

Welfare Axed—Medicare, Social Security Next



Clinton and Dole gloat over destruction of welfare, as millions are condemned to slave-labor "workfare" (left), starvation and homelessness.

credits: Williamson/Washington Post, Johnson/Time, Wyman/Sygma, D. Michael Cheers

Racist Rulers to Poor: Drop Dead!

From Clinton's White House to the Republican convention in San Diego, the two capitalist parties' August electoral maneuvering has been a carnival of cruelty—immigrant-bashing, racist attacks on blacks and Hispanics, vicious assaults on the poor—surrounded by massive hypocrisy. On August 22, Clinton put an end to 60 years of social welfare programs, signing into law the deadly anti-welfare bill passed by an overwhelming bipartisan majority in Congress in July. With a stroke of his pen, the yuppie racist president condemned several million women and children to starvation.

The new law completely eliminates the federal Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, which provides a minimal lifeline for some 12 million people, more than two-thirds of them children. It also strikes at almost all of the 26 million people who get food stamps. New immigrants will be ineligible for any benefits until they have been here five years, while SSI benefits and food stamps will be denied to all immigrants unless they have worked for at least ten years. Welfare recipients will be restricted to a lifetime total of five years of benefits, and will be kicked off the rolls after two years to "find a job."

But for the vast majority of these people, there are no jobs to be found. Between 1993 and 1995, one in 14 people lost their jobs, and an article in the *New York Times* (25 August) reports that, by current projections, it would take 21 years to create even minimum-wage "entry level" jobs for the 470,000 adults on welfare in New York City. The destruction of welfare is a recipe for decimating the inner cities. In Detroit, for example, fully one in four people rely on welfare for their survival. Not so long ago, Detroit was the "Motor City," a hub of economic activity in the biggest industry in the world. The devastation of Detroit's ghetto population is not the result of "babies having babies," as the racists rant, but of the

**Break With the Democrats—
For a Revolutionary Workers Party!**

destruction of the city's auto industry, which provided decent-paying unionized jobs to black workers. The jobs have gone to low-wage, non-union plants in the South and elsewhere, leaving behind a hellhole of utter destitution and hopelessness.

Writing during the Great Depression of the 1930s, revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky stressed in the *Transitional Program* (1938):

"Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the crumbs of a disintegrating society. *The right to employment* is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being shorn from him at every step. Against unemployment, 'structural' as well as 'conjunctural,' the time is ripe to advance, along with the slogan of public

works, the slogan of a sliding scale of working hours."

To smash the assault on minorities exemplified by the destruction of welfare and the imprisonment of masses of ghetto youth, to provide decent medical care, housing, education and jobs for all, requires nothing short of a revolutionary struggle to uproot the entire capitalist system. Decaying capitalism cannot provide a decent living for working people. The racist rulers' answer to what they deem to be a "surplus population" in the ghettos and barrios is to let them starve.

But the labor and black misleaders chain working people and minorities to Clinton's racist, anti-working-class Democratic Party. At the Democratic convention in Chicago, new AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney boasts how he is throwing around millions of dollars in union funds to garner votes for Clinton.

And even as Dennis Rivera, the "progressive" who heads up New York City's heavily black and Hispanic Local 1199 hospital workers union, mutters about his "disappointment" over Clinton's decision to ax welfare, he nonetheless vows "to put aside our differences in the fall campaign." This is what the politics of the "lesser evil" comes down to: even the willful starvation of a million ghetto kids must not stand in the way of putting Clinton back in the White House.

Social Security Under the Gun

The vast increase in human misery resulting from the new anti-welfare act is still uncharted, but there is no doubt that many thousands will starve and die—from hunger, from untreated contagious diseases, from exposure, from homelessness—as a direct result. Already the cruel bipartisan cutbacks of the past two decades have taken a toll in human life, as preventable or controllable diseases like tuberculosis and asthma rage again unchecked among the poor. So savage are the latest proposals that even Republican NYC mayor Rudolph Giuliani has protested Clinton's measure. Meanwhile, Giuliani forces welfare workers to browbeat homeless women who are packed by the hundreds into a South Bronx housing office, where they and their kids sleep

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Mumia Abu-Jamal Fights to Overturn Frame-Up

New Legal Papers Rebut Philly D.A.

Free Mumia Now!

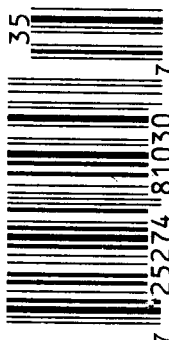
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MARXISM VS. ANARCHISM

Part 7
Red October and the
Founding of the
Communist International

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Why Fake Trotskyists Crawled for Clinton on April 14

15 June 1996

To the Editor:

On Saturday, May 11, a March and Rally to Defend Immigrants took place in San Francisco. This march was called in the wake of increasing horrendous attacks on and scapegoating of immigrants by ruling forces in the United States. This bipartisan attack which affects immigrants of all races, but is targeted primarily at Latinos, has been led by politicians of the Democratic Party, from the White House to Senators Feinstein and Boxer here in California.

We marched down Mission Street, the main street of the main Latino district of San Francisco and had three rallies during the march: one at the beginning

of the march at Cesar Chavez St., one short one at 24th St., and a longer ending rally at 16th St. At all three rallies, spokespersons for the initiators of the mobilization, the Bay Area Coalition Opposing Fascism (BACOF) and AYUDA, a group of Latino homeless persons denounced the Democratic Party attack on immigrants. This point was also made by speakers representing members of the coalition, Workers' Voice and the Freedom Socialist Party. The united front that BACOF and AYUDA have initiated is clearly in contrast to others within the Latino community that tell people to rely on the Democrats.

During our final rally, we held an open



Gasaway/SF Bay Guardian

BACOF joined San Francisco "fight the right" march for capitalist Democrats, April 14.

mike period to allow for people attending our march, especially immigrants, but others as well, to testify to their experiences and to say whatever they had to say, within a three minute time limit (including translation). This limit had been respected by all speakers until Kathleen from the Spartacist Youth Club spoke translated by a member of the Spartacist League. As has been our practice, our stage manager told them their time limit, that there were other speakers after them, and that our permit ended at 3:00 pm. They were advised when they had one minute left, and when their 3 minutes was up, they were allowed to finish their thought before time was called. The translator who was translating Kathleen from English to Spanish, then said this was "political censorship" and went on to rant in English without translation on "what else Kathleen had to say." They spoke over 8 minutes and just wouldn't stop talking, so we had to turn off the mike.

What he claimed as to the reason for our "censorship"—that his group was exposing that our coalition was leading people into the hands of the Democratic Party—is nonsense, but nevertheless deserves an answer. I already stated that all during this march and the time we spent building it, we were very clear that the Democratic Party and its leaders were the enemy of immigrant workers and immigrant rights. Wherever we spoke to build the march, including at shelters for homeless immigrants, and at Fremont High School in Oakland we stated this.

During the course of the campaign to build for this demonstration, the National Organization for Women called a march in San Francisco to "Fight the Right" on April 14th. We knew along with many others on the left, including the Spartacist League, that this march would be a Democratic Party love-fest. We also knew that many working people and members of the middle classes would attend this march as well. We decided that we as a group would attend the march and rally, but with clear signs denouncing the Democratic Party and supporting immigrants, which we did

have. The Spartacist League did show up too, but only at the beginning rally. They left allegedly under some great principle—a principle that allowed them to come in the first place. They weren't there to hear our contingent denounce the Democratic Party as we marched. They weren't there to see the people who were bored or angry with Jesse Jackson or others who called for supporting Clinton. When these people wanted to talk to activists who offered an alternative the Spartacist League wasn't there. We were. It doesn't follow that by marching in the march that we were building the Democratic Party, anymore than going to the beach or shopping or whatever the Spartacists did that afternoon, was building the Democratic Party. By attending the march, we were there to point out to those willing to listen that the Democratic Party was not on the side of immigrants and other working people.

Dean Tuckerman
for BACOF and AYUDA

WV replies: Brother Tuckerman's letter presents a case study of opportunist adaptation to the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. He and his organizations "knew along with many others on the left" that the April 14 march "would be a Democratic Party love-fest" and "were very clear that the Democratic Party and its leaders were the enemy of immigrant workers and immigrant rights." But BACOF et al. marched anyway.

It is bad enough to join a political mobilization for Clinton, the class enemy, and then admit you did it just because it was popular. But these groups not only attended, they mobilized as many people as they could to go. And they not only mobilized; AYUDA and the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) *officially endorsed it!*

Of course, every self-proclaimed socialist who fell into line behind the push to elect Clinton as a "lesser evil"—often despite their own paper declarations of opposition to the Democrats—had their own rationale to use as a fig leaf. The centrist Revolutionary Workers League, without formally endorsing the

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TROTSKY

The Bolshevik Revolution and American Syndicalism

The impact of World War I and the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution brought about a fundamental regroupment in the workers movement internationally. The Communist International was formed in opposition not only to the parliamentary reformism of the Social Democracy but also to the "anti-political" practices characteristic of the anarchist and syndicalist movements. Many anarchist and syndicalist militants—including members of



LENIN

the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), whose most prominent spokesman was "Big Bill" Haywood—moved toward Bolshevism. Those who opposed the Communist International either moved sharply to the right, making their peace with the bourgeois order, or degenerated into sectarian irrelevance, as the IWW itself did. This development was explained by a former IWW organizer, James P. Cannon, who became a leader of the early American Communist movement and subsequently the founding leader of American Trotskyism.

The whole record of the IWW—or at any rate, the best part of it, the positive revolutionary part—was all written in propaganda and action in its first 15 years. That is the enduring story. The rest is anticlimax.

The turning point came with the entrance of the United States into the First World War in the spring of 1917, and the Russian Revolution in the same year. Then "politics," which the IWW had disavowed and cast out, came back and broke down the door.

These two events—again coinciding in Russia and America, as in 1905—demonstrated that "political action" was not merely a matter of the ballot box, subordinate to the direct conflict of the unions and employers on the economic field, but the very essence of the class struggle. In opposing actions of two different classes the "political state," which the IWW had thought to ignore, was revealed as the centralized power of the ruling class; and the holding of the state power showed in each case which class was really ruling....

Some of the leading Wobblies, including Haywood himself, tried to learn the lessons of the war and the Russian Revolution and to adjust their thinking to them. But the big majority, after several years of wavering, went the other way. That sealed the doom of the IWW. Its tragic failure to look, listen and learn from the two great events condemned it to defeat and decay.

The governing role of theory here asserted itself supremely, and in short order. While the IWW was settling down in ossification, converting its uncompleted conceptions about the real meaning of political action and political parties into a sterile anti-political dogma, the thinking of others was catching up with reality, with the great new things happening in the world. The others, the young left-wing socialists, soon to call themselves Communists, lacked the battle-tested cadres of the IWW. But they had the correct program. That proved to be decisive.

—James P. Cannon, *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

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French Imperialism and the Working Class

San Francisco
22 August 1996

To the Editor:

The article on French military intervention in the Central African Republic, "U.S. Hands Off the World! French Troops Out of Africa!" (*WV* No. 647, 7 June), notes the non-existence of an industrial proletariat there and concludes with the fact that the only salvation of such desperately backward countries lies in the struggle for international workers revolution. But though the need for proletarian revolution from South Africa to Egypt is mentioned, the need for workers

revolution in France is missing.

At a time when the racist and murderous forces of the French bourgeois state are mobilized against all dark-skinned people in France, the impact of proletarian struggle in solidarity with the neo-colonial victims of French imperialism in Africa would be tremendously felt not only in Africa but in France. Such action would further the class struggle in France, by drawing oppressed minorities into struggle with the working class against their common enemy.

Comradely,
Bill

WORKERS VANGUARD

New Revelation Shows Frame-Up Fink Worked for D.A.

Freedom for Geronimo Now!

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), a former Black Panther Party leader and unbowed fighter for black rights, has been locked away in California prisons for the last 26 years for a crime that the government *knows* he did not commit. Geronimo was the victim of a flagrant frame-up, set up by a "witness," Julius Butler, who was a longtime fink for the FBI and the Los Angeles Police Department. Now, in a spectacular new revelation, it turns out that *Butler was also an informant for the L.A. District Attorney's office even as the D.A. was prosecuting the case against Geronimo.* Yet notwithstanding this powerful new evidence that Geronimo was framed up, on August 14 Los Angeles Superior Court judge Michael Cowell denied Geronimo's request for bail.

Johnnie Cochran, Geronimo's original trial lawyer and his current lead attorney, noted that the recent disclosure by the D.A.'s office that it had "found" Butler's name in a file of its confidential informants brings the case to a pivotal point. As a Black Panther leader, Geronimo was targeted for "neutralization" under the FBI's infamous "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO), in which at least 38 Panthers were murdered by the cops and hundreds more thrown in prison. Among the latter was Geronimo, who was framed up for a murder that took place in Santa Monica in 1968. As Cochran declared at the bail hearing, Geronimo "was a victim of the FBI's COINTELPRO. For Mark Clark and Fred Hampton, it meant murdering them; for Geronimo it's a murder conviction."

Over the years, the D.A.'s office and the courts have ignored the mountain of evidence proving Geronimo's innocence. This includes the revelation by former FBI agent Wesley Swearingen that three sets of FBI wiretaps on Panther offices showed that Geronimo was 400

miles away at the time the murder was committed. The FBI wiretap logs have since "disappeared." Furthermore, the victim's husband had initially identified another suspect, information which was not disclosed at the time of the trial.

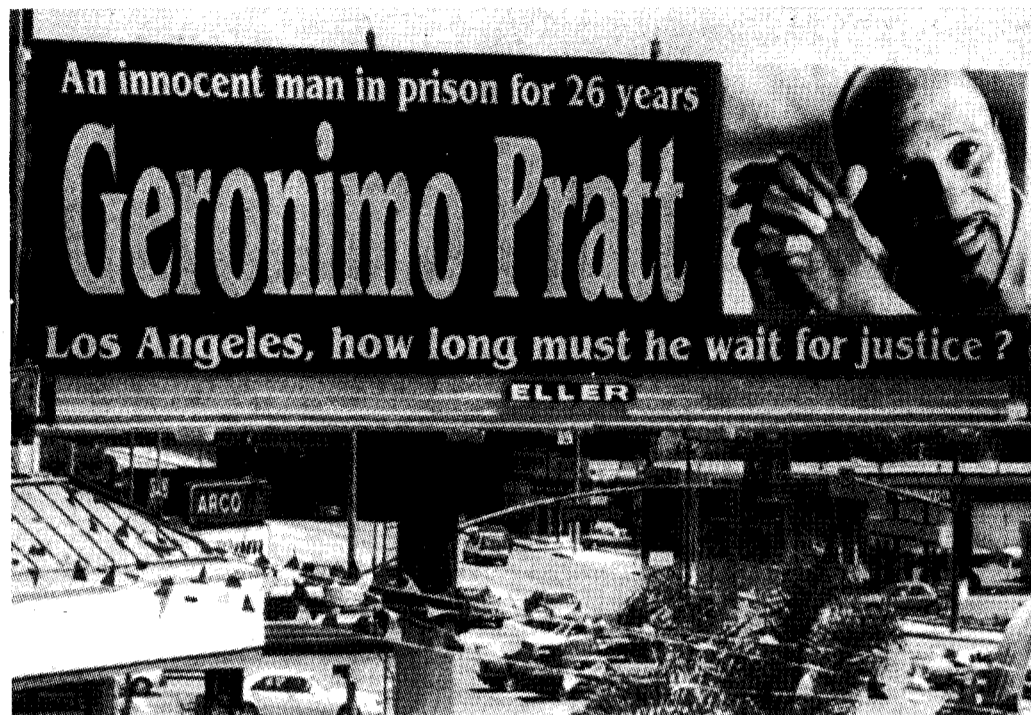
Geronimo has lost all of his previous appeals and has been repeatedly denied parole. And now, in the face of the latest

gally withheld from Geronimo's defense by then deputy D.A. Richard Kalustian (now an L.A. Superior Court judge), who prosecuted Geronimo in 1972. At the time, Kalustian told the trial court, "If the jury believes Julius Butler, regardless of whether they believe or disbelieve the identification witnesses, Mr. Pratt is guilty." Several jurors have since testified

that Butler worked for the D.A. "is stunning proof of the intricate and high-level collusion between the LAPD and the District Attorney's office with the FBI's attempts to destroy black leaders. Elementary decency demands freedom for Geronimo now."

