

U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!

The U.S. government's latest display of brinkmanship in the Persian Gulf, directed against its favorite bogeyman, Saddam Hussein's Iraq, highlights the deadly arrogance and hypocrisy of the American capitalist class. Under the pretext of enforcing the United Nations' right to spy on Iraq—through monitoring Iraq's purported manufacture of "weapons of mass destruction"—U.S. imperialist chief Clinton dispatched an armada of over 300 fighter jets and 20 warships, many of these equipped with nuclear weapons. Yet again, the Iraqi people were threatened with attack by the U.S. military terror machine, which slaughtered tens of thousands during the 1990-91 Gulf War and continues to enforce a UN-sponsored blockade which has killed well over 600,000 children and more than a million people overall through starvation and disease in the past seven years.

The immediate threat of a U.S. military strike has subsided with the deal brokered by the Russian government allowing UN weapons inspectors, including Americans, back into Iraq. Unlike in 1990-91, this time the U.S. ran into significant opposition to its war moves against Iraq from its fellow imperialists and Arab client regimes. French, Russian and Italian oil companies have already signed agreements with Baghdad guaranteeing a huge share of production in Iraqi oil fields the minute UN sanctions are ended. The Russians also hope that if Iraq can increase its oil exports, Moscow might see some of the billions of dollars in loans to Iraq by the former Soviet government.

While screaming about Iraq's supposed "weapons of mass destruction," the U.S. continues to enforce the deadly sanctions which are themselves *weapons of mass terror*, consciously targeting civilian populations, particularly the more impoverished. Food has repeatedly been wielded by the imperialists as a weapon. For example, in 1982, when famine struck Ethiopia, the U.S. held up aid because Ethiopia was a Soviet ally.

Behind the U.S. military moves in the Persian Gulf is the intensified inter-imperialist rivalry over Near Eastern and Cen-



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

tral Asian oil fields and pipeline routes. The Gulf War was an attempt by the U.S. to secure control of the region through projecting its military power, ultimately aimed against Japan, Germany and other U.S. rivals. Following the collapse of the USSR, conflicting interests between the imperialist "allies," which had been subordinated to the anti-Soviet Cold War consensus, have increasingly come into the open. This includes mounting opposition to U.S. embargoes against Iran, Iraq, Libya and Cuba—and the accompanying threats of sanctions against foreign capitalist concerns that deal with those countries. In turn, elements of the U.S. ruling class are also starting to bristle over the sanctions. Thus a column in *Business Week* (24 November) argued, "The only certain effect of this policy

will be to minimize the presence of U.S. companies in global markets and to weaken them in their domestic markets."

Growing opposition to Washington among its normally pliant Arab client states, such as Mubarak's Egypt, also acted to muck up Clinton's designs against Iraq. The Arab capitalist regimes of the region, which overwhelmingly backed the U.S. in the 1990-91 "Desert Slaughter," feel like they have been left out in the cold by the U.S. Washington is currently not too happy that the Zionists are burning up the phony, U.S.-brokered "peace process," particularly with Prime Minister Netanyahu's encouragement of increased Jewish settlement on the West Bank. An exasperated President Clinton recently exclaimed that "Netanyahu has made all sorts of promises to me and

hasn't lived up to them" (*New York Times*, 24 November). The U.S.-backed Zionist regime in Israel continues its bloody expansionist campaigns against the Palestinians, which have fueled the threat posed to Arab regimes like Mubarak's by Islamic fundamentalists. We say: Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

Clinton's displeasure with the Zionist regime has its limits. While U.S. propaganda mills churned out endless denunciations of Iraqi weapons programs, such as the *New York Times* (16 November) editorial castigating Saddam Hussein as "a nuclear renegade and a transporter of timeless plagues," nothing was said about the Israeli terrorist state, which unlike Iraq has been shown to possess upwards of 200 nuclear warheads and delivery systems
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Anti-Union Attacks, "Red Scares" in Wake of UPS Victory

Feds Out of the Teamsters!

NOVEMBER 24—In a vindictive pay-back for last August's successful and widely popular strike against the giant UPS shipping company, the capitalist government has taken direct aim at the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) and the rest of the labor movement. Hard on the heels of the UPS strike, a court order voided the 1996 Teamsters election, in which Ron Carey won a sec-

ond term as union president, and dictated another government-supervised election. Now, the feds have effectively ripped up the union's leadership structure, barring Carey from running and threatening to also disqualify his rival, James Hoffa Jr., who had cravenly welcomed Carey's removal. In an ominous escalation, the government today exacted an agreement from IBT leaders to seize control of the union's finances. *This is a direct attack on the union's ability to wage any kind of struggle against the employers.*

Meanwhile, federal snoops have been bounding one union official after another on charges of "corruption." AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Richard Trumka, for-

mer head of the United Mine Workers, is currently the subject of a federal grand jury investigation. The government is also threatening to oust Arthur Coia as president of the Laborers International Union, which has been active in organizing low-paid minority and immigrant workers.

As we wrote in "Government Hands Off the Teamsters!" (WV No. 673, 5 September) in the aftermath of the UPS strike:

"The government's intervention has nothing to do with allegations of financial chicanery by Carey and everything to do with its decades-long vendetta against the Teamsters. The capitalist state, which represents the interests of the corporations, fears the potential power of the

Teamsters to shut down the country, from in-city and national trucking to the major ports and airports. The government's only interest in intervening into the affairs of the Teamsters or any other union is to cripple their ability to fight for the interests of their members by directly subordinating the unions to the government and dictating how they are run."

The Spartacist League is unconditionally opposed to the bourgeois state's intervention into the labor movement, including court suits against union "corruption." Labor must clean its own house, through a political fight against the venal, pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. *Feds out of the Teamsters! Government hands off*

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Protest Repression of Basques by Spanish Government

The following letter was sent on October 28 by the Partisan Defence Committee in Britain to Prime Minister José María Aznar of Spain to protest the prosecution of supporters of the group Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA).

The Partisan Defence Committee vehemently protests your show trial of 23 leading members of Herri Batasuna (HB) who, for having distributed a video promoting ETA's peace proposals for the Basque country, are ludicrously charged

with "collaborating with an armed band." To the Castilian-chauvinist Spanish state, which promotes the Francoist mantra of "Spain, one and indivisible," even the advocacy of independence for the oppressed Basque people is tantamount to terrorism. We demand the immediate release of the leaders of Herri Batasuna and the dropping of all charges against them.

The trial of Herri Batasuna's national leadership recalls the infamous Burgos

show trials of 1970 under the Franco dictatorship and takes place in the context of heightened state repression and intimidation of the Basque independence movement. Herri Batasuna, in particular, has been the target of a concerted witch-hunt. Its offices have been firebombed, its members attacked by mobs. In several localities HB mayors have been ousted from town halls and its demonstrations have been prohibited. In addition, new "anti-terrorist" legislation aimed at bolstering the state's repressive arsenal targets not only young Basque militants but all the working people of Spain, especially immigrants.

In the continuing oppression of the Basque people, Spain's much-vaunted "transition to democracy" is once more exposed as a lie. The routine torture of "terrorist" suspects has been well documented by, among others, Amnesty Inter-

national. In the five years from 1990 to 1995, almost 2,000 political events in the Basque country were repressed, over a thousand people were wounded in clashes with the police, including a number of people blinded by plastic bullets, and almost 800 were arrested under your draconian "anti-terrorist" legislation. As for the charges of "terrorism," we do not forget that your predecessors, the "Socialist" Party administration of Felipe González and former Falangist José Barrionuevo, conducted a dirty war against the Basque separatist movement, setting up the fascist GAL death squads to assassinate ETA members and supporters.

Down with the show trial of the Mesa Nacional of Herri Batasuna! Stop the witchhunt! For the right of self-determination for the Basque people!

Kate Klein for the Partisan Defence Committee

Illinois Death Row Speedup

On November 19, the state of Illinois carried out a double execution, a chilling demonstration of the massive buildup of the capitalist rulers' apparatus of bloody repression. We publish below a protest letter sent to Governor James Edgar by the Partisan Defense Committee the day before the executions.

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently opposes the double execution of Walter Stewart and Durlynn Eddmonds scheduled to be carried out on November 19. Capital punishment, whether by electrocution, hanging, or the now-preferred method of lethal injection, is an act of barbarity and an outrage against justice and decency.

This planned double execution is a calculated effort to speed up death row in Illinois, even as opposition to the death penalty is mounting in this state in response to the exposed frame-ups and

false prosecutions of Rolando Cruz, Alejandro Hernandez, Verneal Jimerson and others sentenced to death and then proved innocent. The impulse behind capital punishment is the impulse to genocide. In this deeply class- and race-based society, it is no "accident" or "aberration" that two-thirds of death row inmates in this state are black and Hispanic, and that innocent men are framed up and put to death to terrorize the exploited and oppressed. We remember that it was in Illinois that the Haymarket Martyrs, union organizers and anarchists, were framed up and hanged for the "crime" of fighting for the eight-hour day.

We demand the executions of Walter Stewart and Durlynn Eddmonds be stopped. Down with the racist death penalty!

Mark Kelly for the Partisan Defense Committee



TROTSKY

Capitalist Crisis and Socialist Revolution

The cascading financial collapse which began in Southeast Asia and is now engulfing South Korea underscores the Marxist understanding that capitalism is beset by recurring economic crises. However, as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin stressed at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, as massive dislocations in the imperialist world and widespread proletarian upheavals followed World War I, the



LENIN

capitalist system of exploitation will not simply collapse under the weight of its own contradictions. If the working-class struggles which will inevitably be provoked by a renewed wave of capitalist attacks are to end in victory, it is necessary to build an international revolutionary party, a reformed Fourth International, to lead the proletariat to power through new October Revolutions around the world.

The workers' mounting resentment, the growth of a revolutionary temper and ideas, and the increase in spontaneous mass strikes are obviously inevitable, since the position of the workers is becoming intolerable. The workers' own experience is convincing them that the capitalists have become prodigiously enriched by the war and are placing the burden of war costs and debts upon the workers' shoulders....

The capitalists can do nothing about the gap between prices and wages, and the workers cannot live on their previous wages. The old methods are useless against this calamity. Nothing can be achieved by isolated strikes, the parliamentary struggle, or the vote, because "private property is sacred," and the capitalists have accumulated such debts that the whole world is in bondage to a handful of men. Meanwhile the workers' living conditions are becoming more and more unbearable. There is no other way out but to abolish the exploiters' "private property."...

Comrades, we have now come to the question of the revolutionary crisis as the basis of our revolutionary action. And here we must first of all note two widespread errors. On the one hand, bourgeois economists depict this crisis simply as "unrest," to use the elegant expression of the British. On the other hand, revolutionaries sometimes try to prove that the crisis is absolutely insoluble.

This is a mistake. There is no such thing as an absolutely hopeless situation. The bourgeoisie are behaving like barefaced plunderers who have lost their heads; they are committing folly after folly, thus aggravating the situation and hastening their doom. All that is true. But nobody can "prove" that it is absolutely impossible for them to pacify a minority of the exploited with some petty concessions, and suppress some movement or uprising of some section of the oppressed and exploited. To try to "prove" in advance that there is "absolutely" no way out of the situation would be sheer pedantry, or playing with concepts and catchwords. Practice alone can serve as real "proof" in this and similar questions. All over the world, the bourgeois system is experiencing a tremendous revolutionary crisis. The revolutionary parties must now "prove" in practice that they have sufficient understanding and organization, contact with the exploited masses, and determination and skill to utilize this crisis for a successful, a victorious revolution.

—V.I. Lenin, "Report on the International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International" (July 1920)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is November 25.

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Come to a Fundraising Party!

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

Join us for the twelfth annual Holiday Appeal to raise funds for those imprisoned for championing the rights of labor and the oppressed. In sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners and additional funds to them and their families during the holidays, the PDC continues a tradition dating back to the International Labor Defense of the 1920s. Hear an update on the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. This is not charity—it's an act of solidarity with those behind bars! Their fight is our fight!

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Young Spartacus

L.A. Che Guevara Commemoration SWP Welcomes Cuban Gusanos

On October 22, the Young Socialists, youth group of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), sponsored a meeting at the UCLA campus titled, "Ernesto (Che) Guevara and Cuba: Past, Present and Future." When the L.A. Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club learned that this commemoration had been threatened by Cuban counterrevolutionary *gusanos*, we immediately offered to assist in a united-front defense of the meeting. Our letter to the SWP noted that despite our fundamental disagreement with them, "There must be no *gusano* disruption of this meeting so that there can be a full debate of views in the workers movement regarding which way forward for Cuba. We will be there to be part of the defense guard in the tradition of united-front defense: 'March separately, strike together!'"

