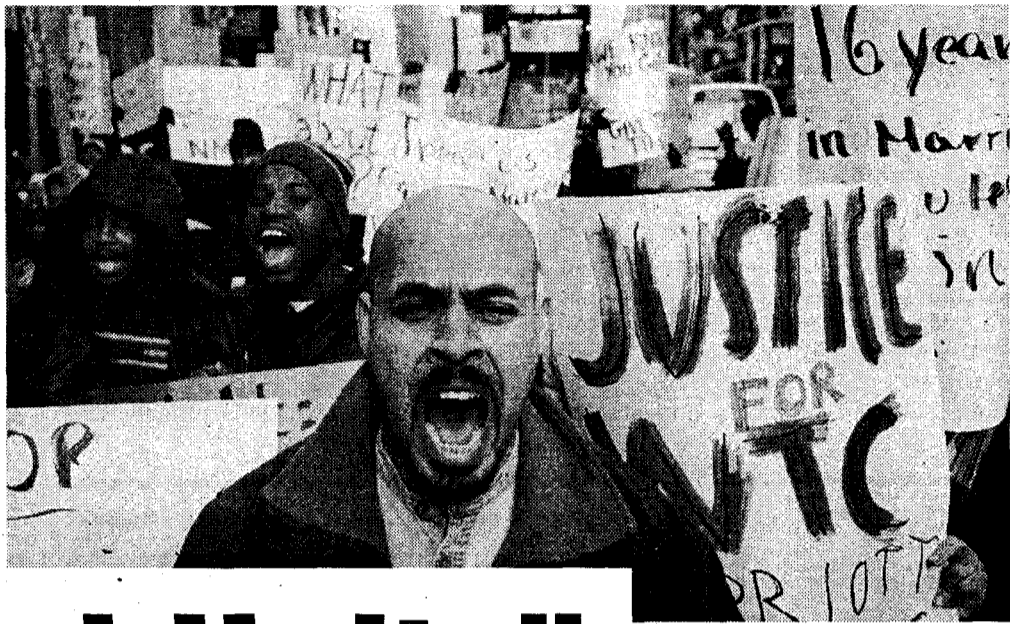


## Jobs Slashed, Welfare Axed, Immigrants Targeted



Bloomberg News



Keating/NY Times

# “National Unity”: Bosses Profit, Workers Pay

**Expropriate the Bourgeoisie—  
For a Workers Party!  
For a Workers Government!**

**Auto worker leaves Ford plant after company announced 20,000 North American job cuts. Hotel workers who lost jobs when Marriott World Trade Center was destroyed protest company's refusal to rehire them, January 16.**

The political parties of American capitalism—Republicans and Democrats—seized on the killing of thousands of innocent people in the World Trade Center in order to reinforce their own class rule. Since September 11, the population has been bombarded with flag-waving propaganda proclaiming, “United We Stand.” But what unity is there between those who stand outside soup kitchens hoping for some scraps for themselves and their children—or who may be a paycheck away from that fate—and the capitalists who ostentatiously gorge on the wealth gleaned from the misery of the masses?

Some 800,000 jobs were axed in October and November, coming on top of the 1.5 million people thrown out of work in the previous year. Now Ford has announced 20,000 more job cuts. And the postal bosses who forced workers to stay on the job with no protection from anthrax infection, callously allowing several to die, are threatening to lay off 15,000 workers. As the unemployment rolls swell, three in five workers who apply for unemployment insurance are rejected because they have been buffeted from one transitory McJob to another. This has all coincided with the “end of welfare as we know it,” to use the words of former Democratic president Bill Clinton, as the five-year limit imposed under his 1996 law kicked in.

In New York City, many forced to slave in “workfare” schemes in transit

and the parks are now faced with having neither their meager welfare payments nor the full-time jobs they had been promised. Today, 1.5 million people in New York City alone rely on charity food pantries in order to eat. And, in every major city across the country, the ranks of the homeless are burgeoning.

The overlay to all of this has been a dramatic intensification of state repression, as the government uses its “war on terrorism” to push through laws marking a qualitative diminution of democratic rights. In the wake of the racist roundup and detention of hundreds of people of Near Eastern origin, a former Justice Department official declared, “Profiling is not a four-letter word.” While the government took first aim at immigrants, the purpose of the “anti-terror” drive is to sanction police intimidation, harassment and terror in the ghettos and barrios. This month, the New Jersey state troopers who fired a barrage of bullets into a van

carrying four unarmed black and Hispanic youth four years ago—triggering mass outrage over “racial profiling”—walked out of a courtroom without even a probationary sentence.

### The Enron “Scandal”

Thousands of Enron workers have just seen their jobs, life savings and pensions disappear into a sinkhole while a handful of top executives amassed a cool \$1.1 billion in the 18 months before Enron collapsed by selling off shares that their employees were forced to retain. The collapse of the Houston-based conglomerate is a fitting coda to the lucre-grabbing orgy of the late 1990s. Enron was at the cutting edge of the deregulation frenzy that was a hallmark of the '90s boom, seeing its profits multiply three- or four-fold during the California energy fiasco.

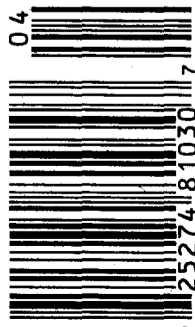
But what has made Enron into a scandal is that this gang of corrupt capitalists

seemed to have a corporate subsidiary in the White House. The president is a bosom buddy of Enron CEO Kenneth Lay, and “Kenny Boy” virtually scripted Bush’s statements on energy deregulation; Vice President Cheney effectively served as the company’s emissary in strong-arming India to accept an Enron deal; and the wife of leading Senate Republican Phil Gramm was on the corporate board of directors. Arrogantly dismissing the plight of those victimized by the Enron collapse, Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neill blithely de-

claimed, “Companies come and go. Part of the genius of capitalism is people get to make good decisions, or bad decisions, and they get to pay the consequence or to enjoy the fruits of their decisions.”

Touting this flagrant rip-off as evidence of the “genius of capitalism” is hardly designed to enhance public confidence in big business. Liberal Paul Krugman titled a column in the *New York Times* (15 January) on the Enron debacle “Crony Capitalism, U.S.A.” and noted in a subsequent article (18 January), “It’s not just a matter of the utter unfairness of it all—employees lose their life savings while crooked executives walk away rich. It’s also a matter of what it takes to make capitalism work.” It is indeed a problem for the ruling class to have its government so openly identified with the rich grinding their heels in the faces of those they exploit. But what makes “capitalism work” is the exploitation of the working

*continued on page 4*



**Unions Protest Murder of Catholic Postal Worker  
Northern Ireland: Imperialist  
“Peace” Fraud  
Fuels Loyalist Terror**

See Page 3

**From Korea Through the Vietnam War  
The U.S. Left and the  
“American Century”  
Part One: Liberalism and the Crisis  
of American Stalinism**

See Page 6

# On the Waterfront

## Marxism vs. Trade Union Opportunism

We print the following letter as we received it by e-mail. Originally dated 19 November 2001, the letter was resent with one sentence slightly reworded.

Dec. 25, 2001

To the editor of Workers Vanguard:

In your front page article "No to Bosses' 'National Unity'! For Class Struggle at Home! (WV No. 768, 9 November 2001) you fraudulently claim to be fighting "on the ground", i.e. within the trade unions for a revolutionary internationalist perspective. Your sole example is a "rally" at ILWU Local 10 in defense of the Charleston 5. First of all, it

was not a mass rally of longshore workers as some readers of WV might mistakenly imagine. Rather it was a small public forum at Local 10 that was unfortunately attended by only 50 people, half of whom were longshoremen. Apparently, Ken Riley, president of the Charleston longshore union, who was initially scheduled to speak was unable to attend, which may in part account for the low turnout. If the SL had any influence in the longshore union, it was used to discourage a couple of members from attending the forum.

As chair of the meeting, I called on the SL supporter who uninspiringly read

from a prepared text. It is unimaginable why those who claim to fight for revolutionary politics "on the ground" can't think on their feet. I notified her when her allotted three minutes were up, but allowed her another minute extension to finish reading.

Being "on the ground" of the class struggle means not shirking one's proletarian duty even in the face of capitalist repression. ILWU expressed solidarity with the embattled Charleston longshore unions early on by sending a financial contribution and two representatives to join them on the picket line. I was one of them. SL supporter Gene Herson showed up in Charleston to give a check and make "solidarity" remarks to some members at the union hall. When the Nordana ship appeared the next day, he conspicuously disappeared into thin air and was nowhere to be seen when the picketing resumed despite the massive police mobilization. Was this another example of Spartacist League/ICL abstentionism like instructing your then-trade union supporters in Brazil to "pull their hands from the boiling water" of the struggle to keep police out of their union as you did a few years ago?

This is consistent with your refusal to march in the 25,000-strong April 1999 San Francisco mobilization for Mumia which occurred simultaneously with a coastwide longshore union shutdown of all U.S. ports from Mexico to Canada. Your initial reporting disparaged this racially-integrated industrial action, like PMA, the employers' association, although your more recent articles have admitted that this was a step in the right direction—without mentioning that this is a change in your line.

All of this smacks of your sectarianism and abstentionism in the now-historic 1984 San Francisco longshore anti-apartheid action. First you opposed the 11-day action, then in midstream changed course and gave it critical support from the sidelines without ever joining the union-supported picket line and, of course, never acknowledging your scandalous aboutface. Given your record is there any wonder why longshore workers would say that SL stands for "sidelines"?

Finally, in the midst of the present war hysteria, revolutionary Marxists don't convince workers to break the chains of capital's "national unity" by uncritically quoting black Democrat Jesse Jackson, Jr.'s patriotic remarks about the terrorist attacks. Rather yours is the centrist method of social chauvinist opportunism

looking for cover in the heat of an intensifying capitalist repression.

Jack Heyman

**WV replies:** Jack Heyman's open hostility toward the Spartacist League and our spokesman at the support rally for the Charleston Five held at the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10 hall in San Francisco last October 10 may come as a surprise to some of the many longshoremen who attended that rally and who applauded our spokesman following her remarks from the floor. They also stopped Heyman, who was chairing the meeting, from cutting her off. Heyman's letter does everything possible to disparage her intervention, and for that matter the rally itself, which he considers too small to have been important. However, what he doesn't do—and this is very revealing—is say one single word about the *content* of her speech.

Against the union officials' talk at the meeting of "going to the polls" to vote Democrat, our spokesman clearly advocated a political fight within the unions to forge a new, class-struggle leadership, against the existing labor bureaucrats who deceive American workers and black people by pushing the illusion that the capitalist Democratic Party defends the interests of labor and minorities. She argued for the political independence of the working class from all capitalist parties and institutions and for building a workers party, a party capable of leading the working class in the fight to throw out the capitalist order of exploitation and racism and to create a new socialist society, where those who labor rule.

For the Spartacist League, this is a perspective of bringing revolutionary consciousness to the working class, which is necessary if the working class is to free itself from capitalist exploitation, wage slavery and racism. For Heyman, who long ago offered up his services to the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, leadership means making occasional "progressive" noises while helping the labor fakery keep the workers firmly within the bounds of the capitalist system. For him, to become an officer of the union is more important than making a *political* fight within the unions against the misleaders who tie labor to the class enemy through the Democratic Party.

The Local 10 rally in San Francisco included a showing of video excerpts of the 9 June 2001 march in Columbia, *continued on page 9*

### For the Communism of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg!

Upholding communist tradition, we honor this month Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, who died in January 1924, and Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, founding leaders of the German Communist Party who were assassinated in January 1919. The following appreciation of Lenin is excerpted from one of a series of articles honoring the "Three L's" published by the Trotskyist Communist League of America in January 1930.