Integrated unions representing more than two million workers are on record in support of Geronimo, and key union officials have sent protest letters to the Los Angeles D.A.'s office in recent months. In August 1994, L.A. SEIU service employees demonstrated for Geronimo at D.A. Gil Garcetti's office. However, the union tops have largely refused to mobilize their membership in action to combat this racist frame-up. Taking up the struggle against the capitalist injustice system, which targets unions as well as black militants like Geronimo, is a necessary part of mobilizing the labor movement in *class struggle* against the racist exploiters. As the PDC wrote in a statement earlier this year: "The big business of union-busting feeds on racism; if the state can with impunity frame up and keep in prison those like Geronimo, it will all the more readily turn its sights on the workers movement as a whole. An injury to one is an injury to all!" ("Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Geronimo!" WV No. 645, 10 May).

For more information on the fight to free Geronimo, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107, or call (510) 839-0852. Send contributions for Geronimo's legal defense to Prison Litigation Trust Fund, c/o Stuart Hanlon, 214 Duboce Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. Mail or fax letters demanding freedom for Geronimo to Gil Garcetti, L.A. County District Attorney, Criminal Courts Building, Room 18-709, 210 West Temple, Los Angeles, CA 90012, fax (213) 688-2913. ■



Los Angeles billboard tells the truth. Former Black Panther Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) is victim of COINTELPRO frame-up.

bombshell about Butler, Cowell accepted the prosecution's ludicrous claim that Geronimo should be denied bail on the grounds that evidence has not been provided demonstrating his innocence! Cowell even praised the "integrity" of the D.A.'s office because it had "unearthed" new evidence and was performing "honorably." More legal papers on behalf of Geronimo will be filed on September 3.

Butler's status as an informer was ille-

gal that they would not have convicted Geronimo if they had known Butler was a snitch. As one juror put it, "If we had known about Mr. Butler being an informant, it would have said to us that this is a conspiracy here."

The D.A. has now conceded that Butler had 33 meetings with FBI agents before he falsely testified at the 1972 trial that Geronimo had "confessed" to him. As Los Angeles Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Steve Bull stressed, the fact

The Pipes School of Falsification Revisited

Our article "Richard Pipes: Exercising the Russian Revolution" (WV No. 647, 7 June) dealt with Pipes' tirades against Bolshevism and the bourgeois Enlightenment and reviewed an anti-communist biography of Leon Trotsky by Russian historian Dmitri Volkogonov. We reprint below two interesting letters by Paul Siegel, published in the New York Times Book Review (14 April) and the Village Voice (28 May), which also refute Pipes and Volkogonov. Siegel's own two-part review of Volkogonov's biography of Lenin appeared in Socialist Action (March and April 1996).

The New York Times Book Review
To the Editor:

It is ironic that Richard Pipes, who was adviser to President Ronald Reagan on Soviet affairs, echoes the charges made against Leon Trotsky by the ruler of the "evil empire" in his review of Dmitri Volkogonov's "Trotsky" (March 24). "Trotsky and Lev Sedov, his son and closest aide," Mr. Pipes states, "frequently said and wrote

that Stalin's regime had to be overthrown and Stalin himself assassinated." Trotsky certainly called for the overthrow of Stalin's regime by mass action, but where did he call for Stalin's assassination? Such a call is not to be found in the published writings of Trotsky, and if it had been present in secret messages obtained by Stalin's agents it would have been used in the Moscow trials.

So too Mr. Pipes echoes the Stalinists' early whispering campaign against Trotsky as a brilliant orator but an undependable political leader, and also attributes the denigration of Trotsky to Lenin. But Lenin exclaimed to Gorky, "Show me another man who could organize almost a model army in a single year!" and stated in his so-called testament that "Comrade Trotsky is...the most able man in the present Central Committee."

The American paladins of the cold war are, it would seem, as capable of distorting the historical record as were their Stalinist opposite numbers.

Paul N. Siegel
New York

The Village Voice

Leszek Kolakowski ("Leon in Winter," *Village Literary Supplement*, April 20) says that Lenin and Trotsky foolishly expected world revolution to follow the revolution in Russia. But Dmitri Volkogonov, whom he is echoing, contradicted his own thesis about the fatuousness of the idea of world revolution, stating in his biography of Lenin that Lenin "brought into being mighty movements in all continents, and held the minds of statesmen in tension and fear as to whether the world revolution would occur." Indeed the British prime minister, Lloyd George, and Woodrow Wilson's secretary of state, Robert Lansing, openly voiced this fear.

So, too, the fears of revolution in France, Italy, and Greece following World War II were very real in the minds of European and American statesmen, the U.S. secretly funding the Italian Christian Democratic party and interceding in the Greek civil war to guard against this contingency. These revolutions would have strengthened the resistance to internal reaction in China and Yugoslavia, where revolu-

tions had occurred.

In the struggle against capitalism that has been going on since the early 19th century, the champions of the status quo—which has produced in this century two world wars, a great depression, Nazi genocide, and the threat of nuclear and ecological annihilation—regard revolution as a vain illusion when capitalism is temporarily ascendant and as a frightening threat when it is not. Kolakowski regards the idea of proletarian revolution as both an illusion and the source of all evil. The Russian civil war, he says, was "a genocidal horror," and he blames it all on the Bolsheviks. He thus disregards the intervention of Britain, the U.S., and their allies, which made it possible for the White armies, notorious for their pogroms, to transform the October Revolution, almost completely lacking in bloodshed, into a ferocious civil war. This is like saying that the immense suffering of the American Civil War was due to the "tyrant" Abraham Lincoln.

Paul N. Siegel
Professor Emeritus
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Mumia Abu-Jamal Fights to Overturn Frame-Up



Free Mumia Now!

WV Photo

On August 5, attorneys for Mumia Abu-Jamal filed new legal briefs in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, as part of the ongoing fight to win freedom for this outspoken black journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization. Capping a years-long vendetta against him by the Philadelphia Police Department, the FBI and other police agencies, Jamal was framed up and sentenced to death in 1982 on false charges of killing Philly cop Daniel Faulkner. Targeted for death from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s, Mumia remained in the cross hairs of the cops and FBI even after he became a well-known radio commentator.

Mumia's fight to overturn his frame-up conviction has been a focal point of protests against the racist death penalty. In June 1995, Republican governor Tom Ridge signed a warrant for Jamal's death. It was a wave of international protests that won Mumia a stay of execution two months later, even though his Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) petition was turned down by Albert Sabo, the same hanging judge who presided over Jamal's 1982 "trial."

The legal battle was taken to the state Supreme Court in February. The filing of new papers in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania Eastern District, in reply to a 172-page document filed by the Philly District Attorney's office, was announced at a press conference outside Mayor Ed Rendell's office on August 5. Detailing widespread misconduct by the prosecution at the time of the 1982 trial, Jamal's new legal briefs also included a request to allow oral arguments before the Supreme Court and a motion for Supreme Court justice Ronald Castille to step down from hearing the appeal.

Explaining the motion for Castille's recusal, lead attorney Leonard Weinglass pointed to the judge's long record of "defense of the District Attorney's office when other charges of prosecutorial misconduct are made," noting that Castille was himself Philly D.A. when Mumia filed an earlier appeal to the state Supreme Court in 1989. Weinglass also underlined Castille's ties to the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), "a third party in this litigation," which has worked hand in glove with the D.A.'s office in an attempt to ensure Jamal's legal lynching. Indeed, as Philadelphia journalist Linn

Washington Jr. recently reported, Castille boasted of his F.O.P. support when he ran for the Supreme Court seat in 1993, and the Philly F.O.P. had earlier named him "Man of the Year" (*Pacific News Service*, 5 August).

In recent months, there has been a cascade of reports of police brutality and corruption in Philadelphia, with hundreds of false convictions now in the process of being overturned. As Jamal co-counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, who is also staff counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, said at the press conference: "While we very much believe that Mumia's prosecution is politically motivated and racially biased, you do not have to be Mumia Abu-Jamal to be denied a fair trial and be subjected to falsified evidence" in Philadelphia. In a case involving the notorious 39th police district of North Philadelphia, 54-year-old black grandmother Betty Patterson spent three years in prison on false drug-dealing charges. The cops who had set up Patterson admitted that they had planted drugs in her house as part of an effort to manufacture evidence against her sons. On August 15, Patterson won a \$1 million lawsuit against the city for police misconduct, one of a number of settlements totaling \$7 million over a three-week period.

Referring to the Patterson case, Jamal's new legal brief details how then-D.A. Castille "ignored the initial evidence of a widespread pattern of police misconduct." As far back as 1991, Patterson raised "the fact that two 39th District

officers involved in her case had been suspended from the force based on corruption charges.... Despite knowledge of these officers' rampant misconduct, the District Attorney's Office opposed Patterson's request for further discovery." The D.A. claimed that this would "invite witnesses to come forth with fabricated testimony and evidence." But as Jamal's brief points out, "It is the 39th District Police and Philadelphia District Attorney which have routinely presented 'fabricated testimony and evidence'."

Jamal's new legal papers provide powerful evidence of fabrications by the cops and prosecution in his case, slamming the D.A.'s document opposing his appeal as a "sustained diatribe" which "employs a methodology of obfuscation and falsification," including even new lies. Indeed, the very first paragraph of the D.A.'s papers includes the claim that on the night Faulkner was shot "defendant tried to shoot the arriving officers" who had come to the scene. Jamal's reply calls this latest lie "an act of desperation in the face of a compelling challenge to the judgement against Jamal." No one, ever, in the entire 15-year history of the case, had raised the D.A.'s bizarre scenario. In fact, Jamal had been shot by Faulkner and lay bleeding and near death as the cops arrived. Later, Mumia was kicked and beaten as he awaited treatment in the hospital.

Weinglass noted at the press conference that "in any venue in which the Jamal case is reviewed, by lawyers, by journalists who've looked at the case

closely, by television, like HBO, the conclusion is inescapable—that he needs a new trial." This summer's HBO documentary on Jamal—titled "A Case for Reasonable Doubt?"—made it abundantly clear that Jamal's 1982 "trial" was a mockery of justice. In a flagrant effort to suppress any exposure of Jamal's frame-up, the Philadelphia F.O.P. tried to mount a boycott of HBO, just as they did last year against the publishers of Mumia's powerful book of prison writings, *Live from Death Row*. In 1994, the F.O.P. successfully pressured National Public Radio to cancel a series of Jamal's commentaries recorded in prison.

Despite overwhelming evidence of his innocence, Mumia Abu-Jamal remains locked away on death row. If the state Supreme Court rules against his appeal, there is a clear danger that Governor Ridge will rush to sign a new death warrant. In the current election campaign, both of the major capitalist parties—Democrats and Republicans—are competing for the racist "law and order" mantle, particularly by pushing the barbaric death penalty. Clinton's "counterterrorism" bill, passed with overwhelming bipartisan support earlier this year, massively expands the death penalty and guts the *habeas corpus* right of death row inmates to appeal their convictions in federal courts. Clinton earlier showed his determination to speed up racist legal lynching by interrupting his 1992 campaign to oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man, Ricky Ray Rector, in Arkansas.

Jamal's victimization and the current speed-up on death row are both integral components of the American racist "justice" system, revealing the web of repression by the cops, courts and prosecutors which constitutes the capitalist state. This is particularly clear in the case of the murderous vendetta against Mumia: current Supreme Court justice Castille is the former pro-cop D.A. who signed the papers opposing Jamal's appeal to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court; current mayor Rendell was Philly D.A. at the time of Jamal's trial; current D.A. Lynne Abraham, a fanatical advocate of the death penalty, was the judge who arraigned Mumia in December 1981 and who signed the warrants leading to the hideous bombing of the MOVE commune in May 1985. It will take nothing less than a workers revolution to sweep away this system of racist capitalist repression, which is aimed against all working people and minorities.

While working on all fronts—including legal appeals—the Partisan Defense Committee places its confidence in the power of the working class and the oppressed, not in the racist court system. The PDC, which has been active in the fight to free Mumia for nearly a decade, is a class-struggle legal and social defense organization affiliated with the Spartacist League. Those fighting for freedom for Mumia and all other victims of racist repression must look to the power of mass social protest, seeking in particular to mobilize the labor movement in alliance with black and other minority organizations and anti-racist youth. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

Funds are urgently needed—the defense investigation continues. Tax-deductible contributions for Jamal's defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. For information on the campaign to free Jamal, contact the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, (212) 406-4252. ■



Crane/NY Times

Betty Patterson (left), here with attorney Jennifer St. Hill, spent three years in prison because of racist frame-up by Philadelphia cops.

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



On Chicago Anti-Klan Protest

Why Cops Protect Racist Terrorists

"The terrorist and the policeman both come from the same basket."

—Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent* (1907)

Over 100 men and women, people of various hues, gather on June 29th, in Chicago's Daley Plaza, to protest a gathering of the KKK—guess who the cops assemble to protect?

The Arkansas-based Klan found Chi-town inhospitable, as trade unionists, anarchists, socialists and others introduced them to the City's pavement, and upon doing so, nine of them (the anti-racists) found themselves facing serious felony charges, like assaults on cops, for duking it out with Klanners.

Is punching a Klanner the same as assaulting a cop?

Maybe.

The recent "good ole boy" picnic showed cops, both state and federal, having a public boozefest, with one *caveat*, written in bright, bold print on a sign: "No n-----s allowed!"

The FBI, according to a rare Jewish agent in the '60s, had instructors refer to blacks openly as "n-----s."

Why is it that cops always act to defend America's terrorists?

When those terrorists are homegrown, American white supremacists, these groups which have bombed babies, and burned churches, find safety and solace in the arms of police.

At the Daley Plaza rally, it was not the terrorists who were arrested, but the anti-racists, including trade unionists, a youthful organizer from the AFL-

CIO's "Union Summer" project, anarchists, a "Refuse & Resist!" supporter, and several PDC (Partisan Defense Committee) supporters.

Now, after the cops protected the KKK, the Cook County State's Attorney, Jack O'Malley, is rushing to lock away those who opposed, and protested them.

When the "law of the land" protects the Klan, what will it do to those who oppose them?

What can you do?

