggle. The organizations that perhaps best exemplify the cult of combativity—at the expense of a crucial factor, revolutionary consciousness—are the Morenoite Partido Obrero Socialista (POS—Socialist Workers Party) and the Internationalist Group (IG). In giant letters, the POS calls for an "SME Strike" and for a solidarity strike by *all* the unions in the country (*El Socialista* No. 247). And, in their particularly pathetic tone, they state that "the magic word for the SME and for the POS...is *strike*." At the same time that they kindly "criticize" the SME bureaucracy, whose "methods" they say have "already demonstrated their inefficiency," they act as the bureaucracy's servile, reformist office boys: collecting signatures for them to demand of the *bourgeois* senators and deputies that they stop the privatization of the electrical industry! (This is from a March 1999 POS flyer, "La industria

eléctrica no debe ser vendida" ["The electrical industry should not be sold"]).

The essential idea of these centrists is that if only the strikes became combative and "general" enough, the very struggle would objectively lead the oppressed masses to a confrontation with the state power—the level of consciousness of the workers being of no import—and, consequently, the shackling of the proletariat by the union misleadership would disappear. The IG states this very clearly: "Today a strike with a class-struggle leadership would give force to the struggle for *workers committees* truly independent of the bourgeois parties in order to *destroy the corporatist shackle of the charros*...." The IG is pretty unabashed about giving lessons to workers about how to confront the bourgeois state when their own comrades committed an act of *class treason* in Brazil by dragging a union through the bourgeois courts on three occasions, as we revealed in "IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies" [WV No. 671, 11 July 1997]. The IG wants to hide its treason in Brazil and its capitulation to the reformist leadership of the unions in Mexico with calls for combativity. Reinforcing the idea that revolutionary consciousness will come out of the defensive struggles of the working class, the POS and the IG, along with the rest of the left, do nothing but tail the current leadership of workers and students, seeking to become its "left" advisers.

There is nobody better than Lenin to refute all these "combative Marxists":

"All worship of the spontaneity of the working-class movement, all belittling of the role of the 'conscious element,' of the role of Social-Democracy, means, quite independently of whether he who belittles that role desires it or not, a strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology upon the workers. All those who talk about 'overrating the importance of ideology,' about exaggerating the role of the conscious element, etc., imagine that the labour movement pure and simple can elaborate, and will elaborate, an

independent ideology for itself, if only the workers 'wrest their fate from the hands of the leaders.' But this is a profound mistake."

—Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*

You cannot, through combative phrases, "trick" a proletariat that is under the influence of "bourgeois worker" politics into carrying out a socialist revolution. The POS and the IG glorify the spontaneity of the proletariat as a substitute for the struggle to directly confront the illusions of the workers in the reformism of their leadership. It is clear that a class-struggle fight is needed to stop this bourgeois onslaught, and workers have demonstrated their eagerness for it. Class struggle is, in effect, a great teacher, but the revolutionary party is indispensable for pointing to and keeping alive the lessons of experience.

In contrast, the Juventud Espartaquista, saluting the eagerness for struggle and the solidarity demonstrated by workers and students and understanding that a united struggle centered on the proletariat is necessary, fights together with the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), to bring to the workers and students the *complete* program of revolutionary Marxism. We struggle to build the revolutionary workers party that is necessary for leading the working class to the realization of its historic role as the leader and emancipator of the whole of humanity, expropriating the capitalists and installing its own class dictatorship. Break with the bourgeoisie! Forge a revolutionary workers party! Join the Juventud Espartaquista! ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON

The Fight for Communism and the Class Struggle Today

Next classes: Wednesday, March 24, 7 p.m., Rm. 323B, *Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed*; Saturday, April 10, 1 p.m., Rm. B18A, *For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*

Boston University, College of Arts and Sciences, 725 Commonwealth Ave.

Information and readings: (617) 666-9453 or bostonsyc@compuserve.com

BAY AREA

Revolutionary Marxism Today

Next class: Wednesday, March 31, 7 p.m., *Lessons of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution*

UC Berkeley, 78 Barrows Hall

Information and readings: (510) 839-0851 or (415) 777-9367

NEW YORK

Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future

Next classes: Tuesday, March 23, 8 p.m., Room 511, *Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed*; Tuesday, April 6, 8 p.m., Room 909, *For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*

Alternate Tuesdays
NYU, Loeb Student Center

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025 or spartacus.club@nyu.edu

VANCOUVER

Capitalism, Communism and the Fight for Revolution

Next class: Wednesday, March 24, 7 p.m., *Fight Anglo-Chauvinism! Independence for Quebec!*

UBC, Buchanan Building, Room B330
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

Trotskyist League Debates BT on Quebec Independence

Bolshevik Tendency: Still in the Camp of Anglo Chauvinism

We reprint below an article from Spartacist Canada No. 120 (Spring 1999), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League.

SPARTACIST CANADA

For the whole of its existence, the clot of quitters, renegades and accidental elements called the Bolshevik Tendency (BT) have badgered us to debate them one on one. This oft-repeated "challenge" has generally provoked distaste in us, and indifference in others. But mostly it has prompted the question: What's to debate? The BT's founding members all individually quit our international organization. Their current international leader, Bill Logan, is a vicious sociopath who was expelled from our organization 20 years ago for gross crimes against communist morality and elementary human decency. The BT's occasional "journal," *1917*, has not appeared since 1997.

So it was only at the request of a third party, the Brock Socialist Group, that on February 13 the Trotskyist League debated the Bolshevik Tendency at Brock University in St. Catharines, Ontario. The Brock Socialists are a student group which has been examining Marxism and sought the debate to further their understanding of Trotskyism. We proposed "The Quebec National Question and the Fight for Socialism" as an appropriate topic, as this is a central question in the fight for proletarian revolution in Canada.

Our advocacy of Quebec independence is key to the struggle to advance revolutionary class consciousness among the workers. As TL spokesman Charles Galarneau explained:

"Chauvinism and nationalism have deeply poisoned the class struggle in both English Canada and Quebec, binding English-speaking and French-speaking workers to their capitalist enemies. This is caused by the continued existence of two separate and increasingly divergent nations, one oppressing the other, within the same bourgeois state structure....

"First and foremost, we fight against Maple Leaf chauvinism in the English Canadian working class. We believe with Lenin that 'a proletariat that tolerates the slightest coercion of other nations by its "own" nation cannot be a socialist proletariat.' At the same time, calling for independence helps combat nationalism in Quebec, giving us a hearing to win Quebec workers away from their pro-PQ [Parti Québécois] misleaders."

In sharp contrast, the BT is notorious for opposing Quebec independence. Thus, our speaker noted, the choice of topic for the debate was doubly appropriate: "The BT's overtly Anglo-chauvinist line exposes their opportunist positions and social-democratic appetites—in other words, it exemplifies why the BT has *nothing* to do with the struggle for a Leninist party acting as a tribune for all the oppressed."

Characteristically, Bolshevik Tendency representative Tom Riley simply ignored the poisonous reality of national oppression and its impact on the consciousness of workers of both nations. Counting his presentation and summary, he spoke for 40 minutes without once acknowledging that Quebec is an oppressed nation, or making a single substantive reference to the existence of Anglo chauvinism. This silence was maintained by the BT through several rounds of discus-

sion, despite repeated challenges by TL comrades.

Riley sought refuge in historical descriptions of militant actions by the Quebec labor movement, and in appeals for "joint class struggle." Denying or downplaying the crippling effects of chauvinism, racism, etc. on working-class consciousness, such facile unity-mongering is counterposed to any struggle against the many forms of special oppression engendered by capitalism. The BT directly echoes the social democrats and labor bureaucrats who present any struggle in defense of the oppressed as disruptive of the "solidarity" of the labor movement.

Of course, Riley claimed the BT

oppressed, even as they pursue "joint work" with an outfit, the Socialist Party, which adamantly refuses to call for withdrawal of the murderous British army from Northern Ireland. In New Zealand, the BT scarcely mentions the brutal oppression of the indigenous black Maori population. "In fact," said comrade Galarneau, "on every national terrain where they exist, the BT is a walking capitulation to their 'own' capitalist rulers."

Our speaker located the source of the BT's wilful blindness on questions of special oppression in the founding impulse of its first members:

"The BT's Anglo-chauvinist position on Quebec is perfectly consistent with their political origins, in the early 1980s, in a

to embracing the chauvinism of the bourgeoisie from Canada to Britain and beyond."

