

Millions Consigned to Starvation, Homelessness

Workfare: Slave Labor Union-Busting



WV Photo

Third Force

**Organize the Unorganized!
For a Revolutionary Workers Party
Which Champions the Cause of
All the Oppressed!**

April 1: Harlem Hospital workers protest as Mayor Giuliani tries to force welfare recipients to replace them. Right: Protest by Milwaukee group against "workfare."

Looking down on its subjects from its plush, leather-couched offices, the American capitalist class is gloating over the "success" of the bipartisan "welfare reform" signed by Democratic president Clinton in 1996. Hundreds of thousands have been forced into slave-labor "workfare," replacing unionized municipal workers. Some two million more have been purged from the welfare rolls entirely, left to die through starvation, hypothermia or medical neglect. Flush with record profits on Wall Street and imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism," the capitalist rulers are intent on rolling the clock back to the

days before mass industrial unions and social welfare programs.

Spokesmen for the bourgeoisie no longer even pretend that the aim of "welfare reform" is to move the unemployed poor into jobs that pay a living wage. In Mississippi, whose legacy of Jim Crow segregation has left it the country's poorest state, a recent five-county study projected one available job for every 254

families thrown off welfare. The "solution" offered by the state's "human services" director is to hark back to the vast westward migration of impoverished dirt farmers during the Great Depression of the 1930s: "If you've seen 'The Grapes of Wrath,' that's what it was all about."

And in the world financial capital of New York City, Republican mayor Giuliani prates about the "ennobling" experi-

ence of "workfare." Of the 30 percent cut off welfare in the past three years, not even one in three manages to make \$100 in their first three months off the rolls. Many of the rest have been drafted into a huge slave-labor force to replace unionized city workers. Ten years ago, the Health Department building had 20 salaried maintenance workers; by 1995 it had three—and 50 "workfare" participants who make as little as \$62 for a 24-hour

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Germany: Mass Unemployment, Kohl/SPD Racism Fuel Fascist Growth

Stop the Nazis Through Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations!

MAY 2—Hard on the heels of the biggest electoral victory ever scored by fascists in postwar Germany, thousands of blackshirted Nazis stormed through the streets of Leipzig yesterday. Organized by the National Democratic Party (NPD), this was one of the largest fascist marches in Germany in decades. Emboldened

by racist assaults on immigrants and asylum seekers by Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic (CDU) government and the "opposition" Social Democrats (SPD), a range of Nazi organizations have registered ominous growth by capitalizing on massive unemployment and despair particularly among youth in eastern Germany. In a special *Spartakist* (27 April) supplement, some 1,500 of which were sold to anti-fascist protesters and trade unionists in Leipzig and elsewhere, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), German section of the International Communist League, motivated

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Reuters

Leipzig, May 1: Cops arrest anti-Nazi protesters.



Protest Murder of Leftists in Iraqi Kurdistan!

ICL Statement

The following is a statement of solidarity with the Worker-Communist Party (WCP) of Iraq and Iran by the International Communist League in response to the murders of WCP Politburo member Shapoor Abdul-Kadir and Kabil Adil, a member of its Kurdistan Leadership Committee. The statement, initially issued in slightly different form on April 23 by the Trotskyist League of Canada, has been distributed at WCP memorial meetings in Toronto and Vancouver, as well as in Sydney, Australia and Cologne, Germany. ICL spokesmen were also invited to address these meetings.

An April 23 statement by the Politburo of the WCP of Iraq indicated that these assassinations were the result of murderous *fatwas* (edicts) by Islamic reactionaries in Iraqi Kurdistan "against communists and militant women and youth." The WCP statement noted: "The Islamists' target is not only our party, but this terrorism is an attempt to create an atmosphere of horror, to intimidate women,

freedom-loving and civilised people of Kurdistan."

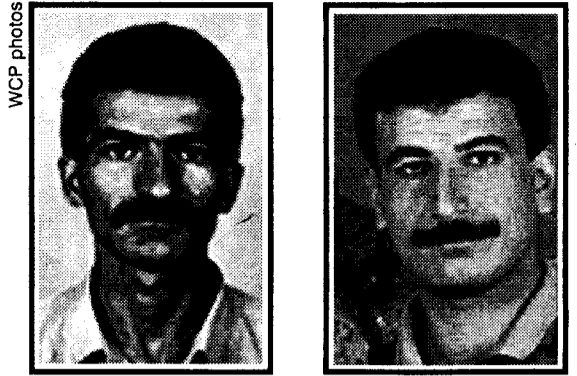
Reactionary Islamic terror sharply escalated throughout the region following the Khomeinist "Iranian revolution" in 1979, which was supported by virtually every left group internationally and in Iran. As a Trotskyist League spokesman noted in his greetings to the Toronto memorial meeting:

"This so-called revolution opened up a period of ascendant political Islam in the historically Muslim world, a development which contributed to and was powerfully reinforced by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. Khomeini's seizure and consolidation of power in Iran was similar to Hitler's crushing of the German proletariat in 1933, albeit on a narrower, regional scale. The International Communist League's slogan 'Down with the Shah! No support to the mullahs!' and our focus on the woman question—as in our slogan 'No to the veil!'—stood in sharp opposition to the rest of the left's capitulation to mullah-led reaction."

* * *

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) denounces the brutal assassination of leaders of the Worker-Communist Party of Iraq in

Kabil Adil and Shapoor Abdul-Kadir (far right), Worker-Communist Party of Iraq leaders assassinated by Islamic reactionaries on April 18.



Arbil, Iraqi Kurdistan, on April 18. These anti-communist killings by the so-called "Islamic Movement" are aimed against all fighters for the liberation of workers and the oppressed, in Iraq and around the world. We express our solidarity with the WCP of Iraq against these bloody murders.

The Islamic Movement is a vicious enemy of the oppressed. Like other forces of Islamic reaction—from the ruling Taliban in Afghanistan to the Islamic Republic of Iran—it attacks workers, leftists and women with brutal terror. The Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), which controls Arbil and much of Iraqi Kurdistan, is also

an enemy of the working people, just like its petty-bourgeois competitor, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. The KDP nationalists even support the murderous air strikes by Turkey on Iraqi Kurdistan, part of Ankara's war of annihilation against the nationalist Kurdish Workers Party (PKK).

We Trotskyists defend the Kurdish people against all their oppressors, and call for a socialist republic of united Kurdistan. But we emphasize that this requires joint revolutionary struggle with the Arab, Turkish, Persian and other workers of the region against their

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TROTSKY

The Social Democracy and the Fight Against Fascism

Where the centrist and reformist organizations in Germany look to the Social Democrats (SPD), Trotskyists fight for worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the growing fascist menace. This requires intransigent political struggle against the Social Democratic class traitors, who are sworn to the defense of the capitalist order and fear above all the independent mobilization of the working class. In fighting to build a revolutionary vanguard party by splitting the SPD's working-class base from its pro-capitalist misleaders, the Spartacist Workers Party, German section of the International Communist League, bases itself on an understanding of the treacherous role of the Social Democracy laid out by Leon Trotsky before Hitler's rise to power.

The decay of capitalism results in social and cultural decomposition. The road is barred for further normal differentiation within nations, for the further growth of the proletariat at the expense of the diminution of intermediate classes. Further prolongation of the crisis can bring in its trail only the pauperization of the petty bourgeoisie and the transformation of ever larger groups of workers into the lumpenproletariat. In its most acute form, it is this threat that grips advanced capitalist Germany by the throat.

The rottenest portion of putrefying capitalist Europe is the Social Democratic bureaucracy. It entered upon its historical journey under the banner of Marx and Engels. It set for its goal the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie. The powerful upsurge of capitalism caught it up and dragged it in its wake. In the name of reform, the Social Democracy betrayed the revolution, at first by its actions and later by its words....

The war came. The Social Democracy supported the war in the name of future prosperity. Instead of prosperity, decay set in. Now the task no longer consisted in deducing from the inadequacy of capitalism the necessity for revolution, nor in reconciling the workers to capitalism by means of reforms. The new task of the Social Democracy now consisted in making society safe for the bourgeoisie at the cost of sacrificing reforms.

But even this was not the last stage of degeneracy. The present crisis that is convulsing capitalism obliged the Social Democracy to sacrifice the fruits achieved after protracted economic and political struggles and thus to reduce the German workers to the level of existence of their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers. There is no historical spectacle more tragic and at the same time more repulsive than the fetid disintegration of reformism amid the wreckage of all its conquests and hopes.