Speak out against the prosecutions!

Demand that charges against the anti-Klan protesters be dropped!

Join the protests at the Cook County Circuit Court, 1121 S. State Street, in Chicago.

For more information: call the Chicago PDC at (312) 454-4931.

©1996 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

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

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

Daley's Chicago: Segregation City

We present below some observations on Chicago written by comrade Don Cane in the aftermath of the June 29 united-front anti-Klan protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Chicago Labor Black Struggle League. Comrade Cane is a spokesman for the Bay Area Spartacist League and Labor Black Struggle for Social Defense and an occasional contributor to *Workers Vanguard*. He recently wrote an article published in *Black Scholar* (Winter/Spring 1996) titled "Million Man March Appeases Racist Exploiters" (reprinted in *WV* No. 647, 7 June).

Chicago is the metropolis of the Midwest Rust Belt. Social relations are played out in the raw with little or no sugar-coating. The racial division in the working-class neighborhood in Chicago's working-class neighborhoods, where merely one block (the proverbial "other side of the railroad tracks") can divide the races.

The city administration's response to the paralyzing effect of the big 1979 snowstorm was a demonstration of how raw the racial divide was. The "L" trains ran express from the Loop to the suburbs to service the white middle class. In the black ghetto, the streets were impassable for weeks and garbage was left to pile up. The black working class was stranded in the ghetto with no means to get to work or home.

For decades, the arrogantly racist Daley machine had relied on the support of the black liberal and reformist misleaders with nickel-and-dime deals to "get out the vote." But what happened in '79 was the last-straw insult for many blacks as well as anyone else with an anti-racist bone in their body. They revolted behind a no-name candidate, Jane Byrne, placing her in the mayor's office. She in turn embraced the old guard and spat in the faces of those who elected her with an immediate return to "business as usual" Chicago-style.

Black Democrat Harold Washington supplanted her, riding on the same disgust with the racist Bridgeport "good old boys" club. The sentiment in the ghetto could be summed up as, "Now it's our turn to fatten up at the trough, like they



Contreras/Chicago Tribune

Cabrini-Green housing project, Chicago: Daley's cops routinely round up, terrorize black youth.

did." *WV* warned that Washington would betray the ghetto masses—and that's what happened. Life in the vast housing projects did not change. Even in terms of capitalist patronage politics Washington's administration was a "betrayal" of his base's aspirations. Many unemployed blacks, aspiring to the middle class, waited for patronage jobs that did not come.

Meanwhile, Washington's victory was

heatedly contested by the racist wing of the Democratic Party, with the active political assistance of the cops. During the life of his administration, the battle lines were viciously drawn along race lines, with the main culprits being the cops and their political godfathers in the city council. Washington's nationalist and reformist aides and supporters played secondary roles in this racist

game. Playing their part in such cynical power politics and racial factionalism, the labor bureaucracy and the black misleaders channel working-class anger back into the Democratic Party in one of its most reactionary forms, the Daley machine in all its reincarnations, from Byrne and Washington to the current administration of Daley Jr.

In the early 1950s, Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon stated that the problems of the world revolution would ultimately be resolved on American soil, when the American workers settled the score with their own capitalist class, the mainstay of international reaction. Cannon's argument remains true today. The problems of the American revolution are revealed in Chicago and in all its rawness. The solutions and how they may possibly be played out are also seen here.

When the Black Panther Party established a branch in Chicago, they felt they had "arrived" at the heart of the struggle. They had. Here you have a solid labor town with a huge black ghetto. It's the operational base for several prominent black political figures. It contains a substantial black middle class with a thin layer approaching bourgeois status. This stratum runs the ghetto in its own right, wheeling and dealing with other petty-bourgeois power blocs.

In the eyes of black America, Chicago, *continued on page 13*

All Out on September 9—Defend Chicago Anti-Klan Protesters!

Eight anti-Klan protesters face up to a year in jail on trumped-up charges stemming from a successful defense against a KKK race-hate provocation in Chicago on June 29. At an initial court date on July 23, over 50 people turned out for a united-front protest outside the Cook County Circuit Court initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and endorsed by more than a dozen union locals and officials. Protesters filled the court-

room in solidarity with the anti-Klan defendants.

Now it's time to turn out again as the defendants appear in court on September 9. All out to demand: Drop all charges against anti-Klan protesters! Fill the courtroom—Circuit Court of Cook County, Room 1100, 1121 S. State Street, Chicago. Meet at 8:30 a.m. at 9th and State Streets.

Send protest statements to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook

County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Copies of protest statements and urgently needed contributions for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") should be sent to the Partisan Defense Committee. **Chicago:** PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone: (312) 454-4931. **New York:** PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone: (212) 406-4252.

Young Spartacus

Parts One through Three of this series (published in WV Nos. 640, 641 and 642) dealt with the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures such as Proudhon and Bakunin, up through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Parts Four and Five (published in WV Nos. 643 and 646) analyzed the anarchist and syndicalist movements in the period preceding World War I. Part Six (published in WV No. 649) discussed the realignment of the left and international workers movement under the impact of the first imperialist world war.

Some time after the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin observed that of all the countries in West Europe the one which most resembled pre-1917 tsarist Russia was Spain. There, too, a decadent monarchical regime was propped up by a state church mired in medieval obscurantism. A large peasantry was brutally exploited by a landowning class derived from the old feudal nobility. There existed a raw, combative working class in good part made up of peasant youth who retained close ties to their families in the countryside. And like the tsarist "prison house of peoples," the Spanish state also contained

by Joseph Seymour

within its boundaries large oppressed nationalities, the Basques and Catalans.

In Spain, and elsewhere in Latin Europe, the anarchists and syndicalists constituted a significant political tendency and were generally viewed as the left wing of the workers movement. In tsarist Russia, by contrast, the anarchists were a marginal current. There the revolutionary Marxists, i.e., Lenin's Bolsheviks, constituted a mass workers party based on the industrial proletariat and the central core of the radical left. The Russian anarchist movement consisted of many small, competing groups of declassed intellectuals with an admixture of lumpenproletarian elements. The organizational weakness of anarchism in Russia is all the more striking in that the two principal theoreticians of anarchism—Mikhail Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin—were both emigré Russian radicals.

Even in periods of mass revolutionary upheaval, the Russian anarchists did not play an important role. Neither during the Revolution of 1905 nor in 1917 did any significant section of the workers or peasants follow the lead of the anarchists. In fact, in October 1917 and the ensuing Civil War, many Russian anarchists followed the lead of the Bolsheviks and loyally served under the Soviet government of Lenin and Trotsky.

Why did the anarchists play such an insignificant role in Russia? This question was addressed by Trotsky in discussing André Malraux's novel, *The Conquerors*, which sought to justify Stalin's disastrous policies toward the Chinese Revolution of the mid-1920s. In this novel, the Chinese anarchist agitator Hong is portrayed as a primitive revolutionary hothead who does not understand the supposed need for the working class to collaborate with the nationalist bourgeoisie. A character closely modeled on Mikhail Borodin, Moscow's chief agent in China at the time, opposes Hong. It is said in regard to the Moscow emissary that "all the Bolsheviks of his generation" were distinguished by the struggle against the anarchists. To this assertion, Trotsky responded:

"Historically it is false. Anarchism was unable to raise its head in Russia not because the Bolsheviks fought successfully against it but because they had first

MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM

From 1848 to the Bolshevik Revolution



Soldiers march in Moscow after October 1917 Revolution with banner reading "Communism." Novosti

Part 7 Red October and the Founding of the Communist International

dug up the ground under its feet. Anarchism, if it does not live within the four walls of intellectuals' cafes and editorial offices, but has penetrated more deeply, translates the psychology of despair in the masses and signifies the political punishment for the deceptions of democracy and the treachery of opportunism. The boldness of Bolshevism in posing the revolutionary problems and in teaching their solution left no room for the development of anarchism."

—"The Strangled Revolution"
(February 1931), in *Leon Trotsky on China* (1976)

How Did Bolshevism Undercut Anarchism in Russia?

From its inception in 1903, the Bolshevik Party sought to organize the working class for the revolutionary overthrow of the tsarist autocracy independently of and, if necessary, against the policies of the liberal bourgeoisie. This was a central difference with the Mensheviks, whose policy was one of collaborating with the liberal bourgeoisie. During the Revolution of 1905 the only serious attempt at armed insurrection

was undertaken by the Bolsheviks in Moscow in December of that momentous year. Georgi Plekhanov, the pre-eminent spokesman for "orthodox" Marxism in Russia, denounced the December uprising as adventurist and railed against "Bolshevik Bakuninism."

In his own way, Lenin later recognized that his party had attracted more than a few revolutionary militants who might otherwise have gone over to anarchism. He recounted that following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, a faction of "Left" Bolsheviks emerged which, among other policies, insisted on boycotting elections to the tsarist Duma (parliament). This faction fight culminated in a split in 1908. Nonetheless, Lenin pointed out that among these "Lefts" there "were many splendid revolutionaries who subsequently were (and still are) commendable members of the Communist Party" (*"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder* [May 1920]).

Prior to 1917, Lenin did not believe that the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy could lead directly to a workers state and

the expropriation of the capitalist class. Instead he envisioned a transitory radical-democratic regime expressed in the formula of "the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." However, under the impact of World War I Lenin's views underwent a rapid development. Thus, following the overthrow of the tsar in February 1917, he called for a state of the "Paris Commune type" (i.e., a proletarian dictatorship) based on the abolition of the police, army and bureaucracy and the formation of a people's militia. This was premised on the perspective of spreading the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe. Lenin's program and perspective, expressed in his "April Theses," were essentially similar to the concept of "permanent revolution" which Trotsky had advanced more than a decade before. In this way the basis was laid for the partnership between Lenin and Trotsky which led the first successful workers revolution in history.

When Lenin arrived in Russia from exile in April 1917 and called for "workers revolution," the Menshevik I.P. Goldenberg commented derisively: "Lenin has now made himself a candidate for one European throne that has been vacant for thirty years—the throne of Bakunin! Lenin's new words echo something old—the superannated truths of primitive anarchism" (quoted in N.N. Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution, 1917: A Personal Record* [1984]). This view was shared by many anarchists who believed that Lenin had actually, though not yet formally, broken with Marxism and was moving toward their program. Thus one Gregory Raiva wrote in September 1917:

"From the standpoint of Marxism, of 'scientific socialism,' the most consistent Marxists are undoubtedly the Menshevik Social Democrats.... And it is entirely natural that the Social Democrats, cleaving to the views of Marx, should regard the present Russian Revolution as a bourgeois revolution. It is entirely natural that the Social Democratic Marxists should be consistently striving for a coalition, striving to establish ties with the bourgeoisie. For, according to the Marxist programme, the time for a social revolution has not yet arrived....

"It stands to reason that the Bolsheviks, as revolutionaries, are dearer and closer to us anarchists. For, in point of fact, their intransigent revolutionary position is due not to their rigid adherence to the teachings of Marx but to the fact that they have shed the scholasticism of their apostle and adopted a revolutionary—that is, an anti-Marxist—point of view.... "We rejoice that it is the Bolsheviks and not the Mensheviks who are everywhere on the rise. But we regret that the Bolsheviks have not yet shaken the dust of Marxism from their feet. The Bolsheviks are at the crossroads: Marxism or anarchism?"

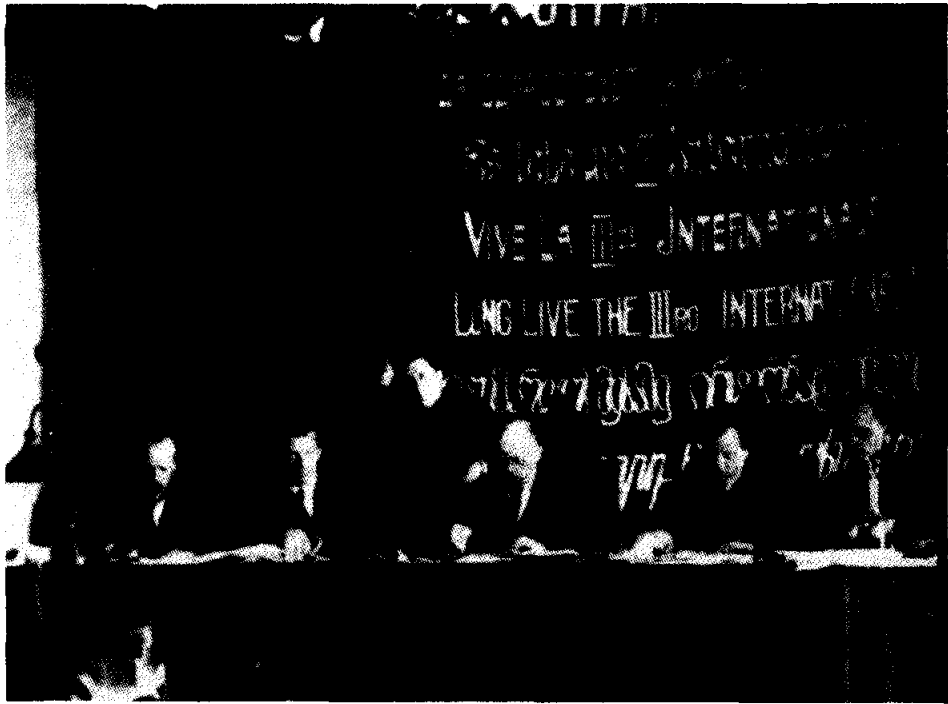
—reproduced in Paul Avrich, ed.,
The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution (1973)

From a present-day vantage point, the above view appears absurd. Yet in his own way, Raiva was registering an important development in the history of the international workers movement: Lenin's exposure of the reformist falsification of Marxism prevalent in the Second (Socialist) International and expounded by its leading theoreticians such as Karl Kautsky and Plekhanov.

Lenin's State and Revolution and Its Impact

As we have seen, the collapse into chauvinism of the Second International—and especially the German Social Democracy—with the outbreak of World War I came as an unexpected shock to Lenin. This impelled him into a critical study of conventionally accepted Marxist doctrine as represented above all by Kautsky. In collaboration with other

WORKERS VANGUARD



Panorama

First Congress of the Communist International, presided over by V.I. Lenin (seated at center).

Bolsheviks schooled in economics, notably Nikolai Bukharin, Lenin studied the changes in the world economy underlying the war which had turned Europe into a slaughterhouse. His findings were summarized in *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, published in 1916, which explained the material basis of the opportunist wing of the labor movement.

Lenin also made an exhaustive study of Marx and Engels' writings on the state. These included theoretically important letters to their followers, such as the German workers leader August Bebel, which were not published until decades after they were written and were therefore unknown to most—indeed, the large majority of—socialist (or anarchist and syndicalist) worker militants. Written in the summer of 1917, when Lenin had gone underground to avoid imprisonment by the bourgeois liberal regime of Aleksandr Kerensky, *State and Revolution* expounded a genuinely Marxist understanding of this question.

It was generally known that Marx and Engels maintained that the workers movement should fight for a democratic republic in those states ruled by monarchical or bonapartist regimes. As against the anarchists, they also advocated that socialist parties utilize parliamentary elections and representation to organize and register their support among the workers and other oppressed and exploited sections of society. However, the leaders and theoreticians of the Second International distorted these positions into a doctrine that a socialist society could and should be brought about through parliamentary means. As Lenin put it in *State and Revolution*: "The opportunists of modern Social-Democracy accepted the bourgeois political forms of a parliamentary, democratic state as the limit which cannot be overstepped; they broke their foreheads praying before this idol, denouncing as Anarchism every attempt to *destroy* these forms."