BT vs. Lenin on Revolutionary Class Consciousness

In his remarks, comrade Galarneau extensively motivated our call for Quebec independence as key to the struggle to remove the barriers to *revolutionary class consciousness* among workers on both sides of the national divide. This perspective derives from the basic Leninist proposition that without the leadership of a revolutionary party, the working people must remain in thrall to one form or another of *bourgeois consciousness*, such as national chauvinism. For communists, advocacy of Quebec independence is the means to break the grip of national chauvinism. Unless that grip is broken, the working people cannot be won to a revolutionary socialist perspective.

Denigrating and dismissing the struggle for revolutionary consciousness, the BT substitutes "militant struggle." In fact, Riley's whole presentation rested on a straight equation of class consciousness and simple trade-union militancy. His "argument" consisted of a list of binational strikes since the 1960s, many of which were sparked by the explosive Quebec labor movement of the time. On this basis, he denounced our contention that Quebec independence was necessary for the workers of each nation to see their own rulers as the enemy; he mocked our assertion that chauvinism and nationalism were the fundamental roadblock to revolutionary class consciousness, and therefore to successful working-class struggle.

The falsehood that socialist consciousness derives directly from militant struggles over economic demands is hardly new. Lenin called this view Economism and attacked it in his 1902 book *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin showed how the working class through its own struggles is unable to spontaneously develop a consciousness any higher than trade-union consciousness: the need to unite in economic struggle against the employers and government. But trade-union consciousness is itself a form of bourgeois consciousness: by itself it does not challenge the capitalist mode of production but only seeks to better the workers' immediate conditions. Revolutionary class consciousness has to be brought into the working class *from the outside*, by a revolutionary party which understands the historic necessity of destroying capitalist exploitation and oppression. Integral to this is the fight for the proletariat to take up the cause of all those strata which suffer special oppression under capitalism.

In his thoroughly Economist presentation, Riley never once hinted that the militancy of the Québécois proletariat during the '60s and '70s was fueled by resentment of and opposition to national oppression. When that militancy ran into an Anglo-chauvinist wall of hostility erected by the New Democratic Party (NDP) and the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) leadership, angry Quebec workers were corralled by their own nationalist misleaders into the arms of the bourgeois nationalists of the Parti Québécois. When the TL speaker described the chauvinist opposition to the semi-insurrectionary 1972 Quebec General Strike by the NDP and CLC brass, Riley leapt to defend the social-



Steve Liss

Above: Montreal march for Quebec independence, 1990. Trotskyists call for independence to break English Canadian workers from Anglo-chauvinism and win Quebec workers from bourgeois nationalism. Right: Chauvinist 1995 "Canadian unity" rally in Montreal, which BT was officially invited to attend.



Maclean's

upholds the right of self-determination for Quebec. So does most of the English Canadian labor bureaucracy today, on paper. But like the social democrats, in the real world the BT endorses the Anglo-dominated status quo. During the narrowly defeated 1995 referendum on Quebec sovereignty, for instance, the BT openly called for a No vote against Quebec independence. TL spokesman Galarneau remarked that "the BT's call to vote No was a gross capitulation to the Anglo rulers." Indeed, the BT's loyalty to the cause of Canadian "national unity" did not go unremarked by the Anglo-chauvinist powers that be, who officially invited the BT to participate in the flag-waving rally orchestrated by the federal government in Montreal on the eve of the referendum. Comrade Galarneau also noted that the BT's only Quebec member quit over this, publicly denouncing his former comrades for their "de facto bloc with the Canadian bourgeoisie."

As our speaker emphasized, Quebec is not the first or only place that the BT has embraced the chauvinist status quo. In Britain, their cothinkers deny that the Scots and Welsh are in any way

series of cowardly flinches over the defense of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state....

"For example, when the Soviet Army intervened against CIA-backed Islamic cutthroats in Afghanistan in late 1979, we said 'Hail Red Army in Afghanistan,' calling to 'Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples.' The social democrats and pseudo-leftists, who were howling with the imperialist wolves against the Soviet Union, hated our slogan. At the time, we wrote that if the ET (that's the External Tendency, the BT's precursors) were more honest, they would admit that they hated it, too. Well, it took them a few years, but they finally did admit that, yes, they hated it, arguing that it meant we were putting faith in the Stalinists.

"No. First of all, we were simply expressing our *unconditional* defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against capitalism. And we also recognized that the deformed expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as represented by the Soviet Army, was the only force capable of bringing some measure of liberation, especially to women, in Afghanistan.

"The BT is an organization which congealed in reaction to the heat of imperialist Cold War II. From this original capitulation to their own ruling classes, it was a short step down a slippery slope

democratic traitors from any imputation of anti-Quebec bigotry. "The fact is that the NDP and [its leader] David Lewis did the best they could to oppose [the strike] and to scab on it, there's no question about that," Riley declared. "But comrades, they opposed and scabbed on the railway strike in '73, on the postal strike in '78, on the railway strike in '95, etc., etc."

The Anglo-chauvinist social democrats certainly are strikebreakers. Their role is to insure the subordination of the working class to the national interests of the enemy class—and key to that in this country is the ideological glue of Anglo chauvinism. This in turn deepens and hardens the reactionary nationalism instilled by the Quebec labor tops. Yet according to the BT, national chauvinism is simply not a factor. As comrade Galarneau observed, to hear the BT tell it,

"You would not know that the social democrats foment anti-Quebec chauvinism at all. Well, anyone who watches the news knows that the likes of [NDP provincial premiers] Bob Rae, Roy Romanow and Glen Clark have been willing, aggressive point men for the 'national unity' crusade—just as David Lewis was 25 years ago."

A Sneering Indifference to Oppression

The BT's snottily dismissive attitude to the national oppression of the Québécois signals and embodies their capitulation to the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie. Indeed, for Trotskyists it would be hard to imagine an attitude more repulsive or more distant from the Leninist ideal of a tribune of the people than their arrogant contempt for specially oppressed sectors of the societies in which they find themselves. Comrade Galarneau's presentation described a notorious and typical example:

"When we organized a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washington in 1982, the BT spat on this work. One of their members called it 'ghetto work.' The BT accused us of 'abandoning trade-union work.' What can this mean, except that the BT sees the working class as separate from and counterposed to the black plebeian masses—exactly the view of the labor bureaucracy. In fact, our Washington mobilization brought together in microcosm the forces for American proletarian revolution—black and red. Labor, with its core centrality of black workers, bringing its power to bear in defense of the ghetto masses, who were also mobilized, all under communist leadership."

Riley showed the same kind of disdain in addressing what he called "the implications" of the TL's position on Quebec for the United States. Stating that "the division between white workers and black workers is at least as serious as the division between anglo- and franco-phone workers here," the BT spokesman asked demagogically: "What's the conclusion to be drawn there? Is class struggle impossible? Or does it only become possible after black workers are somehow separated from white workers?"

The national oppression of Quebec and the oppression of black people as a race-color caste within American society are very different questions. However, the racial divide in the U.S. has indeed severely undermined labor struggles against capital. No., that does not make trade-union struggles of black and white workers there "impossible," any more than national chauvinism precludes joint strikes of French- and English-speaking workers in Canada. However, until and unless the American working class becomes the active champion of the cause of black freedom, *there will be no revolutionary class consciousness and no socialist revolution in America.*

The BT's attitude toward the oppression of Northern Ireland Catholics is similarly steeped in militant indifference. The BT has denounced our simple statement that any imperialist "peace" deal over Ireland would "necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either." But this is a simple statement of *fact*. The so-



More than 3,000 trade unionists, minorities and youth rallied against fascists in Vancouver, January 1993. Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste fights to forge Leninist vanguard party as tribune of the people.

called "peace process" in Northern Ireland is premised on maintaining the British army presence, and it has unleashed huge Loyalist mobilizations and deepened the communal division among the workers.