TROTSKY



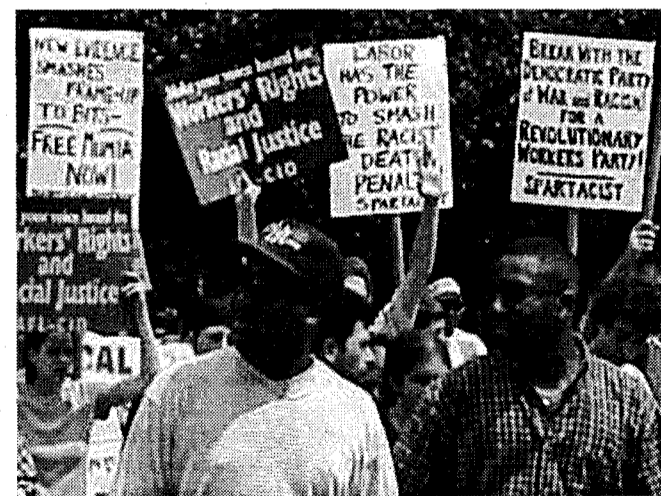
LENIN

Foremost in Lenin was his unswerving confidence in the victory of the proletariat, organized and led by its most conscious and determined section, the revolutionary party. For more than twenty years he devoted himself to the formation, clarification and strengthening of the principal arm of the Russian working class, the Bolshevik Party. He persistently pointed out that the working class as grouped together by capitalist production, without organization, or even with the elementary organization of trade unions, cooperative groups, etc. could carry on a defensive struggle against the daily encroachments of the capitalist class, but never the successful struggle for power. It was a cardinal point in his work, tested and proved in life in 1917, that only by possessing an organized political vanguard, a party embracing the most active, devoted and clearest elements of the class, embodying and crystallizing all the experiences of the struggle, serving as a guide and leader, could the working class rise to the position of the ruling class and free itself from exploitation. With Lenin, the revolutionary proletarian party was the only door through which the working class might enter the realm of power and maintain itself there....

The essence of Leninism is the application of the teachings of Marx and Engels to the period of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. The theories of Lenin are just as little "Russian" as those of Marx were "German." The favorite argument of the social reformists and revisionists in past decades—and even now—has been that while Marxism might be applicable to Europe, or to Europe of the last century; it did not apply to the United States, for example, or to Europe today. The argument of all national and social reformists today, of those to whom the name of socialist or revolutionary still applies only because of past associations, is that Leninism *might* be suitable for "backward Russia" but that it does not apply to highly developed industrial countries....

The man who stands out in his work is not so much Lenin the Russian Bolshevik, but Lenin the international revolutionist who led the Left wing in the Second International, who laid the foundation stone for the Third, who poured out his vitriolic denunciation upon the heads of traitors who gave lip-service to "internationalism" and sent their followers into the trenches in order to defend their "national interests"; Lenin the internationalist, who considered the Russian revolution as a temporary outpost of the world's working class, a fortress to be defended at all costs until the workers of other countries could save it for socialism by overthrowing their own bourgeoisie.

—"Leninism Lives!" (*Militant*, 25 January 1930)



Andrew Ciscol

Several thousand turned out for June 2001 labor protest in Columbia, South Carolina in defense of Charleston Five, longshoremen victimized for defense of their union against January 2000 police assault (below).

Mic Smith/Post and Courier



## WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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The closing date for news in this issue is 22 January.



# Unions Protest Murder of Catholic Postal Worker

## Northern Ireland: Imperialist "Peace" Fraud Fuels Loyalist Terror



Faith/PA

Postal workers at funeral for Catholic co-worker Daniel McColgan, whose assassination by Loyalist paramilitaries sparked five-day postal strike. Right: Postal workers union contingent at January 18 Belfast protest.



Hugh Russell/Irish News

DUBLIN, January 19—The killing of 20-year-old Catholic postal worker Daniel McColgan by Protestant Loyalist paramilitaries in Belfast has provoked a rare display of united protest action by Catholic and Protestant workers in Northern Ireland. McColgan's murder by the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) as he arrived at work in the early morning of January 12 is the latest incident in a dramatic upsurge of Loyalist terror against Catholics in the context of the imperialist-imposed "peace process." The Red Hand Defenders, a cover name often used by the UDA, subsequently threatened to kill Catholics working in Protestant areas including postal workers, teachers and transit workers.

When they heard about McColgan's murder, postal workers organised by the Communication Workers Union (CWU) walked off the job across Northern Ireland, refusing to return to work for five days in response to the threats against Catholic workers. Trade unions representing both Catholic and Protestant workers condemned the murder and threats. Yesterday, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) called a half-day public sector strike against sectarian attacks and organised mass rallies in Belfast, Derry and several other cities.

Upwards of 15,000 attended the rally in Belfast and thousands more demonstrated elsewhere. Trade-union contingents included the CWU, NASUWT and INTO teachers unions, National Union of Journalists, AMICUS (rail, aerospace and other workers), UNISON (hospital

### British Troops Out Now!

and school workers) and Northern Ireland Public Servants Association. The rally represented a broad swathe of Northern Irish society. Protestant and Catholic, old and young, men and women showed up to express their revulsion at the murder of McColgan and the upsurge in anti-Catholic terror.

The proletarian responses to the Loyalist murder campaign showed that it is the integrated working class that has both the interest in combating sectarian terror and the social power to do so. However, the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats worked to divert the justified outrage of the workers into support for the imperialist "peace" fraud, which has in fact resulted in an escalation of anti-Catholic violence. The bureaucrats also tied workers to their own capitalist exploiters. The ICTU sought and received the endorsement of the rallies from the bosses association, the CBI, and the British imperialist Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, John Reid.

Obscenely, the Belfast rally was addressed by Northern Ireland First Minister David Trimble of the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP). David Ervine of the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP), which is a front for the notorious anti-Catholic Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), was also present. While embracing the likes of

Trimble, Ervine and the murderous British imperialist state, the ICTU organisers emphasised that "militant Republicans" were not welcome at the rallies, though Education Minister Martin McGuinness of Sinn Féin, which supports the "peace process," was there. ICTU Assistant General Secretary Peter Bunting called "on all paramilitary groups to dissolve," but predictably said not a word against the anti-Catholic killers of the British army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), now renamed the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI). The ICTU bureaucrats even ensured that there were no pictures at the rally of McColgan or other recent victims of sectarian terror.

The class collaboration pushed by the trade-union tops is a deadly danger to the working class and an obstacle to fighting against Loyalist terror. Oppression of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland is the very foundation of the Orange (Protestant-dominated) statelet and is reinforced by British imperialism. Sectarianism serves the interests of the capitalist exploiters by keeping the working class divided. To be effective, any fight against Loyalist terror must confront the capitalist system that breeds it as well as the state forces which back the Loyalists—the British Army and PSNI. Key in making workers conscious of this fact and in breaking them from illusions in the imperialist "peace" fraud is the intervention of revolutionary proletarian internationalists.

Comrades from the Dublin Spartacist Group went to the rally in Belfast and distributed *Workers Vanguard* and the Spartacist League/Britain's *Workers Hammer*. The workers that our comrades spoke to, including construction, rail and postal workers, generally saw the imperialist "peace" as better than—and the only alternative to—a return to the widespread communalist violence of the 1970s and '80s. On the other hand, there was universal acknowledgement that things have recently gotten worse. One rail worker noted that when the Good Friday Agreement was signed there were a lot of hopes that things would get better, especially for the youth, but with the upsurge in sectar-

ian attacks he was thinking that his teenage son should leave Northern Ireland.

Our comrades called for the withdrawal of the British Army; one construction worker replied, "They should all get out, what we need is a workers army!" We explained our perspective of programmatically based workers militias to combat Loyalist thuggery and all sectarian terror. We also argued that a just solution to the situation in Northern Ireland will only come about through workers revolution throughout Ireland and Britain.

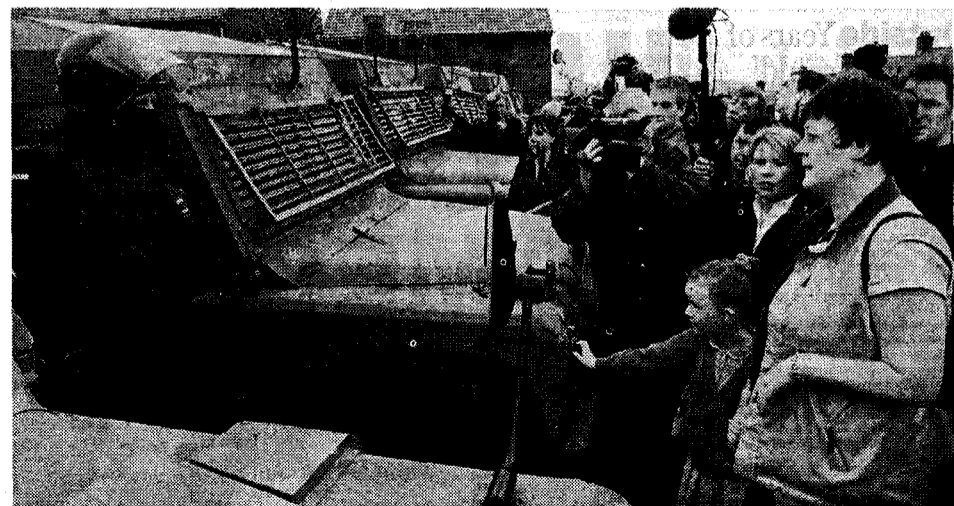
The following article is reprinted from *Workers Hammer* No. 179 (Winter 2001-2002).

### WORKERS HAMMER

The 11 September attack on the World Trade Center was a gift to Tony Blair in several ways, not least that the IRA announced on 23 October that they had begun to decommission their weapons. The British government claims to be waging a "war against terrorism" in the interests of "democracy" and the "civilised world" against religious fanatics. Terrorism anyone? How about the terrorism of the British state, such as the massive bombing of Afghanistan, and before this Serbia, in which this blood-thirsty Labour government took centre stage? What about British imperialism's domination of Ireland, which lasted for centuries and created a militarised garrison state in the North where the facade of democracy was never much in evidence and where no one had any reason to believe in such myths as "unarmed Bobbies." As for religious zealots, there are very few Muslims in Northern Ireland but British rule there rests on collaboration with a gang of crazed fundamentalist Protestant bigots.

We said in 1993 that "Any imperialist 'deal' will be bloody and brutal and will necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either" (*Workers Hammer* No. 138, November/December 1993). This has been borne out: Loyalist violence against Catholics has continued, firebombings and pipebombings are commonplace. There were 220 Loyalist

continued on page 10



Paul McErlane

September 2001: Catholic families in Belfast faced Loyalist blockade and police lines while trying to take children to school.

# Bosses Profit, Workers Pay...

(continued from page 1)

class from whose labor the capitalists derive their profits. Mass unemployment and recurrent crises—as well as episodic swindles and financial chicanery—are endemic to capitalism. When the capitalists can no longer secure a desirable rate of profit from increased production, they slash production—and jobs—and boom turns to bust.

Moreover, while much is made of the connections between the Republican White House and Enron (which also doled out money to Democratic candidates), the fact of the matter is that the capitalist state is not some kind of “neutral” agency that somehow represents the “will of the people.” Rather, in the words of Karl Marx, “The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.” And these affairs are equally represented by the other party of American capitalism—the Democrats.

## Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party!

In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* (9 December 2001), AFL-CIO president John Sweeney boasted, “We supported the president and his administration in the war on terrorism from the very first day.” He then went on to complain that “the people who are suffering the most—the hundreds of thousands of laid-off workers—have not had their issues of unemployment insurance and



WV Photo  
Spartacist contingent at February 2000 protest against acquittal of NYPD killers of African immigrant Amadou Diallo.

channel the workers’ anger into Democratic Party bourgeois electoralism.