The reformists assumed that once a socialist party gained enough votes to secure a parliamentary majority, the ruling capitalist party or parties would peacefully turn over to it the government ministries. Some diehard reactionary generals, police chiefs, etc., might have to be removed from their posts, but the large majority of the officer corps, police force and state bureaucracy were expected to serve loyally under a socialist government as long as it had the sanction of a parliamentary majority.

As Lenin emphasized, the fundamental lesson which Marx and Engels drew from the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 was that the working class could take political power only through *smashing* the existing bourgeois state machinery (police, army, prisons, courts, etc.). Indeed, the Parisian proletariat rose up against and was later suppressed by a bourgeois *parliamentary* government elected on the basis of universal male suffrage throughout France. Marx and Engels, the Proudhonists and Bakunin *all* strongly supported the Paris Commune and held it up as a *model* for social revolution in the future, however much they differed in assessing its nature and the historical lessons to be drawn therefrom. As Lenin stated: "Marx agrees with Proudhon in that they both stand for the 'destruction' of the contemporary state machinery. This common ground of Marxism with Anarchism (both with Proudhon and Bakunin) neither the opportunists nor the Kautskyists wish to see, for on this point they have themselves departed from Marxism."

Today, the popular identification of democracy with parliamentarism is even more widespread and unchallenged than it was when Lenin wrote *State and Revolution*. It is therefore important to call attention to Lenin's insistence that:

"The way out of parliamentarism is to be found, not in the abolition of the representative institutions and the elective principle, but in the conversion

of the representative institutions from mere 'talking shops' into working bodies....

"The venal and rotten parliamentarism of bourgeois society is replaced in the Commune by institutions in which freedom of opinion and discussion does not degenerate into deception, for the parliamentarians must themselves work, must themselves verify their results in actual life, must themselves be directly responsible to their electorate."

The best historical example of representative institutions of workers democracy are the soviets (councils) of workers' deputies which were the main organizational base of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Practically every time Marx and Engels wrote against or about anarchism, they emphasized that the disappearance of the state (i.e., a special apparatus of repression) is a central condition of communist society. Nor is the "withering away of the state" projected into the remote future. As Lenin noted in *State and Revolution*, from its inception a workers state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) is radically different from a bourgeois state or any past state based on the rule of a property-owning and exploiting class. Thus the police and standing army are replaced by a popular militia. There is no caste of professional government bureaucrats—rather, positions of administrative authority are filled by workers who are democratically elected. But this projection could be only partially realized by the Bolshevik regime, given the extreme poverty and imperialist encirclement of revolutionary Russia.

Where then does the basic difference between Marxism and anarchism on the state and revolution lie? Lenin answers this question quite precisely:

"Marx chooses the sharpest and clearest way of stating his position against the Anarchists: when they have cast off the yoke of the capitalists, ought the workers to 'lay down arms,' or ought they to use them against the capitalists in order to crush their resistance? But what is the systematic use of arms by one class against the other, if not a 'transitional form' of state?"

Though written shortly before the October Revolution, *State and Revolution* was not published in Russia until some months afterwards. And it was not accessible in the major West European languages (German, French, English, Italian) until late 1918 or 1919. Hence the impact of this book on the Western left was greatly enhanced by its author's stature as the principal leader of the first successful proletarian revolution in history. Nonetheless, one should not overstate this factor. Anarchist and syndicalist militants were generally independent-minded types who were prone to view the Russian Revolution and the policies and doctrines of its leaders with a critical eye. It was the intrinsic content of *State and Revolution* more than the authority of the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Soviet Russia which changed the attitude of many an anarchist and syndicalist toward Marxism. Alfred Rosmer, who began his revolutionary career as an anarchist, was then won to the cause of syndicalism and under the impact of the war and the Bolshevik Revolution became a leading figure in the French and international Communist movement, described Lenin's book as a "pleasant revelation" for anarchist and syndicalist militants.

Anarchism and the Experience of Revolution and Counterrevolution

While anarchists and syndicalists found Lenin's *State and Revolution* a pleasant revelation, there still remained the fundamental difference over the proletarian dictatorship. Many were won to this concept and program not primarily as a result of theoretical discussion and debate but on the basis of the actual

experience of the Russian Revolution and, more generally, the revolutionary turbulence which engulfed Europe in the wake of the First World War.

The October insurrection and its immediate aftermath were relatively bloodless. However, the reactionary elements, centered around the ex-tsarist generals, retreated to the peripheral regions of the former tsarist empire where they organized counterrevolutionary armies known as Whites. From mid-1918 until 1920 a full-scale and savage civil war raged between the Red and White armies from the Baltic coast to eastern Siberia. The Whites were supported, armed and financed by the various imperialist powers (Germany, Britain, France, the United States, Japan) which moreover sent their own expeditionary forces into Soviet Russia. At the same time, the capitalist world sought to starve the fledgling workers state through an economic blockade.

Under the impact of these events, Russian anarchism fractured. During the bloody Civil War, anarchists ranged from active pro-Soviet revolutionists to harmless utopians to anti-Communist terrorist criminals. Paul Avrich, a present-day, highly sympathetic historian of Russian anarchism, recounts: "The campaign of terrorism continued for many months, reaching a climax in September 1919, when a group of 'underground anarchists,' in league with Left SRs [Social Revolutionaries], bombed the Moscow headquarters of the Communist party, killing or wounding sixty-seven people" (*The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*).



Labor Defender

IWW spokesman "Big Bill" Haywood (left) with former Wobbly and pioneer U.S. Communist James P. Cannon in Moscow.

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

At the same time, as Avrich notes, there was "a small army of anarchists who took up weapons against the Whites during the Civil War." In August 1919, Lenin described these "Soviet anarchists," as they were called, as "our best comrades and friends." An outstanding example was Vladimir ("Bill") Shatov. As a young man Shatov had emigrated to the United States where he became an agitator for the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). He returned to Russia right after the February Revolution and threw himself into the workers movement in St. Petersburg (Petrograd). In October he was a member of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet which, under Trotsky's leadership, organized the insurrection against the Kerensky government. During the Civil War, Shatov served as an officer in the Tenth Red Army and then as minister of transport in the Far Eastern Republic of Soviet Russia.

Shatov did not join the Communist Party and claimed continued adherence to the ideals of anarchism, while criticizing

continued on page 8

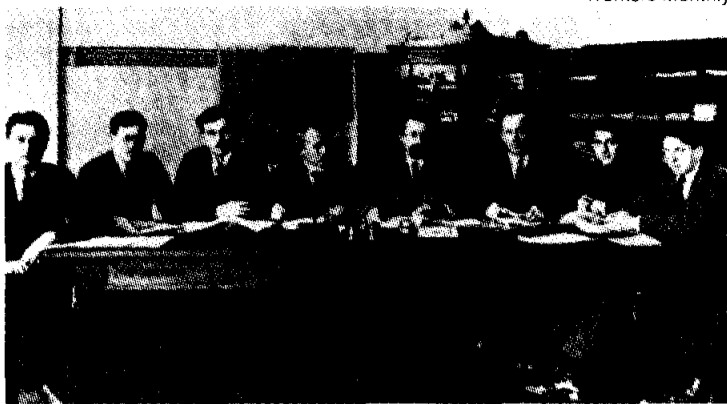


Historia 16

Spanish anarchist CNT leaders became ministers in bourgeois popular-front government.

Labor Herald

Workers Monthly



Left: Founding conference of Red International of Labor Unions, 1921. Executive Committee included former syndicalist leaders such as Tom Mann, William Z. Foster and Andrés Nin.

Anarchism...

(continued from page 7)

its naive attitude toward the harsh realities of social revolution. He explained his views to the Russian-American anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman after they had just arrived in Russia in 1920. According to Goldman's account:

"The Russian experience had taught him [Shatov] that we anarchists had been the romanticists of revolution, forgetful of the cost it would entail, the frightful price the enemies of the Revolution would exact, the fiendish methods they would resort to in order to destroy its gains. One cannot fight fire and sword with only logic and justice of one's ideal. The counter-revolutionists had combined to isolate and starve Russia, and the blockade was taking a frightful toll of human life. The [imperialist] intervention and the destruction in its wake, the numerous White attacks, costing oceans of blood, the hordes of [White generals] Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich; their pogroms, bestial revenge, and the general havoc wrought had imposed on the Revolution a warfare that its most far-sighted exponents had never dreamed about."

— quoted in Avrich, *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution* (1973)

Here, Shatov was in fact rejecting a key aspect of anarchist dogma. His recognition that "we" had not foreseen "the frightful price the enemies of the Revolution would exact" went right to the heart of the anarchist worldview. The central theoretical premise of anarchism is the existence of natural moral principles shared by all members of humanity.

Addressing an international anarchist conference in 1907, the veteran Italian Bakuninist Errico Malatesta declared: "The anarchist revolution which we desire far exceeds the interests of a single class: it proposes the complete liberation of enslaved humanity, from the triple viewpoint, economic, political and moral" (reproduced as "Syndicalism: A Critique" in George Woodcock, ed., *The Anarchist Reader* [1977]). Anarchists implicitly assumed that after the revolution members of the old ruling class would either be converted to the libertarian outlook or would, at any rate, accede to the popular will and reconcile themselves to the new free and egalitarian society.

Additionally, most anarchists, with their parochial focus on decentralization and their disdain for scientific Marxist analysis of capitalism as a world system, did not bother themselves about the question of foreign military intervention against the country where revolution would first come to power. To be sure, there were exceptions. A few years before the war, two leading French syndicalists, Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget, wrote a book, *How We Shall Bring About the Revolution: Syndicalism and the Cooperative Commonwealth*, in the form of a fable of the future. After the syndicalists come to power through a revolutionary general strike, France is threatened with invasion by a coalition of bourgeois states led by Britain and Germany. But this threat is easily quashed by the invention and deployment of new, fantastically powerful weapons, which

render impregnable the frontiers of the French cooperative commonwealth. Thus they resorted to science fiction to overcome the obvious problem with their vision of revolution.

Writing in late 1918, Lenin stated what had by then become a self-evident truth: "If the exploiters are defeated in one country only—and this, of course, is typical, since a simultaneous revolution in a number of countries is a rare exception—they still remain stronger than the exploited, for the international connections of the exploiters are enormous" (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*). A social revolution anywhere in Europe clearly entailed civil war and likely foreign military intervention. The main military forces which overthrew the Hungarian Soviet Republic in early 1919 were the Romanian and Czech armies, both supported by France and advised by French officers. Everyone knew that a workers insurrection in Germany would immediately confront the Freikorps—well-organized and heavily armed right-wing paramilitary forces—and, if victorious, would then face the armies of the Western imperialist powers—France, Britain and, in reserve, the U.S.

Many anarchists and syndicalists therefore came to recognize the need for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat as a result of life itself, often in the form of harrowing personal experience. A good example was the German anarchist and poet Erich Mühsam. In the spring of 1919, Mühsam and a number of fellow anarchists were centrally involved in the first phase of the so-called Bavarian Soviet Republic in Munich, which was crushed by the Freikorps. In the white terror which followed, Gustav Landauer, a well-known anarchist and pacifist intellectual, was beaten to death by the Freikorps fascists; Eugen Leviné and other leaders of the Bavarian Communists were executed by the counterrevolutionary regime. Mühsam escaped death but was sentenced to six years in prison. From prison, in late 1919 Mühsam appealed to his fellow anarchists:

"The theoretical and practical theses of Lenin on the accomplishment of the revolution and the communist tasks of the proletariat have provided a new basis for our action.... There are no more insurmountable obstacles to a unification of the whole revolutionary proletariat. It is true that the communist anarchists have had to yield on the most important point of disagreement between the two great tendencies of socialism. They have had to abandon Bakunin's negative attitude to the dictatorship of the proletariat and accept Marx's opinion on this point."

— quoted in Alfred Rosmer, *Lenin's Moscow* (1971)

And in this period tens of thousands of anarchist and syndicalist militants flocked into the parties of the newly formed Communist International.

Rise of Communism, Eclipse of Anarchism and Syndicalism

It was far from easy to bring about the unity of the revolutionary proletariat in the parties of the newly formed Communist International. Welding together former left Social Democrats and former

anarchists and syndicalists into a politically homogeneous cadre would have been a difficult and conflict-ridden process in the best of circumstances. It was made far more difficult by the conditions of revolutionary (and counterrevolutionary) turmoil under which many Communist parties came into being. Membership in a Communist party could not simply be based on defense of Soviet Russia against the Whites and imperialists and on theoretical acceptance of the proletarian dictatorship as a transition to a classless and stateless society. There also had to be basic agreement on strategic tasks and tactics—for example, whether and how to engage in parliamentary elections, policies toward the reformist-led trade unions—which governed the party's day-to-day activities.

The question of recruiting and assimilating anarchist and syndicalist militants into the Communist International (Comintern) was discussed at its Second Congress, held in Moscow in July-August 1920. Opposition to this perspective was voiced by Paul Levi, a young lawyer who had become the principal leader of the German Communist Party (KPD) following the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht by the Freikorps in early 1919. Standing on the far right wing of the Communist movement, Levi argued that the overwhelming majority of workers in Central and West Europe already understood the need for a party, dismissing the anarchists and syndicalists as an ultraleft fringe of no account.

To this, Trotsky responded that the Social Democrats, too, understood the need for a party—one which would contain and, if necessary, suppress the revolutionary impulses of the workers:

"Just because I know that the party is indispensable, and am very well aware of the value of the party, just because I see [the German Social Democrat] Scheidemann on the one side and, on the other, American or Spanish or French syndicalists who not only wish to fight against the bourgeoisie but who, unlike Scheidemann, really want to tear its head off—for this reason I say I prefer to discuss with these Spanish, American and French comrades in order to prove to them that the party is indispensable for the fulfillment of the historical mission which is placed upon them—the destruction of the bourgeoisie. I will try to prove this to them in a comradesly way, on the basis of my own experience."

— "Speech on Comrade Zinoviev's Report on the Role of the Party," in *The First Five Years of the Communist International* (1972)

Unfortunately, Levi's approach toward anarchists and syndicalists moving toward Communism was very different. In late 1919, he had deliberately driven some tens of thousands of "lefts" out of the KPD, branding them as "putschists." Many of these then formed their own party, the Communist Workers Party of Germany, an unstable amalgam of anarchist and Communist politics. Lenin personally intervened to heal this breach in the German Communist movement but did not succeed, in large measure due to Levi's near-pathological hostility to anarchism and anarchists. Less than two years later, Levi provoked his own expulsion from the KPD and subsequently opposed international Communism from a social-democratic standpoint.

Despite their positive orientation toward anarchist and syndicalist militants, Lenin, Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders understood that the new Communist parties in the capitalist world could not be built on the basis of abstention from parliamentary politics and the mass trade unions. Nor could they long include in their ranks large minorities which advocated these policies. This would condemn the nascent Communist parties to political paralysis and permanent factionalism. The Bolshevik leaders sought to win over would-be Communists imbued with anarchist and syndicalist views and

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Der Spiegel photos



Right-wing paramilitary Freikorps (above) crushed 1919 Bavarian "Soviet Republic" in Munich, which was defended by workers militias (left). Leading anarchists and Communists were killed in aftermath.