Our comrades participated in the defense, helping to ensure that there was no *gusano* disruption. Yet, amazingly, the SWP then not only welcomed some *gusanos* into the meeting but repeatedly gave them speaking time and politely translated their anti-communist diatribes. These people represent the scum who, in league with the CIA, routinely carry out campaigns of terror and violence to subvert the Cuban Revolution, from the failed 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion to numerous assassination attempts against Cuban leader Fidel Castro. Recently declassified CIA files include "Possible Actions to Provoke, Harass or Disrupt Cuba," among them plans to blow up Cuban refugee ships and other provocations aimed at justifying further imperialist attacks against Cuba. An article in the *Miami Herald* (16 November) documents how *gusanos* in Miami bankrolled a

bombing campaign against Havana tourist hotels earlier this year. That the SWP can shamelessly provide a platform for such scum—at a "commemoration" of Che Guevara, no less!—speaks volumes about their pretensions to be the best

revolutionary internationalist perspective put forward by our floor speaker, a Cuban diplomat speaking from the platform baldly admitted that the Havana bureaucracy does not even pay lip service to the struggle for world socialism,

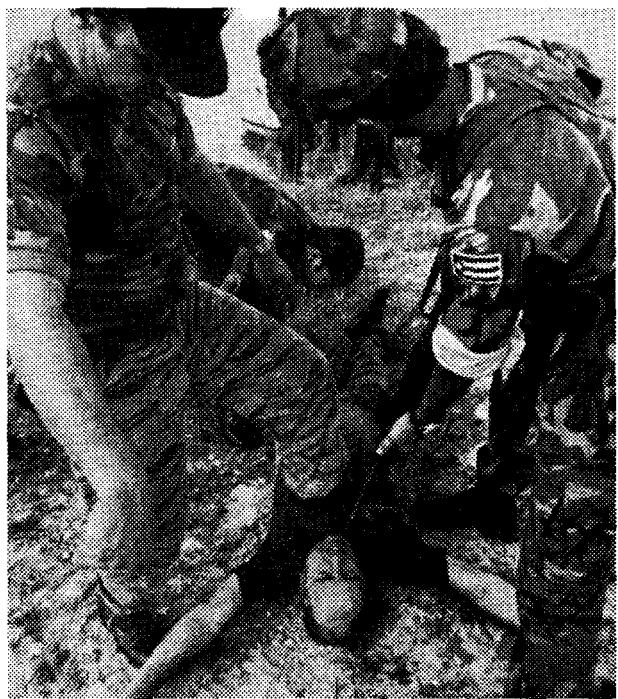
which capitalist property forms have been overturned but the working class does not hold *political* power. The only way to defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution is through the construction of an internationalist Trotskyist party in Cuba to place political power in the hands of the workers by overthrowing the nationalist bureaucracy of Castro through political revolution. The working people must express their own voice and power through their own organs of class rule, through workers councils like those established in the Soviet Union before Stalin. This can only be won through political struggle by a Leninist-Trotskyist party that is proletarian, revolutionary and international.

The International Communist League seeks to forge such a party as part of our struggle for international socialism. We understand the future of the Cuban workers state hangs in the balance of class struggle outside the island. And especially for Cuba, that means here in the U.S., in the belly of the imperialist beast.

Since the withdrawal of Soviet economic support after the Yeltsin counterrevolution, the Castro bureaucracy has implemented so-called "economic reforms" imposing mass layoffs and privatization on the Cuban workers, [and] market mechanisms, like the legalization of the dollar. My question is: Tell me what you think of the internationalist Trotskyist perspective for workers political revolution in Cuba, for international proletarian revolution to *defend* Cuba?

It was the capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union which set the stage for this dire economic situation in Cuba. It was the Socialist Workers Party that actually supported the Yeltsin counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. So therefore it's the politics of the Socialist Workers Party that are absolutely opposed to genuine defense of the Cuban workers state.

We're for unconditional military defense of the Cuban Revolution, and the best way forward for that is to strengthen the Cuban workers state through a political revolution to place the political power in the hands of the working people and to spread the revolution internationally, foremost here in the imperialist U.S., through building an international revolutionary workers party to lead the workers to power. ■



Kalushy/Stern

Training for bloody counterrevolution: *gusano* paramilitaries in Florida.

defenders of the Cuban Revolution.

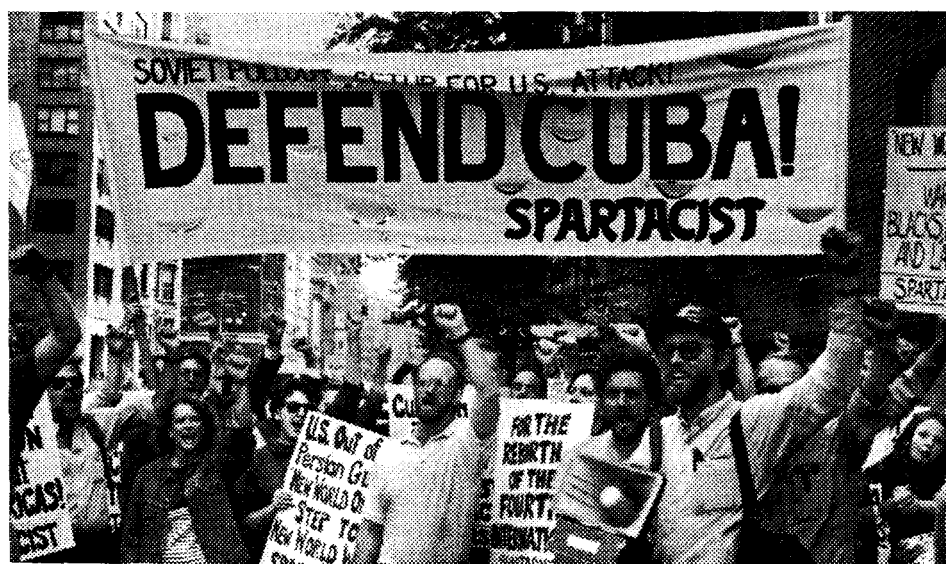
While welcoming the *gusanos*, the SWP tried to silence the revolutionary Trotskyism of the SL/SYC, only grudgingly calling on one of our comrades and then heckling her when she spoke. In fact, the SWP slavishly tails the Castroite bureaucracy, whose espousal of the nationalist Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" is paving the way for the restoration of capitalism. Replying to the

arguing instead for "strengthening the revolution" through such measures as the official "dollarization" of the economy a few years ago. These measures have increased inequality and pose a grave threat to the revolution (see "Eyewitness Report from Havana Youth Festival," WV No. 674, 19 September).

Youth interested in defending the Cuban Revolution should think twice about such "friends" of Cuba as the SWP. We print below, in slightly abridged form, the remarks at the Che commemoration by Michelle Oberman of the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club.

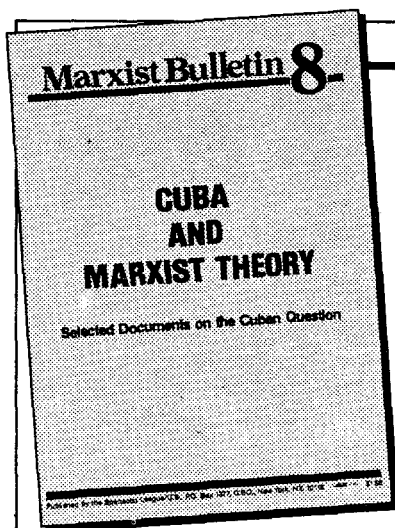
* * *

We stand for the unconditional defense of the Cuban Revolution against imperialist attacks, as well as the threat of internal counterrevolution. Today more than ever, in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, the existence of the Cuban workers state is threatened. Cuba is a deformed workers state in



WV Photo

September 1991, New York: Spartacist League protests cutoff of Soviet aid to Cuba.



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Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Next class, December 3: *The Revolutionary Party and Its Program*; NYU, Loeb Student Center, Room 414
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

OAKLAND

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, December 2: *The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class*; UC Berkeley, 204 Wheeler
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851 or (415) 777-9367

SAN FRANCISCO

Tuesday, 7 p.m. Next class, December 2: *Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution*; Meet at cafe at 878 Valencia Street (between 19th and 20th)
Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

BOSTON

Alternate Wednesdays at two locations. Next class, December 3: *The Revolutionary Party and Its Program*.

- 2:30 p.m.: UMass-Boston, McCormack Building, Room 1-212.
- 7:30 p.m.: Harvard Univ., Emerson Hall, Room 305, Harvard Yard.

Information and readings:
(617) 666-9453

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Events

VANCOUVER

Thursday, 7 p.m. Next class, December 4: *Imperialism and the Fight for World Socialist Revolution*; Langara College, Room A015

Information and readings:
(604) 687-0353

Cliff's SWP "Rejoiced" for Yeltsin, "Over the Moon" for Labour Victory

What Kind of "Socialists" Support Counterrevolution?

We reprint below a leaflet distributed by the Spartacist League/Britain at a November 6 Socialist Workers Party meeting in London on "80 Years Since the Russian Revolution: The Fight for Workers' Power Today."

The spectacle of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) "commemorating" the 80th anniversary of the 1917 October Revolution and claiming the mantle of Bolshevism is a grotesque farce. When the Soviet Union still existed, Cliff's SWP abetted the imperialist rulers' red-

olutionary party. It was a beacon to the working masses around the world, who saw in the victory of the Russian working class the possibility to prevail over their own capitalist oppressors. The Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky understood that the preservation of the fledgling Russian workers state depended upon the international extension of their revolution, particularly to the more advanced capitalist countries. The extreme backwardness and impoverishment of the country, com-

(1936), the gains of the Russian Revolution had been betrayed but not yet overthrown. Analysing the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state, the Trotskyists fought for *proletarian political revolution* against the Stalinist bureaucracy and for *unconditional military defence* of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

As the Cold War military alliance of imperialist powers against the Soviet Union turned into a genocidal shooting war, Cliff's bogus "theory" of state capi-

olution. Like the Social Democrat Kautsky, the Labour "Left" Tony Cliff and his "theory" reflected a thorough imbibing of the "democratic" credentials of the imperialist bourgeoisie as against "communist totalitarianism." SWP members could gain an understanding of the contradictions between Cliff's professed Marxist orthodoxy and his class treason against the interests of the proletariat by reading Lenin's delightfully savage 1918 polemic, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. SWP members interested in authentic Trotskyism would do well, too, to study Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* and his battle against defectors like Cliff in the volume of Trotsky's work titled *In Defense of Marxism*.

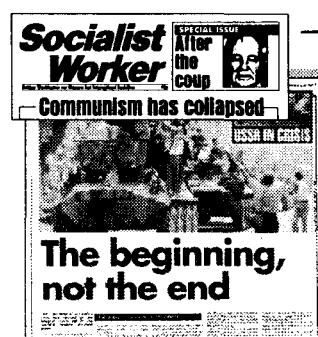
Support for counterrevolution remained the hallmark of Cliff's SWP through every flashpoint of Cold War II. They hailed Polish Solidarność—a yellow company "union" which led capitalist counterrevolution in Poland with direct aid from Reagan, Thatcher, the Vatican and German bankers. In contrast, the Spartacist League proclaimed, "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution" and fought for the revolutionary unity of the Polish, German and Russian workers through political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies and opposition to imperialist-inspired counterrevolution, whose main agency in Poland was CIA-backed Solidarność, abetted by pseudo-leftists like the SWP.

The SWP cheered the bloody Afghan mujahedin butchers—armed and equipped by the CIA—who fought against the Red Army in a "holy war" to murder unveiled women and schoolteachers for the "crime" of teaching girls to read. The withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan was a direct prelude to counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself, and this too Cliff's organisation foresaw and *criminally agitated for*. The SWP's American satellite, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) wrote, "Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs" (*Socialist Worker*, May 1988). Tell that to the women, national minorities and leftists living in the utter hell of the Taliban's rule in Afghanistan today! In opposition to the pro-imperialist Cliffites, the International Communist League [then the international Spartacist tendency] and Spartacist League/Britain proclaimed, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to "Extend the gains of October to the Afghan peoples!" We also put our money where our mouth is and volunteered to form an international brigade to fight against the CIA (and SWP)-backed mujahedin. This offer was turned down by the Afghan government, so instead we raised thousands of dollars of badly needed material aid for the victims of imperialism's anti-Soviet crusade in Afghanistan.

In 1989-90, the International Communist League mobilised our largest international intervention to bring the Trotskyist programme to the working masses of Germany. Against German imperialism's *Anschluss* (annexation) of East Germany, we fought for revolutionary

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—31 August 1991



Cliffites joined imperialists in hailing Yeltsin counterrevolution which ushered in misery and hunger for working people. ICL fought to mobilize Soviet workers in defense of gains of October Revolution.

—30 August 1991



Der Spiegel photos

hot Cold War aimed at destroying the remaining gains of the 1917 proletarian seizure of power. In a rare moment of candour, Tony Cliff fulminated, "And I say no, no, we have nothing to do with bloody Russia, because it is not a source of strength" (*Leveller*, September 1979). The final undoing of the Russian Revolution, signalled by Boris Yeltsin's imperialist-backed 1991 "countercoup," was met with gleeful approval by the SWP in banner headlines proclaiming, "The Russian Revolution of 1991" and articles crowing that "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker*, 31 August 1991).