In fact, the Irish national question exposes the BT's bogus claims to stand in the revolutionary traditions of Marxism. It was precisely over Ireland that Marx and Engels began to define the revolutionary proletarian attitude to national oppression. During the debate, BT spokesman Riley made the absurd charge that our advocacy of Quebec independence meant we had embraced the Stalinist theory of "revolution by stages": "To claim also that proletarian struggle cannot be successful until Quebec is independent implies a kind of two-stage model of social revolution. First we get Quebec independence, *then* we get a successful proletarian struggle." Comrade Galarneau replied:

"Karl Marx said a long time ago that a nation which oppresses another cannot itself be free. Here's what Marx wrote about the Irish national question: '*It is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connection with Ireland.... The English working class will never accomplish anything before it has got rid of Ireland.*' Perhaps the BT will now attack Marx as a proponent of two-stage revolution. In fact, the position of the BT is a straight capitulation to national chauvinism. Our position, like Marx's, is premised on opening the road to proletarian revolution by breaking the hold of chauvinism on the working class."

On paper, the BT is for withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. Yet the reality is that the BT's cointinkers in England have long courted the reformist Socialist Party, without ever mentioning the Socialist Party's despicable line on the British army presence, or its sponsorship of "former" Loyalist killer Billy Hutchinson. Only after years of exposure by our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain did the English BT's *Marxist Bulletin* (January 1999) print the following justification:

"[The Spartacists] claim to find a great deal of significance in the fact we have not to date written an article criticising the Socialist Party's refusal to call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from the north of Ireland. This is indeed a scandalous position for a British left-wing organisation and is indicative of the fundamental problems in their left-reformist programme. But we do not regard this as a sufficient reason to avoid any common work with them on issues where there is agreement nor to consider giving them critical support in elections when appropriate."

Obviously, the BT's paper "principles" are disposable if they interfere with opportunist combinations with open supporters of the murderous British army and its fascistic Protestant assassins.

Comrade Galarneau noted how "the BT finds the greatest difficulty in criticizing the anti-Communist, chauvinist social democrats, and indeed are always happy to unite with them." He cited BT leader Logan's participation in a so-called "International Conference" in

South Africa in 1997, one of a number of recent "regroupment" attempts among reformists and centrists internationally. The "base document" for the conference enthusiastically greeted the destruction of the Soviet Union and denounced the very idea of an internationalist Leninist party, saying: "International parties run the risk of establishing predatory relationships with unaffiliated revolutionary groups." Comrade Galarneau explained our attitude:

"We were invited to this conference, and we declined for obvious reasons, given our fundamental differences with this 'base document.' Instead, we fought independently for our views around the conference."

In contrast, the BT rushed to accept delegate status, signing on to the "base document." As the TL spokesman noted: "Not only were they too happy to attend, they *praised* the document as a 'broadly anti-capitalist' document!"

The Bolshevik Tendency: What Is It?

The BT cares nothing for the struggles of the oppressed, much less the fight for revolutionary consciousness, because it is not an organization which seeks proletarian revolution. In fact, it is a peculiar and dubious outfit with a history of insinuating itself in places and among forces which are aimed at doing us harm. Its perpetual slanders of our organization as a "bureaucratic cult" have even found their way into a premier mouthpiece of the U.S. imperialist ruling class. In the summer of 1995, the *Wall Street Journal* wielded the BT's smears to try to undermine the vitally important defense of black U.S. death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Riley repeated the BT's favored anti-

Communist "cult" theme during the debate, claiming that our change of line to advocate Quebec independence several years ago came from "leader-worship." In fact, as the TL spokesman pointed out:

"You know the world only to the extent that you intervene to change it. On the streets, in the factories—not in some library or in your head. So, we intervened and *we learned*. And when the question came to a head once again before the '95 referendum, based on all these years of work, we stopped and we thought, we reassessed our position in the fashion of Leninists, and we realized we had been wrong. We figured out—a little late, but in time—that had we not gone over to the advocacy of Quebec independence, it would have called into question our existence as a revolutionary organization in this country. I encourage everyone here to read our bulletin 'On the National Question in Quebec,' which details not only how we came to change our line to advocacy of Quebec independence, but how a truly Leninist organization arrives at a correct political line."

Contrast this to the BT and their genuinely strange internal life under Bill Logan, an individual who finds personal gratification in the sadistic exercise of power over others, especially women. Logan delights in orchestrating internal torture sessions called "communist criticism." This was exposed in a bulletin published by a BT split group, which we reprinted as No. 8 of our series *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League*. The bulletin describes an "internal struggle" inside the BT, of which a highlight was a fistfight between opposing BT factions in the streets of Oakland, California!

In his summary, TL spokesman Galarneau cited this *Hate Trotskyism* series, which makes available many documents written against us by political opponents, including the BT. He noted:

"This is hardly what a bureaucratic organization would do. Our own history is well documented in the bound volumes of many hundreds of copies of *Workers Vanguard* and elsewhere. With our organization, what you see is what you get. We are still doing what we set out to do from the beginning—to forge a revolutionary, internationalist, proletarian party to lead the working class to power."

Building such a party means struggling to clear away the obstacles to revolutionary consciousness created by the bourgeoisie and perpetuated by its reformist henchmen. As the TL speaker concluded:

"Let me reiterate why calling for Quebec independence is decisive if you want to build a proletarian revolutionary party. It's the only way to break the workers of English Canada from chauvinism and to shatter the grip of nationalism in Quebec. So I want to say to any members of the Brock Socialists and others who really want to dedicate their life and *fight* for proletarian revolution, that their place is among the ranks of the International Communist League—the party which uniquely has the program and perspective to achieve world socialist revolution." ■

Special ICL Bulletins

On the Logan Regime (Three parts)

In 1979, Bill Logan was expelled from the international Spartacist tendency for crimes "against communist morality and its substrate human decency." Logan is now the leader of the "International Bolshevik Tendency." As a service to the workers movement we have made our international bulletins documenting Logan's crimes publicly available.

Part I \$3 (82 pages)
Part II \$3 (44 pages)
Part III \$3 (79 pages)

The International Bolshevik Tendency—What Is It?

International Communist League pamphlet, August 1995

\$1 (10 pages)

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ON THE LOGAN REGIME PART III

The Dishonorable Schoolboy Sent Down

International Communist League Pamphlet

The International Bolshevik Tendency—What Is It?

Kazan...

(continued from page 12)

hearings, speaking of the even viler fink Whittaker Chambers: "American capitalism, turning rotten before it got fully ripe, acclaims the stool pigeons and informers, who squeal and enrich themselves, as the embodiments of the highest good they know. By their heroes ye shall know them" (*Militant*, 2 June 1952).

Republicans, Democrats Pushed Anti-Soviet War Drive

A piece in the *Washington Post* (26 February) by Richard Cohen noted: "Kazan is finally being honored not because his anti-communism no longer matters but because it does—and it is triumphant." There is more than a whiff of "death of communism" triumphalism in Hollywood's salute to Kazan. But it reflects something else, too. Amid growing discontents domestically and heightened rivalry among the imperialist powers, the bourgeoisie is once again intent on regimenting the population for new wars. By issuing a whole spate of books and articles "re-examining" the Cold War and honoring the witchhunters while vilifying the victims, the imperialist bourgeoisie and its ideologues seek to ram home the message to a new generation of workers and youth that any interest in communism is *verboten*.

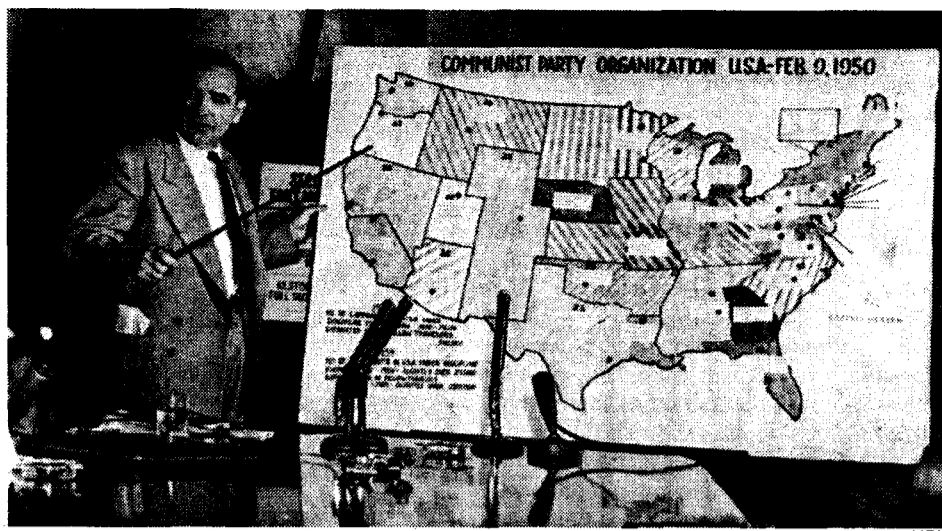
From the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, capitalist imperialism was at war—sometimes hot, sometimes cold—with the world's first workers state. The Bolshevik Revolution gave flesh and blood to the Marxist program of the dictatorship of the proletariat, placing power in the hands of the working class, replacing the anarchy of capitalist production with a planned, collectivized economy which laid the basis for an end to inequality and oppression. The gains of the planned economy remained despite the subsequent Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union.