In New York City, the municipal labor tops banked on getting a Democrat elected mayor and kept their members working without a contract, in some cases for up to two years. Now, with a recession and another Republican in City Hall,

to sell the Democrats as the “friends” of labor and blacks is simply a statement of how openly vicious and pro-big business the Republicans are.

Commenting on the huge and growing chasm between rich and poor in the U.S.—the widest in the industrialized world—Paul Krugman noted, “You might have expected the concentration of income at the top to provoke populist demands to soak the rich. But...the Democrats haven’t moved left, the Republicans have moved right” (*New York Times*, 4 January). At the same time, fearful that the glaring inequality could spark social conflagration, the Democrats and Republicans have joined in vastly increasing the powers of state repression.

The boom of the last decade, with its free-wheeling profit-gouging, was hailed as definitive proof of the superiority of the capitalist “free market” and the “failure of Marxism.” Emboldened by capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, the American imperialists have perpetrated one military adventure after another against defenseless peoples abroad and ridden roughshod over workers and minorities in the U.S. The utter decline in the living

standards of working people not only in the Third World but in the U.S., far from repudiating Marxism, thoroughly confirms the statement in the *Communist Manifesto*:

“The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth.”

Writing at the height of Franklin D. Roosevelt’s “New Deal”—the heyday of Democratic Party liberalism, when a variety of social programs were first enacted—Leon Trotsky noted in “Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto” (October 1937), “Even the development of the mightiest capitalism in the world, namely, U.S. capitalism, has transformed millions of workers into paupers who are maintained at the expense of federal, municipal, or private charity.”

Reformists like the International Socialist Organization, which at bottom shares the New Deal Democratic Party liberal politics espoused by Krugman, routinely present wish lists calling for massive government spending for programs beneficial to the working people. What they don’t tell you is that to get things like decent affordable housing, free medical care and decent-paying jobs for all, you first have to break the power of the bourgeoisie. For that you need to build a workers party, one that doesn’t “respect” the property rights of the bourgeoisie, a party that says to the exploited and oppressed: We want more, we want all of it, it ought to be ours, so take it! And that can’t happen without a socialist revolution that smashes the bourgeois state and replaces it with a workers state.

It’s a political question at bottom. You can solve a lot of problems with money—make life livable for blacks, Hispanics, the jobless, the homeless, welfare mothers, etc. And we communists intend to do so. When the working people have the wealth of this country, we will begin to build a planned, socialist economy on an international scale. Then we can right some historical crimes and pay off some debts left over by our rulers to those countries that have been maimed under the bombs and missiles of U.S. imperialism. As for “compensation” to the people who have driven the United States to ruin, we can offer to those who don’t get in our way that they will live to see their grandchildren prosper in a truly humane society. We need a workers party to grab the wealth of America before the bourgeoisie squanders it all. **Fight, don’t starve—For class war in America!** ■



health-care coverage addressed,” while promoting the Democrats for “trying their damndest to get worker protections.”

As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the 1917 Russian Revolution, observed, “The labor bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the ‘democratic’ state how reliable and indispensable they are in peacetime and especially in time of war” (“Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay” [1940]). Supporting Bush’s war against Afghanistan, at home these labor lieutenants of the capitalist class serve to police the unions and

the United Federation of Teachers has dropped its earlier demand for a 23 percent pay raise and sent a letter to its membership saying it will merely try to “eke out more” than Giuliani’s original offer of 8 percent over two years.

The Democrats Sweeney praises for doing their “damndest” for working people oversaw the “welfare reform” that has condemned millions to homelessness and hunger and pushed through a series of attacks on immigrants and civil liberties that paved the way for the Bush administration’s repressive legislation. That the union tops continue to be able



Agins/NY Times  
NYC: Former welfare recipients hired last year by Parks Department as part of cynical “welfare to work” scheme now face layoffs.

## Black History Month Forums

**Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt—Deadly Danger to Blacks, Labor!**  
**U.S. Imperialism Abroad Means Racist Reaction at Home!**

**Break with the Democrats! Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!**  
**Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

### NEW YORK

Saturday, February 9, 2 p.m.

Columbia University  
116th and Broadway  
Room to be announced

For more information: (212) 267-1025

### CHICAGO

Saturday, February 16, 4 p.m.

University of Illinois  
750 S. Halsted  
Room 509, Circle Center

For more information: (312) 454-4930

## Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forums

**“Anti-Terror” Witchhunt Targets Immigrants, Workers, the Left**  
**Labor Must Defend Immigrant Rights!**

### TORONTO

Saturday, January 26, 7:30 p.m.

Trinity-St. Paul’s Centre  
427 Bloor Street West  
(west of Spadina)

For more information: (416) 593-4138  
or e-mail spartcan@on.aibn.com

### VANCOUVER

Friday, February 8, 7 p.m.

Britannia Community Centre, Rm. L4  
1661 Napier Street  
(off Commercial Drive)

For more information: (604) 687-0353  
or e-mail tlit@look.ca



# Young Spartacus

## UCLA Students Protest Racist Ideologues for U.S. Imperialism

Right-wing demagogue David Horowitz, notorious apologist for American slavery, was recently joined in his "Battle for America's Youth" by the equally sinister Dinesh D'Souza, whose motto was "Genocide is never having to say you're sorry." A more accurate name for this affair would be the "Battle to Silence America's Youth." On January 14, these two racist ideologues descended on the UCLA campus in a speaking engagement to whip up pro-war patriotism and advance the capitalist rulers' "anti-terror" crackdown that immediately targets foreign students and immigrants but also has black people, labor, leftists and antiwar youth squarely in its cross hairs.

Much to the chagrin of Horowitz and D'Souza, there were more balloons than supporters at their outdoor "Rally for America," where the two were met with scornful jeers from individual students and a defiant protest we Marxists of the Spartacus Youth Club initiated, which was later accompanied by a sizable contingent of black and minority students organized by the UCLA African Student Union (ASU). Our united-front call was issued around the slogans: "Protest David Horowitz and Dinesh D'Souza, Racist Ideologues of U.S. Imperialism! U.S./UN/NATO Out of Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf, and the Near East! Down With the Racist Anti-Immigrant Witch-hunt! Defend Black Rights!" In our signs, chants and speeches, we sought to drive home the understanding that racist reaction and anti-immigrant witchhunts are the domestic component of U.S. imperialism's wars abroad.

An obviously humiliated Horowitz predictably resorted to his Big Lie smears and slandered us Marxist protesters as "fascists." In a whining letter to the *UCLA Daily Bruin* (17 January), Horowitz bemoans the unfavorable coverage of his right-wing rally and ludicrously claims that the SYC "had obviously come to prevent anyone from hearing what Dinesh D'Souza and I had to say." In fact, the aim of Horowitz and D'Souza's speaking tour is to intimidate and muzzle all anti-racist and antiwar voices on college campuses. We protested these apologists for racist reaction and slavery, exposing their attempts to provide the ideological justification for racial oppression and imperialist war. It's not our problem if Horowitz occasionally choked on his words when hearing such chants as "Horowitz, D'Souza: What do we see? Racist tools of the bourgeoisie!", "Horowitz, D'Souza: dogs of war! Workers revolution is what we're for!" and "Black rights, immigrant rights—Same struggle, same fight!"

Our spirited demonstration stands in stark contrast to the conspicuous inaction of the reformist groups Socialist Action and Spark and the liberal Student Coalition Against the War (SCAW)—backed by the fake socialists on campus—which were all absent that day. The International Socialist Organization (ISO) showed up with an unsigned flyer but never even put up their placards and, refusing an invitation to join with and speak at our demonstration, quickly moved their table closer to the fringe of the pro-Horowitz rally with its huge American flag. The "socialist" anti-Communists of the ISO preferred to peddle their wares in the



January 14: SYC-initiated protest against Horowitz and D'Souza at UCLA.

shadow of Horowitz rather than risk any association with us Marxists.

Horowitz expects black youth to act as the reformists on campus did and silently tolerate his racist provocations. What really enraged him was the sight of 60 or more black students who marched through the plaza and protested alongside our demonstration, holding signs saying "We Owe America Nothing!" and "Education for All!" The racist pigs Horowitz and D'Souza have opined that slavery left no enduring legacy on American society and that racism no longer exists (except against "Whitey"). Last spring, Horowitz orchestrated a national ad campaign on college campuses that attacked reparations for black people on the grotesque basis that slavery actually "created wealth for black Americans." D'Souza likewise is a notorious racist bigot who derides blacks as "destructive and pathological," blaming poverty among blacks and Latinos on "shocking moral behavior" and the lack of a "work ethic." These are revolting lies! America is a racist hellhole for black people and other minorities!

While opposing the racist agenda of Horowitz and D'Souza, the ASU did not endorse our united-front call and instead held its own rally at a more remote location before marching through the pro-Horowitz rally and assembling next to our protest site. In calling their separate demonstration, the ASU leadership consciously sought to disappear any opposition to U.S. imperialism's war in Afghanistan. The ASU refused to allow us a speaker at their rally because of our vocal opposition to U.S. imperialism. An unsigned flyer distributed at the ASU rally characterized the bombing of devastated Afghanistan as a fight "for the protection of human life." This is a grotesque alibi for racist American capitalism. U.S. imperialist military mobilizations are always accompanied by domestic repression, particularly targeting labor, black people and immigrants. The fight for black freedom is integrally linked to the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

It's no accident that Horowitz and D'Souza combine racist demagoguery with pro-imperialist flag-waving in agitating for state repression against any and all dissent or social struggle. The two have launched a neo-McCarthyite campaign on the campuses to brand all who oppose U.S. imperialism's war on Afghanistan or the bosses' "national unity" front at home as traitors. Horowitz put an advertisement in 15 campus newspapers in late Septem-

ber entitled "An Open Letter to the 'Anti-War' Demonstrators: Think Twice Before You Bring the War Home," in which he complains that during the Vietnam War "this country was too tolerant towards the treason of its enemies within."

Horowitz named everyone from left liberals like Noam Chomsky, to black Democrats like Barbara Lee, to every single antiwar student as "The Enemy Within... A shameful roster of traitors, cowards, defeatists and fifth-columnists flourishing in America's heartland." In going after academics and students, Horowitz is carrying out the same work as the sinister American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA), founded by the second lady of U.S. imperialism, Lynne Cheney. Two months ago, ACTA released a report including a blacklist of 40 college professors "short on patriotism." Their intent is a chilling suppression of any campus political activity that isn't hand in hand with "Big Brother" Ashcroft.

Much of Horowitz's fire is directed at liberals, who in fact think peace is patriotic and war is just a bad policy. As Marxists,

we understand that war is inherent to capitalism. But whoever is his target of the moment, Horowitz's talk of "treason" is nothing but a thinly veiled justification for government repression of antiwar activism and comes at a time when immigrants are facing government persecution.

Foreign students already are afraid to attend college in the U.S., and those already here live in fear of being rounded up and held for "voluntary questioning" not knowing whether they will join more than one thousand who have already been rounded up. Over 200 campus administrations have handed over the names of foreign students to the FBI or INS. At UCLA, students of Near Eastern and Muslim backgrounds, in particular those associated with the Muslim student newspaper, have been targeted as objects of special scrutiny.

D'Souza at UCLA denounced protesters as "homegrown Taliban." This takes some chutzpah. As a former Reagan administration "policy analyst," D'Souza would certainly know something about U.S. imperialism arming and bankrolling Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan. Horowitz and D'Souza have the vile distinction of being apologists for slavery on two continents: black chattel slavery in America and the enslavement of women in Afghanistan. In contrast to our left opponents who cheered the anti-Soviet crusade, we said in 1979: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the social gains of the Russian Revolution to the Afghan peoples!"