Today, Cliff boasts that the counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union demonstrates the correctness of his theory of "state capitalism," adding that "in a way you feel quite happy with it" (*International Socialist Review*, Summer 1997). But if the Soviet Union was already capitalist, how then does one explain the ravages of mass unemployment, starvation and bloody nationalist fratricide that came in the wake of the Yeltsin countercoup? And what kind of self-proclaimed revolutionary would be "happy" with this outcome? The destruction of the Soviet Union placed an epitaph on the sordid history of Stalinism and the false "theory" of state capitalism, behind which renegades from Trotskyism like Tony Cliff seek to mask their defection in the crucible of class struggle from the side of the international proletariat to the side of their own bourgeoisie.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is the touchstone for revolutionaries. For the first time the working class took power under the leadership of a proletarian rev-

olutionary party. It was a beacon to the working masses around the world, who saw in the victory of the Russian working class the possibility to prevail over their own capitalist oppressors. The Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky understood that the preservation of the fledgling Russian workers state depended upon the international extension of their revolution, particularly to the more advanced capitalist countries. The extreme backwardness and impoverishment of the country, com-

bined with the failure of revolution in the West and the relentless onslaught of the world's imperialist powers, led to the consolidation of a bureaucratic caste in 1923-24 headed by J. V. Stalin. Repudiating the proletarian internationalism of the Bolsheviks, the Stalinist bureaucracy retreated under the anti-Marxist, nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country."

Leon Trotsky formed the Left Opposition to fight to return to the Leninist programme of authentic Bolshevism, the revolutionary internationalist struggle for proletarian rule. Stalin's reactionary "socialism in one country" rejected the essence of Marxism (the *Communist Manifesto* concludes, "Workers of the World Unite!") and thus the fight of Trotsky's Left Opposition was essential to preserve and extend the gains of the Russian Revolution. As Trotsky wrote in his searing analysis, *The Revolution Betrayed*

talism served as his exit visa from the camp of revolutionary Marxism, in abject capitulation to the anti-communist Labour Party leadership. In 1950, Tony Cliff was expelled from the Fourth International for publicly opposing defence of North Korea against U.S. and British imperialism. Tony Cliff's organisation was then nestled inside the ruling Labour Party, which swung in behind the U.S. and sent troops to massacre the Koreans and later also the Chinese. *Three million* Koreans were slaughtered in this war.

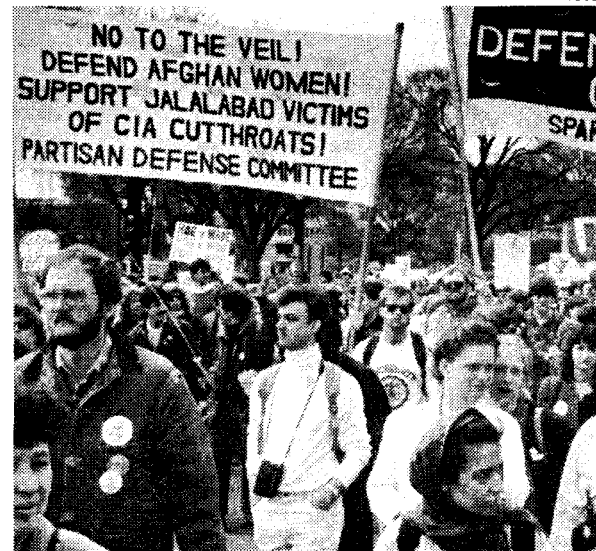
Cliff flunked the basic Marxist acid test of opposing his own bourgeoisie and defending the deformed and degenerated workers states. Cliff was a certified renegade from Marxism, but neither the first nor the brightest. Indeed, the first "state capitalist" was the German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, whose 1918 polemic, *Terrorism and Communism*, was a sustained attack on the 1917 Bolshevik Rev-

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1979 Soviet military intervention opened road to emancipation of Afghan women (left). Following 1989 Soviet withdrawal, Spartacists launched international campaign to aid embattled city of Jalalabad against mujahedin cutthroats.

WV Photo



WARSAW—Historic Polish revolutionary leader Rosa Luxemburg called the Catholic clergy “police in black robes.” As advocates of a dialectical and materialist view of history, Marxists are irreconcilably opposed to all manifestations of religious backwardness. We call for separation of church and state which was a legacy of the bourgeois revolutions of the 18th century. This is particularly key in Poland. In the wake of the capitalist counterrevolution led by Lech Walesa’s Solidarność, the Catholic church has again come to the fore as the backbone of obscurantist nationalism, women’s oppression, anti-communism and anti-Semitism.

The run-up to September’s parliamentary elections, which brought in a coalition headed by the rabidly rightist Solidarność Election Action (AWS), was marked by virulent anti-Communist and anti-Semitic attacks on the former governing coalition led by the ex-Stalinist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD). While it toned down its rhetoric in the months before the election to appease imperialist hypocrisy, in February, scarcely a week after the only functioning synagogue in Warsaw was firebombed, Solidarność-organized mobs marched through the streets of the city screaming, “Down with Jew communism!” The anti-Semitic agitation resumed after the election, when the AWS accepted Bronislaw Geremek, a Jewish leader of the Solidarność-derived “free market” Union of Freedom, as foreign minister, in a bid for respectability among the “democratic” imperialists. The infamous priest Henryk Jankowski, “spiritual adviser” to Solidarność since its founding in 1980, railed in a sermon against “the Jewish minority in the government.” A day later, a Jewish schoolboy was seriously injured by skinhead thugs. And when church authorities slapped Jankowski on the wrist—not for anti-Semitism, but for being “political”—a fascist mob in Gdansk, birthplace of Solidarność, rallied outside his church in his support.

Among those who came to the defense of the Catholic hierarchy was a self-styled leftist group perversely calling itself Solidarność Socjalistyczna—“Socialist” (!) Solidarność—Polish followers of Tony Cliff’s reformist Socialist Workers Party in Britain (represented in the U.S. by the International Socialist Organization). While wagging a finger at “Father” Jankowski for being “unable to keep his racist remarks to himself, in spite of warnings from the church hierarchy,” the Cliffites’ chief complaint against this notorious anti-Semite is that he is a “big-time businessman” who is “far removed” from the working people and “even further from the ideal of a poor and humble proclaimer of the faith” (*Solidarność Socjalistyczna*, November 1997). The article approves as “notable” the one-year suspension of Jankowski that was meted out by the hierarchy, politely advising: “If the church really wants to show that it is opposed to anti-Semitism, it should take away Jankowski’s clerical collar.” Cliffites were later seen collecting signatures on a petition to this end!

The Cliffites’ embrace of the Polish Catholic church flows logically from their fulsome support from the outset to Solidarność, the Vatican’s favorite “union.”

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Polish Cliffites Whitewash Anti-Semitic Solidarność Priest

The Pope’s Leftists

To this day, they hail the Solidarność-led counterrevolution which led to the restoration of capitalist exploitation in the service of Wall Street, Frankfurt and the City of London as “one of the greatest workers’ struggles on earth” (*Solidarność Socjalistyczna*, March 1997). Some of Cliff’s younger followers now try to argue that their organization had sought to build

Jankowski has proved it’s a country of anti-Semitism without anti-Semites.”

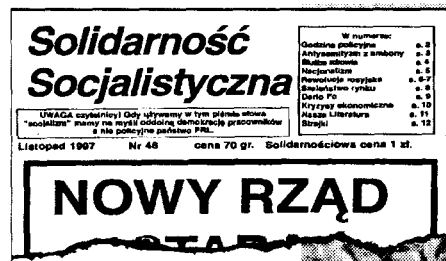
Getting right in on the act, *Solidarność Socjalistyczna* echoes bourgeois papers like *Gazeta Wyborcza*, which pretends that clerical anti-Semitism is a “marginal phenomenon” while laying the main responsibility on the previous deformed workers state. The venal Polish

bourgeois state explicitly embrace. This is the dirty truth about Solidarność the Cliffite reformists cover up in the service of imperialism!

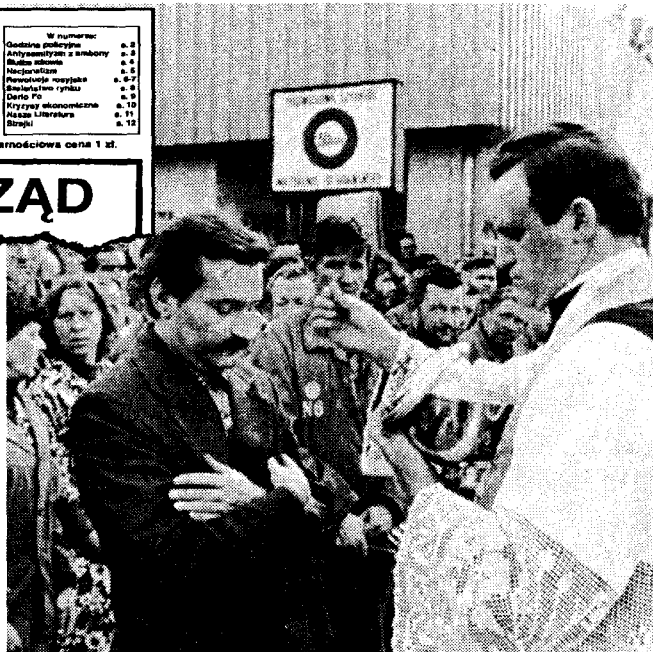
We communists, in contrast, uphold the heroic tradition of Rosa Luxemburg’s revolutionary Social Democracy, the early Polish Communist Party and the Warsaw Ghetto fighters, many of them Communists and socialists, who resisted the Nazi executioners against all odds in 1943. Likewise, we honor the 600,000 Red Army soldiers who died liberating Poland from the Nazi scourge.

The victory of Solidarność and the collapse of the Polish deformed workers state in 1989 after decades of Stalinist betrayal ushered in mass unemployment, homelessness and a furious wave of anti-Roma (Gypsy) terror, anti-Semitism and clerical reaction. Widespread anger over the ravages of counterrevolution led to the electoral victory four years ago of the SLD class-collaborationist alliance led by the ex-Stalinist Social Democrats. In opposing any electoral support to the SLD enforcers of anti-worker IMF austerity—either in the 1993 and 1997 parliamentary elections or in the 1995 presidential contest—we warned that this “left” government of capitalist austerity would pave the way for a resurgence of clerical and nationalist reaction.

Solidarność has worked to channel workers’ anger against austerity into racist chauvinism and anti-communism and away from the profit-gorged new Polish bourgeoisie and its imperialist godfathers. After four years of SLD-administered “free market” misery, the recent electoral victory of the Solidarność-led coalition in Poland has given the green light for a renewed outpouring of clerical bigotry, social reaction and intensified attacks on women aimed at denying any right to abortion. Jankowski’s provocation came only days after Solidarność deputies hung a large cross in the Sejm (parliament) and banned sex education in the school system. The new government has already announced plans to speed up privatization and plant closures and impose more stringent “wage discipline.” Against the anti-Semitic demagogues of Solidarność and their fake-left apologists, we fight to forge a genuine Trotskyist party to lead the Polish proletariat forward to a new October Revolution! ■



Polish Cliffites (“Socialist Solidarność”) embrace reactionary tradition of CIA/Vatican-sponsored counterrevolution. Gdansk, 1980: Lech Walesa being blessed by Solidarność “spiritual adviser,” anti-Semitic priest Henryk Jankowski.



Der Spiegel

a (nonexistent) “left wing” in Solidarność. Seeking to whitewash its reactionary history, the *Solidarność Socjalistyczna* article on Jankowski claims that “during the massive Solidarność strikes in the years ’80-81, there were no anti-Semitic speeches to be heard either from Jankowski nor from any other persons connected with Solidarność.” This is rubbish!

Solidarność always paraded under the crowned eagle and cross of anti-Semitic Polish nationalism, and a key component at its founding was the fascist Confederation for an Independent Poland. Marian Jurczyk, a leading Solidarność spokesman at the time, railed that Communist officials were Jews who had changed their names, “traitors to Polish society” for whom “a couple of gallows would come in handy.” And Jurczyk was among the “various radical leaders” that British Cliffite theoretician Chris Harman hailed as the “left” in Walesa’s outfit (*Socialist Review*, 15 November-13 December 1981).

When Solidarność consolidated around an open program for capitalist restoration in September 1981, the international Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) declared: “Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!” Our record of uncompromising opposition to capitalist counterrevolution in Poland and then in East Germany in 1989-90 led to the 1990 fusion with the Polish Young Left Movement to form the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski as the Polish section of the ICL. This year, following on the wave of Solidarność street actions in Warsaw in March, we called for workers mobilizations to “sweep the anti-Semitic Solidarność mobs off the streets!” (*Platforma Spartakusowców* No. 6, Spring 1997). For their part, the Cliffites see Jankowski’s reactionary constituency as their own, joining in and selling their press at these anti-Communist, anti-Semitic rallies.

Cliff’s followers aren’t alone in campaigning to clean up the image of the Polish bourgeoisie and the church. What with Poland’s current bid for NATO and European Union membership, hypocritical denials of anti-Semitism have been flying so thick and fast here that the weekly *Polityka* (15 November) quipped: “Poland has long been known as a country of anti-Semitism without Jews, now

Stalinist bureaucracy certainly capitulated to nationalism and anti-Semitism—the inevitable fruit of the dogma of “socialism in one country”—most notoriously in the disgusting 1968 “anti-Zionist” purge which drove most of the remaining Jews out of the country. But the Stalinists didn’t hold a candle to the Catholic clergy. On the eve of the Holocaust, in which Hitler’s Nazis (abetted by the right-wing Polish “patriots” today idolized by Solidarność) murdered six million Jews, one cleric fulminated:

“It is an actual fact that Jews fight against the Catholic Church, they are free-thinkers and constitute the vanguard of atheism, bolshevism and revolution. The Jewish influence on morals is fatal.... It is a fact that the Jews are embezzlers, usurers and engage in the white-slave traffic.”