Emerging victorious from World War II as the preeminent imperialist power, the U.S. trained its guns (and nuclear

chunk of the world out of the grip of capitalist exploitation. The ensuing hysteria set the stage for the legal murder of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as "Soviet spies" in 1953.

Local chambers of commerce and the American Legion became vigilantes to root leftists out of government, the unions and the media, and blacklist them from jobs. Among the targets were fighters for black rights, homosexuals and anyone deemed to be politically or sexually deviant from the prevailing norms of right-wing reaction. Politicians like Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy and Richard Nixon, then a junior Congressman from California serving on HUAC, built their careers through the witchhunt, denouncing even the Democrats as "soft on Communism." Nixon's direct competitor in redbaiting was a young Democratic Party Congressman from Massachusetts, John F. Kennedy, who as president in the early '60s started the "war on Communism" in Southeast Asia. In fact, it was the Democrats who launched the anti-Communist witchhunt, and liberals and social-democratic trade-union bureaucrats were among the most zealous Cold Warriors. The Truman Doctrine, promulgated by FDR's Democratic successor in 1947, articulated an already established, aggressive anti-Communist foreign policy.

Communist Party militants had played a major role in the great labor battles of the 1930s. But the Stalinized and thoroughly reformist Communist Party, which had gained extensive influence in the middle and upper layers of the CIO officialdom, was something far removed from the revolutionary organization it had been at its inception in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky had been destroyed by Stalin's political counterrevolution in 1923-24. Preaching the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," the Stalinist bureaucracy transformed the Communist International (CI) from the party of world socialist revolution into an instrument for the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvers with the imperialist bourgeoisies. By the mid-1930s, the CI had passed over to outright reformism under the ban-



UPI
Senator Joseph McCarthy spins tales of "Communist conspiracy" at 1954 hearing.

of tailing the "democratic" bourgeoisie left them without allies when the bourgeoisie decided to go after them. To demonstrate their continuing "patriotism," CPers even voted for the anti-Communist "red clause" in the CIO.

The internationalist program of Bolshevism was upheld by the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of James P. Cannon. The Trotskyists took a revolutionary-defeatist position toward the U.S. and all imperialist powers in World War II, seeking to mobilize labor struggle during the war in defiance of the no-strike pledge. At the same time, the SWP called for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Because of their revolutionary-internationalist opposition to U.S. imperialism, Cannon and 17 other leaders of the SWP and the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters union were sentenced to prison in 1940 as the first victims of the anti-Communist Smith Act. This state persecution, abetted by the pro-capitalist Teamsters bureaucracy, was also aimed at purging the union of the class-struggle militants who had helped build the Teamsters into the powerful industrial union it had become, beginning with a citywide general strike in Minneapolis in 1934.

The Stalinists cheered on the government's use of the Smith Act against the Trotskyists, even after they themselves fell victim to it. James Kutcher, a paraplegic veteran who had been discharged as a government clerical worker because he belonged to the SWP, was one of the first victims of the Cold War witchhunt. The Stalinists not only refused to support his cause but publicly campaigned against it.

In this way, the CP helped embolden the forces of right-wing reaction which were gunning for it. The Stalinists' suicidal idiocy flowed from their rotten politics. Former Soviet intelligence officer Leopold Trepper addressed this question in *The Great Game* (1977), his autobiographical account of the "Red Orchestra" spy network he had organized in Nazi Germany. Writing of those who defended the Stalinist purges which wiped out an enormous number of Soviet Communists and thousands of Red Army officers, Trepper noted:

"Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed."

Driving Reds Out of the Unions

The end of World War II saw an explosion of labor struggle in this country as workers demanded the gains they had been promised during the war. In 1946, more workers went on strike than in any previous year. This colossal strike wave demonstrated that the home base of U.S. imperialism was not too secure. The capitalist government responded with the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. This draconian

legislation outlawed the most effective labor tactics, particularly the secondary boycott or sympathy strike, which had built the CIO unions and brought large numbers of blacks into the labor movement for the first time. It extended the government's ability to interfere directly in the unions and purge militants and leftists via a "loyalty" oath. Elected union officials were required to sign an affidavit that they were not Communists, or else lose their "certification" from the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Most of the unions which refused to sign were driven out of existence, and many of their militants were not only fired but continued to be hounded for years by the FBI as they moved from job to job and city to city.

By the mid-1950s, some 25,000 union members, many of them key leaders in the CIO organizing drives, had been purged. The red purges were spearheaded by social democrats like Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers (UAW). When HUAC descended on Detroit in 1952, *Business Week* reported that "Reuther and the committee were working together on the UAW like a well-rehearsed vaudeville team." The CIO leaders orchestrated raids to split members from Stalinist-influenced unions like the United Electrical Workers. The labor bureaucrats did not hesitate to utilize the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act: since some of the Stalinist-led unions had refused to take the "loyalty" oath, the raiding unions could win unopposed in NLRB elections. When McCarthy entered the scene, the CIO bureaucracy was already expelling eleven international unions from the union federation. The red purges laid the basis for the consolidation of the pro-imperialist Cold War union bureaucracy which was slavishly loyal to the Democratic Party, the employers and their government.

During World War II, the CP campaigned for the government to use the Smith Act to ban fascists and other reactionaries. The government used the Smith Act for the purpose it had intended. In 1948, CP national secretary Eugene Dennis and the rest of the party's National Board were charged with violating the Smith Act. Thirteen ex-Communists and FBI informants accounted for 100 percent of the government's "evidence," and 90 percent of it had nothing to do with Dennis or his co-defendants; rather, center stage was occupied by Marxist texts. In the 1950s, militants were jailed on no more "evidence" than their libraries. Half the defense lawyers in the Dennis case were themselves imprisoned immediately following the trial, and few lawyers wanted to put themselves in their place.

The Dennis case convictions opened the floodgates. The government tried 15 Communist defendants in Los Angeles, then 21 in New York and many more in Honolulu, Pittsburgh, Seattle, Detroit, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Cleveland and elsewhere. The trials were staggered so that the same professional "witnesses" could be moved from city to city. By 1952 an immense witchhunting bureaucracy was in place in Washington, including the Subversive Activities Control Board, which registered "Communist action"



Pioneer
Trotskyist leaders imprisoned under the Smith Act during World War II for revolutionary opposition to U.S. imperialism.

weapons) on its erstwhile ally against Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union. The anti-Communist witchhunt was launched to regiment the "home front," driving reds and other militants out of the labor movement and breaking the back of the militancy of the industrial unions which had been organized in the 1930s.

As American imperialism's drive for world domination confronted the countervailing power of the Soviet Union, supposed American "weakness" was attributed to a Communist "fifth column" of subversive conspirators. In 1948, "Red Spy Queen" Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, both former Communist Party members, testified before HUAC and accused various officials of Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" administration, most notably Alger Hiss, of giving information to the Soviet Union. The witchhunt intensified as the USSR successfully tested an atomic bomb in 1949 and the Mao-led Chinese Revolution that year ripped another huge

ner of the class-collaborationist "people's front," and the American CP was instrumental in channeling the labor upsurge into the arms of Roosevelt's Democratic Party.

During World War II, the CP was among the foremost advocates of the imperialist war, hailing it as a war of "democracy against fascism." The Stalinists joined the social-democratic labor tops in pushing Roosevelt's no-strike pledge. CP leader Earl Browder proclaimed that "Communism is 20th century Americanism." After the December 1941 air attack by Japan on Pearl Harbor, the CP drove out all its Japanese American members. The CP even grotesquely enthused over the American A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Years of supporting Roosevelt, of outright strikebreaking and betrayal of the struggle for black rights during WWII, took the CP into the McCarthy period politically disarmed and discredited among class-conscious workers. The Stalinists' policy

and "Communist front" organizations for future roundups as agents of a foreign government. This established the central rationale of the McCarthyite thought police: to be a Communist was to be a "spy." The CP's (sometimes queasy) political support to the Kremlin bureaucracy was considered proof of espionage.