Campus Cops Bust Gay Activists



Brian Lewis (left) and James Robinson: CUNY gay activists jailed for kissing on the dance floor.

Michael Sofronski

CUNY Kissing Case

This past May at New York City's Queensborough Community College (QCC), five armed "peace officers" suddenly tackled and then handcuffed two gay men who were dancing together at a school-sponsored social. The cops choked one of their victims by grabbing his neck, causing an asthma attack serious enough to require later hospitalization. The two students, James Robinson and Brian Lewis, leading gay activists on campus, were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest, spending 30 hours in jail. What was their "crime"? Kissing on the dance floor!

For the QCC administration, assault by campus police and jail time was not enough punishment for Robinson and Lewis. In truly Orwellian fashion, the QCC administration is threatening a disciplinary trial of Robinson and Lewis on charges of violating a campus *anti-discrimination* statute! The rule states that "a member of the academic community shall not intentionally and/or forcibly prevent others from the exercise of their rights." These

"rights" obviously don't apply to those who go against the bigoted, prudish, anti-homosexual norms of capitalist society.

The repressive actions against Robinson and Lewis bring to mind the infamous 1958 Monroe, North Carolina "Kissing Case," in which two black boys aged seven and nine were sentenced to more than a decade in prison for kissing a young white girl. Prominent civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn, in his autobiography *There Is a Fountain*, wrote about his experience defending the two children against the Jim Crow segregationist system in the Deep South, where anything that even hinted of "race-mixing"—be it two children kissing or "reckless eyeballing"—was the ultimate taboo.

For Robinson and Lewis, along with their kissing, their activism placed them in the sights of the campus administration. Robinson is the vice president of the campus Gay and Lesbian Alliance, and Lewis heads the QCC Advocates for Student Rights. As one dean told Lewis: "I must stop your activism

on this campus. You cannot be allowed to continue" (*Village Voice*, 20 August). The hideous repression by the QCC administration must be fought! Defend James Robinson and Brian Lewis!

The City University of New York system (CUNY), located in the largest city in America, is meant to provide an education to working-class, immigrant and minority youth. CUNY has long had a reputation for student activism. Thousands of CUNY students have protested the devastating tuition increases over the past few years. The Spartacus Youth Club intervened in the protests with the demands: "Abolish the administration—For student, teacher, worker control of the campuses!" and "For open admissions, free tuition and a state-paid stipend for all students!"

Today, CUNY students are under increasing attacks as New York's rulers deem a university catering to largely black and Hispanic working-class students superfluous. Entire academic programs are being cut, tenured instructors fired, and remedial programs which

have helped the victims of New York's wretched school system are being eliminated. Why spend money educating working-class youth when there are no jobs requiring that education?

But as CUNY guts almost all programs and services, it *increases* funding to one: campus "security." The day before Robinson and Lewis were arrested, the Justice Department gave almost \$9 million in grants to CUNY's security force. This augments the already \$23 million annual budget for approximately 650 CUNY "peace officers." These officers, who unlike the previous security force are allowed to carry arms and make arrests, are clearly part of CUNY's plan to further repress student activism. (See "Police Red Squad at CUNY Colleges," *Young Spartacus* pages, WV No. 629, 22 September 1995.) As the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (21 June) reported: "The administration's own documents show that it has routinely videotaped and conducted surveillance on student demonstrations, even using plainclothes officers to monitor protests off campus."

In referring to increased police surveillance, the article also has been involved in "track[ing] the names, ages, addresses, and Social Security numbers of students and faculty members who were arrested by campus security officers or by New York City police" at protests. This is clearly an attempt by CUNY to intimidate and destroy any dissenting voices against its austerity program. All cops—from armed "peace officers" to unarmed security guards—off campus!

The attack on the two gay students is just the latest atrocity in the growing "family values" witchhunt by the racist capitalist class which seeks to regiment the population for austerity and war by, among other measures, increasing anti-gay repression, slashing abortion rights, dismantling public education and otherwise pillaging even the most fundamental bourgeois-democratic rights. Any social activity—from art to sex—that offends these keepers of bourgeois morality is made *verboten*. The SYC demands: Hands off Robinson and Lewis!

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Anarchism...

(continued from page 8)

prejudices through comradely discussion and political persuasion, not organizational ultimatums.

The most important contribution to this discussion was Lenin's pamphlet "*Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*," written in conjunction with the Second Comintern Congress and immediately made available in all major European languages. In arguing that Communists should intervene in parliamentary politics and work in mass trade unions led by Social Democratic reformists or even reactionaries, Lenin drew heavily on the experience of the Bolshevik Party in tsarist Russia. He pointed out that "Bolshevism took shape, developed and became steered in the long years of struggle against petty-bourgeois revolutionism, which smacks of anarchism, or borrows something from the latter."

The views and positions which Lenin polemicized against were prevalent in the nascent American Communist movement. For example, revolutionary dual unionism, exemplified by the syndicalist IWW, was an unchallenged article of faith for the American radical left of the day. Among the leaders of the American Communist movement was a former organizer for the IWW, James P. Cannon, who would later become a founding leader of American Trotskyism. Looking back in the 1950s, Cannon recounted:

"The traditional sectarianism of the Americans was expressed most glaringly in their attempt to construct revolutionary unions outside the existing labor movement; their refusal to fight for 'immediate demands' in the course of the class struggle for the socialist goal; and their strongly entrenched anti-parliamentarianism.... All that hodge-podge of ultra-radicalism was practically wiped out of the American movement in 1920-21 by Lenin. He did it, not by an administrative order backed up by police powers, but by the simple device of publishing a pamphlet called '*Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*.'"

— *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

The effect of "*Left-Wing Communism*" was complementary to that of *State and Revolution*. The latter won many anarchists and syndicalists to the theoretical principles of the proletarian revolution; the former convinced them of the strategy and tactics necessary to translate these principles into effective practice.

Of course, Lenin's writings were not magical formulas which changed the minds of all left-wing activists overnight. Nor did the Bolshevik leaders demand instantaneous agreement among their supporters on all questions. At this time many anarchists and syndicalists ardently defended Soviet Russia against the imperialists, sympathized with the world Communist movement but still rejected the concept of a revolutionary

vanguard party.

It was in large part to attract such militants that the Red International of Labor Unions, also known as the Profintern, was formed in mid-1920. Its chairman was Salomon Lozovsky, a dissident right Bolshevik who, while in France in 1914-17, had worked closely with revolutionary syndicalists like Pierre Monatte and Alfred Rosmer in organizing the antiwar left. The number two man in the Profintern was the young Andrés Nin, formerly a prominent militant in the anarcho-syndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) of Spain, the only mass workers organization in the world claiming the Bakuninist tradition. The Profintern's founding manifesto declared as its basic program "the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the proletar-

heim. Merrheim had been a protégé of Fernand Pelloutier, the founding theoretician of French syndicalism, and was head of the important metalworkers federation of the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT). As we have seen, with the outbreak of the First World War the central CGT leadership around its general secretary Léon Jouhaux (who became a "commissioner of the nation") helped mobilize the French working class for the imperialist slaughter. Merrheim opposed the war from a pacifistic rather than a revolutionary perspective, and played a significant role in the antiwar Zimmerwald movement, where he occupied a centrist position.

In France, as in the rest of Europe, the immediate postwar period saw explosive class struggles (notably a nationwide railway strike in 1920) and a sharp left-

geous order was formed amid the mud and blood of the battlefields, whose hope for a better future was inspired by Red October, rallied en masse to the Communist International.

Yet despite the wave of revolutionary ferment which engulfed Europe after the war, and the growth of mass Communist parties, the bourgeois order survived with the indispensable support of the reformist labor bureaucrats, both social-democratic and syndicalist. Soviet Russia, utterly devastated after seven years of imperialist war and civil war, remained isolated and encircled by hostile and more powerful imperialist states. Thus came to power the bureaucratic regime under J.V. Stalin, which usurped political power from the proletariat to implement its counterrevolutionary, anti-Bolshevik program of "socialism in one country," in the process murdering the leaders and cadres of the Old Bolsheviks. Yet it still required decades of Stalinist repression and lies eroding the socialist consciousness of the working class, and of systematic betrayal of revolutionary possibilities abroad, before the final surrender to capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet Union in 1991-92.

Anarchism vs. the Spanish Revolution

By the 1920s, the only country in the world where anarchism remained a significant movement was Spain. For that reason, the Spanish Revolution and Civil War of 1936-39 was a decisive historical test of anarchism. The consequence of anarchist hegemony among the militant workers of Spain was that proletarian revolution was strangled and the militant detachments of the working class were drowned in blood by bourgeois reaction. Indeed, for all their "revolutionary" posturing, the bureaucratic anarchist leaders of the CNT played the same role as the despised Social Democrats in Germany in 1919, whose treacherous coalition with the bourgeoisie to stave off workers revolution led them to front for the murder of revolutionaries like Rosa Luxemburg.

Beginning with the July 1936 military coup of Fascist general Francisco Franco, Spain entered into a revolutionary situation of *dual power*, between the popular-front bourgeois government of the "Republican Left" and the armed workers militias who patrolled the streets, organized the war effort and undertook the disarming of the army and police. Workers collectives managed the factories and agricultural production was taken over by farm collectives. Bourgeois class rule in Spain survived principally because of the determination of the Stalinists and social democrats to uphold capitalist property relations.

The stronghold of proletarian dual power in Spain was the militant working class of Catalonia, where land seizures and attempts at workers control of industry had begun long before Franco's uprising. Franco's attempted takeover of Barcelona had been decisively smashed by the proletarian mobilization. But while workers militias controlled the streets of Barcelona, unified national organs of proletarian power like the Russian soviets never crystallized. The essential reason was the lack of a revolu-



Oxford University Press

At the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, Trotsky defended an orientation toward winning over anarchist and syndicalist militants.

ian dictatorship, the creation of a world republic of Soviets, and a close and indestructible alliance between the communist parties and the trade unions." The manifesto concluded:

"The unions, like other workers' organizations, are not an end in themselves, but a means to an end. And therefore neither a split nor unity is an absolute. It is not necessary to split the unions, but it is necessary to expel from them the treacherous group of leaders who are making the unions into a plaything of the imperialists."

— reproduced in Jane Degras, ed., *The Communist International, 1919-1943: Documents*, Volume I (1971)

The formation of the Profintern split the syndicalist movement in many countries along clear left-right lines. In general, those syndicalist leaders who opposed affiliation with the Profintern abandoned any pretence at revolutionary politics and allied themselves with outright reformists and social-chauvinists. A good case in point was Alphonse Merr-

heim. Merrheim had been a protégé of Fernand Pelloutier, the founding theoretician of French syndicalism, and was head of the important metalworkers federation of the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT). As we have seen, with the outbreak of the First World War the central CGT leadership around its general secretary Léon Jouhaux (who became a "commissioner of the nation") helped mobilize the French working class for the imperialist slaughter. Merrheim opposed the war from a pacifistic rather than a revolutionary perspective, and played a significant role in the antiwar Zimmerwald movement, where he occupied a centrist position.

In France, as in the rest of Europe, the immediate postwar period saw explosive class struggles (notably a nationwide railway strike in 1920) and a sharp leftward radicalization of the masses. The rapidly growing left wing of the CGT, led by Monatte, Rosmer and Fernand Lorient, demanded that the organization affiliate with the Profintern and this issue led to a split in 1921. In this factional struggle, Merrheim supported the arch-chauvinist Jouhaux against his own former comrades, revolutionary syndicalists who had become supporters of international Communism. Merrheim now opposed the world Communist movement in the name of the sovereignty of the French nation, denouncing Lenin for seeking to impose a "dictatorship on all parties, all nations."

Not all anarchists and syndicalists who rejected and opposed the Communist movement became, like Merrheim, labor lieutenants or apologists for their own imperialist bourgeoisie. The old Italian Bakuninist Errico Malatesta and veteran American syndicalist Vincent St. John, the principal and highly respected leader of the IWW, initially adopted an open-minded, wait-and-see attitude toward the Bolshevik Revolution. However, by the early 1920s their anti-Communist prejudices came to the fore and they turned strongly hostile to Soviet Russia and its international supporters. Men like Malatesta and St. John were too fixed in their thinking to be won to revolutionary Marxism as expounded and developed by Lenin and Trotsky. But they were also too fixed in their thinking and too principled to make common cause with right-wing labor bureaucrats and capitalist reactionaries under the banner of anti-Communism.

Malatesta and St. John were revolutionaries of the pre-1914 era—personally honorable and even heroic—whose doctrines and program had no meaning in the world issuing out of the European-wide imperialist war and the proletarian revolution in Russia. They were thereby condemned to sectarian irrelevance. The generation of young workers and leftist intellectuals whose hatred of the bour-

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Australia...

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building, initially overrunning the security forces. Within minutes, the crowd in and around the entrance grew to 4,000. For two hours, demonstrators fought running battles with hundreds of cops, forcing open the main doors of the Parliament building with boards. Protesters chanted, "Our house, let us in!" as they rushed into the building. Cries of "We're coming to get you Johnny [Howard]!" rose from the crowd. For several hours, the prime minister was a virtual captive in his own office, surrounded by cops.

Union banners were hung from the side of the building, while red flags and Aboriginal land rights flags were rigged up on the building's coat of arms. Waterfront workers' banners were raised inside the Parliament and nurses flew their union banners from spiked flagpoles. The country's rulers were horrified: an account in the *Daily Telegraph* (20 August) even described how "an old Communist Soviet flag was raised above the House."

In a country dominated for decades by an official policy of "White Australia" racism, this militant, multiracial outpouring of anger was truly spectacular. Contingents of heavily Southeast Asian men and women manufacturing workers from Sydney marched down the road toward the rally, striking auto workers from Melbourne streamed in, staff and students from Canberra's Australian National University marched in with their own contingent, and Aboriginal people came from as far away as South Australia and Queensland. Alongside the official ACTU rally, there was another rally of Aboriginal people joining with miners and other workers from the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU) with their lodge banners.

August 19 showed the class anger seething at the base of Australian society. The unity in struggle of workers and minorities gave a taste of the sort of power a revolutionary leadership would harness to bring down racist Australian capitalism. The Spartacist League/Australia fights for worker/minority mobilizations against racist terror. And the front page of the current issue of *Australasian Spartacist*, with its headline "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!" spoke to the felt interests of many of the protesters.

Workers Repel Racist Cop Attack

Significantly, the occupation of the Parliament was sparked as trade unionists came to the defence of black demonstrators against racist provocations by the



Australasian Spartacist
Spartacists call for labor-centered fight against racist terror at 1993 Melbourne protest against cop killing of a young Aborigine.

Special Operations Police. In a radio interview, CFMEU national secretary Stan Sharkey described how "people dressed like SWAT gangs perpetrated an attack, an assault on a young Aboriginal person, and then a number of people from the crowd including no doubt some trade unionists, maybe even some from my own union, went to his aid." As the cops tried to block the joint Aboriginal/CFMEU contingent from approaching the ACTU rally, crowds of protesters chanted, "Let them through!" When the cops launched an attack on the Aboriginal contingent, the marchers fought back courageously, giving chase to the police who retreated to the Parliament building.