—Leon Trotsky, "What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat" (January 1932)



LENIN

L.A. Cop Vendetta Against RCP

In an attack on the left and all opponents of anti-immigrant racism, on March 18 the Los Angeles Police Department arrested two people distributing *Revolutionary Worker*, newspaper of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), at an immigrant rights demonstration called by the L.A. Coalition Centroamericana. The arrests bore the sinister mark of the LAPD's "Anti-Terrorism Division," the "red squad" whose particular purpose is to target leftist "subversives" for surveillance, harassment and worse. Such functions are in the very nature of the capitalist police, whose role is to enforce the rule of the exploiters against workers and the oppressed.

The arrest of the RCP supporters coincides with the "Operation Buttonhole" dragnet being carried out by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in Los Angeles. In the past month alone, the INS has raided dozens of garment factories, arresting and deporting hundreds of workers. One worker who jumped from a window to escape the racist thugs of *la migra* is now in INS custody while being hospitalized. The March 18 arrests demonstrate that the capitalist government seeks to criminalize not only immigrants but also those who would defend them. Down with *migra* terror! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The arrests fit a long pattern of LAPD attacks on the RCP. The cops had undoubtedly been smarting from a recent setback, when charges were dismissed against the "Nickerson 7"—participants in an RCP-initiated protest at a housing project in Watts which was attacked by the cops. But while building protests against cop repression, such as the annual October 22 "National Day of Protest to Stop Police Brutality," the RCP promotes the illusion that cop terror and the whole "power structure" can be stopped by turning "our communities into strongholds of resistance" (*Revolutionary Worker*, 26 October 1997). This denies the basic Marxist understanding that state violence is fundamental to this racist capitalist system and will only be ended through socialist revolution. To fight against "police

brutality" without this understanding can only mean reformist and utopian schemes to "clean up" the police.

Below we print a May 4 letter protesting the cop vendetta against the RCP sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to Los Angeles city attorney James K. Hahn.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee staunchly condemns the repeated harassment and subsequent arrest of immigrant rights activists at the March 18 "March for Permanent Residency" in Los Angeles. Carlos Soto and Betsy Brines, supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party, were plucked out of the march and arrested on false charges of "creating a disturbance" simply for their distribution of the RCP's newspaper, *Revolutionary Worker*. While they were in custody, the police officers made clear the politically repressive character of the arrests, ostentatiously pulling up computer files on the arrestees' past political activities and associations. One officer made a veiled death threat, stating, "I love this country and I am willing to die for it and I would kill anybody that ever is a threat to its stability."

The arrests are in the long tradition of heavy-handed police repression in Los Angeles targeting labor leaders, black militants and immigrants. The case of former Black Panther Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), whose conviction was overturned last year after 27 years of prison hell, showed the complicity of the LAPD with the FBI in racist political frame-ups. In 1983, the LAPD "Public Disorders Unit," subject of a lawsuit and scandal for massive spying operations on leftists and others, was replaced by an "Anti-Terrorism Division" which has carried on its functions. The rollback last October of restrictions on the "Anti-Terrorism Division" imposed in a 1984 court settlement gave a green light for police repression.

Drop the charges against Carlos Soto and Betsy Brines! Hands off leftists and immigrant rights protesters!

Steve Bull
for the PDC

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Legacy of 1991 Desert Slaughter

Iraq Cancer Epidemic Made in U.S.A.

The U.S.-led imperialist slaughter during the 1990-91 Persian Gulf War led to the deaths of tens of thousands of Iraqis. More than a million others, including well over 600,000 children, have died since that time through starvation and disease—a direct result of economic sanctions dictated by Washington and imposed by the United Nations. What has been suppressed in the American media is that thousands of Iraqis have been killed in a cancer epidemic which has ravaged the country since the imperialist onslaught. An article in the London *Independent* (4 March), one of a series of recent exposés in British newspapers and television news programs, reported:

“Seven years after the end of the Gulf war, a nightmare ‘epidemic’ of leukemia and stomach cancer is claiming the lives of thousands of Iraqi civilians who live near the former war zone, including children so young that they were not even born when hostilities ended. Iraqi doctors in the southern city of Basra have recorded a four-fold increase in cancer—especially among young children—since 1991.”

An extensive report by Hugh Livingstone on “Depleted Uranium in the Gulf,” posted on the Internet by London’s “Edge Gallery,” also documented a sharp rise in birth defects, meningitis, breast cancer in young women and male infertility. A doctor at a Baghdad hospital noted that many of the birth defects, including truncated limbs, were of the sort not seen since the 1950s, when thalidomide was widely used by pregnant women. “We don’t know what they have dropped on us,” she exclaimed. Another doctor in Basra told the *Independent*, “We rarely saw these types of tumours before the war.”

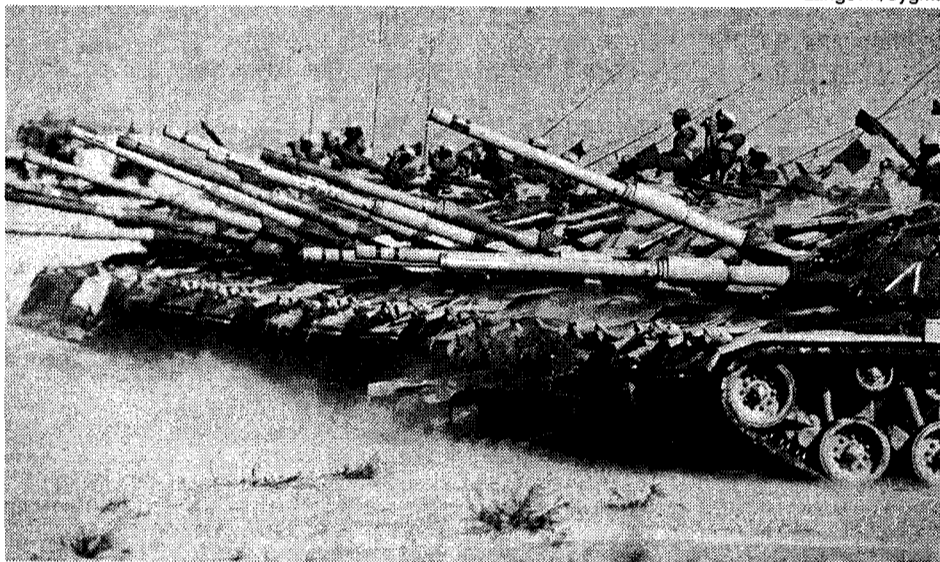
The ravages of these diseases have been accentuated by the UN blockade. Many cancer patients lie helplessly in “wards of death” in Iraqi hospitals, deprived by UN sanctions of the equipment and drugs needed for the bone marrow transplants or chemotherapy that might save their lives. The imperialist embargo has so devastated the country’s economy, including what was once a relatively modern health care system, that even those few medications which are available are out of reach of much of the population. One father explained that he had sold his car in order to pay for cytotoxins for his dying daughter which cost the equivalent of three months’ wages. We say: **Down with the imperialist starvation blockade!**

While the precise causes of this wave of cancer and other diseases have not been pinpointed, they are clearly related to the U.S./UN imperialist war seven years ago. A disproportionate number of the new cancer cases come from Basra and other towns directly to the east of the area in



Robert Fisk
Five-year-old Iraqi girl dying from leukemia. Cancer epidemic triggered by 1991 U.S. military onslaught has claimed thousands of lives.

Langevin/Sygma



southern Iraq which was bombarded for weeks and then overrun by U.S. forces. This was the grisly site of the “highway of death,” where U.S. troops and planes gunned down thousands of fleeing Iraqis. Clearly, the U.S. onslaught poisoned the soil, air and water in this area. “There are canals as well as farms throughout this area,” noted an Iraqi doctor.

The imperialist rape of Iraq left a multitude of possible causes of widespread disease. The massive U.S. bombing virtually destroyed the country’s infrastructure—power generators, water pipes and purification plants. The destruction of industrial installations released millions of gallons of noxious pollutants into the atmosphere and water—fuel oil, sulfuric acid, insecticides, ammonia and other chemicals. And the bombardment of hundreds of oil wells produced vast clouds of toxic gases. Meanwhile, the starvation blockade has reduced the average diet to a daily intake of slightly over 2,000 calories, the bare minimum for physical survival. It has also meant that water pumps and purification plants damaged or destroyed by U.S. bomb and missile attacks have not been repaired, causing widespread contamination of the drinking supply and accelerating the spread of disease.