The fight against racism, poverty and war has to be linked to the struggle against the entire capitalist system. We seek to win radical youth to the understanding that what is needed is a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution. It is by joining such a struggle that radical-minded students and youth can help to unify the working class to overthrow this whole rotten capitalist system and open the door to human freedom. ■

### Spartacus Youth Club Events

#### BOSTON

Thursday, 6:30 p.m.

January 31:

**Marxism: A Guide to Action**

Boston University

College of Arts and Sciences

725 Commonwealth Ave.

Room information and readings:

(617) 666-9453

#### CHICAGO

Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.

February 5:

**The Capitalist State—An Instrument of Organized Terror**

University of Illinois at Chicago

Behavioral Sciences Bldg.,

1007 West Harrison Street

Room information and readings:

(312) 563-0441

#### LOS ANGELES

Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.

February 2:

**Economics of Communism and the Transition Period**

3806 Beverly Blvd., Suite 215

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

#### NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

January 29:

**Marxism: For the International Rule of the Working Class!**

Columbia University (116th and Broadway)

Room information and readings:

(212) 267-1025

#### TORONTO

Wednesday, 5:30 p.m.

January 30: **Live From Death Row:**

**This is Mumia Abu-Jamal**

Video showing and discussion

York University Student Ctr., Room 307

Information: (416) 593-4138

spartacan@on.aibn.com

#### VANCOUVER

Alternate Wednesdays, 6 p.m.

January 30:

**For Unconditional Military Defense of China Against Imperialism and Internal Counterrevolution!**

University of British Columbia

Student Union Bldg., Room 213

Information and readings: (604)687-0353

tlit@look.ca

From Korea Through the Vietnam War

# The U.S. Left and the "American Century"



Spartacist

## Part One: Liberalism and the Crisis of American Stalinism

We print below the first part of an educational on the American left given over two days by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour to a gathering of Spartacus Youth Club members and youth from throughout the International Communist League in New York last summer.

Let me begin by asking and answering two questions which may have occurred to some of you. Why did I want to give an educational on this particular subject, the history of the American left from the end of the Korean War in 1953 through the end of the Vietnam War in 1975? And why this particular periodization?

I'll address the second question first. This period corresponds to the development of a distinct generation of American leftists, one whose experience and corresponding outlook was quite different from the preceding generation of leftists whose main formative experience was the mass militant labor struggles during the Great Depression of the 1930s. In the 1960s, young leftist radicals called themselves the New Left as opposed to the "old left," which had been dominated by the pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Party.

What I'll call the New Left generation, of which I'm a member, makes up a majority of the present SL leadership and cadre. And this is also the case for our left opponents—the International Socialist Organization, Progressive Labor (PL), Workers World et al.

This generation of future leftist radicals acquired their first fragments of political consciousness in the intensely anti-Communist climate of the post-Korean War period. I first started reading the newspaper at the age of ten in 1954. One of the stories I remember reading was about the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were Jewish American Communists convicted of betraying the "secret" of the atomic bomb to Soviet Russia. The new generation of young liberal idealists first entered the political scene during the Southern-centered civil rights movement of the late '50s and early '60s. During the '60s they were propelled leftward by the combined impact of the

Cuban Revolution, the Northern black ghetto rebellions and, above all, the Vietnam War.

By the early 1970s, the most serious and left-wing elements of the New Left joined or formed organizations which claimed to be or claimed to be building the "Marxist-Leninist" vanguard party of the American proletariat. As such, they went into factories and engaged in trade-union left oppositional activity. For example, there were half a dozen or more different "Marxist-Leninist" groups operating in the Fremont General Motors plant in the Bay Area in California in this period. One of them was us. If you want a firsthand account, talk to comrades Joan and Darlene.

Another reason for beginning with the Korean War period is that the development and outlook of the New Left was decisively conditioned by the collapse of the old left under the pressure of Cold War anti-Communism. In the mid 1950s, the Communist Party (CP) and also the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) suffered massive rightward defections. In 1953, in the Cochran-Clarke fight, the SWP lost 20 percent of its members. In 1956-57, the CP lost three-quarters of its members. Furthermore these losses were heavily concentrated among the parties' active trade unionists. Workers who when they were younger had joined the communist movement during the leftward radicalization of the 1930s or during

World War II, when the U.S. was allied with Soviet Russia against Nazi Germany, now left it en masse.

The defections of the mid 1950s were also concentrated in the middle generation of the CP and SWP, people between their mid 30s and late 50s. A few years later, when young leftist radicals spoke disparagingly of the old left, they meant this in a biological as well as an ideological sense. In 1963, I was briefly in the Progressive Labor youth group, and I was selling Chinese Maoist pamphlets to a CP May Day rally. Most of the people who bought them were over 70. Of course, now my attitude toward 70-year-old communists is very different—much less disrespectful—than when I was a brash 19-year-old.

The purging and self-purging of reds from the labor movement during the first decade of the Cold War was by far the single most important *negative* factor shaping the outlook of what would become the New Left. Because when young liberal activists—black and white—entered the political scene during the civil rights movement, they encountered a labor movement which had no significant (or even insignificant) left wing that shared their own views toward racial oppression and Cold War militarism. And for them, these were the key questions of the day.

All wings of the labor bureaucracy were militantly anti-Communist and staunch anti-Soviet Cold Warriors. All wings defended the racist status quo in the North and only paid lip service to opposing legalized racial segregation and supporting the democratic rights of blacks in the South. The head of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, was directly and personally based on the white labor aristocracy of the construction trades, in which jobs were handed down from father to son and uncle to nephew. And even the racially integrated industrial unions, like the United Auto Workers (UAW), were pervaded by racist practices. For example, the UAW skilled trades section in this period was almost exclusively white.

Under these conditions, there developed the view that would become a central premise of New Left ideology: the fundamental division within American society and also the world at large was that of race and not class. When in the late '60s Stokely Carmichael expounded the doctrine of "revolutionary" black

nationalism, he argued in effect that the interests of a black steel worker in the U.S. were fundamentally closer to those of a Brazilian peasant than to those of a white steel worker in the U.S.

The absence of a visible left wing of the labor movement shaped especially the early New Left in another important way. The only left critics of American society which liberal youth encountered or knew were intellectuals. Consider a left-liberal high school student in 1960 in New York City who attended a rally for nuclear disarmament—one of the main fashionable liberal causes of the day. He's addressed by the head of the Physics department of the City College of New York, by the pastor of the Riverside Church, by the nationally known pediatrician Dr. Benjamin Spock. But he is *not* addressed by a representative of the New York City Central Labor Council or one of the major NYC unions.

So there developed the view that among the white population only students and other intellectuals could be mobilized as a social group against racial oppression and Cold War militarism. In 1966, Isaac Deutscher, Trotsky's biographer, who considered himself an old-fashioned classical Marxist, toured the U.S., speaking at Vietnam antiwar protests and other left events. He was both surprised and disturbed by the intellectual elitism among young radicals who considered themselves opponents of American capitalism and imperialism. And at the Socialist Scholars Conference, Deutscher lashed out at his audience:

"Do you really take such a contemptuous view of your working classes that you think that you alone are so sensitive or so noble as to be dissatisfied with this degrading society and that they cannot find it in themselves to be dissatisfied? Do you really believe that they are so much more prone, and by nature conditioned, to be corrupted by the meretricious advantages of this war-flourishing capitalism than you are?"

Much of the audience did think exactly that at that time.

A few years later things changed. Many of these same people went into the factories, ran for union office and—lo and behold—they became workerists. In some cases, they capitulated to the backward prejudices of white workers whom they had previously disdained for having those prejudices. Guys who had a PhD in classics, who could read Homer in the original archaic Greek, talked like Marlon Brando in the film *On the Waterfront*. You know: "Us workers gotta fight back against da bosses."

A personal anecdote in this regard. In 1970-71, we did an entry into the PL-led Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) after the original broad umbrella SDS had split. For a time our relations with Progressive Labor were not that bad—not hostile—because we helped legitimize their SDS operation. They could say, "SDS is not a PL front group. Look, we even have counterrevolutionary Trotskyites in it."

One of the heads of the PL-SDS fraction was a guy called Bob Leonhardt, who, like a lot of PL male honchos, cultivated this Brandoesque speaking style—



TWU

Amid Cold War witchhunt in 1948, union chief and onetime CP supporter Mike Quill (center) led vicious red purge of Transport Workers Union.



no words over three syllables. I learned he had a PhD in classics. Since he wasn't a bad guy, one day I decided to play a benign trick on him. I went up to him and said, "Bob, I heard you majored in classics. Which do you think is a better translation of the *Iliad*, the Richmond Lattimore or the Robert Fitzgerald?" He thought a few seconds and said he thought the Lattimore was better. He momentarily forgot he wasn't supposed to know or care about such highfalutin intellectual matters.

## The American Left and American Liberalism

So why do I want to discuss the American left in this period apart from indulging in personal nostalgia? As we frequently emphasize, the United States is the only advanced capitalist country in which the working class lacks any political class consciousness, even in a reformist, social-democratic form. The main reason for this is the deep racial division in the working class and society at large. A consequence of this is the ideological and political hegemony of liberalism—organizationally represented by the Democratic Party—in the labor movement, the organizations of the oppressed ethnic minorities and all "progressive" movements.

American leftists—Stalinists and Trotskyists in the 1930s, New Left Maoists and Spartacists in the early '70s, yourselves and our left opponents today—operate in an environment dominated by liberalism, whether in the trade unions,

rated on shopfloor and union issues. He said:

"We are in a bloc with so-called progressives—not only fakers but honest rank and file. Yes, they are honest and progressive but from time to time they vote for Roosevelt—once in four years. This is decisive.... The danger—a terrible danger—is adaptation to the pro-Rooseveltian trade unionists."

And he went on to generalize. Party trade unionists, he emphasized,

"deal with the class, the backward elements; they are the party vanguard in the working class. The necessary field of adaptation is among the trade unions. The people who have this adaptation as their job are those in the trade unions. That is why the pressure of the backward elements is always reflected through the trade union comrades. It is a healthy pressure; but it can also break them from the historic class interests—they can become opportunists."

—"Discussions with Trotsky" (June 1940), reprinted in *Writings 1939-40*

It was precisely this layer of SWP trade unionists, about whom Trotsky expressed concern, who 13 years later left the party en bloc in the Cochran-Clarke fight.

At the beginning of 1956, the American Communist Party had an estimated 20,000 members. By the end of 1957, it had perhaps 5,000 members. What happened to the 15,000 people who left the CP? Most became independent left-liberal activists working in and around the Democratic Party.

The same pattern repeated itself in the next generation of American leftist radicals. In 1968 or '69, I and a few other



Stewart/Bethel

Many New Left radicals later turned into liberal activists. David Hilliard (right), former Black Panther Party leader, announces his Democratic Party candidacy for Oakland city council, 1999.



DaSilva/NY Times

Maoism, I would estimate there may have been as many as 40,000 left-wing activists in this country who were members of groups claiming to be the "Marxist-Leninist" vanguard of the American proletariat. Ten years later, I doubt if there were 5,000. So what happened to these tens of thousands of ex-"Marxist-Leninists"? Most dropped out of politics, and those who didn't were mainly involved in fashionable liberal causes like feminism and environmentalism. People who in the late '60s were involved in defending the Black Panthers against murderous state repression were ten years later defending fish, amphibians and raptors supposedly threatened by government and corporate policies. Young women college students who in the late '60s were marching and taking over campus buildings to demand freedom for Huey Newton and other imprisoned Panther leaders ten years later were bourgeois feminists quite hostile to young black lumpen males.