Most of the protesters at the ACTU rally were kept unaware of the battle raging just up the hill. An emissary from the official rally was sent to the scene to announce over a bullhorn that all unionists should leave because "the leader of the ACTU is addressing you." Meanwhile, it was the main event that unionists were leaving in droves, bored stiff with the windbags. Had they known about the action at Parliament House, many of these workers would undoubtedly have swelled the ranks there.

Once "order" was restored, Howard abruptly cut short a prescheduled meeting with ACTU leaders Jennie George and Bill Kelty, who duly groveled and joined in a chauvinist tirade against the protesters. As Howard denounced the demonstrators as "un-Australian," George echoed with barely disguised racism, calling the protesters "outside the mainstream." Former ALP foreign minister Gareth Evans vituperated against the militant protesters as "self-indulgent bastards." The leadership of

tionary party struggling to unite the working class for the seizure of state power, in opposition to the reformist traitors.

The Catalan government of Luís Companys was entirely dependent on the leadership of the mass anarchist trade-union federation, the CNT. Companys invited the CNT-FAI (the anarchist union and party) and the centrist POUM to enter the Catalan government. And just like their more overtly reformist Stalinist and social-democratic counterparts elsewhere, the anarchist and centrist leaders in September 1936 jumped at the offer of ministerial portfolios! Only the entry of the CNT into the Catalan government could have sufficiently strengthened Companys for a counterrevolutionary mobilization.

The crucial battle began on 3 May 1937 with the attempt by government riot police (led by the Stalinist Commissar of Public Order) to retake the Barcelona Telefónica (telephone exchange), the most prominent building in the city center which symbolized the seizure of

industry and public services by workers committees. The Telefónica workers, predominantly loyal to the CNT, fought back fiercely. Word of the attack spread like wildfire: within hours barricades were up all over the city and by the first day, virtually all of Barcelona was in the hands of the workers. By nightfall, streetfighting had begun, as the popular-front government confronted the armed working masses.

The CNT-FAI maneuvered to negotiate the surrender of the Telefónica while issuing a leaflet exhorting the workers to lay down their arms. The militant CNT ranks were ill disposed to comply but, lacking organized leadership and in the face of the demoralizing treachery of their leaders, the workers drifted from the barricades. By May 6 the government had retaken control of the city. Reprisals were swift and bloody as police rampaged through the working-class districts.

The Barcelona May Days broke the back of the struggle against Franco. At the decisive moment, the anarchist leaders behaved like garden-variety reformist

the CFMEU and the Australian Manufacturing Workers Union tried to distance themselves from the acts of their union members with the "claim that any of their members who may have been involved belong to a fringe minority of hardline Trotskyites or remnants of the defunct Builders Labourers Federation," the militant construction union which was smashed under the ALP government (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 August).

The following day, after the trade unionists had left the capital, over a thousand Aboriginal protesters rallied again, attempting to occupy the old Parliament building and defending themselves against hundreds of police in full riot gear. Dozens of people were arrested in the course of the two days of protest and the cops have threatened more arrests after examining video footage. *Drop the charges against all the anti-government protesters!*

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

It is notable that the U.S. press virtually blacked out any coverage of the August 19 protest. Presumably Washington is not at all happy about the social turmoil boiling over in Australia, threatening the stability of its junior partner and gendarme in the Asia Pacific region. Australia has long served as a potential launch pad for U.S. forces in the region, and is the site of strategic U.S. spy bases at Pine Gap and Nurrungar. And indeed there is every reason to expect explosions of militant struggle here as Howard & Co. declare war on Aborigines, immigrants, unions, students and youth.

The current onslaught against the Aboriginal people has been prepared by years of murderous, racist police terror under both Labor and the Tories. A week before the budget was presented, the government slashed \$470 million of funding from the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), which is supposed to provide some basic services to the 300,000 horribly oppressed and economically and socially marginalised Aborigines.

Trade unionists are outraged by the Tories' "Workplace Relations Bill," which is meant to put workers on individual contracts and gut the most basic union rights of organisation and representation. The massive cutbacks in education spending will deny access to tertiary (higher) education for the vast majority of working-class youth. Immigrant workers are incensed at the government's racist assaults on the immigrant community, including denying access to social benefits for two years to immigrants newly arrived in the country, slashing immigrant quotas (particularly targeting Asians), and eliminating most English-language programs for immigrants. These policies mean that

sellouts, serving as the last prop keeping Spanish bourgeois democracy afloat while crushing the workers. As Leon Trotsky explained:

"In opposing the goal, the conquest of power, the Anarchists could not in the end fail to oppose the means, the revolution. The leaders of the CNT and FAI not only helped the bourgeoisie hold on to the shadow of power in July 1936; they also helped it to reestablish bit by bit what it had lost at one stroke. In May 1937, they sabotaged the uprising of the workers and thereby saved the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Thus anarchism, which wished merely to be antipolitical, proved in reality to be antirevolutionary, and in the more critical moments—counterrevolutionary."

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

Six decades after the betrayal of the Spanish Revolution by anarchists and Stalinists alike, Stalinism has been thoroughly discredited. Anarchism, on the other hand, has seen a certain revival in the recent period. This has been fostered by understandable disgust at the Stalinist perversion of the ideals of communism,

recent immigrants, particularly Asians, are forced to work for a pittance in sweatshops or starve.

The Howard government is a regime of raw class and racist reaction. Its present onslaught against the working people was prepared by 13 long, hard and miserable years of Labor rule under prime ministers Bob Hawke (former head of the ACTU) and Paul Keating, which ravaged living standards, eroded union organisation and power and presided over mass unemployment. Howard's privatisation program, the cutbacks to education, health and social security and the assaults on immigrants and Aborigines were all prefigured by Labor in power. Now, in the face of Howard's attacks, the ALP and ACTU tops have not said a word opposing the government's attacks on immigrants, let alone done anything to defend this most vulnerable and beleaguered section of the working class.

As the dramatic events of August 19 showed, a powerful working-class centered fightback, reaching out to defend immigrants and other minorities, would galvanise widespread support. When CFMEU miners in far north Queensland struck against the union-busting CRA mining conglomerate last year, Aboriginal people—themselves victims of the greedy CRA bosses—were among the most solid strike supporters. It is not surprising that the Laborite union bureaucrats have joined the racist, anti-working-class hue and cry about "mob rule" and "fringe elements" on August 19. No less than their capitalist masters, they fear and oppose the prospect of militant, integrated working-class struggle against racist Australian capitalism.

Unlike our reformist and centrist opponents who regularly call on working people to return the wretched Labor Party to office, the SL/A opposed a vote to the ALP in the last election, denouncing the "Bipartisan Attack on Workers and Oppressed." Today, with the ALP out of office, the reformist left groups are offering their services as waterboys for the Laborite ACTU bureaucracy. What is needed is a political fight to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and to break working people and minorities from the ALP traitors.

The SL/A fights to build a Trotskyist vanguard party to lead the working class and behind them all the oppressed masses in a socialist revolution which sweeps away the racist capitalist system and establishes workers rule. Such a party will be forged in the struggle to break the stranglehold of the social-democratic lackeys. A revolutionary workers party will act as a tribune of the people, combatting all manifestations of racial and sexual oppression. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

demoralization in the face of the seeming stability of capitalism buoyed by the destruction of the USSR, and hatred of the reformist treachery of those who profess adherence to "socialism."

Anarchism, defeated by history, exposed in living class struggle and swept aside by the victory of authentic Marxism in October 1917, is again rearing its head. It would be a travesty if this false ideology—an extreme version of radical-democratic idealism—were permitted to deflect a new generation of would-be revolutionaries from the crucial task which remains before us: the building of a revolutionary leadership rooted in the proletariat, a Leninist vanguard party, the indispensable condition for decisive international victory of the workers and oppressed. We of the International Communist League are committed to this task of preparing for new Red Octobers throughout the world through winning young worker militants and leftist intellectuals to the program of proletarian revolution and the underlying principles of scientific socialism. ■

Welfare...

(continued from page 1)

on floors and desks, in an effort to push them onto "workfare"—i.e., to do the work of unionized city workers at a fraction of the cost.

Only a few miles from the red-white-and-blue videocam glitter of the San Diego Republican convention, in a silent and dark canyon, there's a whole town of cardboard shacks where hundreds of Mexican immigrants live, without running water or electricity, without radios or televisions or telephones. Many of them are "illegal" immigrants, brought in to pick California's crops. Yet while railing against "illegals," Republican candidate Bob Dole assures the giant agribusiness bosses who exploit them that he will get the "federal government out of your lives" by cutting off any assistance to such impoverished farmworkers. And the Democrats are just as vehement in attacking immigrants, seeking to use them as scapegoats for the increased misery of America's poor, a misery that the Democrats themselves are perpetuating and worsening.

The starve-the-poor policies have been prepared by a climate of social reaction and racist bigotry directed centrally at blacks and immigrants. This is expressed in the most naked, raw way by right-wing demagogue Pat Buchanan and in more "moderate" fashion by mainstream spokesmen for both the Democrats and Republicans. Many white working people buy the lie that their tax dollars are going to feed the out-of-wedlock children of teenage black mothers. But to begin with, 40 percent of the families receiving AFDC benefits are white. Furthermore, throwing millions off welfare is intended to—and will—put downward



June 12: New York City hospital workers protest against layoffs, closures. Labor tops oppose class struggle, push support for racist Democrats.

pressure on wages which have already fallen sharply for a generation, as U.S. big business continues driving down domestic wage levels to compete on a global scale with its capitalist competitors overseas.

AFDC benefits account for only 1 percent of the federal budget. The real "entitlement" programs which the capitalist rulers have in their gun sights as they go about cutting "big government" are Social Security pensions and Medicare, which taken together make up almost a third of federal outlays. And the bosses want to stop paying into the system in order to lower the cost of labor and increase the rate of exploitation. While both parties vow that these programs for the elderly are "sacred cows" that won't be touched, slashing Social Security is what's at the root of Dole/Kemp's "sup-

ply side" tax cuts, while Clinton's Democrats joined in a bipartisan commission two years ago which proposed cuts in the pension system. Once the elections are safely over, these programs will be under threat. In fact, Social Security benefits have already been cut three times over the past 20 years.

In 1935, Democratic president Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act, which included the welfare provisions just wiped out. Why were these social programs established at that time? Why are they now being eliminated or slashed? The Great Depression of the 1930s radicalized the American working class, evoking in this country's rulers the spectre of "red revolution." Mass industrial unions were built through strikes and plant occupations, usually led by Communists or other left-

ists and involving pitched battles with the police. Social Security and other "New Deal" legislation were thus designed to piece off the increasingly combative working class and sell the idea that government policies can control and reform the harsh workings of the capitalist market economy. The New Deal coalition whose demise the liberals and reformists today bemoan was in fact aimed at suppressing class struggle by offering some palliative reforms in order to tie the workers organizations to the capitalist Democrats.

Today, with the capitalist counterrevolution and destruction of the Soviet Union, the men who run Wall Street and the Fortune 500 corporations believe they can do anything to the workers, the poor, the elderly, the black and Hispanic communities without the slightest danger of serious social turmoil, not to speak of revolution. Thus, former JFK speechwriter and long-time Democratic Party ideologist Richard Goodwin recently stated: "The country is experiencing its greatest redistribution of wealth upward since before the Great Depression. Class struggle in America is over. The wealthy have won, at least for now" (*New York Times Magazine*, 25 August).

Such liberal wishful thinking to the contrary, the class struggle is inherent in the capitalist system, in which the interests of the workers and their exploiters are in constant conflict. The boom in prison construction and the massive deployment of cops on the street—as well as the spiraling growth of private strikebreaking outfits—speak to the bourgeoisie's concern that the raw anger seething beneath the surface of "class peace" will one day boil over. Behind the ebb in class struggle is the "mediating" role played by the union bureaucrats, who act as the bosses' cops in the labor movement in exchange for a few

Letters...

(continued from page 2)

march, nonetheless mobilized with multiple leaflets to "Build the April 14th March" in the name of defending affirmative action. In the case of BACOF, AYUDA and their various fake-left denizens, it was to "defend immigrants" as part of an "immigrant rights" contingent—particularly grotesque in a march to re-elect the man who militarized the Mexican border and is currently busy terminating social benefits for immigrants!

Tuckerman sneers that the Spartacist League "left [the rally] allegedly under some great principle—a principle that allowed them to come in the first place." We did attempt to intersect with a revolutionary program those who were brought to the march under false pretenses, including by BACOF, AYUDA, Workers' Voice & Co.; and we certainly did refuse to join the Clinton rally. Under what "great principle"? "Only" the basic Leninist principle of fighting for the complete and unconditional independence of the proletariat from the organizations and institutions of the ruling class. Such political independence is the precondition for any revolutionary struggle to overthrow the capitalist rulers.

In this country, that means that the strategic task for revolutionists is to break the workers and the oppressed from illusions that the Democratic Party can be made an instrument to help the working class. The role of the alliance with the Democrats in politically derailing the workers movement has been fostered for decades by the trade-union bureaucracy and its "leftist" hangers-on. Precisely on this question, BACOF/AYUDA betray the historic interests of the working class. To the extent that Workers' Voice, the FSP et al. pose as some kind of socialist alternative, their actions create and deepen illusions in the Democrats.

AYUDA bills itself as a social service organization for immigrants, but also

serves as a reformist sandbox for various fake lefts. BACOF was founded primarily on the initiative of Workers' Voice—previously the Revolutionary Trotskyist League—in reaction to the successful mobilization, initiated by the Spartacus Youth Club, which routed David Irving and his fascist friends at the University of California-Berkeley campus in October 1994 (see "How Hitler-Lover David Irving Was Routed," WV No. 621, 21 April 1995). In contrast to our perspective of labor-centered united-front mobilizations, they promoted BACOF as an ongoing bloc of disparate forces which "agree to disagree"—to talk about "fighting fascism" while in reality serving as a ready-made vehicle for reformist activities suited to its various components. These have ranged from the reformists of the Freedom Socialist Party and Workers World to the more left-sounding centrists of Workers' Voice.

The reformists openly tail the capitalist Democratic Party, and the centrists tail

the reformists. The bottom line is the same: "unity" with the ruling class at the expense of the interests of the workers. The action of marching for the Democrats spoke clearly, despite the somewhat ridiculous attempt to provide a left cover by chanting "anti-Democratic Party slogans," revealing mainly a certain guilty knowledge. This is why these groups react so bureaucratically when we call them by their right name, as they did both at a BACOF/AYUDA rally on April 5 and at the May 11 demonstration, where supporters of Workers' Voice turned off the sound system—just when our comrade brought up their craven crawl for the Democrats on April 14.

This crew soon provided another devastating example of the same treacherous program in action. A leaflet advertising a May 31 event on "Police Repression Under Mayor Brown" stated that "some activists want to invite the SFPD and the District Attorney to a public forum, where the community as a whole can

present a list of demands." It declared: "you are invited to tell the police what you think should be done to stop police violence and repression in San Francisco." As if there can be a "non-repressive" police force in racist capitalist America! Along with the bourgeois liberal groups on the list of endorsers could be found the reformists of the International Socialist Organization—and BACOF, whose member organizations participated in the meeting.