Doctors and researchers investigating the cancer epidemic have pointed to one factor in particular: the use by U.S. and British troops, for the first time in the history of warfare, of shells made of depleted uranium (DU), a toxic radioactive waste product with a density 2.5 times that of steel. DU shells erupt in flames on impact, penetrating tanks and other armored vehicles. Radioactive dust then settles on the ground or is spread by the wind, contaminating soil, water and crops. In a May 1996 report to the UN Center for Human Rights, the Iraqi government declared that such shells had

U.S. threatened to bomb Iraq yet again, supposedly in order to force Saddam Hussein to allow UN “weapons inspectors” free rein in looking for chemical and biological weapons. Yet U.S. imperialism maintains not only the world’s largest nuclear arsenal but enormous stores of chemical and biological weapons as well. And the U.S. is the only country to have used nuclear weapons in wartime, incinerating over 200,000 people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. During the dirty, losing imperialist war in Vietnam, in which upwards of two million people were slaughtered, the U.S. carried out massive chemical warfare. Huge amounts of napalm were dropped on the population while thousands of gallons of Agent Orange, a toxic defoliant, were sprayed in the countryside, leaving a legacy of cancer and birth defects among inhabitants of those regions.

The horrendous slaughters perpetrated by the U.S. and other imperialist powers in the course of this century underscore the stark choice posed by the great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg: that in this epoch of decaying capitalism, the alternative is socialism or barbarism. The death and destruction rained on the Iraqi population in 1991 and in subsequent missile attacks represent an attempt by the U.S. to assert control of the region through projecting its military power. Behind this lies the intensification of interimperialist competition in the wake of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, which has led to a renewed scramble among the three major powers—the U.S., Japan and Germany—to redivide markets and spheres of exploitation.

This points out the inherently rapacious and murderous nature of the imperialist system. Since the consolidation of the major imperialist powers toward the end of the 19th century, they have carried out a seemingly endless string of bloody wars and military interventions in Latin America, Africa and Asia, aimed at keeping colonies and nominally independent semicolonies under their jackboot. And the competition among the rival capitalist powers has culminated in two interimperialist world wars which have wreaked untold destruction and death.

During the Gulf War and the subsequent attacks against Iraq, the International Communist League forthrightly called for military defense of Iraq against imperialist attack. The Spartacist League fights to forge the revolutionary vanguard party needed to lead the multi-racial U.S. proletariat in a socialist revolution which sweeps away this racist imperialist bourgeoisie and puts an end to its global reign of terror. ■

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Young Spartacus

Trotskyist League Debates Vancouver Anarchists Maple Leaf Eco-Freaks

We reprint below a report by a comrade from the Trotskyist League of Canada/Ligue Trotskyste du Canada on a March 26 debate in Vancouver.

The Vancouver branch of the Trotskyist League was invited by the "Left Unity Caucus" of the "International of Hope" (or IHOP, as we call it) to participate in a panel-style debate consisting of "three local Marxists" and "three local anarchists." The audience numbered about 80 people, mostly youth, almost all "anarchists." The debate period was very raucous, and all of our floor speakers were heckled. We clearly polarized the meeting, turning it into a debate centrally over three questions: Quebec, "Copwatch" and Afghanistan, with the underlying theme the necessity for a Leninist vanguard party.

Jaggi Singh—whom readers of *Spartacist Canada* (No. 115, Winter 1997/98) will recognize as having called on the racist Canadian state to arrest Indonesian president Suharto for "war crimes" upon his visit to Canada for the APEC summit last November—spoke first for the anarchists. He asserted that the anarchists were the genuine communists and the debate was really between anarcho- and "totalitarian"-communists. He railed against the Leninist "glorification of work" (read, recognition that the working class is the only revolutionary class), its "cult of ideology" (recognition that there is no revolutionary practice without revolutionary theory), "faith in industry" (opposition to capitalism's gutting of industry along with general pro-science attitudes) and belief in a "necessary stage of capitalism," while saying Marxism was "anti-scientific" and anarchism was "class-based."

William Kay of the "Left Unity Caucus" spoke next for the "Leninists." (This guy is a real political chameleon; if one of the anarchists had gotten sick, he certainly would have filled in.) His speech was primarily a mating call for "uniting" the various "Marxists" in Vancouver into one party and for "building bridges with the anarchists." He also distorted Marxism by saying that we would need a state after the revolution—presumably into the indefinite future—not to fight counter-revolution, but to coordinate economic planning. Marxists, however, believe that

the proletariat "needs only a state which is withering away" (Lenin, *The State and Revolution*) and then "the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production" (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*).

Sarah S. spoke next as a "femino-anarchist." The highlights were that she said "modernism has ended," which meant that workers revolution in Canada is "not viable" and that Marxism has been stagnant and unable to keep up with changes in society. So, she said, Marxism can't deal with women's and racial oppression and that Marxism portrays special oppression as a "side issue." Next,

Native peoples better, which is a typical excuse for the rad-libs here to capitulate to Anglo chauvinism. One funny story is that, in response to a point from a TL comrade that we seek to intervene into the proletariat, as opposed to among bears and wolves, the environmentalist speaker heatedly responded that whales and other mammals had self-consciousness, "use rudimentary technology" and generally "compose distinct nations" (as opposed to the Québécois, I guess).

We had only ten minutes to make four points: 1) why the working class is central; 2) the need for a vanguard party; 3) the Marxist understanding of the state vs. the anarchists and the "fake

ary line. Sarah S. looked appropriately sheepish.

Comrades made points in the discussion on the "Copwatch" organization with its strategy of "policing the police," which is supported by anarchists, and showed why it breeds illusions in the reformability of the capitalist state. Our speakers also took out illusions that the racist Canadian federal government would defend Native peoples' rights. The point was made, against the anarchists who denounce capitalists and communists "evenhandedly," that defending the anti-Soviet 1921 Kronstadt revolt and Mahkno's anti-Semitic bands means, in practice, siding with the White Army



Spartacist Canada

Trotskyist League contingent at Toronto anti-fascist protest, April 1993.

Ken H. spoke for the rump Socialist Challenge, affiliates of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec). Another paean to "working together on a day to day level." Also, according to Ken, apparently the bloody Pinochet dictatorship came to power in Chile in 1973 thanks only to the lack of "centralized armed resistance to the coup," and not because the Chilean left criminally supported the popular-front government of Salvador Allende and refused to mobilize the working class to fight for power.

After Ken, the next speaker was an eco-freak anarchoid who criticized "human-centrism," factories, fur and "big cities" like Vancouver. He also brought up "a problem with the TL" over our advocacy of Quebec independence and said he would only recognize the right of Quebec to secede once they started treating

left" who supported counterrevolution in East Europe and capitulate to the social-democratic New Democratic Party at home; 4) that the Stalinists led the counter-revolutions in East Europe and the Soviet Union in the late 1980s and early '90s and today threaten to do the same in China, Cuba; we fight for new October Revolutions. At the point where our speaker turned to the two self-styled "Marxists" to take them out, there was general laughter among the anarchos in the audience since the "Marxists" were supposed to stick to debating the anarchists, but everyone in the crowd knew the "Sperts" wouldn't miss an opportunity to blast "their fellow Leninists."

The debate from the floor was 57 varieties of anarchism vs. the TL, especially after we rocked the room with our presentation from the floor on Afghanistan (there was nothing in the other two "Marxist" presentations, which were totally toothless and liberal, for the anarchos to object to). A TL comrade got up and contrasted our hailing of the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan, where the Red Army defended women's rights against the CIA-backed *mujahedin*, against Sarah S.'s defense of feminism and the anarchists' denunciation of "Soviet imperialism." Also, a young woman TL comrade made a very powerful intervention on why Marxists fight for Quebec independence, pointing out the need for a Leninist party to fight against national oppression. In response, Sarah S. baited her by asking why she wasn't the speaker on the panel for the TL, as opposed to a man, and whether it was because she was "lower down on the hierarchy" than the men. Our comrade jumped back up and hollered out that she had total faith in all her comrades to defend our revolution-

against the Russian Revolution; opposing Quebec independence means siding with the Anglo-chauvinist Canadian bourgeoisie.