This sinister amalgam was rammed home in a series of "spy" trials, beginning with the Alger Hiss case. Hiss was accused of having given "secrets" to the Russians as a World War II government functionary (at a time when the USSR was supposedly an "ally"). Nixon appeared on the front pages waving microfilm rolls purportedly given him by ex-Communist Whittaker Chambers and shouting about a vast Soviet spy network. The spy hysteria reached fever pitch with the show trial and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were accused of passing the "secret of the atom bomb" to the Soviets.

The vendetta against the Rosenbergs brought to a peak the anti-Semitic agitation, recalling the Hitlerite war cry against "Jew-Bolshevism," which accompanied rampant McCarthyite hysteria. HUAC spokesman John Rankin, a Mississippi Dixiecrat, was a virulent anti-Semite. Notably, the Hollywood film industry was heavily Jewish. In the book *Tender Comrades*, a collection of interviews with witchhunt victims (overwhelmingly Jewish) by Patrick McGilligan and Paul Buhle, screenwriter Walter Bernstein recalled: "These racists and anti-Semites running the congressional committees were the closest thing to Nazis holding positions of influence within the United States at the time."

The Rosenbergs were sent to the electric chair for political purposes. The question of whether they were innocent



1946 Philadelphia General Electric strike. Postwar strike wave was largest in U.S. history.

enough publicity to capture the attention of vast sectors of the public.

Furthermore, during the period of the "New Deal coalition" with Roosevelt, when sympathy for the Soviet Union and "progressive causes" was trendy, the CP recruited heavily in the film industry, including several hundred directors, actors, writers and designers. During World War II, Stalinist filmmakers churned out scores of patriotic movies to promote the war effort and the "popular front against fascism," including a few which were openly pro-Stalinist, like *Mission to Moscow* (1943). CPers and labor militants also took part in union organizing in Hollywood that challenged the studio bosses.

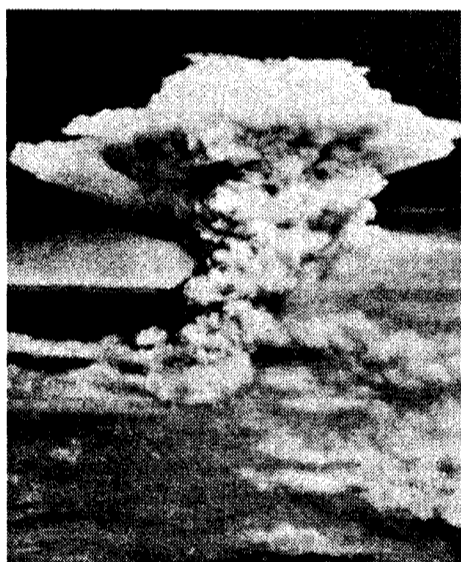
The HUAC hearings followed close on the heels of the hottest labor unrest in

in Hollywood. Dalton Trumbo was one of Hollywood's highest-paid screenwriters. Lester Cole had written 36 films, Sam Ornitz 25. All refused to answer questions about party membership, standing on the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech. All ten were eventually jailed and blacklisted from future employment in the industry.

Thereafter, no one in Hollywood who had ever been accused of being a Communist or ex-Communist or who had been called to testify or refused to sign a studio "loyalty" statement would get work in the film industry, unless he became an informer. HUAC sessions were political show trials. The informer was the central character in these dramas. HUAC's inquisitors usually knew the identities of those informed on. The



Fred Ellis



Asahi Shimbun

Communist Party cartoon eulogized Democratic president Roosevelt in 1945. CP grotesquely enthused over U.S. A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

or "guilty" of spying for the Soviet Union mattered not at all to their tormentors. As we wrote in "They're Trying to Kill the Rosenbergs All Over Again" (WV No. 340, 21 October 1983):

"For revolutionaries, on the contrary, those who helped the Russians achieve nuclear capacity did a great service for humanity. Had U.S. imperialism maintained a nuclear monopoly, it would have meant historic defeats for the international proletariat. It would have meant nuclear destruction from Southeast Asia to Latin America. Who can doubt that U.S. imperialism would have destroyed Vietnam totally with nuclear weapons if they did not fear a retaliatory Soviet strike? Would Cuba exist today if the U.S. had a nuclear monopoly? It is clear that the USSR's advance to nuclear capacity and then to nuclear parity has thus far been instrumental in staying the nuclear hand of U.S. imperialism."

We honor the heroic Rosenbergs, who never capitulated to the pressures to "name names" to save their lives, who would not forsake their class and let themselves be used as tools of the witchhunters, even under penalty of death.

HUAC Comes to Hollywood

HUAC was in the thought control business, so of course it couldn't stay away from the Hollywood "dream factory" which, once purged of the "subversives," would provide a larger-than-life medium for bolstering the anti-Soviet Cold War. And dragging Hollywood celebrities before HUAC could generate

Hollywood in years, a 1945 strike by thousands of film workers. The strike by the CP-influenced Council of Studio Unions (CSU), which terrified the studio heads, was provoked by a raid on the CSU by the anti-Communist, gangster-dominated International Association of Theater and Stage Employees, which enlisted the support of the vigilante Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals founded by arch-reactionary Ayn Rand and including right-wing actors like John Wayne and Adolphe Menjou.

HUAC started its Hollywood investigations in 1947, interviewing movie moguls like Walt Disney and Jack Warner to determine if there were "subliminal" Communist messages in Hollywood films. Disney, a longtime fink for J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, was a notorious strikebreaker. Disney retaliated against the bitterly fought 1941 Cartoonists Guild strike against his studio by turning over photos of strikers to government witchhunters and firing virtually every worker who went on strike. Six years later, Disney denounced the guild leaders to HUAC as "Communists" who were trying to subvert Mickey Mouse!

The Hollywood red purge began when HUAC threw the book at ten "unfriendly" who refused to testify. The Hollywood Ten, all members or former members of the CP, included some of the most politically active—mostly hack—writers

demand for names was not a quest for evidence; it was a means of breaking people, a litmus test of "patriotism." To be sure, the Stalinists tried mightily to prove just how patriotic they were, denouncing the witchhunters not for anti-Communism or anti-Sovietism but for being "anti-American." Typically, John Howard Lawson, one of the Hollywood Ten, yelled as he was being dragged out of a hearing: "It is unfortunate and tragic that I have to teach this committee the basic principles of Americanism." But once the bourgeoisie had decided to come down on the CP as "foreign agents" in order to suppress class struggle, it didn't matter how many times CPers proclaimed their patriotism.

Some blacklisted writers found jobs using pseudonyms, others found people to "front" for them. In 1956, one Robert Rich won an Oscar for best screenplay for *The Brave One*. He didn't show up to collect it. Rich was the messenger for King Brothers studios. Dalton Trumbo had written the screenplay and used Rich's name. It was only two years ago that the Writers Guild of America (which collaborated with the witchhunters at the time) finally announced that it would restore the rightful credits on almost 50 films written by blacklisted screenwriters.

Woody Allen's film, *The Front*, provided a powerful depiction of the political, professional and human destruction that was to occur. Some noteworthy

directors, including Joseph Losey, Jules Dassin and John Berry, chose exile in Europe; others moved to Mexico. Actor John Garfield died of a heart attack three days after refusing to name names. Charlie Chaplin, who had protested on behalf of the Dennis defendants, was driven from the country as an "un-American." Actor Philip Loeb, unemployed and homeless, committed suicide. Freelance blacklists continued where HUAC left off; to be listed in *American Legion Magazine* was to be "graylisted" in the industry.

In his book *Naming Names*, liberal Victor Navasky describes a small example of how labor could have defied the thought police. When actor John Randolph arrived in Chicago for a summer theater performance, the manager told him that the local American Legion post had sent a dossier on Randolph and threatened to picket the show if the actor wasn't fired. After Randolph appeared as scheduled, the manager explained to him: "Now I can tell you what happened. The head of our Legion post is a florist. I called a Teamster friend and told him about the threat. He called the florist and said, 'Don't give me any of that shit. You picket that show and your trucks don't roll.'"