Here is another class principle that these self-proclaimed "socialists" and even "Trotskyists" sneer at in practice in order to promote illusions that are extremely dangerous. Lenin taught us that the state consists of "special bodies of armed men" to serve as "an organ for the oppression of one class by another." The capitalist state, with the police at the business end, exists to protect the wealth and power of the capitalist rulers. It cannot be reformed; it has to be smashed by workers revolution and replaced with a workers state. But Workers' Voice & Co., disowning the program of workers revolution, get together with the capitalist police in order to advise these racist, strikebreaking killers of blacks and immigrant workers how to clean up their act.

Especially since the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR, opportunist currents on the left have been moving further to the right, buying into the bourgeoisie's lie that "communism is dead": that is, that the program of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution was a failure. Our task is to bring communist consciousness to the proletariat by building a revolutionary party capable of leading the working class, at the head of all the oppressed, to power. Most of all, this requires the independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie. We need a party like the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, not one led by self-styled leftists who, whatever their "radical" verbiage, act as the tail of the Democratic Party donkey. ■

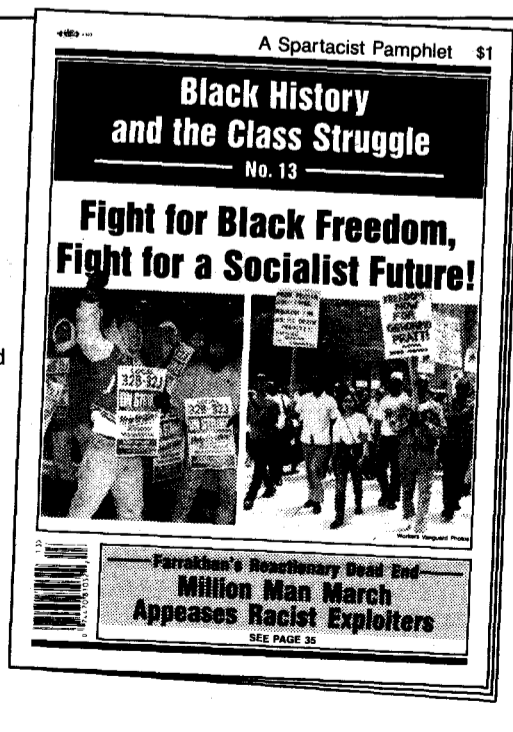
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**Labor Black League
for Social Defense**
- **Defeat Racist Assault
on Affirmative Action!**
- **Battle for Mumia's Freedom**
- **Racist Backlash Against
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Conrad Lynn, 1908-1995

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crumbs. Today, with the ruling class no longer offering anything to the workers, the labor tops mediate nothing but ever more givebacks and concessions.

Black Front Men for Racist Reaction

For years there has been a massive ideological campaign to blame the hideous poverty and degradation of life in the black ghettos on the victims themselves. "Family values," teen pregnancy and the "war on drugs" are code words for slashing all social programs for the ghetto masses and for intensified police repression against them. Grotesquely, even as Congress cut welfare, it allocated \$650 million to encourage "abstinence" and reduce "illegitimate" births.

Aiding and abetting this racist offensive are the black front men for capitalist rule, from Democratic politicians like Jesse Jackson to Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Louis Farrakhan and former general Colin Powell. The Republicans' invitation to Powell to give a major address at the San Diego convention was calculated to chip away at the Democrats' voting base particularly among middle-class blacks and as part of the rhetorical camouflage of "inclusiveness" to cover the most right-wing platform in Republican history. The delegates sat grimly on their hands when Powell defended affirmative action and abortion rights—both of which the Republicans have vowed to eliminate—but cheered when he blathered about how black people can pull themselves up by the bootstraps and achieve "the American dream" if they learn the right "values" from their parents, the churches and schools. This speech could just as well have been given at the Democratic convention and would have received the same applause.

While Powell has become the most "respected" black figure on the Ameri-

Drop All Charges Against Chicago PL Supporters!

AUGUST 26—Six supporters of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) appeared in court today to face felony charges of aggravated battery against a police officer following a cop attack on a PL-led march in Chicago on August 24. The march, which had a legal permit, was called to protest Clinton's abolition of welfare. A PL leaflet reported that police waded into the demonstration after a follower of far-right crackpot Lyndon LaRouche fingered individuals who supposedly attacked LaRouchites back in April. Sixteen demonstrators facing misdemeanors have had their charges dropped.

The attack on PL took place just two days before the opening of the Democratic convention. Chicago has been turned into a virtual police state to ensure Clinton's orderly renomination. Thousands of cops have been mobilized on the streets, and demonstrations outside the convention will be restricted to pens

inside a tightly controlled, fenced-in lot. The same day the PLers were arrested, several carloads of Chicago cops firing a hail of bullets killed 41-year-old Emmett Blanton for "driving erratically." Recalling the cop riots at the 1968 convention, his anguished father told the *Chicago Sun-Times* (25 August): "Is this the kinder, gentler police force we've been led to believe we'll see during the Democratic National Convention? We believe the 1968 police thug mentality still exists."

The six PL supporters are due to appear in court again on September 20. Also in Chicago, protesters facing trumped-up charges for the successful June 29 anti-Klan action are due back in court on September 9 (see page 5). Trade-unionists, opponents of racist terror, fighters for the poor—all of us must come to the defense of those victimized for struggling on behalf of the exploited and oppressed. An injury to one is an injury to all!

can political scene, Farrakhan has a hearing among the disaffected ghetto masses because of his "in your face" denunciations of white racism. But with his vile diatribes against Koreans, Arabs and Jews, this sinister demagogue seeks to deflect black anger against this racist system. In fact, Farrakhan voices the aspirations of the black middle class and petty capitalists who seek to have exclusive rights of exploitation over the ghetto masses. The main theme of Farrakhan's

"Million Man March" in Washington last year was that black men should "atone" and take "personal responsibility" for the degrading conditions in which black people are forced to live. And while the Nation of Islam leader rapped Clinton on the knuckles for signing the welfare bill, his attitude is no different than that of Clinton, Dole, Gingrich and Buchanan. Thus, the NOI's *Final Call* (13 August) declaimed: "Welfare stifles the growth of many recipients because rather than relying on their own God-given talents to improve their condition, they become used to the federal handouts and sit on their behinds waiting for a first-of-the-month check."

Mobilize Labor/Black Power!

To repel the assaults on social welfare programs and living standards, it is necessary to mobilize the integrated labor movement, standing at the head of all the oppressed, in class struggle. The unions are the only significant mass

organizations in which blacks and whites are united for their common interests. However, the deep racial divide among American working people cannot be overcome simply on the basis of maintaining or increasing wages and benefits of unionized workers. The labor movement must fight all forms of black oppression—the elimination of welfare and slashing of public health and education, cop repression against minorities, racist terror by the Klan and other fascist scum.

What is needed is a political struggle to dump the labor fakers, who are an obstacle to mobilizing the power of the working class and tapping the anger of the ghetto masses. If the Republicans, whose convention was packed with millionaires, are a party of capitalists, the Democrats are equally a capitalist party. What further indictment is necessary of the illusion that the Democrats are a "lesser evil" than their willingness to accept the destruction of millions of lives? We say: To hell with the Democrats! Labor and minorities need a party that fights for *our* class, a *revolutionary workers party* which champions the cause of all the oppressed.

This is what the Spartacist League fights for. The fight against black oppression is key to the American workers revolution. Through transitional organizations linked to the revolutionary party, it is necessary to draw the black and Hispanic masses into *class* struggle behind the social power of the working class. That is the aim encapsulated in the program of the Labor Black Leagues affiliated to the Spartacist League. The axing of welfare and the looming attack on Social Security underscores the fundamental inhumanity of the capitalist system, which cannot be reformed but must be overthrown. As the February 1996 Labor Black League statement, "What We Stand For," says:

"Black people are...a specially oppressed race-color caste, segregated at the bottom of U.S. society but also integrated into strategic sections of the industrial proletariat in whose hands lies the economic power to shatter this racist capitalist system. Full equality can only come through the struggle for revolutionary integration, to free black people from grinding capitalist oppression through mobilizing the social power of the multiracial working class and establishing a socialist society where those who labor rule. There is no other road to black freedom or proletarian emancipation. Getting there is a question of leadership." ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 5)

like Harlem, is a mecca. The establishment of the Black Panther branch with roots at the base of the ghetto was met with a ruthless response from all quarters. The black liberals and reformists painted them up as a "gang." The cops set them up for the kill. Any radicalization at the base of the ghetto contains the potential for an explosion of class struggle. This is precisely what we aim for with the united-front labor/black mobilizations we initiate.

From afar, what I see in Chicago today is a Democratic Party machine that is highly unappetizing, fragile and repulsive in its catering to bald racism. The black misleaders, the would-be power brokers, have nothing to sell. Farrakhan wants to wheel and deal between the racist Democratic Party and the more overtly racist GOP. The entire black establishment jumped on his Million Man March bandwagon like desperate fools. Meanwhile the black ghetto, along with the organized working class, endures blow after blow from the capitalist rulers.

An insightful, disciplined revolutionary party with a committed base of black trade unionists—mobilizing organized labor, appealing to and seeking to lead the ghetto masses—could blow the lid off Chicago. The entire nation would shake. A successful mass labor/black mobilization against racist terror in Chicago would have deep ramifications. By success I mean dealing the fascists and their racist mob supporters in Cicero and Bridgeport the humiliating blow from which they have been shielded by bourgeois state protection and reformist betrayal.

There is not a black worker in Chicago who would not gladly trounce a fascist if he could get his hands on one. Though our numbers were few on June 29, we weren't that far out front. But here's the catch. The black working class, burdened with a conservative petty-bourgeois lead-

ership, sees the road to the labor/black mobilization as fraught with real obstacles: the ghetto masses are too atomized, the white workers appear to be too racist, the state appears too strong...and nothing ever changes anyway. But as was shown by the labor/black mobilizations we initiated in Chicago in 1982 and again in Springfield in 1994, the intervention of a revolutionary vanguard can make the difference.

The Chicago Labor Black Struggle League (LBSL) was founded in 1988 with the enthusiastic recruitment of several dozen transit workers following the victorious campaign against the racist frame-up of bus driver Cassandra Seay. Weeks later a demonstration was called to defend an abortion clinic in the Loop. With the exception of the regular party sympathizers, none of the new LBSL recruits came out. Here is a contradiction that only patient Marxist education can resolve. As a transitional organization, it is the task of the LBSL to resolve this contradiction.

It is true that social struggles against the attacks of the capitalist rulers are great teachers for the working masses and the oppressed. But the revolutionary party, intervening and providing leadership in these struggles, is the indispensable teacher for the class in preparing it to fight to sweep away the whole capitalist system. The LBSL strives to be a fighting organization of leaders and organizers of the working class, training them and moving them closer to the revolutionary party. When the early South African Communist Party made its turn to transform itself into a black workers party, it used the Marxist classics to teach the workers how to read and write. The workers came in large numbers to these schools, defying the apartheid pass laws, to get a basic education. They were willing and hungry for knowledge.

The same is true of the LBSL. We must find the workers that are willing and hungry for knowledge and struggle. Then, on a modest scale, we must train them to be party soldiers, working-class leaders. ■

Spartacist Forums

Down With Racist War On Immigrants and Blacks!

NEW YORK CITY

Friday, September 13, 7:30 p.m.

Brecht Forum
122 W. 27th Street, 10th Floor
For more information: (212) 267-1025

CHICAGO

Saturday, September 21, 7 p.m.

Regency Room
Blackstone Hotel
For more information: (312) 454-4930

VANCOUVER

Friday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.

Britannia Community Centre, Room L4
1661 Napier Street (at Commercial)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

BAY AREA

Thursday, September 19, 7 p.m.

Barrows Hall
University of California at Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851
or (415) 777-9367

BOSTON

Thursday, September 26, 7 p.m.

Boston University
College of Arts and Sciences, Rm. 214
725 Commonwealth Avenue
For more information: (617) 666-9453

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, October 12, 4 p.m.

Hollywood United Methodist Church
6817 Franklin Avenue
(Highland exit off 101 Frwy)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

KKK Terrorists Trounced in Chicago!

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Smash Racist Terror!

Spartacus Youth Club Forum
Thursday, September 5, 5 p.m.

San Francisco State University
Student Union, Room B116

BAY AREA For more information: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

Suharto Regime Cracks Down

Indonesian ambassador in Japan by the Partisan Defense Committee there.

* * *

19 August 1996

Dear Ambassador Wisber Loeis,

We demand the immediate release of those imprisoned for protesting the Indonesian military's July 27 early morning vicious assault on the headquarters of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). Drop all charges against those currently imprisoned and those being hunted down! In addition to supporters of the PDI, Mughtar Pakpahan, leader of the banned SBSI trade-union federation, and Budiman Sudjatmiko, president of the Partai Rakyat Demokrat (PRD), and others have been arrested and charged with treason, a capital crime.

Less than 36 hours after the imperialist bosses of ASEAN and their counterparts jetted out of the country, the military brutally evicted supporters of Megawati Sukarnoputri from the headquarters of the opposition PDI, sparking the most concerted anti-government protests in 20 years. Thousands battled troops and heavily armed riot police who were ordered to "shoot on sight." At least 200 were arrested, three killed, 90 injured and scores are still listed as "missing."

The regime's tirades against a supposed "Communist threat" evoked—as was intended—the spectre of the horrendous anti-Communist bloodbath of workers and peasants carried out by the military and by anti-Communist mobs in 1965. The message was as clear as it was brutal: All who oppose Suharto's "New Order" government will be slaughtered in the same manner as were the more than one million supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and other militants in 1965 and the workers and peasants of East Timor who have been fighting for their independence for over 20 years.

The so-called Indonesian "miracle" has been accomplished through superexploitation and built on the sweat and blood of the Indonesian proletariat and peasants.

The banks and office buildings torched on July 27 were the symbols of a ruling class who number among some of the world's richest billionaires. Indonesia's gap between rich and poor is one of the widest in Asia, and continues to grow; more than 30 million live in "absolute poverty." The bourgeoisie is moving into walled, guarded enclaves surrounded by the millions who labor in their fields and factories, making less than ¥200 a day and living in shanties without running water.

The size and determination of the July 27 protests speak to a deep-going opposition to the repressive Suharto dictatorship. We demand that all detained be released and all charges be dropped.

Sincerely,
Hirata Motomu



Economist

Indonesian dictatorship has called out troops, cops to suppress protests in Jakarta and elsewhere.

Free Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Indonesia!

For more than 30 years, since the bloody military coup of 1965, Indonesia has been under the iron fist of the Suharto dictatorship. However, in the past few months a growing wave of street protests, workers strikes and peasant uprisings has raised the prospect of a popular revolt which could challenge the very foundations of this semi-colony of imperialism.

The latest protests to shake the capital, Jakarta, were provoked by the army's moves last June against the opposition Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) of Megawati Sukarnoputri. Megawati is the daughter of the country's first president, Sukarno, who was replaced after the 1965 coup. Though she is an avowed moderate who limits herself to vague calls for "democracy," protests by her supporters served as a catalyst for an explosion of rage by Jakarta's oppressed poor. On June 20, cops and troops attacked a demonstration of 5,000. This was followed by an army/police assault on PDI headquarters on July 27, which ignited the most widespread rioting in Jakarta in over two decades.