In his summary, the TL speaker spoke to how many anarchists—like Alfred Rosmer and Victor Serge—were won over to communism by the example of the Russian Revolution and how the state would wither away through the international extension of the revolution. The USec supporter made a few capitulatory points on "socialist feminism" and William Kay sided with Bakunin against Marx that "revolutionary will" was more important than a material basis for socialism. All in all, a good time was had by all comrades, and the debate turned into a hot topic in the "radical" milieu in Vancouver overnight. We succeeded in making the point, against the anarchist polemics against "vanguardism," that, as the TL speaker said:

"History is full of examples like Spain in the 1930s and France in May 1968, where potential opportunities for revolution were betrayed and defeated only because of the lack of a party. Yet the anarchists are hostile to the very idea of a vanguard party, and thus doom the workers to defeat after defeat." ■

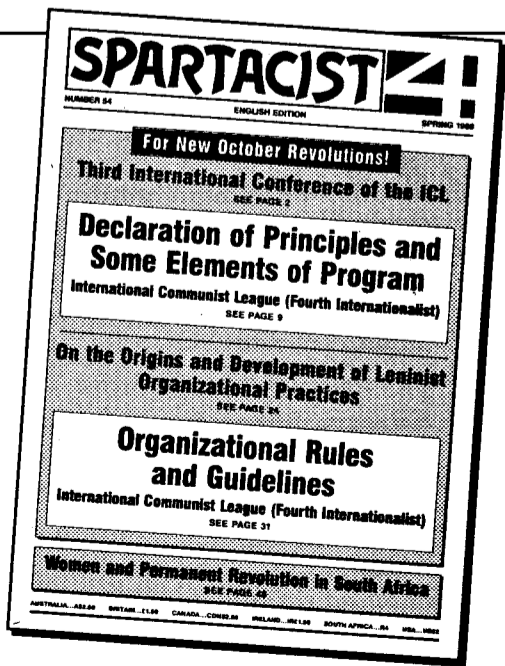
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Workfare...

(continued from page 1)

week. The Parks Department had nearly 2,800 workers in 1990; now it has barely a third of that, the void filled by over 6,000 "workfare" recipients.

The multitudes thus far affected are only the tip of the iceberg; as the time limits on welfare benefits expire, countless more will be thrown onto the streets. From racist pig Giuliani to black Democrat Willie Brown in San Francisco, the big-city mayors have unleashed brutal cop terror to roust homeless people from subways, parks and alleys, even arresting those who feed the homeless. The capitalists don't care if the largely black or Hispanic women and children deprived of any life line die, as long as yuppies dining al fresco aren't subjected to this "eyesore."

The destruction of welfare is part of an all-sided assault on the living standards of workers and minorities, conditioned by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the abject refusal of the trade-union tops to lift a finger in defense of their membership, much less of the masses of unorganized workers and oppressed. From Wall Street to Tokyo to Berlin, the imperialist rulers are in a heated race to increase their competitive edge on the world market by driving down wages and destroying hard-won union gains.

In racist America, class exploitation has always been wrapped in the envelope of raw racism: the percentage of blacks living below the official poverty line is more than triple what it is for whites. Today, the desperate conditions of life—rotten schools and rotting housing, no health care, low-wage jobs—that were visited first on blacks and immigrant workers are increasingly a reality for the working class as a whole. The expansion of "workfare" and forcing millions off welfare will further decimate the overwhelmingly black and Hispanic inner cities and drive down wages overall even more.

The defense of even the most basic necessities of life for the mass of the population—employment, education, health care, housing—requires the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed. As revolutionary Marxists, we fight against the destruction of welfare and other social programs benefiting the working class and poor. But our goal is not to reintroduce programs that were designed to simply sustain the unemployed in permanent poverty. Ours is the fight for a proletarian socialist revolution and the establishment of an egalitarian, planned economy where everyone will have a place in social and economic life.

Union Tops: Low-Wage Labor Contractors

Perhaps nowhere is the human cost of "welfare reform" so glaring as in New York City. "Tough Workfare Rules Used As Way to Cut Welfare Rolls," headlined the *New York Times* (13 April) in one of a series of recent articles. Giuliani has made it clear that he intends to make even deeper cuts in the municipal workforce as his slave-labor program expands: His new "human resources" administrator is Jason Turner, the architect of the Wisconsin plan hailed by Clinton as a model for the nation. In 1996 alone, 25,000 were dropped from the Wisconsin rolls. Only 34 percent of those found full-time jobs, while barely 15 percent have incomes over the poverty line. Not unexpectedly, homelessness in Milwaukee jumped 30 percent in the winter of 1996-97.

In New York, the racist rulers' war on the poor—whether under Giuliani or his black Democratic predecessor, David Dinkins—has meant "gentrified" surroundings for Wall Street yuppies and sidewalk cardboard "homes" for the dispossessed, with a thick blue line of racist, trigger-happy cops to keep the ghetto and barrio masses in line. Many

minority working families spend half or more of their income on increasingly exorbitant rents. And a new study reports that over a quarter of all black families, and an even higher proportion of Hispanic immigrants, live in apartments which are rat-infested or have no kitchen or bathroom. As essential infrastructure is allowed to crumble, barely a week goes by without some pedestrian being maimed or killed by falling brickwork, including from ramshackle school buildings. Yet while applauding Republican governor Pataki's recent veto of \$500 million for school construction, Giuliani is promoting a \$1 billion handout to convicted felon George Steinbrenner to build a luxurious new stadium for the Yankees in Manhattan.

Over 6,000 people in New York City are already cut off welfare every month simply on the basis of technicalities, adding to the more than 320,000 who have been set adrift in the past few years. Meanwhile, the unionized jobs in municipal hospitals, offices and sanitation which once provided one of the only avenues to a decent livelihood for minorities are being sealed off, their places filled by welfare recipients. This is aggravated by ever-deeper inroads into



Washington/NY Times

Giuliani with AFSCME union top Stanley Hill, front man for union-busting "workfare" schemes.

minority enrollment in the City University (CUNY) system—a flagrantly racist purge imposed through tuition hikes, stiffer entrance requirements and "workfare" rules which pull students out of the classrooms. Hardest hit by such attacks are the most vulnerable sections of the population, like immigrant workers. We demand: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants, "legal" or "illegal"!

As the *Times* article coyly noted, "Mr. Giuliani's efforts to expand workfare have been greatly helped by the acquiescence of the labor leader with the most potential to create a storm," AFSCME District Council 37 chief Stanley Hill. When the leaders of Transport Workers Union Local 100 signed a contract with state transit authorities two years ago mandating the replacement of 500 union jobs by "workfare" cleaners, Giuliani and Hill threw a fit—because it threatened to upset their own longstanding "sweetheart deal," which replaced 20,000 city workers. Hill's role as front man for Giuliani blew up again last month when the mayor moved to lay off another 905 hospital workers, after putting in a thousand "workfare" recipients. The slated layoffs particularly target Harlem Hospital, one of the few municipal health facilities left in black neighborhoods.

As we observed in "NYC Transit 'Workfare' Deal: Enslaving the Poor, Busting the Unions" (WV No. 652, 27 September 1996), the union tops are today "acting more like low-wage labor contractors than even labor lieutenants of capital." Last summer's successful Teamsters strike at UPS offered a hint of labor's potential power. If they wielded the power in their hands, NYC transit workers could bring the city to a screeching halt, rallying behind them not only the rest of the unionized workforce but the unemployed in the ghettos and barrios,

CUNY students and the rest of the population fed up with incessant, grinding attacks. But that would pose a confrontation with the ruling class, which the pro-capitalist labor tops seek to avoid like a plague. The predictable anti-union blowback following the UPS strike has simply given the labor misleaders one more excuse for opposing class struggle in favor of reliance on their Democratic and Republican "friends."

At bottom, the union tops see the world through the same lens as their capitalist masters, subordinating the interests of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie's drive for greater profits. That is why the AFL-CIO bureaucracy has presided over two decades of union-busting and wage-slashing. Labor's power can only be mobilized through a political struggle against the union tops who chain workers and minorities to the class enemy. Karl Marx stated the basic truth in *Wage-Labour and Capital* 150 years ago: "The interests of capital and the interests of wage-labour are diametrically opposed to each other."

Capitalism Immiserates the Workers

Now that communism is supposedly "dead," even bourgeois ideologues have lately been acknowledging Marx's trenchant analysis of the workings of the capitalist economic system, particularly in light of the financial crisis racking the Asian Pacific Rim. In a piece on the 1848 *Communist Manifesto* titled "Marx's Masterpiece at 150" (*New York Times* Book Review, 26 April), Steven Marcus notes "much that remains striking and pertinent, and nothing more so than Marx and Engels's vision of capitalism's triumphant globalization." Marcus of course dismisses as fantasy Marx and Engels' conclusions, asserting for example that "the ever-deeper pauperization of the working class was not part of the system's 'inevitable tendencies'."