The basic point is that we are constantly in battle with liberalism, which uses different weapons, strategies and tactics against the left in different periods. Sometimes it's repression, sometimes co-optation, sometimes both simultaneously. Liberals can denounce American imperialism when they want to appear very left in order to appeal to young radicals. We have no copyright on that term. We can't sue them for misusing Leninist terminology for their own purposes. When young black radicals raised the slogan of "black power" in the mid-late '60s, the demagogic black Democratic Congressman from Harlem, Adam Clayton Powell, began using it, too. "You want black power," he said, "well, here I am!" To better fight liberalism in the present and future, it's useful to analyze the battles of the past.

## The Korean War and the Anti-Communist Witchhunt

Today, when most Americans think of the Korean War, they think of the TV program *M.A.S.H.* But the Korean War was an event of no little importance in

modern world history, and it had an important effect on the American left not only in its immediate aftermath but in the longer term as well.

Objectively, the Korean War ended in a stalemate. The armistice agreement restored the division of Korea as it was when the war had begun. North Korea remained a deformed workers state allied with the Soviet Union and China; South Korea remained a capitalist state and a puppet regime of the U.S.

Subjectively, however, the American people regarded the Korean War as a defeat. The greatest military power on earth had been fought to a standstill by Communist China and North Korea. That wasn't supposed to happen. Malcolm X later commented on the Korean War with his usual perceptive wit. He said if you get into the ring with Joe Louis—the great black heavyweight boxing champion of the 1930s and '40s—and the fight ends in a draw, you've won. Well, the American people thought that Red China had won the Korean War because it hadn't lost. Also during the Korean War, the Soviet Union successfully tested its own hydrogen bomb. So the U.S. no longer had a monopoly on this supposed ultimate weapon of mass destruction.

Under these conditions the U.S. government incited and orchestrated an anti-Communist witchhunt throughout American society, including especially the labor movement. Liberal Democratic politicians like Hubert Humphrey and union bureaucrats mobilized backward workers to purge and terrorize reds. The bourgeois media depicted world Communism as a powerful, red-armored giant on the march striving to conquer the world and turn it into a global version of a Stalinist gulag. At the same time, the American people said to themselves: never again should the U.S. fight a war like that in Korea, a war of attrition with Asian Communist countries.

Thus, the longer-term impact of the Korean War on the American left was quite different from its immediate effect. The immediate effect was to intensify the anti-Communist witchhunt. However, in the 1960s the memory of the Korean War was one of the important factors in the rapid erosion of popular support for the Vietnam War, long before the level of casualties in Vietnam reached those in Korea.

The introduction to American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon's *Speeches to the Party* documenting the 1952-53 Cochran-Clarke fight describes quite well the often violent anti-Communism, even in sections of the unionized working class in which the left had previously been influential. It cites the situation of Sol and Genora Dollinger, the leaders of the SWP's Flint, Michigan branch. Genora had been a leader of the famous sitdown in the mid 1930s which established the UAW union in the Flint GM plant. But

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Fred Ellis

Communist Party cartoon eulogized Democratic president Roosevelt.

in the black and Latino communities or on the campuses. Most of the people you seek to influence and recruit—whether on the picket line of a labor strike or at a campus protest for affirmative action—will subscribe to liberal ideas in some form.

Here it's important to emphasize that liberalism is *not* a single, logically coherent doctrine. It's not the political equivalent of Euclidean geometry in which everything follows logically from a few basic premises. Liberalism is a complex of different and contradictory ideas, attitudes and values. The liberalism of a black local union president is not the same as the liberalism of a white woman college professor. On many important issues they'll be opposed to one another, even hostile to one another. It's precisely because a liberal outlook consists of different and contradictory elements that liberals can evolve into revolutionary socialists and then devolve back again into liberals.

The American left is constantly interacting with American liberalism. And this interaction is a two-way, not a one-way, street. You seek to recruit and influence liberals. But they also, often unconsciously, seek to influence you, to win you to their outlook.

In 1940, Trotsky, in discussions with the SWP leadership, expressed serious concern that the party trade unionists were too soft, too conciliatory toward so-called "progressive," pro-Democratic Party workers with whom they collabo-

rated—comrades—in those days there were only a few other comrades—were selling *Spartacist* at a rally in Harlem jointly sponsored by the Black Panther Party and SDS. The featured speaker was the Panther chief of staff, David Hilliard, who used the occasion to expound on Marxist dialectics, a subject of which he was effectively ignorant. But to his credit, Hilliard was trying to educate black ghetto youth and white student radicals in Marxism as he understood it. A few years ago, Hilliard ran for Oakland city council as a member of the Democratic Party.

In 1972, in the heyday of New Left



Xinhua

Winter 1950: U.S. prisoners of war in Korea.

## New Left...

(continued from page 7)

now Sol, who worked there, was driven out of the plant every day by a mob of right-wing workers. And the same thing was happening across the country at the time to the far more numerous Communist Party trade unionists.

It was this anti-Communism at the base of American society rather than government persecution that demoralized much of the ranks and cadre of the CP and SWP. This demoralization found organized expression in large right-wing factions and then splits in these parties. After the Cochranites split from the SWP, they published for a short time a magazine called the *American Socialist*. They were desperate to overcome their alienation from the mass of the American working class caused by the Cold War with the Sino-Soviet states. Similarly, a main slogan of the CP right-wingers was returning to the "mainstream of American political life."

### The Collapse of American Stalinism

Since the pro-Moscow Communist Party was the dominant force on the American left until the crisis of 1956, I want to discuss the state of the party leading up to this crisis. There's a saying that if you wear a mask long enough your face changes to fit it. By the early 1950s, I believe the faces of the ranks and cadre of the CP had changed to fit the mask of pro-Democratic Party liberalism.

When the American CP first supported and worked in Roosevelt's Democratic Party in the mid 1930s, as part of the turn of the world Stalinist movement toward popular-frontism, its members considered this quite cynically as a tactical maneuver. Just a few years earlier, the CP had denounced Roosevelt as a "social fascist."

But by the early 1950s, I think most CPers had ceased entirely to believe in their own formal ideology. They no longer believed there would be an American proletarian revolution like the Russian October Revolution led by an American Marxist-Leninist vanguard party like the Bolsheviks. They now really believed that political and social progress in the U.S. would come about through reforms enacted by the Democratic Party, with the CP acting as its left pressure group.

A personal anecdote in this regard. In 1964, I was arrested along with dozens of others in a major civil rights protest at the opening of the World's Fair in Queens. We were taken out to Rikers Island and put in holding pens for a day or so. I was one of the last to be bailed out, around midnight. Bailed out at the same time was a girl I knew from City College who was a member of the Communist Party youth group. Her parents, who were veteran CPers, picked her up and gave me a lift back to Manhattan.

They asked us what exactly we had done to get ourselves arrested. We ex-



Budapest workers topple statue of Stalin during 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

plained that there were a number of different protest activities. Some of us had disrupted the Budweiser beer exhibit to protest the fact that Budweiser had segregated operations in the South. Others had attempted to shout down the Democratic president, Lyndon Johnson, who was addressing the opening of the Fair. When they heard that, they said: "Oh, that's very bad, they should have listened to what he had to say." These were decades-long members of the CP talking in private to their daughter and a left radical acquaintance of hers.

I believe this same attitude was prevalent or at least common among the members of the CP in the early '50s as well. There was also a relatively small minority of left CPers at this time who viewed themselves as hard Bolsheviks. They, too, favored electoral support to the Democratic Party but considered this a reversible tactic.

One such left CPer was Harry Haywood, one of the party's leading black spokesmen. Comrade Emily tells me that during the 1920s Haywood was for a time a member of the Cannon faction in the CP. In the 1970s, Haywood, who had predictably become a Maoist, published an autobiography titled *Black Bolshevik* in which he recounted in great detail the bitter, decades-long animosity between left-wingers like himself and what he called the "right opportunist" forces who dominated the American Communist Party.

The effect of the Cold War on left CPers like Haywood, Milt Rosen, Nelson Peery was to deepen their commitment to Stalinism and to Stalin. Why was that? In the late '40s and early '50s, if you were a known CP member, supporter or sympathizer and you wanted to keep your job—whether as a union official, a Hollywood screenwriter or college or high school teacher—you had to denounce Stalin as the bloody-handed dictator of a totalitarian police state. Since Stalin really *was* the bloody-handed dictator of a totalitarian police state, this made it easier to do. You could be an ex-Communist opportunist with a good conscience.

But in reaction to this, left CPers like Haywood locked on to the position that the Soviet Union was "building socialism" under the great, wise and benevolent leadership of comrade Stalin as a kind of talisman against opportunism. They brandished the portrait of Stalin as if it were a cross to ward off the liberal vampires who were sucking the lifeblood out of the Communist Party.

In 1956, the world Communist movement was deeply shaken by what was called the "crisis of de-Stalinization." It began in February when Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev made a supposedly "secret" speech to the Soviet party congress denouncing the crimes of Stalin, especially his crimes against Soviet Communists. This turned out to be one of the most publicized speeches in the history of the world. The ensuing relaxation of harsh Stalinist rule in East Europe led in Hungary in October to a proletarian

political revolution, which was then suppressed by the Soviet Army.

In some countries, notably Britain and Japan, the combined impact of Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin and the Hungarian Revolution propelled a significant number of CP cadre to the left. They joined the Trotskyist movement or what they thought was the Trotskyist movement. It was at this time that Trotskyism became a major factor on the British and Japanese far left.

For the reasons I've been discussing, this did *not* happen in the United States. Of the estimated 15,000 people who left the CP, only a relatively small handful joined the SWP. Incidentally, two of these—Geoff White (who had been a second-level CP leader) and Harry Turner—later joined the Revolutionary Tendency in the SWP and went on to

denounced our past history as one of slavishly clinging to imported doctrines, the bankruptcy of which was now being proven. Under the guise of 'fighting dogmatism' inherited from the era of the 'cult of personality,' the Gates crowd [CP right wing represented by John Gates] concluded that Leninism was nothing more than Marxism applied to the peculiar, backward condition of Russia—a purely 'Russian social phenomenon'—and therefore not applicable in the U.S. They found Lenin's theories of the bourgeois state as an instrument of class rule to be particularly outmoded under U.S. conditions."

As I've previously indicated, most of those who left the CP remained politically active as independent left liberals. In a sense, American liberalism now acquired a cadre, people experienced in building large-scale, popular-frontist protest movements. This legion of ex-CPers played an important role in organizing all the main left-liberal and radical movements of the late '50s and '60s—the movement for nuclear disarmament, the civil rights movement in the North, the support groups for the Cuban Revolution and the Vietnam antiwar movement.

Most of these ex-CPers did not become anti-Communists. They themselves had been the victims of anti-Communism. They did not become anti-Soviet Cold Warriors but favored "peaceful coexistence" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Thus the main body of political activists who had split from the CP to the right in 1956 or earlier came to occupy a position on the American political spectrum intermediate between Cold War liberalism and traditional Moscow-line Stalinism. This was the same position that the early New Left would occupy in the mid 1960s. In a sense, the ex-right-wing CPers were the political and in more than a few cases biological parents of the New Left.



San Francisco: SL/SYC contingent in October antiwar protest raises call to break from Democratic Party.

become founding members of the Spartacist League. Almost all the CP left-wingers remained in the party, defending the heritage of Stalin and supporting the Soviet suppression of the Hungarian Revolution. In his autobiography, Harry Haywood describes, from his own ideological vantage point, how the "crisis of de-Stalinization" impacted on the factional alignment and balance of forces in the American Communist Party:

"Rather than finding a source of support in the Soviet Union, we on the left were thrown completely off balance by the new 'revelations.' At first we couldn't believe Khrushchev made such a speech, thinking it must be some imperialist propaganda stunt. When this initial reaction passed we tended to give the new Soviet leadership the benefit of the doubt and failed to grasp the full implications of this attack on Stalin.