Meanwhile, the FBI haunted everybody even remotely suspected of harboring left-wing views or participating in left associations. Dashiell Hammett, the author of classic hard-boiled detective novels, was imprisoned for refusing to name contributors to the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress. While Hammett was in prison, the IRS sent him a back-tax bill for more than \$100,000. Whatever their Stalinist and liberal political delusions, it took real guts for those called before HUAC to refuse to answer questions or name names. They knew that refusal to cooperate meant blacklisting and possibly prison.

The leaden weight of witchhunt culture was seen in the movies of the 1950s, as the red scare intersected America's Puritan legacy of dour suspicion of sex and the arts as agencies of sin and the devil. The Cold War genre included good guy/bad guy Westerns, mindless patriotic war movies, spectacular Bible epics and suffocatingly asexual romantic comedies. This atmosphere of fear and mediocrity was the heyday of the thoroughly unremarkable John Wayne. A CBS executive complained, "The trouble with people who've never joined anything and therefore are 'safe' for us to use is that they usually aren't very good writers or actors or producers or, hell, human beings." Former liberal and B-grade movie actor Ronald Reagan was catapulted into right-wing bourgeois politics through his collaboration with HUAC as president of the Screen Actors Guild and his role as FBI informer (code name "Agent T-10").

The Liberal Witchhunters

The liberal view of the McCarthy period has always been that it went too far, that it convicted the "innocent" along with the "guilty." Who was "innocent"? The liberals, of course. Innocent of what? Of opposing capitalism, of "foreign ideology," of being "un-American." The liberals want their civil liberties and their witchhunt too. As rabid McCarthyites lumped liberals with Communists, liberals sought to exonerate themselves by showing they were the best anti-Communists and most determined informers. In so doing, they became an important aid in legitimizing the witchhunters' right to pry, blacklist and prosecute. None were more energetic than ex-Communist liberals like Elia Kazan.

It was the New Deal liberals who were the chief authors of the laws to criminalize political beliefs (the Smith Act, 1940), to establish concentration camps to imprison political dissenters without trial during a "national emergency" (McCarran-Kilgore Act, 1950) and to outlaw a political party (Communist Control Act, 1954). Longtime Democratic Party standard bearer Hubert Humphrey epitomized Cold War liberalism.

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Kazan...

(continued from page 9)

This vicious redbaiter was one of the founders, along with anti-Communist union bureaucrats like Reuther, of Americans for Democratic Action, which was set up to support Truman's "get tough on Russia" policy. The liberal American Civil Liberties Union purged its Communist members and regularly exchanged information with the FBI.

The fact that so many Stalinists left the CP and its orbit to inform or to enlist as advocates of the Cold War is not explained merely by the desire to protect cushy careers in changed times. Many of the CP's Hollywood recruits were never more than petty-bourgeois liberals, though the party did have a significant proletarian layer at its base. More fundamentally, liberal bourgeois ideology and Stalinist reformism shared a common underpinning: bourgeois democracy was seen not as a variant of the dictatorship of capital, to be dispensed with when capitalist needs require, but as the mechanism for achieving social justice. Marxists, on the other hand, understand that, as Lenin put it in "The State" (1919), "The state is a machine for the oppression of one class by another, a machine for holding in obedience to one class other, subordinated classes." Only a proletarian revolution which smashes the capitalist state and places power in the hands of the working class can end all forms of exploitation and secure a future of socialist equality. This requires the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party.

Today, in line with the prevailing "death of communism" climate, the liberals join in "rehabilitating" the Cold War witchhunters of the 1950s. With the opening of Soviet archives and the release of supposed Soviet intelligence materials by America's spymasters, the liberals now sanctimoniously exclaim that the Rosenbergs and other victims of the red purges were Soviet spies after all and the Communists were indeed agents of a "foreign power." Such proclamations have little to do with new documentary evidence, but rather fulfill current imperialist ideological needs. This trend was seen already in the Cold War II era of the 1980s, as "rad-lib" New Leftovers like Ronald Radosh made a career out of retrying and re-executing the Rosenbergs.

In a letter to the *New York Times* (24 October 1998), Radosh complains that McCarthy "gave a bad name to the very legitimate cause of anti-Communism." After all, McCarthy lied, concocted evidence, framed up people and, more importantly, used the mechanisms of the witchhunt against his Democratic Party rivals. They would like a refined witchhunt, erudite, leaving college professors untouched. Well, when you unleash a nativist witchhunt you tend to bring to the fore a pretty gruesome bunch of primitives. It's in the nature of the beast. McCarthy became the mouthpiece for anti-Communist repression because he was best suited for the job. By the time he was discarded for using too broad a brush, the anti-Communist campaign had largely succeeded in its goals.

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UPI



Washington Post

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed in June 1953 following anti-Semitic, anti-Communist frame-up trial. Right: Paris rally to "save the Rosenbergs" was part of international protest campaign.

What finally broke the witchhunt was hardly McCarthy's removal from power (the hunt went on for years after that), but the social struggles of the 1950s and '60s. The mass struggles for black equality shattered the conservative Cold War consensus and profoundly shook the American bourgeois order. When HUAC tried to stage what were to be its last hearings in San Francisco in 1960, thousands of radicalized students turned out to protest, leading to clashes with cops who turned high-power water hoses on them. Young black and campus radicals came to see an identity between the anti-Communist crusaders and racist segregation and the imperialist war against social revolution in Vietnam. And the battlefield defeats inflicted on U.S. imperialism by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants provoked popular hostility to direct military intervention abroad. Ever since then, the bourgeoisie has strived to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and regiment the population in preparation for new imperialist wars. That is the goal of the new McCarthyites.

Standing apart from the torrent of recent works justifying McCarthyism is a new book by Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, which attacks the red purges as an atrocity. But at bottom she shares many of the same assumptions as those justifying the witchhunt, denouncing the CP's subordination to the Kremlin as "the fatal flaw of American Communism." She writes:

"It was, to begin with, a secretive organization that operated in a highly authoritarian manner. And, of course, it was totally committed to defending the Soviet Union. When the Cold War turned the CP into a political pariah, these structural and ideological flaws compromised its moral authority and made it hard for the liberals and others who claimed to oppose McCarthyism to defend the political and civil rights of Communists."

In fact the CP was committed to defense of the Stalinist bureaucracy, whose counterrevolutionary policies were the chief obstacle to the only sure defense of the gains of the October Revolution, the fight for world socialist revolution, particularly in the imperialist countries. But what is under attack here is not the utter slavishness of the Stalinized CP, which certainly swallowed and regurgitated every twist in Moscow foreign policy to further its own opportunist appetites, but the very idea of proletarian internationalism. The implications are sinister, justifying the anti-Communist diatribes against leftist antiwar protesters who identified with the Vietnamese struggle against U.S. imperialism. And if U.S. workers, defending their own interests and those of their class internationally, strike in solidarity with striking Japanese workers, are they not placing "foreign interests" above "American" ones?

The interests of the proletariat start from the standpoint proclaimed by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*: Workers of the world, unite! The Trotskyists broke with the Stalinist Comintern because it had *betrayed* the internationalist program of Bolshevism. From the inception of the Spartacist League, we have asserted the need for international democratic-centralist discipline

and denounced the 1940 Voorhis Act, which was aimed at massively inhibiting international political affiliation. As the U.S. section of the International Communist League, the SL fights to reforge an authentically Trotskyist Fourth International.

For New October Revolutions!

The call issued by the anti-Kazan Committee Against Silence is very much within the framework of liberal criticism of the witchhunt, denouncing the assault on civil liberties and attacking Kazan for his "low moral character" with not a mention of the Soviet Union or the Cold War. Among the signatories of this liberal appeal are a number of self-styled "Marxist" groups, including the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Progressive Labor Party (PL). In fact, throughout Cold War II, these outfits shared the liberals' hostility to defense of the Soviet Union.

Originating from a split in the American Communist Party in the early 1960s, PL soon abandoned even lip service to defense of the Soviet Union, embracing the Chinese Maoists' line that the USSR had become capitalist. PL then went on to likewise denounce China as capitalist, using this to justify its refusal to defend this bureaucratically deformed workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution.

Over the years, PL has gyrated between sectarian adventurism and crass class collaborationism, its current phase. In an undated leaflet for the anti-Kazan protest titled "A Rat Is a Rat Is a Rat!", PL at least acknowledges that the witchhunt served the bourgeoisie's war drive against the Soviet Union. The leaflet goes on to glorify Stalin and the Stalinists' role during the heyday of popular-front support to imperialist war. It is from this class-collaborationist tradition that PL derives its "left-center coalitionism." Thus, while acknowledging that Democratic Party liberals were a "leading force" in the red purges ("Elia Kazan: Bosses Reward Anti-Communist Rat-Fink," *Challenge*, 10 February), PL panders to bourgeois liberalism in embracing the Committee Against Silence.