In fact, Marx's understanding that the tendency toward immiseration was endemic to capitalism could not be more evident than it is today. The American bourgeoisie has been crowing that its "leaner, meaner" economy has meant rising employment. But aside from a relative handful of professional positions in brokerage houses and high-tech computer firms, few of these jobs, which are largely in service industries, pay enough to feed, clothe and house a family. In the absence of affordable day care, women workers are forced to leave their kids to fend for themselves—and then face imprisonment for "child neglect"—while welfare mothers who refuse "workfare" assignments risk losing any means of support.

Under capitalism, the average wage is only enough to provide for the maintenance of the worker and his family and for raising the next generation of labor. To the extent the trade unions engage in struggle, they can secure a temporary increase in wages, only to have them driven down again when the bourgeoisie regains the offensive. The impact of the trade-union bureaucracy's criminal be-

trayals is clearly seen in the fall in living standards. Nearly one in three workers today makes less than \$7.28 an hour, as compared to fewer than one in four in 1973. Over the past quarter century, real wages have plummeted by 20 percent. In the same period, welfare benefits were slashed by half.

These figures illuminate another essential fact of life in racist capitalist America: attacks on the black population spearhead broader assaults on workers' living standards. The ghetto masses have historically served as a "reserve army" of the unemployed for American capitalism, to be hired in times of economic upturn and thrown out on the streets when the bourgeoisie no longer needs them. In *Capital*, Marx explained how the maintenance of such a "reserve army" serves to degrade working conditions and to lower wages for all workers:

"The over-work of the employed part of the working-class swells the ranks of the reserve, whilst conversely the greater pressure that the latter by its competition exerts on the former, forces these to submit to over-work and to subjugation under the dictates of capital. The condemnation of one part of the working class to enforced idleness by the over-work of the other part, and the converse, becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists."

Now that many of the big urban industrial plants—especially in the Midwest and Northeast—which once provided jobs have been turned into rusting hulks, the bourgeoisie has come to view a substantial part of the ghetto masses as a "surplus" population. That is what's behind the elimination of welfare, replete with racist diatribes against a "culture of dependency," and the wholesale cuts in inner-city public education and social services. Nonetheless, black workers remain a strategic component of the organized labor movement, which can only go forward by combatting the bourgeoisie's attempts to use racism to divide the working class.

What's urgently needed is a class-struggle fight for *jobs for all*. Equally urgent is the need for *free, quality medical care and quality, integrated housing and education for all*. We call for a *massive program of public works at union wages*. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program, the 1938 founding document of the Fourth International, in fighting for such demands "the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

The mobilization of the proletariat in class struggle requires its complete and unconditional independence from the capitalist state and the bourgeoisie's political parties—courts and cops out of the unions! The key to this lies in uncompromising political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. To advance the interests of working people, and especially of immigrants and the black and Hispanic masses, requires the forging of a multiracial Leninist vanguard party to lead the proletariat in the overthrow of the entire capitalist profit system. ■

Spartacist Educational Weekend

Forum: Saturday, May 16, 7 p.m.

The Struggle for Trotskyism in the Post-Soviet World

Speaker: John Masters, Trotskyist League of Canada
Ida Noyes, West Lounge, 2nd Floor, 1212 E. 59th St., University of Chicago

Classes: Sunday, May 17, 11 a.m. and 3:30 p.m.

1917—How the Bolsheviks Took Power

Socialism and War

Cobb Hall, Room 102, 5811 S. Ellis, University of Chicago

For information and readings call: (312) 454-4930, e-mail: spartacus@uchicago.edu

CHICAGO—Saturday-Sunday, May 16-17

Pol Pot and Imperialist Hypocrisy

The death last month of Pol Pot, who launched a reign of terror after taking power in 1975 which led to the killing of more than a million and a half Cambodians, provoked an orgy of hypocritical outbursts from American imperialist spokesmen. While President Clinton calls for an international tribunal to try remaining Khmer Rouge leaders for genocide, Henry Kissinger cynically declared that behind Pol Pot lurked other war criminals. He ought to know: as secretary of state in the Republican Nixon administration, he was a key executor of U.S. imperialism's dirty, losing war in Indochina, in which a million Cambodians and two million or more Vietnamese were slaughtered during the 1960s and early '70s. Now this sinister Dr. Strangelove smirks, "Why should we flagellate ourselves for what Cambodians did to each other?"

Echoing Kissinger's lies was fellow Cold Warrior Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser under Jimmy Carter's 1977-81 Democratic administration. Railing against a tame statement by the *New York Times* (17 April) that "the Carter Administration helped arrange continued Chinese aid" to Pol Pot, Brzezinski tried to put all the blame on the Beijing Stalinist regime, claiming, "We told the Chinese explicitly that in our view Pol Pot was an abomination and that the United States would have nothing to do with him—directly or indirectly" (*New York Times*, 22 April). Brzezinski sang a different tune at the time, crowing: "I encourage the Chinese to support Pol Pot" (*New York Times*, 17 April).

U.S. imperialism did far more than simply "encourage" Beijing. As Australian journalist John Pilger observes in an article titled "Pol Pot: The Monster We Created," Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge "would be historical nonentities—and a great many people would be alive today—had the United States not helped bring them to power, had the governments of the US, Britain, China and Thailand not supported, armed and sustained them" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 26 April).

By the time the Khmer Rouge seized power, the country had already been razed to the ground. Between 1969 and 1973, U.S. forces dropped 100 tons of bombs for every man, woman and child in Cambodia. The Spartacist League hailed the 1975 defeat of the U.S. and its imperialist allies and Indochinese puppet forces—centrally at the hands of the North Vietnamese deformed workers state (DRV) and its South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF) allies—as a tremendous victory for workers and oppressed around the world. We fought for military victory to the NLF/DRV and raised the call, "All Indochina must go communist!" At the same time, we warned against any illusions in the Sta-

U.S. Slaughtered Millions in Indochina



Imperialist mass murderers: Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon presided over slaughter of one million Cambodians as U.S. bombing razed country.



Julienne/Sygma

linist NLF/DRV leadership, raising the call for proletarian political revolution from Hanoi to Moscow.

The victory of the NLF/DRV meant the overturn of capitalist property relations and the extension of North Vietnam's planned, socialized economy to the South. But when the Khmer Rouge marched into the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh, they proceeded to assassinate pro-Vietnamese Communist militants and forcibly depopulate the city, driving millions into slave labor in the countryside. While opposing the imperialists' anti-Communist hue and cry, we described this as "Peasant Stalinism Run Amok" (WV No. 180, 4 November 1977). When Vietnam invaded Cambodia in the winter of 1978-79 and drove out Pol Pot, while opposing a long-term occupation, we queried whether the Cambodian people might not prefer a Vietnamese presence ensuring food, medicine, wages, children and voluntary marriage to the xenophobic tyranny of the Khmer Rouge. In fact, they did.

Meanwhile, the imperialists seized on the invasion to intensify their vindictive crusade to punish Vietnam, embracing the Khmer Rouge as a proxy force. In early 1979, Washington encouraged Beijing to act as its cat's paw in a failed invasion of Vietnam. Between 1980 and 1986, under both Carter and his Republican successor, Ronald Reagan, Washington doled out \$85 million to the Khmer Rouge, which was now allied with the right-wing and monarchist Cambodian forces it had earlier defeated. After former CIA deputy director Ray Cline visited the Khmer Rouge base in November 1980, Pilger writes, "some 50 CIA agents

were running the secret US war against Vietnamese-occupied Cambodia from the US embassy in Bangkok and along the Thai-Cambodian border." The Khmer Rouge and its monarchist allies were also trained by Britain's elite SAS "counterinsurgency" killers. In the United Nations, Washington insisted that the Pol Pot/monarchist coalition be seated as Cambodia's official representative.

In 1983, the international Spartacist tendency (now International Communist League) organized protests to demand the seating of the Vietnamese-backed Phnom Penh regime at the UN. In our protest call, we raised the slogans: "Pol Pot Killed Real Khmer Communists, then Committed Genocide! Hail Liberation of Khmer People! Hail Reconstruction—Kampuchean People Now Have a Future!" (WV No. 338, 23 September 1983). We noted:

"The logical extension of Pol Pot's Cambodia wasn't even Stalin's purges and labor camps, it was Jonestown! Pol Pot's abolition of cities, of factories, of money and his massive reversion to subsistence agriculture—a pre-feudal program based on fantasies of recreating the barbaric Angkor Wat slave kingdoms—utterly shattered any rational economic base for the regime, thus any restraints on the ruling clique."

The utter destruction of the economic base carried out by the Khmer Rouge is diametrically opposed to a Marxist program, which aims to vastly *expand* society's productive forces. As we wrote some years later in an article headlined "U.S., China Arm Pol Pot Butchers" (WV No. 493, 12 January 1990), Pol Pot's "grotesquely misnamed 'Democratic Kampuchea'" was "a barbaric nightmare which was not even a hideously

deformed version of a workers state."