"The liquidationist right used this as an excuse to attack proletarian internationalism in general, calling for a sweeping reevaluation of our line. They bitterly

The hardline left Stalinists who remained in the CP in '56 would also influence the New Left in a later period and in a different way. In the late 1950s, the disintegration of the world Stalinist movement reached a new, more advanced level with the Sino-Soviet split. At bottom, this reflected the *conflicting national interests* of the Russian and Chinese Stalinist bureaucracies. But at the time and for the next several years, Mao's China adopted a more left-wing posture, denouncing the Soviet leaders for "revisionism" and for collaborating with American imperialism.

In the late 1950s and early '60s, almost all the left Stalinists in the American CP left to form an American Maoist movement, which was never unified but always divided into competing groups. As the New Left radicals moved left in the mid-late '60s, they thus encountered Stalinism in its then more attractive Maoist form.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



Much of the U.S. left today openly accommodates liberalism, like the ISO in a December 1998 NYC demo against the bombing of Iraq.



# Letter...

(continued from page 2)

South Carolina organized by the state AFL-CIO, where thousands of trade unionists from throughout the South showed up to demand freedom for the Charleston Five. Ever since picketing Charleston longshoremen, members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), shut down a union-busting stevedoring outfit and defied a vicious attack by 600 cops on 20 January 2000—a courageous stand that inspired workers throughout the region and the world—the AFL-CIO union tops have carefully sought to diminish the real story of what happened that day. After all, the job of the labor bureaucracy is to *prevent* that kind of class struggle.

The union tops who spoke at the Columbia rally bragged that they had helped bring the Democratic Party back into office in South Carolina. For his part, Heyman, in response to a floor speaker at the October Local 10 rally, prettified the pro-capitalist labor leadership under John Sweeney, stating without blinking an eye that the AFL-CIO sees Charleston as the beginning of a drive to organize the South. In fact, the struggle to organize the "open shop" South requires a fight to break labor's ties to the Democratic Party, which for decades enforced Jim Crow segregation with the help of its KKK auxiliaries and worked to ensure that integrated unions were kept out. Heyman ended his speech with a call for a labor party. Led by whom, John Sweeney?

In his letter, Heyman saves his fire for a spurious attack on Gene Herson, the labor coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee, which issued a protest letter to the South Carolina attorney general the very day of the cop attack on the Charleston longshoremen and called for contributions in defense of the arrested ILA

members to be sent to ILA Local 1422. The PDC is known and respected by the Charleston longshore unions. When Herson hand-delivered a check from the PDC, he was warmly greeted and asked to address the members in the Charleston ILA hall. Heyman uses quote marks around the word "solidarity" in order to sneer at Herson's remarks, the core of which were repeated in a speech from the podium at the start of the Columbia march last June (reprinted in *WV* No. 761, 6 July 2001). At that rally, in opposition to the pleas by the labor tops to elect more Democrats, Herson raised the call for independent class struggle, linking this to the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal:

"We must use our power here, our independent power: No reliance on Democratic or Republican politicians! They have lied to us and they have oppressed us. This whole issue is about the power used on the picket line on the docks of Charleston. That power must be used to defend the Charleston Five. That power must be used to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Workers to power!"

If it were not so ludicrous, it would really be annoying to be accused by Heyman of "the centrist method of social chauvinist opportunism" for supposedly uncritically quoting Jesse Jackson Jr. in the article Heyman criticizes in the opening sentence of his letter. Heyman chooses to attack us for noting that this black Democratic Congressman reflected justifiable apprehensions among black people over the government's shredding of democratic rights. Jackson pointed out that it was not "the terrorists" but "the supporters of this bill [USA-Patriot Act] who are really attacking American liberties." The indifference to black oppression Heyman here unwittingly manifests is a hallmark of the U.S. labor bureaucracy. Thus, in their statements against the Port, Maritime and Rail Security Act now

before Congress, the ILWU brass have *ignored* the racist content of the bosses' current attacks (including this bill) targeting black and Latino longshoremen and immigrant port truckers.

We have also noted Oakland black Democratic Congresswoman Barbara Lee's courage in voting against unlimited war powers, which earned her right-wing death threats. At the same time, as readers of *WV* are well aware, we have consistently warned that black Democrats like Jackson and Lee are positioning themselves to get ahead of and contain increasing discontent in the black population at intensifying racist repression and the deepening effects of the recession. In sharp contrast, in a 22 September 2001 Internet posting ("Longshore Unions and the 'War Against Terrorism'"), Heyman approvingly notes that Local 10 voted overwhelmingly to send Lee a letter "commending her for her courageous sole vote against the war. In a sense, it was a *workers' referendum* on the undefined, unlimited 'war against terrorism'" (our emphasis). No mention by Heyman that Lee's Democrats, like the Republicans, represent the interests of the class enemy, or that they have been virtually in lockstep alliance with Bush nationally over Afghanistan. Far from seeking to break workers from illusions in the Democrats, Heyman is happy to reinforce them.

Heyman's reference to the International Communist League's supposed "abstentionism" in Brazil further illustrates how his "militant" rhetoric serves to deflect from the necessary political struggle against the misleaders of the working class. We did not have "trade union supporters" in Brazil; we did have fraternal relations with a group then called Luta Metalúrgica, which claimed that it agreed with our program. We broke relations with this group after a long political struggle because they proved to

be trade-union opportunists, more concerned with becoming the leadership of a cop-riddled municipal union than with building a revolutionary party. Showing a complete disregard for working-class principles, they have since dragged the union into the capitalist courts three times in a squalid fight to retain their union positions (for details, see "IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *WV* No. 671, 11 July 1997). Heyman proclaims his opposition to suing unions in the bosses' courts. But his defense of these unprincipled trade-union hustlers reveals his own appetites for labor opportunism—including leaving open the possibility of supporting anti-union lawsuits, which unfortunately is not uncommon in the American labor movement.

Heyman seeks to cover his opportunism by "chicken"-baiting our organization, a posture also assumed by centrist outfits like the Internationalist Group (IG) and the International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT), whose arguments he borrows from wholesale. His defense of the Brazilian trade-union opportunists is a direct echo of the IG, which maintains this group as a section of its fraudulent "League for the Fourth International." Similarly, on the question of the Democratic Party, Heyman echoes not only the IG but the BT's cynical declarations that the Spartacist League is "soft" on the Democrats. This is particularly rich coming from the BT which, in concert with Heyman's maneuvers inside the ILWU, did its level best to turn the April 1999 labor action for Mumia into a platform for liberal Democrats (see "Labor Opportunism, the Democratic Party and the Defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal," *WV* No. 714, 28 May 1999).

Despite Heyman's ability to throw leftist phrases around, class-conscious workers will recognize him as a phony and a labor careerist whose real role is deceiving the workers. ■

# Mobilize...

(continued from page 12)

cops in 1969, got a full blast of what being labeled a "terrorist" in capitalist America means. Coordinating these repressive measures is Tom Ridge, the man who signed two death warrants against former Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man framed up for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia cop, who was sentenced to death for his political views. **Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!**

On the docks, largely immigrant port truckers are already being harassed by armed cops and federal agents. The Maritime Security Act—authored by a Democratic Party Senator from "open shop" South Carolina—calls for "background checks" under which waterfront workers can be fired for any conviction in the past 10 years on any of 20 felony offenses, including minor drug charges. This directly threatens the jobs of black and Latino longshoremen who have been on the receiving end of the racist cop harass-

ment in the ghettos and barrios under the so-called "war on drugs."

Just as the fight for black freedom is central to the liberation of all working people, the labor movement can only defend itself if it defends the rights of immigrants. In this country, the raw exploitation of labor has always come wrapped in the envelope of racial and ethnic-religious hostilities fomented by the capitalist rulers. Black oppression is the cornerstone of American capitalism. But black and immigrant workers are not helpless victims; they're a vital component of the multiracial working class. Armed with the militant traditions of their homelands, immigrant workers have been a key part of labor battles in this country, from the 1912 "Bread and Roses" strike in the Massachusetts textile mills to the Justice for Janitors organizing drive in L.A. Together with black workers, they can help spark a working-class offensive against racial oppression and capitalist exploitation.

From the Chinese exclusion acts over a century ago to Mexican workers deported during the Great Depression and the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, assaults on the immigrant workforce have always gone hand in hand with stepped-up oppression of blacks and the persecution of the most militant workers. Don't forget—here in California the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 led directly to the racist, anti-affirmative action Proposition 209 two years later. We demand: **Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!** We must fight against deportations, for unionizing the unorganized and for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay in order to spread the available work. Let our motto be *class struggle*—joining forces against our common enemy, the capitalist ruling class!

The labor bureaucracy's commitment to the capitalist system leads them to denounce Mexican truckers and our downtrodden working-class brothers and sisters throughout Latin America and Asia for "stealing American jobs." This is a convenient fraud which promotes

anti-immigrant bigotry at home and is directly opposed to our fighting unity as a class against the bosses' "divide and rule" schemes. Peddling the lie that the interests of the workers and their exploiters are compatible, AFL-CIO head John Sweeney says that "no sacrifice is too great" for workers to make for the reactionary "war on terror." Opposition to the war on labor, blacks and immigrants at home means opposition to the wars of American capitalism abroad. All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of Afghanistan, the Near East and Central Asia!

Instead of mobilizing union power to defend their members and all the oppressed, the labor tops sell the Democratic Party as the "friend of labor." But the Democrats, like the Republicans, represent the interests of the class enemy. The only difference is that the Republicans openly revel in attacking the working people and oppressed; the Democrats lie and do the same thing. Black Democrats like Barbara Lee, with her show of opposition—however superficial—to Bush's war powers, are positioning themselves to contain and head off increasing discontent as the recession and racist repression bite. Democrat Bill Clinton declared, "I feel your pain" while he axed welfare and spearheaded an anti-immigrant crackdown. Here in the Bay Area, "liberal" Democratic mayor Jerry Brown's gentrification plan for Oakland encouraged rampages through

black West Oakland by the police gang who took the name "Riders" from the nightriders of the KKK. On the other side of the Bay Bridge, mayor Willie Brown has launched a new war on the homeless of San Francisco while 16,000 laid-off workers in low-wage industries face homelessness, and those still employed are only a paycheck away from the same fate.

To fight for its interests the working class must stand independent of all agencies and parties of the class enemy. The trade-union misleaders who have shackled labor's power to support for the Democrats now offer to help implement "security" on the docks and elsewhere. It is not the job of the workers to enforce the laws, "security" or otherwise, that will be used against them: cops and security guards have no place in the union movement!

There must be a political struggle within the trade unions, the only significant racially integrated institutions in segregation America, to break from the Democrats and build a class-struggle leadership which will champion the cause of black freedom and the defense of immigrant rights. The working class needs its own party—one that fights for a workers government. Those who labor must rule!

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# Ireland...

(continued from page 3)

attacks recorded in 213 days to August this year, including 75 bombings and 20 gun attacks (*An Phoblacht*, 9 August 2001). In the last week of October alone there were 12 bomb attacks against Catholics in North Belfast. There have been a number of murders of Catholics, including that of 19-year-old Ciaran Cummings, killed in a drive-by shooting in Antrim in July, and Gavin Brett, an 18-year-old Protestant killed by Loyalist gunmen who mistook him for a Catholic. On 28 October Colin Foy was killed in Tyrone by a member of the British Army's Royal Irish Regiment.

The Catholics are an oppressed minority living under permanent siege. The plight of working-class Catholic families hit international headlines this summer as schoolgirls in Ardoyne, North Belfast trying to walk to Holy Cross school with their parents were shown daily on television confronting a Loyalist mob howling vile anti-Catholic and anti-woman slurs and throwing pipebombs, bags of excrement and balloons filled with urine. The British Army and RUC—now re-named the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI)—lined the streets and tried to look as if they were making an honest effort to “keep the peace.” On the day of their name change, the PSNI escorted leaders of the Orange Order down the Catholic Garvaghy Road. Catholics know they have as much to fear from the police and army as they do from the Loyalist death squads; indeed IRA decommissioning leaves sections of the Catholic population feeling defenceless against these forces.