These words were uttered by Cardinal Hlond, archbishop of Poland under the fascist Pilsudskiite dictatorship of the 1920s and ’30s, whose traditions Jankowski, Solidarność and the Polish bour-

Publications of the Spartacist Group of Poland



Platforma Spartakusowców No. 6, Spring 1997

“Solidarność Anti-Semites, SLD Free-Marketters: Enemies of the Working Class! For Socialist Revolution Against Capitalist Immiseration and Nationalist Reaction!”

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Wall Street and the War Against Labor

Part 3: The 1930s New Deal and Labor Reformism



Wide World



United Steelworkers of America

Democratic president Roosevelt joined by CIO leader John L. Lewis during 1936 election rally. Union bureaucrats channeled upsurge of labor militancy into support for FDR's New Deal coalition.

Parts One and Two of this series appeared in WV Nos. 676 and 677, 17 and 31 October.

During the 1930s, the impact of the Great Depression, combined with the victory of fascism in Germany in 1933, led to a leftward radicalization of the American working class. In the two years following the October 1929 stock market crash—"Black Friday"—unemployment skyrocketed from under 500,000 to over nine million. In 1934, there were three citywide general strikes in this country—in San Francisco, Minneapolis and Toledo, Ohio—all led by "reds," respectively the Stalinists, the Trotskyists and A.J. Muste's American Workers Party, which soon thereafter fused with the Trotskyists.

The next few years saw the formation of the mass industrial unions of the CIO, again in many cases under the leadership of self-described communists or socialists. A key tactic in this unionization drive was the sit-down strike, with the workers occupying a factory or warehouse in open defiance of capitalist property rights. The founding document of the Trotskyist Fourth International, the 1938 Transitional Program, noted: "The unprecedented wave of sit-down strikes and the amazingly rapid growth of industrial unionism in the United States (the CIO) is the most indisputable expression of the instinctive striving of the American workers to raise themselves to the level of the tasks imposed on them by history."

While the American working class was challenging the bosses at the industrial level, there was no corresponding chal-

lenge at the political level. The leftward radicalization remained within the ideological and political confines of bourgeois liberalism represented by the Democratic Party of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Elected president in 1932, FDR promised American working people a "New Deal"—a return to full employment and a future of permanent and general prosperity. Himself a millionaire scion of the moneyed aristocracy, Roosevelt demagogically denounced right-wing opponents within the capitalist class, like industrialist Henry Ford, as "economic royalists."

Roosevelt's liberal bourgeois politics were carried into the working class by the very leaders of the new industrial union movement. Among these was a section of the old-line AFL labor bureaucracy, headed by John L. Lewis, who never pretended to have any sympathy for socialism, much less "red revolution," and in fact thought that the labor movement should be the strongest bulwark of anti-communism. But they also included the Communist Party (CP), by far the strongest force on the American left. In the course of its Stalinist degeneration over the previous decade, the CP had passed through a "Third Period" phase of sectarian "ultraleftism" in the late 1920s and early '30s and gone on to espousing a "popular front" with "progressive" bourgeois politicians, peddling illusions in a reformed and benevolent capitalism.

Thus the development of the American working class in the 1930s was highly contradictory. On the one side, there emerged for the first time in U.S. history

mass industrial unions (except in the South), cutting across racial-ethnic divisions, and in many cases led by avowed opponents of the capitalist system. At the same time, the political-ideological sway of bourgeois liberalism was strengthened rather than weakened.

Today, faced with the rise of racist yuppie Clinton's "new" Democratic Party, which is openly contemptuous of the labor movement, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and its reformist hangers-on (including the now near-moribund CP) yearn for a new "New Deal coalition," portraying the Rooseveltian era as the heyday of "progressive" politics. In fact, this class-collaborationist coalition was fashioned as a response to the militant upsurge of workers' struggles in the 1930s. It represented a *betrayal* by the CIO union tops and the Stalinists, who beheaded the possibility of an independent workers party and corralled the working class behind the phony "friends of labor" Democrats.

The New Deal coalition put organized labor in an unholy alliance not only with its liberal class enemies in the North but also with the Southern Dixiecrats, to whom Roosevelt gave a free hand to wage naked racist terror against blacks and unions. From upholding the system of rigid Jim Crow segregation in the South to marshaling the working class behind the imperialist rulers with the onset of World War II, the labor bureaucracy's support to Roosevelt was counterposed to the proletariat's class interests across the board.

In 1942, James P. Cannon, the principal leader of American Trotskyism, explained why the economic militancy of the 1930s was not extended into the political sphere: "Roosevelt still appeared to the workers as their champion and his social reform program was taken as a substitute for an independent political movement of the workers" ("Campaign for a Labor Party," November 1942). The social program of the New Deal was not at all new but was rather a revised version of the liberal populism which had dominated the American working class since the emergence of an organized labor movement in the latter half of the 19th century.

The Notion of Progressive Managerialism

The defining features of the New Deal variant of liberal populism centered on the fiction that large corporations could be made to serve the interests of society as a whole and that the sort of governmental policies advocated by British

economist John Maynard Keynes could lead to full employment and prosperity for working people. In a recent study of late 19th-century American populism, *Goldbugs and Greenbacks*, Gretchen Ritter describes the movement's underlying ideology as "producerism," a belief in the natural unity and harmony of all those engaged in the production of goods and services as against financial parasites: "Reformers argued that the producers—farmers, laborers, and small businessmen—were the 'real society.' They discounted the legitimacy of nonproducers such as bankers and bondholders." In the 1890s, populists could still envision an economy based on small proprietors, i.e., one without large industrial corporations, Wall Street bankers or stock exchanges.

But three decades later, such a program was clearly fantastic. The economy was dominated by large corporations, and the shrunken number of small manufacturers no longer made a significant contribution to the country's industrial output. By the 1920s, the college-educated sons of well-to-do small businessmen were typically pursuing their careers in the managerial bureaucracies of AT&T, Standard Oil, General Motors, U.S. Steel and International Harvester. In the 1930s, a new version of "producerism" was developed, with corporate managers replacing the small businessmen of the earlier version.

These ideas were expounded in a highly influential book, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (1932), by two young liberal intellectuals, Adolph A. Berle and Gardner C. Means. The former would soon become a leading member of FDR's "brain trust" of economic advisers. Berle and Means maintained that in a large, modern corporation control or management had become divorced from ownership, and that this was, at least potentially, a progressive development. Noting that the large majority of shares in big corporations were dispersed among thousands of individual investors and that bondholders and other creditors exerted little influence over corporate policy unless the firm couldn't meet its debt service, Berle and Means contended that corporate managers were a distinct social group whose income and status were not directly tied to the drive for ever-higher profits:

"Those who control the destiny of the typical modern corporation own so insignificant a fraction of the company's stock that the returns from running the corporation profitably accrue to them in only a very minor degree. The stockholders, on

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the other hand, to whom the profits of the corporation go, cannot be motivated by those profits to a more efficient use of the property, since they have surrendered all disposition of it to those in control of the enterprise."

In this view, corporate managers had no compelling, personal motive to hold or drive down wages nor to raise prices to benefit stockholders at the expense of the firm's customers. Berle and Means did not maintain that the men then running America's large corporations were benevolent do-gooders with the best interests of society at heart, only that large, modern corporations, unlike capitalist enterprises in the past, were *not* governed by the drive to maximize profits. Corporate managers therefore could be constrained by law, government policies and public opinion to serve what Berle and Means termed "the paramount interests of community":

"When a convincing system of community obligations is worked out and is generally accepted, in that moment the passive property right of today must yield before the larger interests of society. Should the corporate leaders, for example, set forth a program comprising fair wages, security to employees, reasonable service to their public, and stabilization of business, all of which would divert a portion of the profits from the owners of passive property, and should the community generally accept such a scheme as a logical and human solution of industrial difficulties, the interests of passive property owners would have to give way."

These words today appear to express the utmost liberal naiveté. The 1980s demonstrated for all to see, and in a most dramatic way, the power of stockholders to get rid of corporate managers seen to be disregarding their interests. In a critical introduction to a new 1991 edition of *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, mainstream bourgeois economists Murray Weidenbaum and Mark Jensen simply stated the obvious: "The wave of hostile takeovers in the late 1980s was a response to managers who paid insufficient attention to the concerns of shareholders.... A business is an economic institution, designed to provide goods and services for consumers in order to benefit the stockholders."

Berle and Means' "classic" was originally published during the greatest economic crisis of modern times, when even many workers in the U.S., a contradictory society combining an advanced economy with social backwardness, were open to the prospect of "red revolution." The illusory notion that large corporations could

be made to serve "the larger interests of society" was important in keeping the exploited and oppressed tied to the capitalist order, promoting the belief that capitalism's evils could be reformed away.

Keynes and Liberal Pseudo-Socialism

Even more important in contributing to the ideology of the New Deal than the notion of progressive managerialism were the theories of John Maynard Keynes. To understand why Keynes' ideas played such an important role in American politics at this time, it is useful to locate him in the context of British politics. He was a leading intellectual in the small Liberal Party, dwarfed on its right by the Conservative (Tory) Party and on its left by the Labour Party.

During the 19th century, however, the Liberals (or Whigs) and the Tories were Britain's major parties, representing not only different policies but different sections of the propertied classes. The Tories represented those elements derived from or closest to the "squirearchy," the old landed aristocracy. Its leading members were rentiers rather than entrepreneurs, living off rents from their estates or income from their financial assets. The Liberals represented above all industrial capitalists—in many cases the sons of small merchants, self-employed artisans or yeoman farmers—and had the support

of the trade unions.

The workers' support for the party of industrial capitalists reflected, at least in part, how the superprofits derived by British imperialism from its colonies made it "possible to bribe the labour leaders and the upper stratum of the labour aristocracy," as Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin later observed in a 1920 preface to his work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916). With the relative decline of British imperialism at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the political alliance between the "progressive" bourgeoisie and the trade unions broke apart. Originating as a committee within the Liberals to increase trade-union influence on party policy, the Labour Party was formed as a split from the Liberals in the early 1900s.

Seeking to deflect the radicalizing impact on the British working class of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, in 1918 Labour amended its constitution to formally advocate socialization of the means of production, albeit by strictly parliamentary means. In practice, this "Clause IV" was simply a "left" fig leaf for reformism and class betrayal, as successive Labour governments loyally administered British capitalism, occasionally tinkering with the system but never seeking to replace it with socialism. More recently, Clause IV was scrapped entirely as part of "New" Labour leader Tony Blair's drive to remold the party into an explicitly capitalist one.

During the interwar period, Keynes was one of the very few prominent bourgeois intellectuals who remained active in the Liberal Party. His broad political strategy was later summarized by his official biographer, Roy Harrod, himself an eminent British economist:

"During the 'twenties he hoped to see a working agreement between the Liberal Party and the Labour Party; in the 'thirties he may have nourished the hope that, when he had achieved the culminating expression of his own views, the cogeny of his arguments would wean the Labour Party away from State Socialism and make its members his own disciples."

—*The Life of John Maynard Keynes* (1951)

To this end, Keynes developed a doctrine which can be characterized as liberal pseudo-socialism, proposing that with a particular set of government policies a capitalist economy could achieve the goals traditionally associated with socialism: permanent full employment, steady expansion of production in line with technological advances and potential, even the gradual disappearance of that social class which lived—and lived very well—off its accumulated wealth.

Keynes' View of a Benevolent Capitalism

According to Keynes, the main problem with modern-day capitalism was that those who held savings, typically the heirs of great fortunes, were distinct from and had interests divergent from the industrial managers responsible for in-

vesting in additional productive capacity, who borrowed money for this purpose from banks or through the bond market. Keynes maintained that the difference between the interest on money capital and the profit gained from new investment was key to the overall level of economic activity. In this view, the managers of a large manufacturing corporation would build a new plant if the projected rate of profit on the project was, say, 6 percent while interest on the money needed to finance its construction was 3 percent—but not if a higher interest rate cut too deeply into the profit margin.

If rentiers demanded excessively high interest rates, investment and therefore production and employment would fall. This in a nutshell was Keynes' explanation at the time for the world depression which began in 1929:

"There has now developed, somewhat suddenly, an unusually wide gap between the idea of borrowers and those of lenders, that is, between the natural-rate of interest and the market-rate....

"I am bold enough to predict, therefore, that to the economic historians of the future the slump of 1930 may present itself as the death struggle of the war-rates of interest and the re-emergence of the pre-war [pre-1914] rates."

—*A Treatise on Money* (1930)

Keynes' solution to this problem was an expansionary monetary policy. He strongly opposed the gold standard and advocated a "managed currency" aimed at achieving and maintaining a low interest rate.