The army's brutal suppression of the July 27 upsurge touched off a wave of repression in which over 200 people were arrested, including Mughtar Pakpahan, the head of Indonesia's only independent trade union, and the 27-year-old leader of the leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD), Budiman Sudjatmiko. They



Economist

People's Democratic Party leader Budiman Sudjatmiko, jailed by Suharto regime.

have been charged with treason and face the possibility of death by firing squad. Nine other PRD members have been arrested, and 52 others are missing. Many of those arrested are being held incommunicado and without access to lawyers.

The venal and corrupt Suharto regime has the full support and complicity of its imperialist masters in Japan, Australia and the U.S. While prating about "human rights," U.S. president Clinton has endorsed the latest wave of repression by approving the sale of nine F-16 jet fighters to Indonesia. In this, Washington was only standing by the butchers it helped install in the first case. Suharto's 1965 reign of terror, which was designed to physically exterminate what was then the third-largest Communist party in the world, the PKI—with up to 3 million members and another 14 million supporters in its trade unions and peasants', women's and youth leagues—was carried out using death lists compiled by the CIA (see "CIA's Hit List for 1965 Indonesia Massacre," WV No. 503, 1 June 1990).

Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous country, is a flash point for working-class struggle in Asia. Capitalists in the imperialist centers, attracted by the low wages (and the dictatorship's

assurance that it will not tolerate strikes or independent unions), invested \$40 billion in Indonesia last year alone. This has enormously strengthened the combative—and cruelly exploited—proletariat. At the enormous Nike sport shoe factory in Serang, for example, more than 5,000 workers labor for little more than two dollars a day. Strikes and union organizing have steadily increased, while a growing number of explosive protests have flared up in the countryside.

The workers and peasants of Indonesia have a long history of militant struggle. But the proletariat must not allow itself again to become a pawn of the "national" bourgeoisie, as it did under Sukarno and the PKI, whose "anti-imperialist" popular front paved the way for the bloody slaughter of 1965. To implement agrarian revolution in the countryside and throw off the imperialist yoke, what is needed is a proletarian struggle for state power, drawing behind it the peasantry, national minorities, women and all the oppressed and seeking to extend socialist revolution throughout Southeast Asia and to the imperialist centers. This requires the forging of a Trotskyist party armed with the perspective of permanent revolution.

We print below a protest letter to the

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France...

(continued from page 16)

last night from the Evreux military base west of the capital, deporting four of those arrested at the church along with about 50 other "illegal" immigrants, 150 stone-throwing demonstrators who tried to block the flight fought with police.

Although clearly taken aback by the scope of the protests, the conservative government under President Jacques Chirac is determined to deport most of the arrested immigrants. The interior ministry announced that only about 40 of those seized in the church would be granted residence permits. But the judicial proceedings against the 80 immigrants who have so far been dragged before administrative court have been such a travesty—with patently falsified documents, arrestees held incommunicado, etc.—that judges have repealed 45 of the expulsion orders. During the first six months of this year, over 7,000 people have been deported in a steady succession of charter plane flights to Africa initiated by the former president, "Socialist" François Mitterrand. These workers, who came to France seeking a better life, are being thrown back to face poverty, repression and, in some cases, starvation.

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

The Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, has consistently fought for mobilizing the power of the working class to defend immigrant rights. During last December's strike wave by public sector workers, the LTF insisted on the crucial need for the strikers to take up the fight against racial oppression, warning: "The working-class leaders' refusal to fight against racist terror is an obstacle to the necessary extension of the struggle to the private and mainly industrial sector, with its strong, combative component of workers from the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa" (see WV No. 636, 5 January). In the face of widespread anti-immigrant racism and rampant fascist and cop terror, our comrades raise the call: *For worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop racist terror! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

Last Friday, at a workers' general assembly of the SUD and CGT unions at the Paris-Bourseul postal money order center, a supporter of the LTF countered the bureaucrats' insipid motion to write a protest letter to Chirac. She called for the unions to mobilize the power of the working class to stop the deportations:

"We are still living under the reign of Vigipirate, a campaign of racist terror against which the union organizations did not mobilize last December. If they had, we wouldn't be in this situation. Against this terror what is needed are mass workers actions organized by our unions. At the time of [Zairian immigrant] Makome's murder in the same arrondissement [district] some years ago, what was needed was for the organized working class to converge on the 18th arrondissement. Today, the government



Paris cops storm church, drag away immigrants on August 23.

wants to load up military charter flights because the pilots unions refuse to fly them. What is posed is mobilizing powerful workers contingents in Villacoublay [military airport] to stop these deportations. And right now it is necessary to demand immediate freedom and the dropping of all charges for all those arrested this morning."

As French authorities prepared to deport immigrants on a military charter after civilian pilots refused to fly the deportees out, the union of Air Afrique employees issued a formal instruction that none of that carrier's workers throughout Africa "should take part in the base task of helping these flights of shame." When the French military transport carrying the deportees made a stop-over in the Senegalese capital of Dakar, it was delayed because the airport ground staff refused to service it. When the plane finally arrived in Bamako, the capital of Mali, airport personnel again boycotted it, and French authorities had to use a military cargo plane to fly in an exit ramp in order to get people off the plane.

Such actions concretely demonstrated the possibility of forging international class unity between workers' struggles in France and Africa. Such a perspective of proletarian internationalism is sharply counterposed to the chauvinist protectionism pushed by the reformist working-class leaders, like the call of the Communist Party (PCF) to "produce French."

The protests over the threatened deportations are an extremely significant event for French workers. The bourgeoisie—joined by the reformist misleaders—relies on exacerbating racial and ethnic divisions in the working class to undercut class struggle. The labor tops supported Chirac's "anti-terrorist" Operation Vigipirate, in which the army was called out to terrorize immigrant neighborhoods. For years, the PCF and CGT leaders have put the blame for unemployment on immigrants, calling for closing the borders and expelling "illegals." And during his 14-year reign, Mitterrand made anti-immigrant racism a hallmark of his rule.

Following the powerful strike wave last winter, Chirac ratcheted up the racist campaign against "immigrants" (which in France means anyone with dark skin). Last March when the immigrant families arrested on Friday, along with others, occupied another Paris church, St. Am-

broise, the cops brutally drove them out at the request of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and many were deported. This racist assault provoked protest demonstrations in several cities.

The size of Friday's demonstration, called by the trade unions on just a few hours' notice, testifies to a sound instinct within the working class in favor of class unity. The size of the demonstrations is doubly impressive when one realizes that Paris is virtually deserted in August as most people leave on vacation. During the occupation of the St. Bernard church, hundreds of people came every day to demonstrate their support, including leaders of the CGT and other unions. Friday's demonstration comes after a previous one last Wednesday—which also included sizable trade-union contingents—to protest an earlier cop assault on the same church.

Last week, the CGT and CFDT trade-union federations, along with the FEN and FSU teachers unions, issued a joint statement calling for "direct negotiations" by the government with the hunger-strikers and for a "freeze on deportations." But what was needed was to unleash the power of the working class, including through strikes and mobilizations of thousands to block the military airports until Chirac backed down.

Revolutionary Leadership Is Key

The massive outpouring of protest against the racist deportations exposes the lie of various fake revolutionaries who write off the possibility of winning the working class to the fight against racist attacks. During the strike wave last December, the LTF was unique in underlining the key importance of this issue in its propaganda directed at striking workers. The entire gamut of organizations to the left of the PCF and the Socialist Party (PS)—from Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) to Lutte Ouvrière (LO), Pouvoir Ouvrier (PO) and the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR)—totally ignored, in their leaflets to strikers, the need to fight racial discrimination and segregation, the exclusion of foreign workers from the public sector, and the racist Vigipirate campaign.

The question of revolutionary leadership is key. The most advanced workers

must be won to a program which links their immediate struggles to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Otherwise, even the most powerful working-class mobilization can be undercut, dissipated, and channeled into the reactionary dead end of class collaboration. After ducking the question of racial oppression during last December's strikes in order not to antagonize the bureaucrats, who were lined up behind the government's racist offensive, the centrists now seek to cynically use Chirac's attacks on immigrants in order to channel support to the new class-collaborationist popular front which the PCF, the PS and their bourgeois partners are putting together. Thus, the LCR and LO signed a joint declaration last week with the PCF, the PS, the ultra-chauvinist Mouvement des Citoyens (Movement of Citizens) and the bourgeois Radical Party calling on Chirac to negotiate with the immigrants occupying the church—because "the image of France could be lastingly tarnished."

While PO, which is affiliated with the British Workers Power group, formally stands outside this reactionary lash-up, in reality it constitutes the left wing of what Trotsky called a "syphilitic chain" of class collaboration, leading through the PCF and PS to the bourgeoisie. As always, the centrists of PO tail what is popular. With masses of workers on the streets opposing anti-immigrant racism, PO has now issued a leaflet (dated 23 August) calling "For Working-Class Mobilization to Stop the Deportations!" But nowhere is there any mention of last December's strikes. Little wonder, since at the time PO refused to so much as mention the need to mobilize the working class to fight Operation Vigipirate and the all-sided attacks on immigrants. And far from exposing the treacherous role of the reformist bureaucrats, PO builds illusions by calling on the trade-union leaders to "make their acts conform to their words!"

But the union tops have *no words* when it comes to racial discrimination in jobs, housing and education; to racist cop terror and Operation Vigipirate; to the denial of citizenship rights to immigrants. The bureaucrats refuse to challenge racial oppression because it is inherent to the capitalist system, which they uphold. In its August 23 leaflet, PO clamors, "It's Chirac...who must be thrown out!" But to be replaced by what? PO's unspoken answer is obvious: a new class-collaborationist alliance with the bourgeoisie. PO has always supported the popular front by calling for a vote to its reformist working-class components.

The LTF is fighting, in sharp political struggle against such opportunism, to regroup and consolidate the cadres for the forging of a revolutionary workers party. Such a party would be, in Lenin's words, a tribune of the people, uniting minorities, women, youth and all the oppressed behind the proletariat's struggle to overthrow the capitalist system—the root cause of racial oppression—and set up a socialist order. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Thousands Rally Against Welfare Cuts, Anti-Union Laws

Workers, Aborigines Storm Australian Parliament

MELBOURNE—In the largest demonstration ever held in the country's capital, 35,000 trade unionists, Aboriginal people and youth converged on Canberra on August 19 to protest assaults on welfare and proposed new anti-union legislation. Called by the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), the rally had been planned as a vehicle to pressure Parliament as Prime Minister John Howard's newly elected Conservative coalition government announced its annual budget. But the lid came off when an angry and determined contingent of Aborigines, building workers, miners, university students and others burst through a cordon of cops and stormed Parliament House.

While speakers from the ACTU bureaucracy, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the capitalist Democrats droned on from the platform, thousands of protesters gathered outside the entrance to the new, billion-dollar Parliament building. With Aboriginal protesters in the lead, trade unionists and other marchers streamed up to the doors of the

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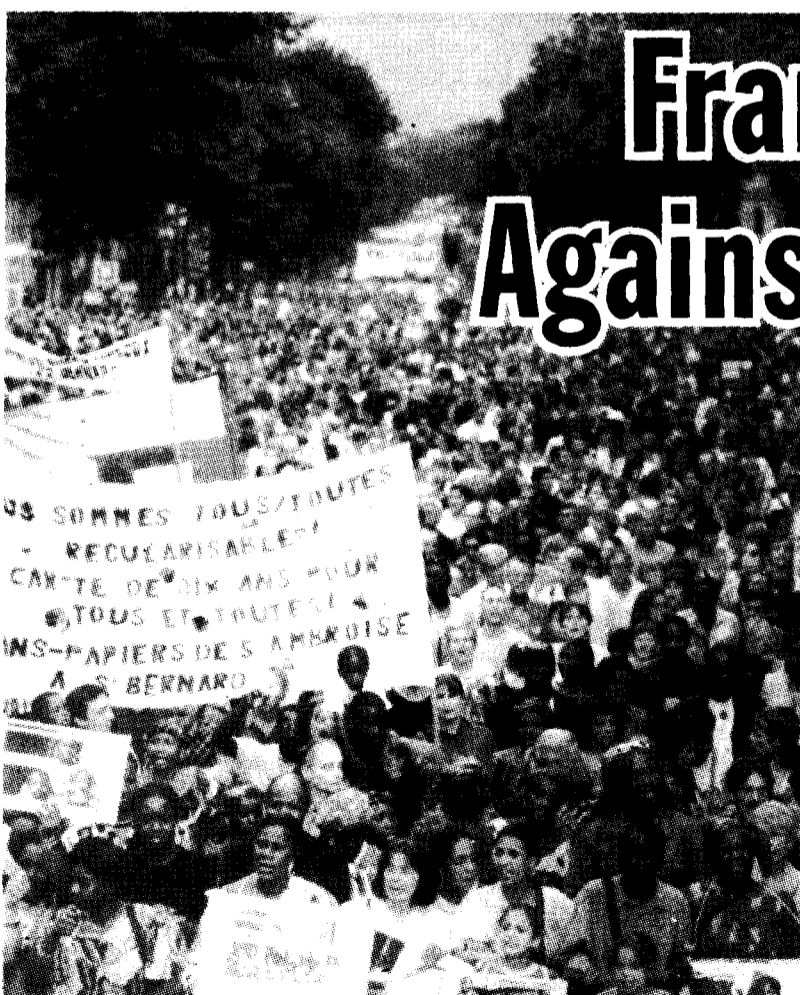


Reuters

Canberra, August 19: Trade unionists, Aboriginal people and students massed outside entrance to Parliament. Demonstrators broke through police lines, raised red flags.

Cops Invade Church, Arrest Immigrants

France: Mass Protests Against Racist Deportations



Rebours/AP

Paris, August 21: Trade-union contingents joined minorities and youth in huge march solidarizing with immigrant hunger-strikers.

AUGUST 25—Twenty thousand people marched through the streets of Paris last Friday to protest the cops' storming of a church occupied by over 300 immigrant workers seeking permits to stay in the country. The protest march came hours after a thousand club-wielding riot cops had assaulted St. Bernard church with tear gas, smashed through the ring of people who had blocked the entrance in solidarity with the immigrants, and broke down the doors of the church with axes. Police completely sealed off the heavily immigrant Goutte d'Or quarter around the church to ensure that none of the immigrants slipped through their dragnet, and many neighborhood residents were chased down and beaten.

The early morning raid came just hours after Prime Minister Alain Juppé railed on national television that the immigrants "have no right to live in France." A leader of Le Pen's fascist National Front applauded the racist assault, declaring, "This should have been done 45 days ago." Ten of the immigrant protesters, who

were in the eighth week of a hunger strike, were dragged off to military hospitals where they were placed under guard. Some 210 arrested immigrants, including 68 children, were locked up in the Vincennes military detention center on the eastern edge of the capital.

The government's action provoked a virtually unprecedented protest demonstration in defense of immigrants, in which trade-union contingents marched together with youth of African and North African descent. There were contingents of metalworkers, Air France employees, teachers, postal workers, and others from the CGT, CFDT and SUD union federations. Chanting "Libérons les sans papiers!" (Let's free the undocumented immigrants!), thousands of militant protesters continued marching on to the Vincennes detention center. When the police brutally charged the demonstration at Vincennes, the protesters fought back, and there were running fights with the cops until well into the night. When the first plane took off

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