The scenes at Holy Cross school are a microcosm of Northern Ireland which show the bitter reality of Labour's imperialist “peace” deal. The fact that Catholic parents refused to meekly accept their status as second-class citizens brought out blatant anti-Irish prejudice from British journalists who would often report with amazement that the situation is like the segregated American South in the 1950s prior to the civil rights struggles; in the next breath they would ask Catholic parents why they don't use a back entrance to the school! The Irish bourgeois press, which has the same contempt for working-class Catholics in the North as for those in the South, echoed Loyalist lies that the exercise was just a publicity stunt for Sinn Féin (SF). But, with or without decommissioning, Sinn Féin manifestly cannot offer a way forward to the beleaguered Catholics.

Sinn Féin has been organising protests against particular military installations and complaining that the imperialists have not lived up to the “‘programme for demilitarisation’ that was promised in the Good Friday Agreement” (*An Phoblacht*, 1 November 2001). But while the British may agree to scale down the army presence to cut their costs, the Good Friday Agreement is premised on troops remaining in Northern Ireland.

We fight for the *immediate unconditional withdrawal* of British troops, not merely because no good can come of the British military presence there, but also



Alan Lewis/Photopress

**Belfast, August 2001: 15,000 UDA paramilitaries march in ominous display of anti-Catholic terror.**

because we agree with Karl Marx that the British working class cannot make a revolution against their “own” capitalist rulers if they accept imperialist oppression in Ireland. It is in the direct interests of the working class to oppose repressive measures in Northern Ireland, which are often subsequently imposed on workers and minorities in Britain. After 11 September, Jack Straw pledged Britain would see “security of a kind people in Northern Ireland have had to live with for decades.” Sure enough, immigrants suspected of “terrorism” are being rounded up and interned without trial.

Withdrawal of the British Army does not in itself automatically ensure advance in a revolutionary direction, but it is the necessary starting point for a proletarian revolutionary perspective. We seek to break workers from illusions in Labour, which has loyally served racist, chauvinist British imperialism and the monarchy. The Spartacist League/Britain and Dublin Spartacist Group, sections of the International Communist League, fight to build revolutionary internationalist workers parties to put an end to capitalist rule and to establish a workers republic in Ireland as part of a federation of workers republics in the British Isles. Our framework is internationalist and is based on the necessity to link the struggles of the working class of Ireland, North and South, with those of the workers in England, Scotland and Wales.

In Northern Ireland divisions between Catholics and Protestants have deepened, which means the prospect of united struggle by Protestant and Catholic workers for their common class interests appears remote. Although Protestant workers are only marginally better off than their Catholic counterparts, the view is pervasive that improvements in the position of one community will necessarily be at the expense of the other. This indeed is true, unless such struggles challenge the framework of capitalist rule. A proletarian revolutionary perspective is the only way forward. There can be no just solution to the communal conflict in Northern Ireland short of proletarian rule in all of Ireland and in Britain.

## Labourite “Socialists” Push Imperialist “Peace”

The Labour-loyal fake left have shamelessly touted British imperialism, in the

guise of Blair and the Labour government, as the agency to bring peace and equality to the North. In the last British election, the Socialist Alliance—which at the time consisted of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Socialist Party, Workers Power and others—supported the re-election of Labour and removed the call for troops out of Northern Ireland from their manifesto before launching it to the bourgeois press. We said, “No vote to Labour, imperialist butchers” and “No vote to Socialist Alliance, lackeys of Labour.”

The SWP is silent about the British Army, but gushing about the “tremendous hopes for peace in Northern Ireland following the IRA's announcement that it will destroy its weapons.” They cravenly claim Labour's “peace” process provides “space” for united struggle of the working class. *Socialist Worker* (3 November 2001) says:

“That process is about reaching an accommodation between politicians representing Catholic and Protestant ‘communities.’

“It can reproduce the sectarian division that is built into the Northern Ireland state. But it does provide a space for working class people, Catholic and Protestant, to fight for their interests and against sectarianism.”

This is almost exactly what the SWP said when they supported British troops being sent to Northern Ireland in 1969 (by a Labour government, of course), which they claimed would provide a “breathing space” for the Catholics. They wrote:

“The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but vital. Those who call for the immediate withdrawal of the troops before the men behind the barricades can defend themselves are inviting a pogrom which will hit first and hardest at socialists.”

—*Socialist Worker*,  
11 September 1969

Less than three years later “their” British Army shot down 14 defenceless Catholics in cold blood in Derry on Bloody Sunday.

The sectarian Orange statelet was created by British imperialism's partition of Ireland as a police state based on subjugation of the Catholic minority. Its backbone is the RUC and, since 1969, the army; both work in tandem with the Loyalist paramilitary killers. Recent history is littered with scandals about collusion between Loyalist murderers and the RUC/PSNI and British Army, and there's no “breathing space” for anyone who tries to expose this to the outside world. Thus on 28 September, Martin O'Hagan, a journalist with the Dublin-based *Sunday World*, who researched the collusion between the British Army, the RUC, leading Unionist politicians and Loyalist death squads, was murdered by the LVF [Loyalist Volunteer Force]. Rosemary Nelson, a prominent Catholic lawyer who reported to the UN that she received death threats from the RUC, was also murdered in 1999; ten years earlier Pat Finucane, another well-known Catholic lawyer, was also murdered by Loyalists in collusion with the state. The current Labour government is withholding documents on the 1974 bombings in Dublin and Monaghan which killed 33 people and British state involvement is widely suspected.

The Labourite left even advocate

“peace” with Loyalist thugs such as Billy Hutchinson. Irish secretary of the transport union ATGWU, Mick O'Reilly, recruited the UVF's Hutchinson and David Ervine into the ATGWU. The wretched Socialist Party has sponsored Hutchinson in public meetings and the SWP jumped on the bandwagon by taking part in a 1999 “debate” with him organised by the Scottish Socialist Party.

## Not Orange Against Green, But Class Against Class!

Following capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1991-92, petty-bourgeois nationalist movements like Sinn Féin and the PLO have had much less room to manoeuvre and have increasingly sought to make deals with imperialism. Sinn Féin played up illusions that by involving U.S. imperialism and the Dublin government they would secure a better deal from British imperialism for the Catholics. This overlooks the fact that U.S. imperialism is the most powerful enemy of the workers and oppressed of the world, as can be seen in the bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, or the dirty colonial wars against Korea and Vietnam; the bedrock of the system of exploitation of American workers rests on racist oppression of black people. The imperialist “peace” deal was brokered under Democratic president Clinton, who preferred to pass off imperialist marauding as “human rights” imperialism, something Bush & Co. don't bother with. British imperialism is a junior partner of U.S. imperialism—the City of London has close ties with Wall Street and British imperialism is also the foremost military ally of U.S. imperialism in Europe. The Irish capitalist government is certainly no better. It supported the U.S. and Britain's military adventures, including offering facilities for NATO warplanes at Shannon airport, and is viciously repressive of workers, women, Travellers and Republicans at home.

Petty-bourgeois nationalism is a political dead end which cannot further the interests of the Catholic minority. It is premised on the world being divided into good and bad peoples. Whether through armed struggle (“the Armalite”) or the parliamentary road (“the ballot box”) the perspective of the Irish nationalists is to pressure imperialism.

Actions such as the Omagh bombing by the “Real IRA,” which killed and maimed both Protestant and Catholic civilians in a shopping area, are hideous crimes from the standpoint of the working class and in no way a blow against imperialism. Marxists oppose the tactic of individual terror because it is antithetical to the necessary task of mobilising the working class against the imperialist and capitalist oppressors. Rather it expresses the aims of its practitioners to be the leaders of “their” people. When Irish nationalist groups strike a blow against the forces of British imperialism, the RUC or Loyalist fascistic killers, we defend the perpetrators of such acts against state retribution. But we have a fundamentally different attitude to indiscriminate terror directed against civilians. From a proletarian standpoint, bombings such as Omagh or the bombings of British shopping centres and pubs are criminal acts which serve only to deepen hatred between Protestant and Catholic, English and Irish workers.

The attack on the World Trade Center, an atrocity designed to kill as many civilians as possible, has served to weld American workers to the ruling class just as Irish nationalist atrocities against Protestants push Protestant workers towards Loyalist reactionaries. Viewed from the interests of the working class, nationalist terror ranges from criminal—such as Omagh—to merely stupid. Even when the IRA hits a military target these acts are carried out as part of a programme which writes off the Protestant—and Catholic—working class and also the British proletariat, which has an important Irish component.

In 1993, on the eve of the “peace”

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negotiations, the mainly Protestant workforce at Short Brothers in Belfast walked off the job in protest against the murder of a Catholic co-worker by Loyalist paramilitaries; very shortly afterwards the IRA placed a bomb in Belfast's Shankill Road, which killed nine working-class Protestant shoppers. This led to anti-Catholic demonstrations by Protestant workers in Belfast.

A revolutionary party would struggle for an integrated, programmatically based workers militia to defend both Catholics and Protestants against sectarian attacks. As we said in our "Theses on Ireland" this must be based on the demand for the immediate withdrawal of the British Army and our Marxist analysis of terrorism:

"Such militias will need a broad and strong programmatic basis if they are not to be derailed or coopted. They cannot develop just out of trade unionism but fundamentally require the existence of a strong and authoritative revolutionary cadre. Each militia unit would need at least one member of each community and the presence and strong influence of trained revolutionary cadre. Consequently, the demand for an anti-sectarian workers militia is closely linked to the growth of a Leninist party based on a developed revolutionary program."

—Spartacist No. 24, Autumn 1977

We also explained there that:

"Leninism and nationalism are fundamentally counterposed political viewpoints. Thus, while revolutionists struggle against all forms of national oppression, they are also opposed to all forms of nationalist ideology. It is a revision of Leninism to claim that the 'nationalism of the oppressed' is progressive and can be supported by communist internationalists. In one of his major works on the national question Lenin stressed: 'Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the "most just," "purest," most refined and civilised brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism' ("Critical Remarks on the National Question," *Collected Works*, Vol. 20)."

### Workers Revolution Both Sides of the Border and Both Sides of the Irish Sea!

Loyalist bigot Ian Paisley howls that the Good Friday Agreement is the slippery slope to being ruled by Dublin. Partition meant that Catholics in the North constituted an oppressed minority (although they are over 40 per cent of the population) but an overwhelming majority in the South. In the North, we oppose all discrimination against the Catholic minority. We also recognise that the Protestants are a distinct community, largely defined in opposition to the Irish Catholic nation. As Leninists we uphold the right of self-determination for all nations, which means the right to set up an independent state, but where peoples are geographically interpenetrated "self-determination" for one can only be achieved by denying it to the other. Under capitalism this leads to intercommunal slaughter. We oppose the perspective of a capitalist "united Ireland" proffered by Sinn Féin nationalists, a prospect which is used to heighten genuine fears among Protestants of a reversal of the terms of oppression. Fear of being incorporated into the clericalist state serves to compact

Protestants behind the Loyalist bigots, precluding a polarisation along class lines and instead laying the basis for a communal blood-bath and forced population transfers.

The fact that the bourgeois state in the South is a Catholic clericalist state is grist to the mill of the Loyalist bigots. The struggle for separation of church and state and for free abortion on demand is key not only for social progress in the South but as a way to undermine communalism in the North. Sinn Féin shares the clerical-nationalist outlook of [Southern bourgeois party] Fianna Fail. Sinn Féin no longer flatly opposes abortion rights, but only concedes that it should be legally available in extreme circumstances, specifically: "Where a woman's mental and physical well-being or life is at risk or in grave danger" (*Irish Times* on the Web, 6 December 2001). The struggle for abortion rights strikes at backward Protestant fundamentalists as well. Significantly, although SF's Bairbre de Brun is health minister in the Stormont Assembly, SF was conspicuously absent from a crucial



Dublin Spartacist Group protests Irish government's support to bombing of Afghanistan by U.S./British imperialists.

debate there on legalising abortion in Northern Ireland which was opposed by Ian Paisley's [ultra-chauvinist Loyalist] Democratic Unionist Party, David Trimble's UUP, the Alliance Party and the [Catholic] Social Democratic Labour Party.