However, the experience of the 1930s demonstrated, including to Keynes, that a "cheap money" policy was not in itself enough to pull a capitalist economy out of a deep depression. The base interest rate in the United States, the "discount rate" charged by the Federal Reserve System to its member banks, had fallen by the mid-1930s to a mere 1 percent from 4.5 percent in 1929. Yet production and employment remained far below levels in the 1920s. Even at rock-bottom interest rates, industrial capitalists were not going to spend for new plant and equipment when they were already faced with massive excess capacity, stagnant demand and uncertainty about future economic and political developments.

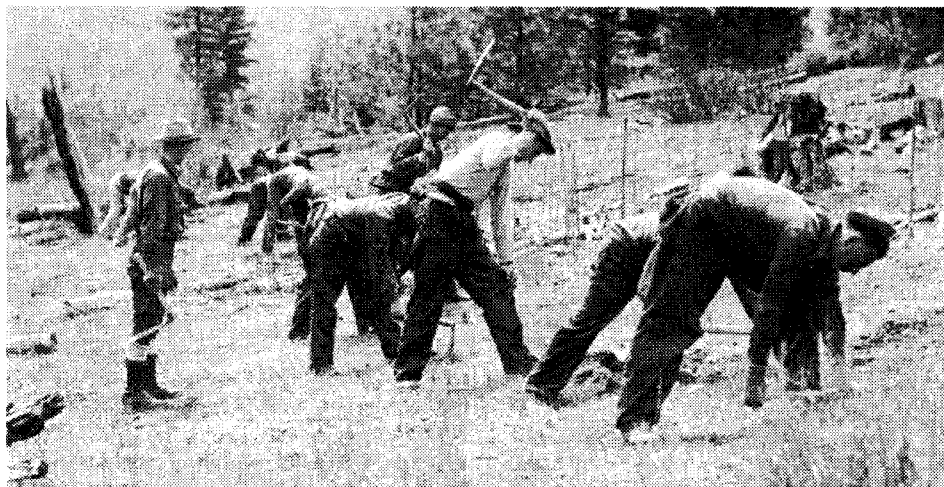
In response to these conditions, in the mid-1930s Keynes came out with a more "radical" economic program. If capitalist entrepreneurs would not borrow and invest on an adequate scale, the government should do so in their stead. He called for a massive program of public works—railroads, highways, electric power plants, office buildings, housing—to be financed by borrowing rather than increased taxation. Keynes advocated a Board of National Investment which "would in one way or another control by far the greater part of investment. Private enterprise (meaning industry) requires such a tiny fragment of total savings that it could probably look after itself. Building, transport and public utilities are almost the only outlets for new capital

continued on page 8

Minnesota Historical Society



1934
Minneapolis
general strike,
led by
Trotskyists.



U.S. Department of Agriculture

Despite liberal myth, Great Depression was not ended by New Deal social programs, like Civilian Conservation Corps (above), but by military production for World War II.

King Features



Wall Street...

(continued from page 7)

on a large scale" (quoted in Doug Henwood, *Wall Street* [1997]).

Keynes believed that industrialists and financiers would have no choice but to accept this program if ordered to do so by a democratic government—even if it harmed their interests. And such a program *would* harm their interests, because conditions of full employment tend to increase wages at the expense of profits. Without a "reserve army of the unemployed," as Marx called it, firms can expand their labor force only by offering higher wages and improved benefits to induce workers to leave their current employment, unions are more prone to strike and the bosses find it harder to recruit scabs.

Keynes was well aware that conditions of full employment favored labor as against capital in the determination of wages, but believed that a capitalist economy could function at maximum efficiency with a declining rate of return on private investment and, especially, of interest. Indeed, he projected a time—"the euthanasia of the rentier"—when the rate of return on money, on accumulated wealth, would be reduced to zero, seeing this as "the most sensible way of gradually getting rid of many of the objectionable features of capitalism" (*The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* [1936]).

Again, this now appears to be unworldly liberal naiveté, even utopianism. It must be understood that these words were written when Communists were leading "hunger marches" of coal miners and other unemployed workers across the English Midlands. This is not to say that Keynes was a hypocrite or a demagogue. He genuinely believed his program was a good and practical alternative to what he called "state socialism." But in this he was expressing the false consciousness of a bourgeois liberal who believes that capitalists are willing and can be directed to serve the greater interests of society.

New Deal Economics: Myths and Realities

Conventional wisdom, especially in liberal circles, has it that the economic policies of the Roosevelt government pulled the U.S. out of the Great Depression and that these policies were inspired by Keynes' theories. Both these propositions are entirely false.

When Roosevelt replaced Republican Herbert Hoover in the White House in early 1933, the Depression had just bottomed out. FDR's first term happened to coincide with a modest recovery, which nonetheless left output and employment far below the levels of the late '20s. In 1937-38, the U.S. economy was hit with another sharp downturn, as industrial production plunged by *one third* in the space of a year. A standard history of the Great Depression by American economist Charles Kindleberger points out: "The steepest economic descent in the history of the United States, which lost



Pathfinder Press

Eighteen leaders of SWP and Minneapolis Teamsters were sent to prison in 1943 for opposition to imperialist war.

half the ground gained for many indexes since 1932, proved that the economic recovery in the United States had been built on illusion" (*The World in Depression, 1929-1939* [1986]).

It was the Second World War which finally pulled the U.S. out of the Depression. Industrial output did not return to its 1929 level until 1940, when American arms merchants began doing a booming business with Britain, then already at war

ent and consistent economic program whatsoever. In three of the eight years of Roosevelt's first two terms, the federal budget deficit was *smaller* than in the last year of the Hoover administration. In 1938, when over 10 million workers—one-fifth of the labor force—were jobless, the budget was actually balanced.

Keynes himself recognized that the economic policies of the New Deal were totally ineffectual. In 1940, as the U.S.

Supporting U.S. imperialism in World War II, Stalinist CP helped break strikes, lauded A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

with Germany. And it was not until 1943, with the war economy at full throttle, that the number of unemployed dropped below what it had been on the eve of the 1929 crash.

Sophisticated liberal economists like Kindleberger argue that depressed conditions were prolonged until the war because the Roosevelt administration did *not* carry out Keynes' prescription of massive public works through deficit spending. In fact, FDR pursued no coher-

was beginning a serious arms buildup in anticipation of its own entry into the war, he commented:

"The wealth-producing capacity which is now going to waste in the United States is so far beyond our powers of measurement that it is useless to hazard a figure for it. The conclusion is that at all recent times investment expenditure has been on a scale which was hopelessly inadequate to the problem.... Even if a complete harmony between the [Roosevelt] administration and private enterprise had achieved, momentarily, a satisfactory economic recovery, it would not have endured more than a few months, with institutions and the distribution of spending power what they are today....

"It is, it seems, politically impossible for a capitalistic democracy to organize expenditure on the scale necessary to make the grand experiment which would prove my case—*except in war conditions.*" [our emphasis]

—"The United States and the Keynes Plan," *New Republic* (29 July 1940)

Thus Keynes admitted that a capitalist "democracy" can use its full productive capacity only to produce weapons for the mass murder of other peoples. Only when the U.S. entered World War II did Roosevelt finally embrace Keynes' program of deficit spending for public works, the "public works" being battleships, bombers, tanks and, finally, A-bombs. During the first eight years of the Roosevelt administration, the cumulative federal budget deficit was \$20 billion. In four

years, Washington borrowed *eight times* that amount to pursue the war.

As noted above, conditions of full employment tend to increase wages at the expense of profits. However, during a major imperialist war the laws normally governing the labor market are in large part suspended—as the capitalist government outlaws strikes, imposes wage and price levels to ensure a generous profit margin and imprisons leftists and trade-union militants deemed to be a threat to the war effort. Under the so-called "Little Steel Formula," Roosevelt's War Labor Board froze wages at the prewar level still influenced by depression conditions. Additional pay for overtime was eliminated and the workers were subjected to ferocious speedup. The result was an enormous intensification of the rate of exploitation, with the profits of corporations engaged in manufacturing *tripling* between 1940 and 1943.

As was the case in the earlier imperialist conflict, World War II sharply underlined the fundamental difference between the reformist and revolutionary wings of the workers movement, providing the ultimate evidence of the treachery of the New Deal coalition. While the Stalinist CP briefly opposed U.S. entry into the war during the two-year period of the Hitler-Stalin pact, it reversed course following the June 1941 Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, falsely identifying defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state with support to Russia's imperialist allies. Having earlier proclaimed that "Communism Is Twentieth Century Americanism," the CP was at the forefront in enforcing the CIO bureaucracy's no-strike pledge and in rallying the workers to be cannon fodder for the imperialist war machine, while screaming for the capitalist government to imprison leftist "fifth columnists" who opposed the imperialist war.

Chief among these were the Trotskyists, who held fast to the Leninist position of revolutionary defeatism against all the imperialist powers, while calling for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union. James P. Cannon, leader of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and 17 other leaders of the SWP and of the Minneapolis Teamsters were imprisoned by Roosevelt, the first victims of the anti-communist Smith Act which was later to be used against the Stalinists themselves during the postwar witchhunt. In an article titled "The Workers and World War II" (October 1942), Cannon wrote:

"The war was declared on the very same day that we were sentenced—December 8, 1941. That certainly was a symbolic coincidence. Nothing could better symbolize our irreconcilable opposition to the imperialist war, and to the capitalist state preparing and waging the war; and nothing, also, could better symbolize our enemies' recognition of our attitude than this unexpungeable fact: that they declared war and sentenced the party leaders to prison on the same day."

Throughout the war, the SWP fought against the no-strike pledge and opposed every effort by the Stalinists and liberals to suppress struggles for black equality in the interest of the "war effort." In this, the Trotskyists pursued the same "policy of the class struggle" which, as Cannon put it, guided them in leading the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes to victory. Diametrically counterposed to this policy of proletarian class independence was the Stalinists' abject class collaborationism. In 1939, on the eve of the war, CP head Earl Browder crowed: "We Communists helped to build the united progressive and democratic front everywhere, and collaborated with Republicans as well as Democrats and third party and labor groupings.... We are learning how to take our place within the traditional American two-party system" (quoted in Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party During the Second World War* [1993]). During the war, the CP took its place as front-line defenders of U.S. imperialism.

Especially after it became clear that the U.S. and its allies were going to win the war, the bloated profits gained during

CORRECTIONS

In our supplement on the UPS strike, "Unchain Labor's Power!" (reprinted in *WV* No. 673, 5 September), we incorrectly referred to "Operation Dixie," the last major attempt at trade-union organizing in the South, as taking place in the 1950s; it actually began in 1946 and lasted only two years.

In "Fight to Free Mumia!" (*WV* No. 674, 19 September), we wrote that National Public Radio (NPR) canceled planned broadcasts by Mumia Abu-Jamal in May 1994, "just days" after then Senate leader Bob Dole threatened to cut off funding for NPR. In fact, NPR announced the cancellation on May 15 and Dole made his speech-

on the Senate floor, "applaud[ing] NPR's candor in admitting its mistake," on May 17. A picture caption in Part Two of "Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism" in that issue stated that Oliver Cromwell dispersed the Long Parliament in 1663, whereas this occurred in 1653.

In the article "Trotskyism vs. Nationalism in Latin America" (*WV* No. 678, 14 November), a photograph showing Lenin and Trotsky was wrongly identified as the Second Congress of the Communist International; in fact the picture depicted them at a 1919 celebration of the second anniversary of the October Revolution.

the war provoked seething unrest on the shop floor. In the last years of the war there were thousands of small strikes carried out in defiance not only of the Roosevelt-Truman government but also of the AFL and CIO bureaucracies. And in 1946, the greatest strike wave in American history saw well over a hundred million workdays lost to strikes, as more than four and a half million workers manned picket lines. Contributing to the unprecedented labor upsurge was widespread fear that another sharp depression would come with the end of war production, as it had in 1920-21.

In addition to these economic considerations, another factor entered into the class struggles of 1945-46. The victory of the Red Army over Nazi Germany evoked sympathy for Soviet Russia even among relatively backward American workers. And more left-wing workers understood that key to the Soviet defeat of the most powerful capitalist state in Europe was the USSR's planned, socialized economy. Confronted with all this, the liberal wing of the American ruling class *promised* working people a bright new economic future, even enshrining in law, in the Employment Act of 1946, a pledge "to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

This pledge was soon forgotten. At the same time, the bourgeoisie launched a vicious purge of newly "radical" CPers and other militants from the trade unions, beheading the labor movement, and extending into other layers of society.

The New Deal "Coalition": From Stalinists to Klansmen

In the mid-1950s, well-known liberal historian Richard Hofstadter wrote a popular study, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR*, which became a standard text in college courses on modern U.S. history. Here is Hofstadter's glowing characterization of the New Deal:

"The demands of a large and powerful labor movement, coupled with the interests of the unemployed, gave the later New Deal a social-democratic tinge that had never before been present in American reform movements.... American political reformism was fated henceforth to take responsibility on a large scale for social security, unemployment insurance, wages and hours, and housing."

Not once in Hofstadter's account of the New Deal is there any mention of the oppression of black people. Here we have a prime example of the liberal falsification of American history by omission. Roosevelt and his successor Harry Truman supported and were supported

by the racist police states in the South which stripped blacks of every democratic right. Roosevelt's vice president from 1933 to 1940 was John Nance Garner, a hardline white-supremacist from Texas, an "open shop" state where the union movement scarcely existed. The New Deal "coalition" literally embraced both black Communist Party union organizers in the Midwest and white Southern sheriffs who were members of the local Klan chapter!