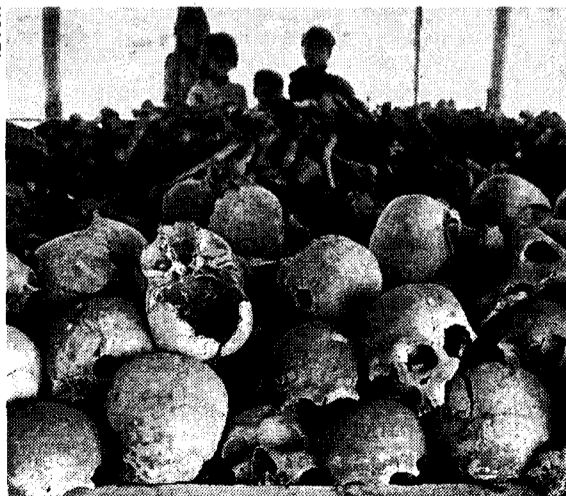
Today, the same imperialists who backed Pol Pot's genocidal forces to the hilt try to use his crimes to smear communism. Indeed, there is more to the current campaign of lies than salvaging the "good names" of imperialist mass murderers like Kissinger and Brzezinski. In the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, Pol Pot has become a poster boy for the capitalist rulers' "death of communism" Big Lie, as they seek to stem any interest in communism among workers and radical youth by painting Marxism as a vast "conspiracy of evil."

In West Europe, fascists mass distribute the recently published French *Black Book of Communism*, an 800-page compendium of lies purporting to prove that the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution led to the murder of 100 million people around the world. This post-Soviet version of the anti-Semitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* has been embraced by "respectable" bourgeois ideologues, and even reformist "socialists." British journalist Rupert Cornwell, writing in the London *Independent* (17 April) on Pol Pot's crimes, declares in a typical lying amalgam:

"Hitler never managed as much. Conceivably, the Lenin/Stalin tandem, a closer historic parallel with Pol Pot, did, if you accept the worst estimates of the purges, terrors and famines they inflicted upon the Soviet Union in the name of Communism."

It's said that it is the victors who write the history books. In this case, the imperialist victors in the anti-Soviet Cold War are particularly exercised because they still chafe at their humiliating *defeat* on the battlefields of Vietnam. As proletarian revolutionaries in the belly of the imperialist beast, we recall the words of General Van Tien Dung, chief of staff of the Vietnamese People's Army and commander of the final offensive which liberated Saigon on 30 April 1975, who wrote of the U.S.: "They mobilized as many as 6 million American soldiers in rotation, dropped over 10 million tons of bombs, and spent over \$300 billion, but in the end the U.S. ambassador had to crawl up to the helicopter pad looking for a way to flee."

It is not Marxism which is dead, but its nationalist Stalinist perversion. The ICL fights for the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky. We call for unconditional military defense of Vietnam and the other remaining deformed workers states against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution as part of our fight for new October Revolutions around the world. The victorious proletariat will see to it that the imperialist torturers and murderers are finally brought to justice. ■



New York City, September 1983: Spartacist League demanded seating of Vietnam-backed Cambodian regime at UN. U.S. imperialists promoted Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, who killed more than 1.5 million Cambodians.

Germany...

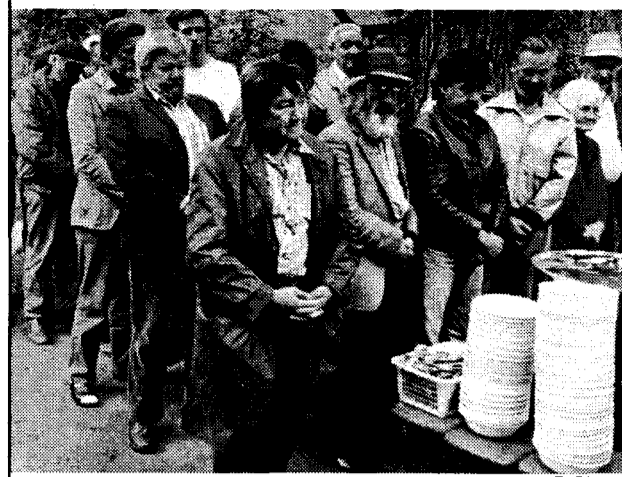
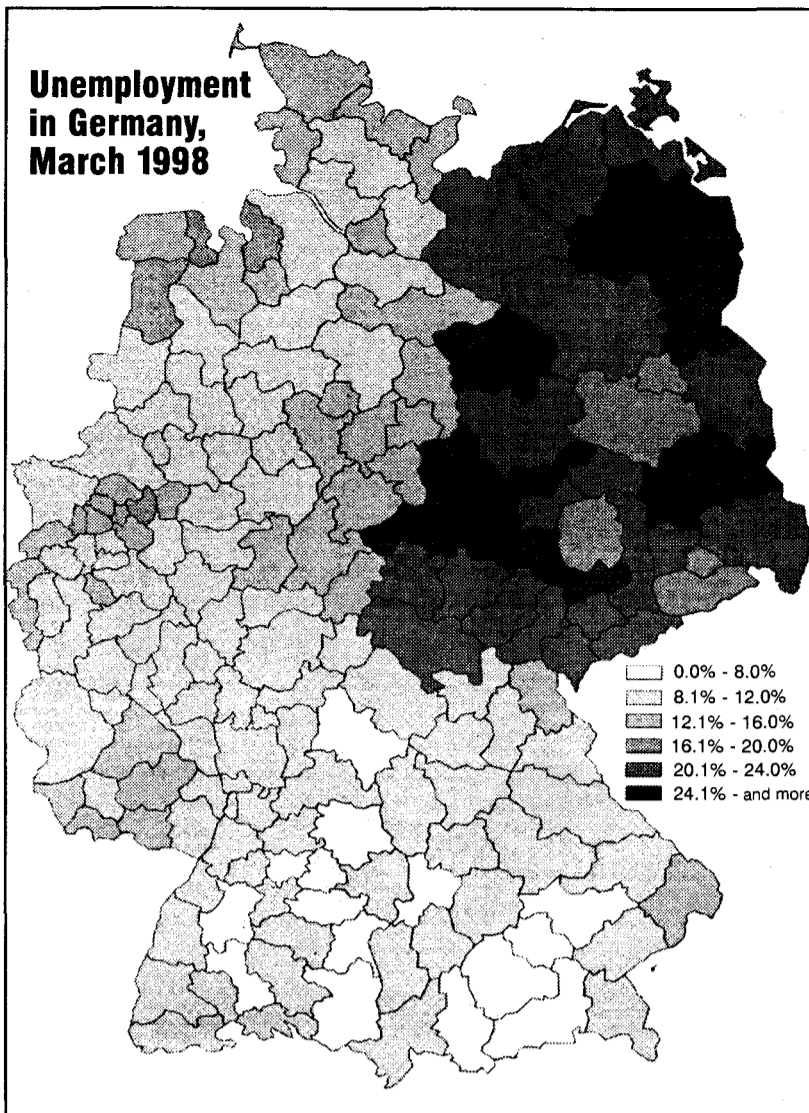
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the urgent need for *mass worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop the Nazis in their tracks.*

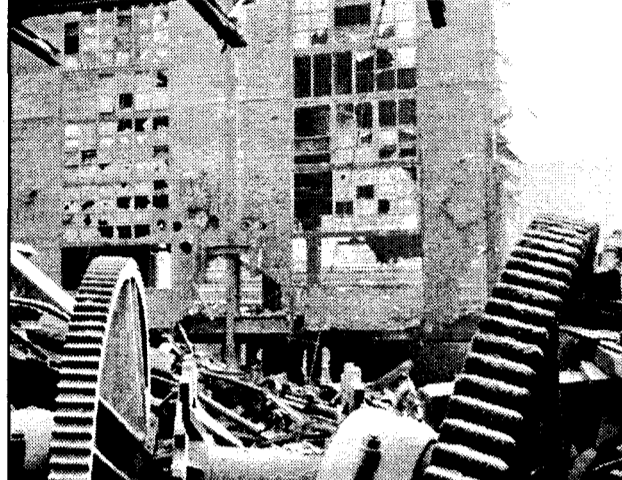
Fearful that a huge display of Nazi banners in one of the country's largest cities would be a blot on the "democratic" credentials of the Fourth Reich, the Leipzig SPD city administration repeatedly sought to impose a ban, which was twice overturned by the courts on the eve of the march. As the SpAD warned in its supplement, appeals to the bourgeois state to ban the fascists demobilize the proletariat, and such bans are ultimately turned against workers and leftists. Indeed, the Leipzig authorities' proposed ban was aimed not at preventing racist terror but at averting "violence" by anti-fascist protesters.