An article in the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (12 March) rehearses the liberal line of the protest call it endorsed. The ISO, which is affiliated to Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain, has been defined by anti-Sovietism from its inception. Cliff was expelled from the Fourth International in 1950 for publicly refusing to defend the USSR, China and the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialism in the midst of the Korean War. In the U.S., the ISO's forebears are the Shachtmanites who split from Cannon's SWP at the outbreak of World War II, repudiating the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union.

With the onset of the Cold War, Shachtman took his "third camp" line to its logical conclusion of pro-imperialist social democracy. Shachtman's International Socialist League refused to come out even for commutation of the Rosenbergs' death sentence until 1953, two years after the trial, whining in a protest to President Eisenhower that the

execution would give "worldwide Stalinism an effective weapon." Less than a decade later, Shachtman was an open supporter of the CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion of Castro's Cuba. The ISO Cliffites stand firmly in this tradition of "State Department socialism," supporting one imperialist-sponsored vendetta against the Soviet Union after another during Cold War II, from the feudalist Afghan *mujahedin* and counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność to Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary coup in August 1991 (see "What Kind of 'Socialists' Support Counterrevolution?" WV No. 679, 28 November 1997).

Sharing the Cliffites' anti-Communist track record during Cold War II, despite occasional lip service to Trotskyism, is the dubious Socialist Equality Party (SEP, formerly Workers League) of David North. Following Yeltsin's counterrevolution, the Northites generalized their earlier refusal to defend the gains of the October Revolution to put forward a scabberding line which wrote off the AFL-CIO trade unions as any sort of workers organizations. Recently, the Northites have taken to perversely painting Trotskyism as the "left wing" of McCarthyism, embracing anti-Communist finks like George Orwell and even saluting the likes of World War II U.S. General George Patton (see "David North's 'Left' McCarthyism" and "Northites Salute Generals and Finks," WV Nos. 702 and 706, 4 December 1998 and 5 February). Typically, a piece on Kazan on the SEP's Web site whines that Kazan's "belated opposition to Stalinism, about whose crimes he remained entirely silent during the 1930s, was of a right-wing and opportunist character" (20 February). Not once in this lengthy three-part series do the Northites even hint at the Trotskyist position of defense of the Soviet Union.

As we commemorate those who were victimized by Cold War repression, we especially honor the 18 Trotskyist leaders of the SWP and Minneapolis Teamsters union who were the first victims of the Smith Act. We recall what Cannon wrote in a 1947 article titled "Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism" at the onset of the Cold War witchhunt:

"We Trotskyists, as everybody knows, are also against Stalinism and have fought it unceasingly and consistently for a very long time. But we have no place in the present 'all-inclusive' united front against American Stalinism. The reason for this is that we are anticapitalist. Consequently, we can find no point of agreement with the campaign conducted by the political representatives of American capitalism in Washington."

The Trotskyists knew that for those who fight for the interests of the working class any illusions in the reformability of the capitalist state are suicidal. They did not declare that they were "all-American" socialists, but instead proudly flew the flag of internationalist Marxism. And they knew that ultimately the only way to stop the hand of government repression would be the seizure of power by the revolutionary working class in its own name. Today, it is uniquely the Spartacist League which upholds this revolutionary program as we fight for new October Revolutions in the U.S. and internationally. ■

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

after the U.S. trumpeted its role in abducting PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan, who is now imprisoned in a Turkish dungeon under threat of execution. In protests throughout Europe and around the world, the International Communist League has demanded: Freedom for Öcalan! Hands off the PKK and all Kurdish organizations! For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! The emancipation of the Kurdish people, carved up among Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria, requires the revolutionary overthrow of these four capitalist states.

As American spy Scott Ritter confirms what has been clear all along—that the UN “arms inspectors” are tools of the

CIA—the Clinton administration cynically proclaims its aim of overthrowing the regime of Saddam Hussein. While nearly \$100 million has been allocated to foment a coup by disparate CIA-sponsored Iraqi “oppositionists,” American ruling circles are hardly unanimous in supporting this scheme. Earlier this year, U.S. Marine commander General Anthony Zinni warned that the ouster of Saddam Hussein, whose anti-Communist regime Washington helped prop up for decades, would leave in its wake a “weak, chaotic and fragmented” government. Similar fears of “destabilizing” this strategic region drive U.S. opposition to self-determination for the Kurdish nation.

Among the underground Iraqi opposition groups is the Iraqi Communist Party (CP). In a 17 December 1998 statement

uncritically reprinted in the American CP's *Political Affairs* (January 1999), the Iraqi party “condemn[s] the American aggression” while simultaneously acting as a mouthpiece for imperialist war propaganda, demanding that the Iraqi regime “carry out the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council.” In 1958, the Iraqi Stalinists helped pave the way for Saddam Hussein's rise to power by betraying a revolutionary opportunity in the name of class-collaborationist “unity” with his bourgeois-nationalist predecessors (see “Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Road to Power,” WV No. 511, 5 October 1990). Saddam Hussein is a butcher of Iraqi workers and Kurds and other minorities. But it is the task of the Iraqi proletariat, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party committed to the program of permanent revolution, to sweep away his despotic regime.

In the U.S., groups like the International Socialist Organization and the Workers World Party plead with Democrat Clinton to “lift the sanctions” and “end the bombing.” These reformists promote the illusion that American imperialism can be pressured to pursue a more peaceful and humane policy. But the death and destruction being wreaked upon the people of Iraq show what imperialism is all about, a rapacious system based on the exploitation, subjugation and murder of the workers and semicolonial masses in order to expand the profits of a handful of filthy rich capitalists. The only way to put an end to imperialist mass murder, exploitation and oppression is through the forging of a revolutionary workers party to lead the multi-racial U.S. proletariat to the conquest of state power. ■

Gay Murder...

(continued from page 1)

reinforce the divisions fostered by the capitalist rulers through the poison of racism and homophobia. Counterposed to this sectoralism is the Marxist understanding that it is the working class which has the social power and the interest to mobilize against attacks on all the oppressed.

When the Nazis tried to stage a provocation on Gay Pride Day in Chicago in 1982, the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization to stop them. The 3,000 people—trade unionists, blacks, Jews, leftists—who turned out recognized that the Nazis were their common enemy. Such proletarian-centered mobilizations exemplify our fight to forge a Leninist vanguard party as a tribune of the people. The fight to mobilize labor in defense of the oppressed is counterposed to the narrow economic outlook of the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy, which seeks to keep the trade unions politically chained to the capitalist Democratic Party.

In contrast to the relative silence over the killing of Gaither, the murder of Matthew Shepard in Wyoming last October sparked an explosion of outrage



Spartacist contingent at March 1994 Birmingham protest against racist cop terror.

nationally. Coming on the eve of the Congressional elections, this anger was used to channel votes to the Democratic Party against the Republican right wing. The demonstrations protesting Shepard's murder also raised appeals to the Demo-

crats to enact “hate crimes” laws as the answer to anti-gay violence. As we explained in our article “Anti-Gay Crusade: Incitement to Murder” (WV No. 699, 23 October 1998):

“To call on the capitalist state to protect the interests of the oppressed is not only futile but fosters deadly illusions. The bourgeois state is an apparatus of repression whose purpose is to defend capitalist class rule, from which every manner of racial and sexual prejudice springs.”

The Spartacist League fights for full democratic rights for gays. Anti-gay bigotry flows from the stereotyping decreed by the sexual division of labor in the family, the main institution for the oppression of women and a key prop of capitalist class rule.

In the South, the all-sided social backwardness of American society is magnified, with racist oppression as the defining feature. A devout Baptist, 39-year-old Gaither was a gay man buried so deep in the closet that even his parents, whom he lived with and took care of, had no inkling of his sexuality. In “Bible Belt” country, gays are forced underground, able to meet and socialize discreetly only in the few metropolitan areas like Birmingham. As the Birmingham coordinator for the Gay

and Lesbian Alliance of Alabama said, gays holding hands in a public place “would literally be a death wish in the state of Alabama.”