The price paid by blacks, as well as white workers, for this class-collaborationist coalition of the labor bureaucracy, social democrats and Stalinists with Northern liberals and Dixiecrats was the continuation of racist terror in the South and the failure to unionize this important region. In 1946, the CIO announced a grandiose project grotesquely called "Operation Dixie," sending 400 union organizers to the South. But any attempt to confront the racial oppression dividing black and white workers in the heart of the Deep South would have aroused a vicious backlash from the Dixiecrats in the state houses and county seats and their fascist auxiliaries in the Ku Klux Klan, in the process dissolving the New Deal coalition. With a rapid escalation of the anti-Soviet Cold War and the spectre

of black workers joining with communist organizers, the CIO leaders scuttled "Operation Dixie" after only two years.

Over the next decade the social basis for the New Deal coalition was eroded with the large-scale emigration of blacks from the rural South to Northern and also Southern cities, undermining the Jim Crow system of legally enforced racial segregation, which was based on intimidation of isolated and impoverished rural black sharecroppers. The mass struggles for black equality in the civil rights movement—first in the South, then in the North—exploded the Democratic Party coalition. Beginning in the late '60s, the Republican Party gained ascendancy as the party of the "white backlash," including in the formerly solid Dixiecrat South.

The course of recent American history demonstrates that there can be no significant and lasting gains for the working class unless the labor movement is in the forefront of the struggle against the oppression of blacks and other minorities. And the fight for black equality cannot be effective unless it is linked to the struggle of labor against capital, ultimately the struggle for a workers government and a planned, socialist economy.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

united-front defense actions for Jamal and all class-war prisoners; we aim to suffuse the working class with the consciousness of its historic interests in fighting for all of labor and the oppressed against the *entire* capitalist system. We seek to forge a revolutionary workers party modeled on the one built by Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, who wrote in his 1902 book *What Is To Be Done?* that for proletarian revolutionaries:

"[The] ideal should not be the trade-union secretary, but *the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears...who is able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

Our fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty is part of our perspective of winning workers to the understanding that the bourgeois state, with its cops and courts, is not some "neutral" agency which serves society as a whole but rather exists to defend the class rule and profits of the capitalists against those they exploit. It is crucially necessary to overcome, through integrated class struggle, the racial divisions fostered by the bourgeoisie to weaken the entire working class. Black oppression, the forcible segregation of the masses of black people at the bottom of this society, is intrinsic to American capitalism. As a

strategic component of the proletariat, black workers will play a key role in the socialist revolution which is needed to root out racial oppression; and to win the proletariat to revolutionary consciousness, it is necessary to inculcate the understanding that the fight for black freedom is central to the struggle for the emancipation of labor itself.

Class-Struggle Defense vs. Reformist Appeals

We welcome the diverse efforts that have been made by many organizations other than our own, particularly since 1995, on Jamal's behalf. But whether liberal opponents of the death penalty or reformist "socialists," their starting point is far removed from our Marxist perspective. Seeking to pressure the bourgeois courts to be "just," they steer their efforts toward calling for a "fair trial"—as if Mumia could ever get a fair trial under this rigged, racist "justice" system. In a similar vein, the "Campaign to End the Death Penalty" launched by the International Socialist Organization (ISO) echoes liberal criticisms of the death penalty. Both the ISO and its "Campaign" signed a leaflet last year which complained that "executing prisoners is significantly more expensive than keeping them in prison for the rest of their lives." Clinton and the Republicans likewise point to how expensive death sentences are as they seek to put a stop to "endless appeals" by death row inmates! The ISO "socialists" implicitly endorse the grotesque "alternative" of life sentences without parole—a living death for inmates—put forward by bourgeois reformers.

Most recently, the reformist Socialist Action (SA) group has initiated the "December 6 Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal," kicked off by an August 16 rally in San Francisco which drew some 3,000 people and raised \$20,000 for Jamal's legal costs. Demonstrations are being called for December 6 in San Francisco and other cities in North America and Europe in conjunction with a "People's International Tribunal for Justice for Mumia Abu-Jamal" in Philadelphia initiated by Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The rallies sponsored by Socialist Action—called around the demands "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the death penalty! Stop police brutality!"—are not genuine united fronts but rather an extension of SA's reformist politics.

Even as we encouraged others to take up Jamal's cause, we realized that many of these groups would seek to silence and exclude the revolutionary Marxists in order to keep protests "safe" for Democratic Party politicians. Pointing to SA's

repeated calls for a "massive, legal, peaceful demonstration" on December 6, a PDC spokesman at an August 23 planning meeting in San Francisco said:

"Does Socialist Action believe that anyone is going to stand up and argue for an illegal, violent demonstration? Of course not. No one who wants Jamal's freedom would argue such a thing. It means that what Socialist Action is promising in advance is a mobilization subordinated to bourgeois liberalism—or to put it another way, your goal is a demonstration that is 'safe' for [San Francisco mayor] Willie Brown and his fellow Democratic Party buddies. We believe that the independence of the working class is crucial in the fight against all racist injustice, and that independence is gutted by reliance on the Democratic Party.

"This doesn't mean we argue to exclude Democratic Party politicians. We favor the broadest participation possible in the fight to free Jamal. If they agree with the demands of the demonstration, fine. But Socialist Action's desire for their participation becomes political capitulation by assuring these forces of the demonstration's 'respectability.' At the same time, it means you are limiting the participation of those with a real stake in the fight to free Jamal—leftists, minority youth and others who do not subscribe to this class-collaborationist political vantage point. In fact, you imply the exclusion of those whom the *bourgeoisie* may deem neither 'peaceful' nor 'legal.'"

Socialist Action's call for "peaceful, legal" protests is a code phrase for exclusion of groups to their left. During the Vietnam antiwar movement of the 1960s and early '70s, the reformist Socialist Workers Party—whose cadre then included the current SA leadership—used that call to cement a class-collaborationist alliance with Democratic Party politicians. This bloc was sealed through bloody physical attacks against radical leftists, including the Spartacist League, who fought for the *victory* of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against U.S. imperialism. These days, Socialist Action's chief role is as waterboys for the trade-union bureaucracy. In the 1983 Greyhound strike, prominent SA supporter Jeff Mackler helped to police a support rally in San Francisco in order to keep picketers away from the struck bus terminal.

Our comrade also addressed the reformist slogan "Stop police brutality," saying: "Only liberals and those who wish to foster illusions in the capitalist system of injustice believe *this* system will 'stop' unleashing their police on workers and the oppressed. We will take no part in lulling the working class and oppressed into believing that it can be any other way under capitalism." While we fight to mobilize powerful social protest against acts of police brutality, we know that the cops will necessarily resort to chokeholds, pepper spray, frame-ups and cold-blooded killings. Earlier this year, refor-

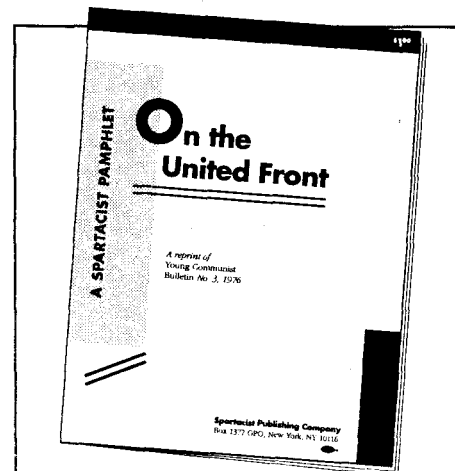
mists sought to channel outrage over the killing of Aaron Williams in San Francisco into a call to fire one of the cops responsible. This was echoed by the mayor himself, who hoped that sacrificing one "bad apple" would make the *system* of repression more efficient and "credible."

Socialist Action exhibits a touching faith in the racist, strikebreaking cops as allies of the oppressed. In Canada, where the December 6 protests are being sponsored by the Socialist Action group there, SA leader Barry Weisleder last year wrote how Toronto cops "were friendly" to striking public employees and "in many instances acted as benign mediators" (*Socialist Action* [Canada], Spring-Summer 1996). Would SA also describe as "benign" the U.S. Fraternal Order of Police, which has organized nationally to push Jamal's execution and which torments his supporters?

As opposed to SA's liberal, exclusionist policies, our comrades at the August 23 planning meeting argued for a genuine united-front demonstration—based on "unity in action, freedom of criticism"—around the demands "Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!" There are many and sundry organizations offering their own ways of fighting on behalf of Mumia. Well and good. For our part, we will continue to focus on mobilizing the power of labor through class-struggle, non-sectarian defense, which is the best hope for saving Mumia Abu-Jamal from legal lynching and to free him to carry on his work as the "voice of the voiceless" from outside prison walls. The fight to free Mumia is part and parcel of the struggle to forge the revolutionary workers party that is the most essential tool for the emancipation of labor and the oppressed.

* * *

FUNDS FOR MUMIA'S LEGAL DEFENSE ARE URGENTLY NEEDED! If the Pennsylvania Supreme Court turns down his appeal, the next battleground on the legal front will be in the federal courts, involving massive new costs. Contributions for Mumia's legal defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mailed to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. Contact the PDC—New York: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252; Chicago: P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; San Francisco Bay Area: P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462, phone (510) 839-0852. ■



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Teamsters...

(continued from page 1)

the labor movement!

The government's sinister intervention into the biggest union in the country, just months before the national truckers' contract expires, is but the latest chapter in an escalating offensive to cripple the power of the unions to challenge the bosses' profit margins. Immediately after the Teamsters walkout, Democratic president Clinton imposed a strikebreaking "cooling off" period against Amtrak railway workers and banned a threatened strike by UPS pilots. In the Senate, Utah Republican Orrin Hatch launched hearings into a proposed "Freedom from Union Violence Act" which would open up entire unions to federal prosecution for strikers' defense of picket lines. In Ohio, a federal appeals court outlawed "union shop" clauses in labor contracts, a move aimed at rolling the clock back to the "right to work" days when workers had no right to organize.

What is behind this frenzied response by America's rulers is not simply the relatively modest economic gains won by UPS workers in August. What stunned the bourgeoisie was not only the strike's widespread popularity but also that its main demand hit at one of the chief mechanisms for the fabulous mushrooming in corporate profits over recent years. Like the strike against Bay Area Rapid Transit later in August, which was scuttled by the union tops, the Teamsters took aim at the multi-tier wage system which, along with other measures, has been used to massively ratchet up the rate of exploitation by paying young, minority and women workers far less than their co-workers. An op-ed piece by a leading Wall Street economist in the *New York Times* (24 August) only days after the UPS strike warned of a "worker backlash" against "years of corporate cost cutting that has been directed primarily at the nation's labor force."

The industrial magnates and Wall Street financiers know that the enormous profits in which they have reveled come from squeezing working people and minorities to the breaking point. With an arrogance augmented by their own self-serving myth that "communism is dead," the capitalist rulers have ripped up one social program after another which provided some minimal lifeline for the poor and the ghetto and barrio masses. For some two decades now, the bourgeoisie has been riding roughshod over the unions, taking as a given the "labor peace" enforced by the compliant AFL-CIO misleaders.

Recently, with West Europe erupting in huge strikes against similar attacks, the U.S. capitalist class, which had convinced itself that it couldn't happen here, began to cast a nervous glance over its shoulder. Then came the UPS strike. Now the bosses are furiously striking back. A short article on the ruling against Carey in the Business section of the *New York Times* (23 November) noted that the "nation's labor movement, on the ropes since the Reagan Administration delivered a knockout punch to striking air traffic controllers, seemed on the verge of a comeback" with the UPS strike. The article went on to crow: "Now a court-appointed union monitor has delivered his own punch."

To defeat the growing barrage of anti-union attacks requires a leadership committed to a program of class struggle, not class collaboration. The union bureaucracy sees "allies" in the agencies of the class enemy—the government, the cops, the courts—and chains the working class to the Democratic and Republican parties of capital. While Hoffa (braintruster by a follower of fascist crackpot Lyndon LaRouche) screams for even stronger government intervention, Carey was catapulted to the union presidency in elections run lock, stock and barrel by the feds. He who lives by the sword dies by the sword: having let the anti-union enemy in the front door in the first place,



UPS picket line in Rhode Island attacked by cops. Successful Teamsters strike infuriated bosses, spurred renewed attacks on labor movement.

Carey has now himself been bitten by the feds. Marxists stand for the complete and unconditional independence of the labor movement from the bosses' state.

Red-Baiters Run Riot

The government assault on labor has been accompanied by a hysterical union-hating campaign in the bourgeois press, including a surreal attempt to revive the postwar McCarthyite "red scare." Boosting Hatch's proposed anti-union legislation, the *Wall Street Journal* has featured a series of articles vituperating against "union coercion," even denouncing Carey for a miserly \$100 contribution to the legal defense of Southern California Latino Teamster Jesse Acuna, who was thrown behind bars for defending his picket line during the 1994 national truckers strike. This was followed by a red-baiting broadside against Carey, AFL-CIO president John Sweeney and other union officials for supposedly allying with 1960s radicals and "East German secret police" spies, denouncing the ardently pro-Democratic Party Sweeney in particular for purportedly forming "alliances with a range of left-wing groups" and for being a member of the tame, reformist and stoutly anti-communist Democratic Socialists of America (*Wall Street Journal*, 17 October).