The role of the bosses' state was clear in Leipzig, as the cops focused their attacks almost exclusively on the left. The Nazi provocation was protected by an army of over 6,000 riot cops, who subjected the city to a virtual state of siege. As police fired water cannon at some 5,000 anti-fascist protesters and waves of cops wielding nightsticks time and again waded into groups of leftist youth, the Nazi rabble were given free rein to spew their racist filth. Dozens of leftists were rounded up by the cops. The SpAD demands: Drop all charges against the anti-fascist protesters!

That the cops would protect the Nazis, as they have in other cities on countless occasions, was to be expected. *The responsibility for yesterday's ominous Nazi show of terror lies squarely at the feet of the class traitors who stand at the head of the workers movement: the SPD, the pro-SPD German trade-union federation (DGB) bureaucracy and the ex-Stalinist Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS).* As the SpAD supplement pointed out, that the Nazis chose to carry out their race-hate provocation on May Day, the international workers holiday, symbolizes their ultimate aim of crushing the workers movement. Yet all that was offered by the DGB, joined by the PDS, was a May Day rally pushing for an SPD government



P. Glaser



Der Spiegel

Devastation of East German industry (above) by capitalist counterrevolution led to highest unemployment in country, fueling fascist growth. Unemployed line up for food in Berlin (top).

in 1990 has led to soaring unemployment. Posturing as an alternative to the CDU/SPD, an NPD führer in Leipzig ranted, "Radical problems require radical solutions!" Under the battle cry "Jobs for Germans first"—which was prominent at the Leipzig march—the fascists wield social demagoguery in an attempt to channel widespread frustration among unemployed youth into racist terror against refugees and workers of Kurdish, Turkish and Slavic origin. In Warsaw, radio stations warned Polish motorists that they faced assault by Nazi mobs if they drove anywhere near Leipzig on May Day.

Alarmed at the Nazis' growth, a leftist student in Leipzig explained, "With high

the self-styled "left wing" of the PDS: "They are also against big capital. At the moment we have the same problems as North Korea and live under the pressure of world imperialism."

The nationalist SED bureaucracy helped prepare a base for the current growth of fascism in eastern Germany by allowing the NPD's East German namesake to officially exist, from the very founding of the DDR in 1948, as a "conservative" fig leaf for the Stalinists' "people's democracy" and "a political homestead for the grassroots members of nazi organizations" (Hanna Behrend, ed., *German Unification* [1995]). More recently, various PDS leaders have arranged meetings with the fascists (see "German Leftists in Suicidal 'Dialogue' with Nazis: Fascist Terror Is Not Free Speech," WV No. 601, 27 May 1994). Among those PDS leaders is Christine Ostrowski, who now asks in *Neues Deutschland* (30 April), "Why didn't the PDS manage to win many of those who have now voted for the DVU?" Ostrowski's answer is to steal the fascists' thunder, railing against "foreign colleagues" who work under "illegal conditions" while "every third construction worker in the East is unemployed."

Against the social-chauvinists of both the SPD and PDS, the SpAD fights to forge an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to lead the multiethnic proletariat in smashing the Nazi scourge as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. We publish below a slightly abridged translation of the *Spartakist* supplement.

SPARTAKIST

The Nazis' proclaimed intention to march in Leipzig on May 1 is a deadly threat to all workers, immigrants, leftists and oppressed minorities. Under cover of an "election rally," the Nazis intend to march for their genocidal program, seen in the racist murders in Mölln (1992) and Solingen (1993) and in the pogroms in Rostock (1992) and Hoyerswerda (1991). Encouraged and protected by the state, they have spewed their racist poison in a series of provocations in Munich, Saalfeld, Dresden and Lübeck. Each provocation leads to mounting murderous terror and arson attacks against immigrants and leftists, most recently killing a 14-year-old schoolgirl in Saalfeld.

The Nazi provocation on May Day, the

international workers holiday, shows that their anti-immigrant terror is ultimately directed against the trade unions. The Nazis are growing today as they feed off the crisis of capitalism and soaring mass unemployment, and the concomitant anti-immigrant demagoguery spewed by the government and SPD.

While the Nazis are now the size of a flea compared to the organized workers movement, they are growing with every mobilization. Their first targets are the most vulnerable sectors of the working class and the population as a whole. Tomorrow, they'll turn directly against the workers organizations—smashing strikes, trade unions, workers rallies. After the Nazis came to power in 1933, they destroyed all workers organizations and murdered millions of Jews, Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), communists and homosexuals in the Holocaust. As Leon Trotsky warned in "What Next?" (1932): "Fascism is not merely a system of reprisals, of brutal force, and of police terror.... The task of fascism lies not only in destroying the Communist vanguard, but in holding the entire class in a state of forced disunity.... It is also necessary to smash all independent and voluntary organizations, to demolish all the defensive bulwarks of the proletariat."

It is urgently necessary for the workers movement to act. The workers are organized in the factories—when they go out on strike the wheels of industry come to a standstill. The integrated working class not only has the power to stop the fascist scum, but also to emancipate mankind from the capitalist profit system. The fascists are the guard dogs of the bourgeoisie, to be unleashed as a last resort to crush the workers movement. Thus, the struggle against fascism must be part and parcel of the fight for proletarian revolution against the whole capitalist system.

In all the key industries—mining, metal works, auto, chemical—workers of Kurdish and Turkish origin work side by side with German workers and are organized in unions with them. The mobilization of German and immigrant workers as a unified proletariat is strategically necessary for the defense of their own class interests and against the fascists. This will take a sharp political struggle against the pro-capitalist union tops.

Small groups of anti-fascist leftists and anarchoid autonomes, however courageous, are easy prey for the cops. What is needed are mass mobilizations of the trade unions—with their large component of workers from Turkey, Kurdistan and

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Der Spiegel

Funeral for Jorge João Gomundai, murdered by fascists in Dresden, 1991.

which did not even make a pretense of attempting to stop the NPD march, and an "anti-fascist" concert the night before the Nazi provocation. Thus, the social-democratic tops criminally left isolated groups of leftist youth to face the combined forces of the Nazis and cops on their own. Meanwhile, the DGB grotesquely thanked the cops, who were busy beating and arresting anti-fascist demonstrators, for "doing a good job."

Less than a week earlier, the fascist German People's Union (DVU) captured 13 percent of the vote in neighboring Saxony-Anhalt. Headed by Munich newspaper magnate Gerhard Frey and promoted by British Nazi David Irving, this fascist outfit now has 15 seats in the state parliament. Key to the DVU's victory was the 25 percent vote it garnered among youth in this state which has the highest unemployment level in the country. The bourgeoisie's vindictive devastation of the economy following the counterrevolutionary annexation of the former East German (DDR) deformed workers state

unemployment, people feel like no party represents them. They fear the future." The only future promised by the CDU and SPD is more layoffs and further cuts in social services. Newly appointed SPD leader Gerhard Schröder, who models himself on British Labour prime minister Tony Blair, promises to be even more draconian than Kohl in defending the interests of the bourgeoisie. Meanwhile, the SPD/DGB tops echo the fascists by pushing racist deportations and "quotas" for immigrant workers.

The PDS, social-democratic remnant of the Stalinist Socialist Unity Party (SED) which sold out the DDR, pushes the same chauvinist garbage as the SPD, combined with nostalgic appeals to "Ossi [East German] nationalism." The fascists are no less adept at such demagogic appeals; indeed, over one-fifth of those voting for PDS candidates in Saxony-Anhalt also cast votes for the DVU. And a recent report on the NPD in *Die Zeit* (23 April) quoted one stormtrooper bragging about contacts with Communist Platform,

Germany...

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other countries—supported by homosexuals, Jews, refugees, leftists and all potential victims of the fascists. We must mobilize at the same place and the same time as the Nazis' threatened provocation in order to stop them and drive them back into their rat holes. Stop the Nazis through worker/immigrant mobilization!