The DSG has actively intervened in support of struggles of the combative Irish working class, fighting for abortion rights and counterposing our programme to that of the Labourite bureaucrats. We said in a leaflet for the 1999 Irish nurses strike:

"It is this anti-woman Church which runs the hospitals. We call for: complete separation of church and state! We need free, quality healthcare for all. For free abortion and free contraception on demand! For free 24-hour childcare! To achieve these basic needs of women and the working class requires a revolutionary struggle against the entire capitalist system—and its labour lieutenants within the working class."

—reprinted in *Workers Hammer* No. 171, Winter 1999/2000

With elections pending in the South, Sinn Féin is poised to gain support at the expense of Fianna Fail, and also trying to re-brand itself as a "left" alternative to Labour. Labour is rightly hated by workers for having dished out capitalist attacks

as partners in coalition governments, most notoriously in 1994 by refusing to support striking TEAM Aer Lingus workers at Dublin airport. The Irish Labour Party, like its British namesake, is a bourgeois workers party—having a working-class base but a bourgeois programme. They are loyal servants of the Irish capitalist class.

Sinn Féin can be scathing in their press about Labour's rotten record. One of their articles on Labour concludes: "Sinn Féin is well on its way to overtaking the Labour Party, to cementing its position as the voice of the Irish left, but in doing so the party must be careful that it does not lose sight of one of Connolly's most fundamental truths. 'The cause of labour is the cause of Ireland, the cause of Ireland is the cause of labour'" (*An Phoblacht*, 30 August 2001). But the idea that Sinn Féin could become the "voice of the Irish left" is absurd—they are a petty-bourgeois capitalist party.

It is disingenuous in the extreme for Sinn Féin to claim the tradition of James Connolly. Connolly initiated and led the

hammered out a Marxist perspective on the national question. Connolly fought trenchantly against the Labourite trade-union bureaucracy in Britain and in Ireland; as a true labour lieutenant of British imperialism, Labour's Arthur Henderson led the applause in the House of Commons when the announcement was made that Connolly had been executed by a British firing squad.

The kind of consciousness Connolly had instilled among workers was once again in evidence among the Belfast workers in the 1919 engineering strike, the most significant class battle to take place during the independence struggle. Charles McKay, a socialist of Catholic background, led a strike of mainly Protestant workers that shut all heavy industry and most of the city. It was part of a wave of tumultuous strikes in engineering centres, including Glasgow. The army was deployed in Belfast (and later in Glasgow) but the strike lost because it was betrayed by the Labour bureaucrats in Britain and in Ireland. The defeat of the Belfast strike led to massive purges of Catholics and trade-union militants from the shipyards (including Protestant shop stewards), which paved the way for partition. Lord French, the British overlord in Ireland, released Sinn Féin leaders such as Arthur Griffith from prison in Dublin in recognition of Sinn Féin opposition to working-class struggle. He told the Cabinet:

"I did not however, consider that the time was ripe for an actual move in the direction of an immediate release of prisoners until the strikes in the North occurred and a very dangerous crisis was at hand which might plunge the whole country in disaster."

—quoted in C. Kostick, *Revolution in Ireland* (1996)

Today with the growing economic recession throughout Britain and Ireland, the capitalists will seek to increasingly pit one section of the working class against another. This could lead to increased communalism in Northern Ireland or, as happened during the struggles of unemployed workers in Belfast in the 1930s, it could lead to united struggles of Protestant and Catholic workers. When instances of integrated working-class struggle do arise, intervention by a communist vanguard will make a decisive difference to the outcome.

We seek to awaken the working class of England, Scotland and Wales to socialist consciousness and mobilise them around opposition to the monarchy, House of Lords and all other archaic institutions of British bourgeois rule including the "Mother of all Parliaments." We fight for an Irish workers republic, part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles. Our purpose is to forge revolutionary internationalist parties, sections of a reformed Fourth International, in Britain and Ireland. ■

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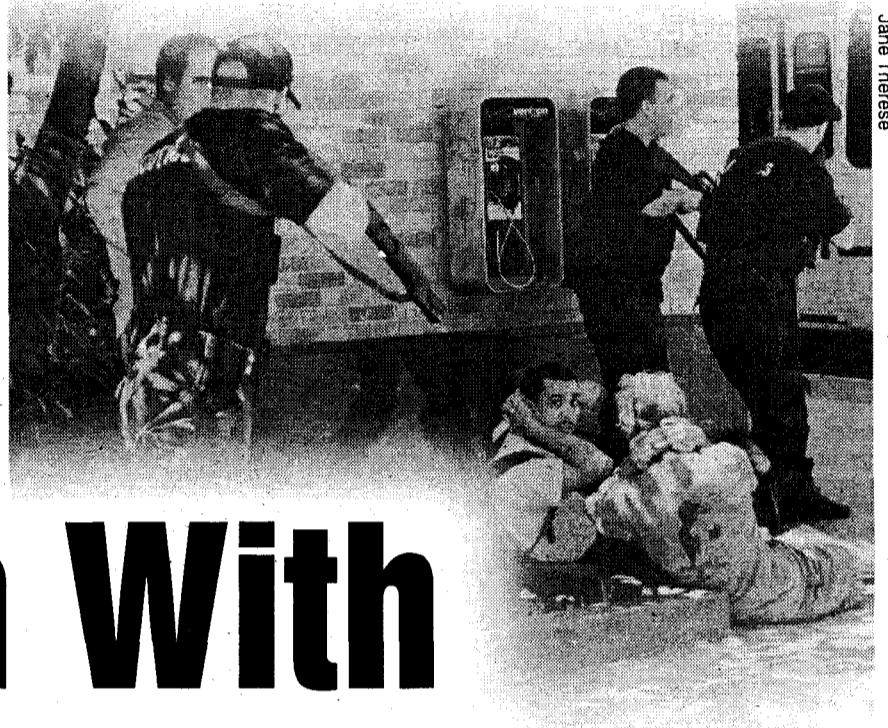
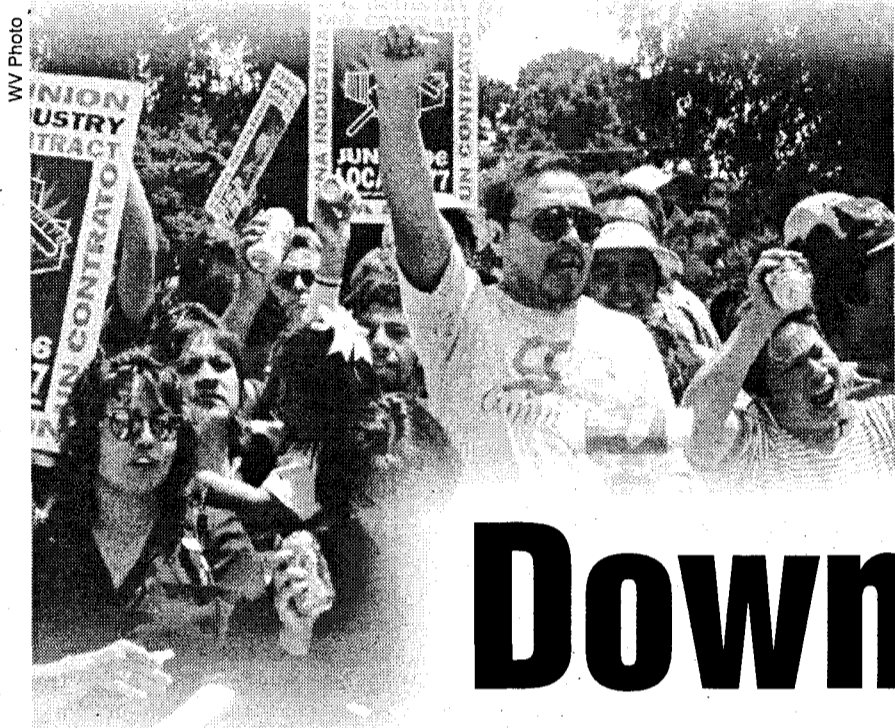
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# WORKERS VANGUARD

— All Out February 9! —  
Frank Ogawa Plaza, Oakland, 2 p.m.

## Mobilize Multiracial Union Power in a Mass Labor-Centered Protest!



# Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!

We reprint below the demonstration call issued on January 20 by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee.

We call on the powerful multiracial unions in the Bay Area to mobilize against the government's war on America's integrated working class, on black people and on immigrants. Every bombing raid and missile attack on Afghanistan came together with new deadly assaults on the democratic rights of *all of us*. Bush and Attorney General Ashcroft—that apologist for the Confederate slavocracy—have taken first aim at people of Near Eastern descent who were rounded up and thrown in jail where hundreds still remain. They've created the spectre of an "enemy within" in order to strengthen the powers of their own consummately violent state. But what America's racist rulers can get away with will be determined by class struggle. We must fight *now* to

**Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labor**

**No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act!**

defend our rights and jobs, and the rights and jobs of our immigrant brothers and sisters. A united demonstration of the power of our class, together with youth, black and immigrant organizations, can spike the bosses' racist "national unity" campaign.

Under the USA-Patriot Act, rammed through with bipartisan support in the wake of the criminal attack on the World Trade Center, non-citizens can be deported without a hearing while operations like the FBI's COINTEL-PRO, which murdered 38 Black Pan-

thers and framed hundreds more, are once more officially sanctioned. "National security" is also the pretext for a frontal assault on the longshore unions, a historic bastion of labor power, under the Port, Maritime and Rail Security Act. *Down with the anti-immigrant witchhunt! No to the USA-Patriot Act and Maritime Security Act!*

The "war on terrorism" is aimed straight at the heart of the working class. Hundreds of New Jersey teachers striking for a decent contract were handcuffed and jailed, while their union spokesman was denounced as "the representative of the Taliban." The State Attorney of South Carolina compared International Longshoremen's Association members in Charleston, who had fought to defend their union against cops and scabs, to the World Trade Center terrorists. Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, murdered by Chicago

*continued on page 9*

**"We endorse and will help build a united front labor/black demonstration with the following demands: 'Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labor—No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act!' and 'Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!'."**

**Partial list of endorsers as of January 20, 2002:**

**AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA**

**Willie Lee Bell, retired Recording Secretary, IAM&AW Local 739 and 1584,\* Oakland, CA**

**CARECEN, Central American Resource Center, San Francisco, CA**

**Leroy Collier, President, National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 2200,\* Pasadena, CA**

**Michael Crahan, President, LIUNA Local 1141,\* San Francisco, CA**

**John Holmes, Delegate, Representative Assembly, Typographical Sector, Northern California Media Workers Union #39521\***

**International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10, San Francisco, CA**

**Labor Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, CA**

**Brian McWilliams, SFLC delegate, International Longshore and Warehouse Union,\* San Francisco, CA**

**Charles Minster, Steward and SFLC delegate, National Park and Public Employees, LIUNA Local 1141,\* San Francisco, CA**

**Kiluu Nyasha, Producer/Programmer, "Connecting the Dots" KPOO 89.5 FM,\* San Francisco, CA**

**Partisan Defense Committee**

**German Reyes, Shop Steward, SEIU Local 87,\* San Francisco, CA**

**Spartacist League/U.S.**

**Spartacus Youth Club, San Francisco Bay Area**

*\*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.*

*We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense printed above.*