Rupert Murdoch's rabidly right-wing *New York Post* (13 November) chimed in with its own gutter-press fulminations against the AFL-CIO's "Hard Left Turn" away from "Joe Six-Pack" to "Politically-Correct Causes." The author of this diatribe, one Eric Breindel, has in the past denounced the *Times* Obituary page for concealing the Communist connections of the deceased! Breindel's evidence for a "hard left turn" by the union tops is the cosmetic change made to the AFL-CIO constitution at its latest convention, replacing its explicit ban on Communists with more "generic" language against those who promote "authoritarianism, totalitarianism, terrorism"—i.e., post-Soviet era code words for militants and "reds."

The *Post* also lifted a page from the viciously racist Willie Horton campaign pushed by George Bush in his 1988 presidential bid, running a photo of Sweeney next to one of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal above a scurrilous caption reading "Cop-killer and labor hero?" The cause of this heroic black journalist, who was falsely convicted because of his outspoken advocacy of the oppressed, has resonated among unionists and garnered significant

paper support. Labor's power must be actively mobilized to free Jamal. But the pro-capitalist union tops refuse to do so. Sweeney makes this clear in a letter to the *Post* (20 November), insisting that he has "not been involved in any way" in Jamal's cause.

In our WV supplement (27 August) on the UPS strike, we stressed: "If the labor movement is to be revitalized, it must actively take up the fight against racist terror and champion all those victimized by the capitalist rulers." This requires a sharp political struggle within the unions against the Sweeneys, Careys and Hoffas—the bourgeoisie's labor lieutenants—who shackle the unions to their class enemy, embracing and promoting the interests of racist U.S. imperialism. The fight to emancipate labor and all the oppressed can only go forward in the struggle to forge a multiracial, class-struggle workers party which acts as a tribune of the people, in counterposition to the partner parties of capital.

ISO: Justice Department Socialists

In an article following last December's Teamsters elections, we noted: "Lacking any confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat, the reformist left joins with the liberals in looking to the capitalist state to 'clean up' the unions" (WV No. 661, 7 February). A quintessential example of such "Justice Department socialists" is the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which has promoted Carey through every government takeover move and court suit. Hailing Carey's re-election as a "welcome victory over old-guard forces who represent the Teamsters' corrupt, mob-dominated past," the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (3 January) breathed not a word about the fact that this "victory" came at the behest of the federal government, which supervised every aspect of the election.

Now, *Socialist Worker* (7 November) carries an article headlined "Why Government Intervention Hurts Unions," in which leading ISO spokesman Lee Sustar opines that "'non-political' interventions to oust corruption—like the federal judge's oversight of the Teamsters—are ultimately designed to limit workers' ability to build fighting, democratic unions." We can only recall the adage often cited by Oscar Wilde: Hypocrisy is the homage that vice pays to virtue. So craven is the social-democratic ISO in accepting the dictates of capitalist "justice" that it was prepared to throw even its

idol Carey to the wolves when the feds started breathing down his neck last summer. Only two months ago, *Socialist Worker* (26 September) was still bleating, "Anyone guilty of wrongdoing—including Carey—should be held accountable."

Moreover, the ISO has long boosted the "rank-and-file" Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which is the organizational mainstay of the Carey wing of the IBT bureaucracy and an architect of government intervention in the union. In a June-July special edition of its paper directed at UPS workers, the ISO boasted, "Socialists played a key role in organizing TDU." Indeed, TDU leader Pete Camarata is a prominent ISO supporter. And after the strike, *Socialist Worker* (29 August) urged "Teamsters activists" to join this "reform group" in order "to build a fighting union."

But from its inception, the TDU has done the bulk of its fighting not on strike picket lines but in courtrooms and Justice Department offices. Faced with a purge threat by the "old guard" bureaucracy of the Detroit local in 1977, the TDU ran to the federal courts for a writ against the union. Ten years later, the TDU literally wrote the blueprint for the government plan to "reorganize" the Teamsters, helping to make the draconian Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) the weapon of choice for government intervention in the unions. TDU spokesman Ken Paff wrote at the time: "The RICO statute provides for 'reorganization' of any enterprise found racketeer-controlled. Two months ago TDU sent the Justice Department a detailed plan for such a reorganization" (*Washington Post*, 21 June 1987). This led directly to the 1989 consent decree which placed the IBT under the thumb of the capitalist government. Today Paff screams for the feds to carry out "as full an investigation of Hoffa as they did of Carey" (*New York Times*, 19 November).

While sometimes distancing itself from the TDU, the ISO has been utterly politically complicit in this class treason which has aided and abetted the bourgeoisie's decades-long vendetta against the Teamsters. Shortly after the government consent decree, *Socialist Worker* (January 1991) blithely reported: "In concert with the government—forced to curb the openly corrupt aspects of the union—the reform movement under TDU's leadership has gone a long way toward leveling the playing field for those seeking union offices." And only this year, in its UPS special edition, the ISO hailed the consent decree as a "breakthrough," favorably describing how "the government set up an Independent Review Board to monitor the Teamsters first-ever democratic vote for the union presidency." Among the members of this "independent" review board was former FBI and CIA head William Webster, a member of the board of directors of the union-busting Pinkerton private cops!

The ISO occasionally talks out of the left side of its mouth. But in practice, these reformists deny the fundamental Marxist understanding that the capitalist state is an enemy of the working class and oppressed and that this apparatus of repression cannot be pressured to serve the interests of the workers but must be swept away through socialist revolution. As part of our fight to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the proletariat to power, we seek to build a class-struggle leadership of the unions imbued with this understanding of the capitalist state. As Leon Trotsky wrote in his 1940 article, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

"It is necessary to adapt ourselves to the concrete conditions existing in the trade unions of every given country in order to mobilize the masses, not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the totalitarian regime within the trade unions themselves and against the leaders enforcing this regime. The primary slogan for this struggle is: *complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state*. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy." ■

The fight for Teamster reform

RON CAREY is known as a reform leader in the Teamsters. But the fight for reform in the union goes back to the 1975 formation of Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), which sparked a national freight drivers' strike the following year. TDC linked up with other groups of Teamsters across the country to form Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). Pete Camarata, then a freight driver who had led a wildcat in Local 299 in Detroit, was a founder

to clean up the union. "TDU was opposed to government control of unions," Camarata said. Instead taking over, the government set up an Independent Review Board to monitor the Teamsters first-ever democratic vote for the union presidency. Carey won in a landslide taking over, the government set up an Independent Review Board to monitor the Teamsters first-ever democratic vote for the union presidency.

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June/July 1997
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ISO hails TDU, which has been instrumental in bringing capitalist state into Teamsters union.

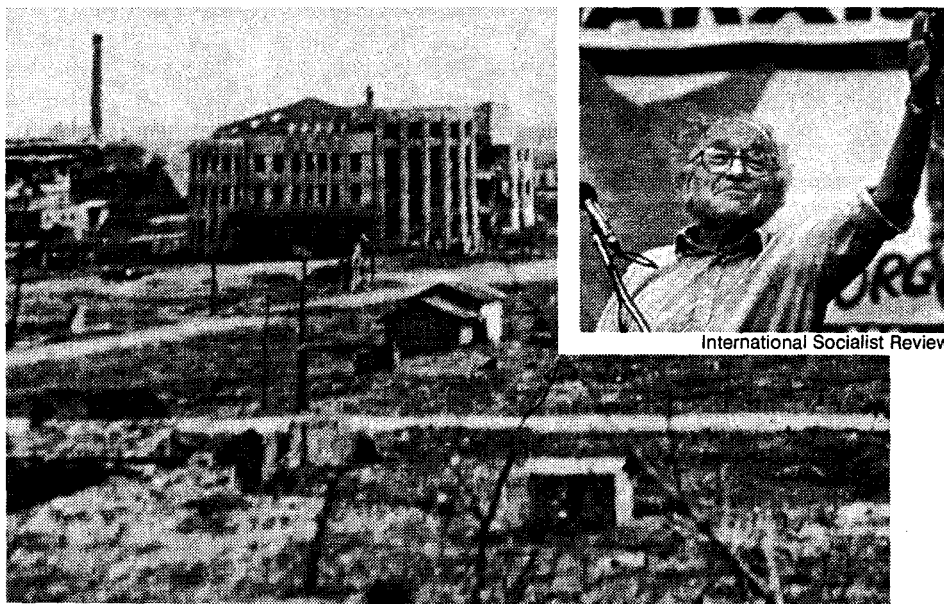
Cliff's SWP...

(continued from page 4)

reunification of Germany—a red Germany of workers councils as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. While we took a side, an active part in the fight to defend and extend the gains of the international proletariat, Cliff's "third campists" backed imperialism, refusing to oppose counterrevolution in the East.

This class treason internationally is reflected domestically in the SWP's record of *scabbing* and *union-busting*. Cliff called the great British miners strike of 1984-85 prime evidence of his theory of the "downturn" in working-class struggle, alibiing the Labour Party and TUC who were knifing the strike. We fought to spread the strike to other key industries; Cliff bragged about SWPers crossing miners' picket lines: "We have steelworkers in Redcar who cross picket lines. We have three steelworkers in Scunthorpe, they cross picket lines..." (Tony Cliff, speech at Conway Hall in London, 23 August 1984). Apparently this holds appeal for Pete Camarata, leading light of the American Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) which is a darling of the American ISO. This "opposition" in the Teamsters supported the election of Ron Carey, the "reformer" who gained office by bringing the capitalist government directly into the internal affairs of the union, *the better to bust the union*. In fact, in 1987 the TDU literally wrote—and sent to the Justice Department—the blueprint for the government plan to "reorganise" the union. We say: Government hands off the Teamsters! And we oppose all state intervention in the unions. In contrast, the Cliffites have made themselves the cheerleaders for, and in some cases the direct agents of, capitalist state intervention in the union movement. The Cliffites' touching faith in the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state to regulate "democracy" in the labour movement is of a piece with their appeal to cops and prison guards. Rejecting Lenin's clear description of the capitalist state's "armed bodies of men," the SWP whines, "Are All Coppers Really Bastards?" (*Socialist Worker*, 8 February).

Today, Blair's Labour Party also rejoices in the destruction of the USSR and pushes the imperialist myth that this means the "death of communism." This is the Labour government whose election the SWP proclaimed itself to be "over the moon" about. Meanwhile back



North Korean capital of Pyongyang devastated by U.S. bombing during 1950-53 Korean War. Tony Cliff was expelled from Trotskyist movement for publicly opposing defense of North Korea, China against imperialism.

on earth, the Labour government the SWP campaigned for is carrying out its vicious and promised attacks on workers, minorities and immigrants for the benefit of City bankers. Blair's government drew first blood in Ireland, playing the Orange card against the oppressed Catholic minority in the North. The military provocations by Blair took place in the midst of the SWP's Marxism '97. But while the Spartacist League immediately issued a statement protesting this provocation, demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British troops, the SWP did nothing to mobilise against their new Labour rulers. Indeed, the SWP's capitulation to Labour has a long, dirty history on the Irish question. When in 1969 a Labour government sent imperialist British troops to Northern Ireland, the Cliffites *supported* it with the grotesque justification that it would provide a "breathing space" for the oppressed Catholics! The SWP as a self-proclaimed "socialist alternative" to Labour is nothing but a pink fig leaf for British imperialism! As opposed to crawling for Labour, the Spartacist League follows Lenin's approach—to split the base from the top of this bourgeois workers party and build an authentic Bolshevik Party—which in Britain requires irreconcilable opposition to all forms of Labourism.

Today, the threat of capitalist counterrevolution looms over the Chinese deformed workers state. Decades of Stalinist misrule have severely undermined what remains of the planned, collectivised economy and have brought China to

the brink of counterrevolution, which would mean bloody chaos and immiseration for a quarter of the world's population. Capitalist counterrevolution in China would heighten the imperialist scramble for the spoils and redivision of the vast markets and resources already being plundered by imperialism. These inter-imperialist rivalries have the very real possibility of leading to shooting wars, and this in the epoch of nuclear weapons. "Whither China?" is literally a question whose answer holds the fate of humanity in the balance.

There have been massive strikes against the impoverishment and immiseration of "market reforms," but time is short for the Chinese proletariat. The disaster of capitalist restoration can only be averted through the acquisition of *revolutionary political consciousness* and the mobilisation of the Chinese workers behind the Trotskyist programme of *proletarian political revolution*, to oust the pro-imperialist Stalinist bureaucracy and fight for socialist revolutions throughout Asia and beyond.

But for the SWP, China is just another "state capitalist" society, and once again they scab on the struggle to defend the workers' gains from rapacious imperialism. After all, if you believe Cliff's fiction that the capitalists are already in power, then there's simply nothing there for the working class to defend. Scandalously, last year the SWP sided with the political heirs of Chiang Kai-shek who today run the brutal capitalist regime in Taiwan. As U.S. warships plied the Tai-

wan Strait in a provocation against Beijing, the Cliffites claimed that "China's claim to Taiwan is a colonialist one. We would oppose any Chinese invasion of Taiwan as an act of imperialist aggression" (*Socialist Review*, April 1996). The SWP's support to their own bourgeoisie's bloody troops in Ireland and screaming opposition to China's self-defence against imperialist aggression exposes their hypocrisy and pseudo-socialist pretensions!