Outside of Birmingham, Atlanta and other commercial or industrial cities, there are whole regions of the South where even the modest gains of the civil rights movement have scarcely penetrated. Alabama lawmakers are even now debating whether to lift the ban on interracial marriage. Entrenched racist oppression helps maintain the area as a low-wage, non-union haven for capitalist exploitation. The KKK fascists who maim and murder blacks, gays and abortion providers also target the integrated trade-union movement. This was shown dramatically in June 1995 when a KKK-style cross-burning took place outside an Alabama poultry plant on the eve of a union recognition vote.

In the course of this century, the mines and mills around Birmingham drew in blacks from the rural areas, and the area burgeoned into a regional concentration of industrial power with a rich tradition of integrated class struggle. What is needed today is a massive drive to unionize the South, which would necessarily entail an intransigent fight against racist terror and oppression. KKK terror and the “open shop” go hand in hand. Such an organizing drive would go a long way to breaking the stranglehold of bigotry and reaction in the South and would have an impact throughout the country. But any such effort immediately poses a political struggle against the class collaborationism of the current trade-union misleaders who operate as the labor enforcers for the preservation of American capitalism, a system predicated on the brutal oppression and segregation of the black population.

When the KKK staged a race-hate provocation in Atlanta in January 1989 under the protection of thousands of cops and National Guardsmen, the Partisan Defense Committee brought out 3,000 anti-Klan demonstrators under the call, “Mobilize the Power of Organized Labor and Minorities Against KKK/Nazi Killers!” This was a taste of the social power needed to sweep away the racist terrorists and anti-gay bigots as part of the fight for proletarian revolution. ■

Diallo Killing...

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widespread anger, implying that racist police terror can be controlled through measures like stronger “civilian review boards,” more minority cops and residency requirements for urban police forces. The cops are the armed thugs of the racist capitalist rulers; they cannot be reformed but must be swept away through socialist revolution.

What is immediately needed is an outpouring of labor protest linking the masses of the ghettos and barrios to the integrated trade unions—like transit, hospital, hotel, building maintenance and city workers—which have the power to shut this city down. But the labor bureaucracy, which chains the unions to the class enemy, principally through support to the capitalist Democratic Party and even to Republican mayor Giuliani, has refused to lift a finger to protest the reign of NYPD racist terror.

We print below in slightly edited form the speech at the Harlem hearing by Ed Jarvis of the Spartacist League and New York Labor Black League for Social Defense, who was applauded as he raised the call for labor protest against cop terror. Comrade Jarvis raised the case of James Grimes, a black transit token clerk who was arrested in 1986 for exercising his right to self-defense against a robbery attempt. Despite roadblocks set up by the Transport Workers Union tops, Grimes' fellow unionists actively mobilized in his defense, and all charges against him were dropped. It was

out of this campaign that the LBLSD was founded.

* * *

I want to say right up front that I think the proposals that are being made here tonight by the Council are a sham. I think the war is on the black community. I think in this “war on drugs,” which the Democrats and the Republicans have backed, Wall Street is the only one that profits. And it's the working people of this city who have to make a stand.

Tens of thousands of construction workers last year pushed around Giuliani's cops in midtown Manhattan, and it's going to take a fight in order to get the unions to take a stand against racist terror in this city. It's going to take a fight in order to mobilize labor, which is the key. I was in the Transport Workers Union, and I can tell you from my experience black workers are in the cross hairs of this racist system. There was a black token booth clerk—who used a weapon in his own defense against a mugger—a union member, who subsequently himself was arrested, handcuffed for nine hours, thrown in jail for 24 hours. It took a fight in that union to mobilize to defend this man. Subsequently, as a result of that fight, the union came out in support and that man was freed.

It is that kind of effort that is necessary: a mass mobilization of working-class people in this city to protest the vile crimes that are going on by the police against black and Latino people and organized labor. It's going to be a fight waged in order to build a workers party that will bring down this whole racist capitalist system. ■

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Celebrating McCarthyism

Elia Kazan: Hollywood Salutes a Rat



Portrait of a fink.

On 10 April 1952, as the postwar anti-Communist witchhunt was reaching full frenzy in the U.S. and American troops were obliterating peasant villages in Korea, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) met in executive session to accept testimony from a prize informer: Elia Kazan. A world-famous Broadway and Hollywood director, Kazan fed the predators exactly what they wanted. Kazan handed over the names of eight of his former comrades of the Communist Party (CP) with whom he had worked in the Group Theater in the 1930s. He also gave the witchhunters his considerable prestige as a liberal celebrity as he enlisted as a propagandist in their filthy cause.

After the hearing, Kazan took out an ad in the *New York Times* exhorting fellow liberals to follow in his footsteps, ranting that Communism was "a dangerous and alien conspiracy." Making explicit the threat hanging over those who refused to name names, he wrote: "The employment of a lot of good liberals is threatened because they have allowed themselves to become associated with or silenced by the Communists. Liberals must speak out."

Of the scores of Hollywood informers who sang before HUAC, none aroused greater contempt than Kazan. Now, on March 21, the

Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences will award Kazan an honorary Oscar for "lifetime achievement." The Committee Against Silence, a group formed to speak out against Kazan's Oscar, has announced it will protest at the award ceremonies. The "shame of the blacklist," the thoroughgoing capitulation to the HUAC thought police,

remains an embarrassment to this day in Hollywood. In fact, the entertainment industry has made its billions mass-marketing bourgeois "morality" and purveying the imperialist ideological requirements of the day. Artistic integrity in this capital-intensive industry must pass the requisites of box office profits.

Tony Kraber, one of the eight Kazan

fingered, replied when asked by HUAC if he had known Kazan in the CP: "Is this the Kazan that signed the contract for five hundred thousand dollars the day after he gave names to this Committee?" In the years since, Kazan's films and books revealed an obsession with justifying informing, and he insisted in his 1988 memoirs that he would do so again. Two

years after his appearance before HUAC, he teamed up with another ex-Communist informer, screenwriter Budd Schulberg (and yet another fink, actor Lee J. Cobb), to create his most famous movie, *On the Waterfront*. This apologia for government union-busting glorifies a fink (played by Marlon Brando, who later expressed regret at having done the movie) who squeals on his union brothers and a corrupt union bureaucrat. A transparent anti-Communist morality play, with the Waterfront Crime Commission an analog for HUAC, *On the Waterfront* exemplified and reinforced the perverse "morality" of the witchhunt: the notion that turning in one's former comrades was the honorable thing to do.

Every social class reveals its morality and standards through those whom it glorifies. Hollywood's salute to Kazan brings to mind what Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said at the time of the HUAC

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The Hollywood Ten, victims of anti-Communist witchhunt, at 1950 demonstration with families and supporters before they left for prison.

Corinth Films

Spartacists at Harlem Hearing After Diallo Killing:

For Labor Protest Against Racist Cop Terror!

NEW YORK CITY—As outrage continues to boil over the NYPD's killing of Guinean immigrant Amadou Diallo last month, some 300 people packed the auditorium of Harlem's North General Hospital on March 10 in the first of a series of "investigative public hearings" called by New York City Council members. One after the other, men and women stepped up to the mike to describe how they or their family had been harassed, insulted and beaten simply because, in the eyes of the racist cops, they "fit the description."

The Street Crimes Unit which gunned down Diallo is part of the army of cops which occupies the inner cities, terrorizing ghetto residents and randomly breaking into apartments with weapons drawn. As one participant at the Harlem hearing exclaimed, "They say that we're in drug locations so we're criminals.... And when you use the word criminal you're saying slave. These police that they put out here today are slave catchers. If you don't believe me, just look in your prisons and see

who's in the prisons." From the start, the "drug war" has been a cover for nothing other than a massive escalation of police repression, imprisoning a whole layer of ghetto youth for whom there are no jobs.

Pointing to the mounting anger over racist cop atrocities, one man said: "People are tired. What is going to get done about these instances with these police? How many forums, how many people that have to die? How many kids have to get locked up for just hanging out in the Ave., chilling with the brothers?"

As reported in the *New York Times* (16 March), a new survey in the wake of the killing of Amadou Diallo shows that two-thirds of all New Yorkers—and nine out of ten blacks—agree that the cops are particularly brutal in their treatment of black people. Recognizing the increasing perception in the population that the cops are racist killers, liberal Democrats have convened the City Council hearings precisely with the aim of defusing such

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WV Photo

NYC protest against cop killing of Amadou Diallo, March 8.