The origins of the Cliff tendency as renegades from Trotskyism come back to haunt the SWP today in the struggle against the South Korean dictatorship and the terminal crisis of Stalinist rule in North Korea. Against the SWP's support to "democratic imperialism," we Spartacists fight for the revolutionary reunification of Korea through a proletarian political revolution in the North against the grotesquely deformed Stalinist regime, uniting with the powerful proletariat in the South to wage a social revolution to rip the wealth out of the hands of the South Korean capitalists and bring down the dictatorship through the rule of democratically elected workers *soviets*. We fight for the withdrawal of the 35,000 U.S. troops there, whose military power props up the bloody Seoul regime and is a mortal threat to the deformed workers state in North Korea and to working people throughout East Asia.

To understand what kind of party the SWP is, it is necessary to recognise that there is a yawning gulf between the SWP's claim to be inheritors of Bolshevism and their actual programme and practice, which are social-democratic to the core. Hence they fear criticism from within their own ranks, and use lies, bureaucratic exclusionism, and violence against the Spartacist League in an attempt to censor the authentic politics of Trotskyism. Ironically, in this political cowardice and recourse to violence the Stalinophobic SWP apes Stalin's suppression of left opposition. We believe in the clash of opinion in open political debate. Those who joined the SWP looking for a revolutionary party, who don't want to spend the rest of their days voting for, pressurising and petitioning Labour, ought to examine the programme and actions of Trotskyism as embodied in the International Communist League today.

We stand with James Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, who said, "We are the party of the Russian Revolution," and struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, necessary to fight for new October Revolutions. ■

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

which can reach any capital in the region, and beyond. Furthermore, the U.S. was only too happy to supply Saddam's Iraq with high-grade weapons in the squalid, 1980-88 border war with Iran, which was also fed with weapons by the U.S.

The obscene, lying hypocrisy of the U.S. crusade against Saddam Hussein was highlighted during the Gulf War when CNN correspondent Peter Arnett reported on a bombing attack that destroyed an infant formula and powdered milk plant on the outskirts of Baghdad. For truthfully describing this atrocity, Arnett was condemned by the White House, which manufactured the tale that the factory was really a "biological weapons plant." U.S. terror bombing raids continued under Democrat Clinton, killing yet more Iraqi men, women and children.

Besides demonizing the targets of U.S. imperialist aggrandizement, the government and media lies are meant to obscure the fact that *it is the American capitalist ruling class that is the biggest purveyor of death on this planet*. The U.S. has enormous stores of chemical and biological weapons at its disposal, not to mention the largest nuclear arsenal on the face of the earth. And U.S. imperialism, under the Democratic Truman administration, has been the only state power to unleash

nuclear horror on the world, incinerating over 200,000 Japanese civilians in the atom-bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the close of World War II.

During the Gulf War, as liberals and reformist "socialists" looked to the United Nations or other imperialist agencies to pressure the U.S. to "bring the boys home," the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs called to "Defeat U.S. imperialism! Defend Iraq!" While unconditionally opposing imperialist war moves, we gave absolutely no political support to the Iraqi capitalist regime, which has secured its rule through anti-Communist massacres, anti-labor repression and bloody subjugation of the Kurdish people. It is the task of the Iraqi proletariat, leading behind it the oppressed women and ethnic, national and religious minorities, to sweep away the bloody regime of Saddam Hussein through socialist revolution.

Some who supported UN sanctions against Iraq in 1991 as an "alternative" to outright military attack today bemoan the fact that America's erstwhile "allies" are no longer bending before U.S. interests. A recent editorial in the left-liberal *Nation* (1 December) joined in the imperialist propaganda blitz against the "bloodthirsty dictator" in Iraq and yearned for the days of the Gulf War, when U.S. leaders "got whatever they wanted at the U.N." Churning out the kind of jingoist rhetoric usually associated with the Pat Buchanan crowd, the

Nation liberals complained: "Although the United States is still the world's only superpower, to others it looks like Gulliver tied down by Lilliputian lobbyists and Congressional Yahoos." With a Democrat in the White House, these liberals want a *more aggressive* imperialist policy, like starving a few hundred thousand more Iraqi children, perhaps?

The race by the major capitalist powers to recarve the Near East and Central Asia into zones of imperialist exploitation, which greatly exacerbates national/ethnic conflicts, is just one example of the sharpened rivalries that ultimately threaten military conflagration. As we

wrote last month in "U.S. Gunboat Diplomacy in the Persian Gulf" (*WV* No. 677, 31 October): "One thing is certain: continued imperialist domination can only mean further national oppression of the peoples of the region, intensified exploitation of the proletariat and sharpened inter-imperialist rivalries." The International Communist League is committed to reforging Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution, linking the struggle for the emancipation of the toilers of the Near East to the fight for socialist revolutions around the world, especially against the main enemy of humanity—U.S. imperialism. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Free Mumia—Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

For Non-Sectarian, Class-Struggle Defense!

A new stage is approaching in the struggle for freedom for black journalist and death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court currently has before it Mumia's appeal of a 1995 ruling by "hanging judge" Albert Sabo, who turned down Jamal's Post-Conviction Relief petition to overturn his 1982 frame-up conviction and death sentence for the killing of a Philadelphia cop. New evidence of Mumia's innocence keeps coming to light, but this carries no weight on the rigged scales of capitalist "justice." Even to win a new trial for Jamal, much less to secure his freedom, would require breaking through the racist wall of cops, prosecutors and judges who have made entire careers through suppressing evidence, intimidating witnesses and otherwise conspiring to railroad Jamal to the death chamber. There is every reason to expect the Court to uphold Sabo. In that event, Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge has already vowed to sign a new death warrant.

Mumia's fight for life and freedom has reverberated among opponents of racist oppression and injustice everywhere. A former Black Panther Party spokesman and later a supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group, Jamal was targeted for death because he dared to speak out against police brutality and for the impoverished and dispossessed of this society. Like Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who finally won the overturn of his frame-up murder conviction after 27 years in prison, Mumia was targeted by the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO operation, directed against the Black Panthers and others who fought against this racist capitalist government (see the 1995 Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*).

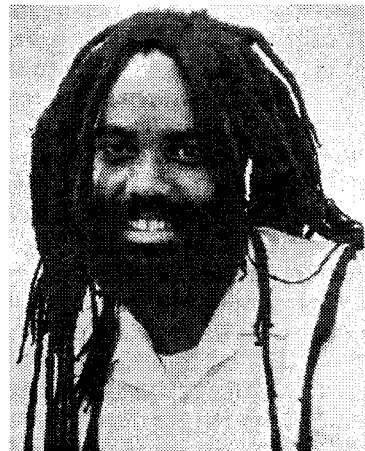
Jamal's case throws a spotlight on the barbaric, racist death penalty, a form of institutionalized state terror directly descended in the U.S. from the system of black chattel slavery. The death penalty is the ultimate sanction employed by this repressive system as it seeks to contain the explosive pressures generated by the growing gap between a handful of filthy rich and those on the bottom. The parties of capital, Democrats and Republicans, join in pushing racist "law and order" campaigns aimed at intensifying capitalist repression, including through the grotesque speedup on death rows across the country. As Marxists, we are unequivocal opponents of the death penalty as punishment—we do not accord the state the right to determine who lives or dies.

From the time the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee first took up the fight to save Mumia's life more than ten years ago, we have sought to assist him in pursuing every possible legal avenue while putting no confidence in a judicial system which is part and parcel of the capitalist state apparatus. We have publicized Jamal's cause, raised critically important funds for his legal battles and fought to mobilize the broadest range

of social forces in his defense. And we have succeeded in this, making Mumia's struggle known to trade unionists, death penalty abolitionists and many others, not only in the U.S. but internationally. The PDC has organized united-front actions where all organizations agreeing with the demands to save Mumia from execution and to abolish the racist death penalty can speak in their own name, carry their own

Sacco and Vanzetti, the ILD followed "the policy of the class struggle," which

"puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale. It calls for unity



Jennifer Beach

Mumia Abu-Jamal

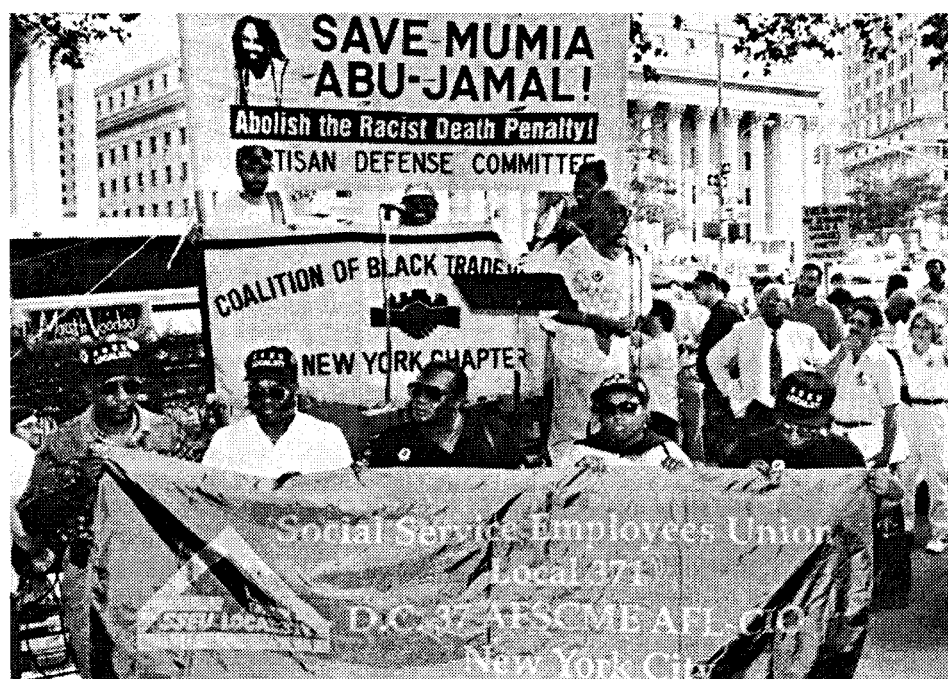
and others—including Jamal's fellow writers—fought for his life. Trade unions from throughout the U.S. to Brazil and Japan spoke out on his behalf. A number of heads of state, including French president Jacques Chirac and South Africa's Nelson Mandela, also demanded that Jamal not be put to death.

As the scheduled date of execution neared, the PDC initiated emergency united-front protests, centered on bringing to bear the power of organized labor, in New York City, Chicago and Oakland as well as in Canada and Australia. The protests drew hundreds of trade unionists and were endorsed by dozens of unions and labor officials, as well as a wide range of other organizations. Under the watchword of the united front, "march separately, strike together," the protests were based on unity in action while allowing for the free debate of contending strategies and programs which is vital to advancing the consciousness of the working class, anti-racist youth and others.

The outpouring of protests was the crucial factor in winning a stay of execution for Mumia in August 1995. At the time, Mumia issued a message to all those who had participated in the protests, urging: "Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!" To put a final halt to the grisly workings of capitalism's machinery of death—be they the guardians of death row or the cops who operate as "judge, jury and executioner" in gunning down minority youth on the streets—requires sweeping away this entire system based on exploitation and oppression. The social power to do that lies in the hands of the multi-racial working class, with its numbers, organization and discipline—and most importantly, its capacity to bring the wheels of the profit system to a grinding halt.

Integrated unions representing millions of workers have gone on record in support of Jamal. But these millions have not been mobilized *in action* to combat this racist frame-up. The responsibility for that lies with the pro-capitalist trade-union misleaders, who fear calling their members into action to defend their economic interests, much less in defense of blacks, immigrants and others who are cast off to starve in the streets or locked away in prison hellholes. The labor bureaucracy seeks to tie the working class to the interests of their exploiters through the agency of the capitalist political parties, especially Clinton's Democrats. During the last presidential elections, the AFL-CIO poured tens of millions into the Democratic Party's coffers while working overtime to prevent even the smallest strike.

In fighting to mobilize the unions in
continued on page 9



WV Photos

August 1995: PDC initiated labor-centered, united-front protests in New York City (above) and Bay Area, part of international outcry which averted scheduled execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal.



signs and banners and distribute their literature. These protests were infused with the understanding that the social power of the multiracial working class must be mobilized in Jamal's defense and in defense of all the oppressed.

Our non-sectarian, class-struggle defense work stands in the tradition of the early International Labor Defense (ILD), the American arm of the "International Red Aid" established by the Communist International in the early 1920s. As pioneer American Trotskyist James P. Cannon, an early leader of the ILD, wrote during the worldwide campaign of labor protest on behalf of anarchist workers

and solidarity of all workers on this burning issue, regardless of conflicting views on other questions."

International Protest Stayed the Executioner's Hand

Jamal's powerful voice became known to millions around the world through his 1995 book, *Live from Death Row*, and the scathing indictments of racist oppression and degradation he continues to write from behind bars. When Governor Ridge signed a death warrant against Jamal in June 1995, it touched off an explosion of protest and publicity. Hundreds of thousands of students, workers