Bourgeois State: Enemy of Workers and Oppressed

The pro-capitalist PDS and SPD trade-union leadership doesn't intend to touch a hair on the Nazis' heads. That's why they're planning diversions, organizing impotent anti-racist rallies at another time or far away from where the Nazis intend to march. These misleaders hope that leftist counterdemonstrations will be seen as a danger to Fourth Reich "law and order" and that both the left and the Nazis will be banned. This would leave the road clear for the Nazis. The social-democratic misleaders are preparing a defeat which would exceed even the horrible spectacle of 5,000 Nazis marching unhindered through SPD-run Munich in March 1997. Leftists and immigrants in Leipzig are already preparing to defend their centers against the sort of nightriding violence which swept through the Leipzig area last May Day when a similar Nazi provocation was banned.

Those who argue against confronting the Nazis allow this scum to continue their rapid growth and their murderous terror. Contrary to lowest common denominator "coalition" politics, in which revolutionary views in particular are censored, in a united-front action every participating organization retains freedom of criticism, the full right to put forward its own program in speeches and propaganda. It is through the open clash of opinion that consciousness is raised and competing political programs are tested.

Like the SPD in 1933—with its appeal: "State, intervene!"—the trade-union bureaucrats place their confidence in the ballot box and demand that the cops and courts ban the Nazis and their marches. Hitler's rise to power was unchallenged by the SPD and German Communist Party. The Social Democracy supported Hindenburg, who used the Weimar constitution to legally appoint Hitler chancellor. The Nazis have been repeatedly banned in Germany since the end of World War II, but that has never prevented them from carrying out their murderous terror. Appealing to the state to ban the Nazis is utopian, creating illusions in the bourgeois state within the working class. Laws passed against the fascists will ultimately be directed against the workers organizations.

During the Nazi provocation in Munich last year, a spokesman of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionär Sozialistische Bund (RSB—Revolutionary Socialist League)—speaking far from the Nazi rallying site—addressed the cops! With the words "ladies and gentleman of the police," he appealed to the armed thugs of the state to remember that one of their own had been killed by a Nazi shortly before and expressed his regret that the "state and police can't and won't protect us" (see *Spartakist* No. 128, June/July 1997).

The Cliffite supporters of Linksruck declared Munich a victory. Their British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) comrades claim that cops are part of the workers movement. The SWP organized a readers' circle among prison guards and whined, "Are All Cops Really Bastards?" (*Socialist Worker*, 8 February 1997). This is reformist nonsense. In *The State and Revolution*, Lenin described the state as "special bodies of armed men" and explained "that the working class must break up, smash the 'ready-made state machine', and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it." And the October Revolution of 1917 confirmed that completely. Writing in 1932, Trotsky denounced the SPD's illusions in "its" police:



Trade unionists march against threatened job cuts in the Ruhr region, February 1997. Turkish and Kurdish workers are key component of proletariat in Germany.

"The fact that the police was originally recruited in large numbers from among Social Democratic workers is absolutely meaningless. Consciousness is determined by environment even in this instance. The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker. Of late years these policemen have had to do much more fighting with revolutionary workers than with Nazi students. Such training does not fail to leave its effects. And above all: every policeman knows that though governments may change, the police remain."

The reformist DGB bureaucrats are mobilizing for May Day in Leipzig to build election rallies for the SPD and PDS as the "lesser evil" in the fall Bundestag (parliamentary) elections. The Social Democracy doesn't even offer reforms; instead it administers layoffs, cutbacks and vicious racist attacks on immigrants, threatening the very livelihoods of the working masses and driving the petty bourgeoisie into the arms of the fascists.

Hamburg offers a glimpse of what a "lesser evil" SPD government will look like. State repression against immigrants, mass deportations and cop terror carried out under the pretext of "fighting drugs and criminals" are the daily reality in this SPD stronghold. In March, 450 racist cops launched a pogromist raid on asylum seekers on the houseboat *Bibby Kalmar*, rounding up 53 people. In 1996, Jude Abuaka from Sierra Leone drowned during a similar police action, as the cops watched.

Far from being a barrier to fascism, the social democracy paves the way for these murderous scum! As Trotsky wrote in 1929 in "The Austrian Crisis and Communism":

"In Austria, as everywhere else, fascism appears as the necessary supplement to social democracy, is nourished by it, and comes to power through its aid...."

"Fascism, fed by the social democracy, is forced to crack the latter's skull in order to come to power. Austrian social democracy is doing everything it can to facilitate this surgical operation for the fascists."

The most urgent tasks today—from concerted workers actions to smash the fascists to opposing capitalist attacks on immigrants to organizing victorious strikes—require an uncompromising struggle against the social-democratic class traitors and their reformist and centrist waterboys. This means forging a revolutionary party through splitting the SPD

and PDS on the anvil of class struggle and winning their working-class base to a revolutionary program. These social-democratic parties are, as Lenin explained, bourgeois workers parties: with a working-class base but a thoroughly bourgeois program. A revolutionary party would fight for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a workers state.

Capitalist Counterrevolution Fueled the Nazi Menace

The rise of fascist terror throughout Europe is a direct result of counterrevolution in the DDR, East Europe and the Soviet Union. The German bourgeoisie has razed the industrial base of the former DDR. Unemployment throughout Germany officially stands at 4.63 million—the highest since World War II—and in many regions of eastern Germany the official jobless rate exceeds 25 percent. Whole areas have been devastated, leaving many people with no future. The impoverished unemployed are filled with hatred for this system and look for a radical solution. It is among these layers that the fascists are recruiting with their racist terror and it is in the most devastated areas that they are growing most strongly.

We Trotskyists fought for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Our International mobilized to the extent of our resources to intervene in the crucial period from the fall and winter of 1989-90 through the Volkskammer parliamentary elections that March. We called: "For Workers and Soldiers Soviets," "For a Red Soviet Germany," "For the Socialist United States of Europe." We were the only ones who opposed capitalist reunification, warning that it would mean mass unemployment, the rise of Nazi terror, attacks on women's rights and sharpened interimperialist rivalries threatening a new world war. We called the SPD by its right name: the Trojan horse for capitalist counterrevolution. And we were right.

In January 1990, we initiated a workers mobilization against the fascist desecration of the Treptow memorial to the Red Army soldiers who smashed Hitler's Nazis. As our forerunners, the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) and the newly formed Spartakist Grup-



German imperialist troops in Bosnia. SpAD demands: "Bundeswehr out of the Balkans!"

pen in the DDR, warned in the call for the demonstration:

"Resurgent fascism is still an extremist fringe phenomenon. It would again threaten all mankind as soon as the first crises in a reunified Greater Germany appear. Today, however, the SPD/SDP is the chief instrument to bring about such a Greater Germany. Throttling the hydra-headed fascist monster now is to blunt this Social Democratic penetration."

We distributed over 130,000 leaflets at subway stations, in working-class districts, at factories and especially among foreign workers. Factory workers were the backbone of this mobilization, and after the SED-PDS was forced to take up the united-front call, 250,000 came out to protest at Treptow on January 3.

Addressing this rally, Renate Dahlhaus of the TLD/ICL called for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats in the DDR and for a socialist revolution in order to overthrow capitalism in West Germany as the only way to stop capitalist *Anschluss*. The crowd heard the counterposition of Trotskyism versus Stalinism, the ICL versus the SED-PDS-Gysi. It was the first time since Trotsky had been exiled from the Soviet Union and since the Left Opposition was smashed that Trotskyists were able to speak to a mass audience in a deformed workers state.

We were the only party which told the truth about capitalism and the fight against counterrevolution. The Cliffites of Linksruck and the International Socialist Organization (ISO) cheered the counterrevolution just as they cheered anti-Semitic, clericalist Solidarność and the Afghan *mujahedin*. Linksruck (March 1996) even rallies to the "honor" of the young Nazi stormtroopers: "Is the simple Hitler Youth equally as guilty as the industrialist who financed Hitler's rise to power?" This is what comes of years of enthusing over every anti-Communist movement on the face of the planet and is to be expected of a group which is deeply buried inside the racist, social-chauvinist SPD. Linksruck recently called for a vote to the SPD in Hamburg as it was waging what was internationally recognized as the most racist election campaign in Germany in years.

As the DDR was swallowed up by the West German imperialists, the Pabloites who are now organized in the RSB took Alka-Seltzer while their French comrades of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire celebrated with champagne. The Sozialistische Alternative Voran (affiliated to the British Militant group, now Socialist Party) came out for the "right of national self-determination which we must defend unconditionally" (*Voran*, February 1990). What a pitiful example of German-nationalist "Marxists."

The SED/PDS-led counterrevolution in the DDR meant the overthrow of the planned economy which, however grotesquely deformed by Stalinist misrule, guaranteed work and a livelihood to all women and men, old and young. Under capitalist reunification, women were the first to lose their jobs, while abortion rights have been sharply attacked. In supporting the forces of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, the DDR and East Europe, the fake left bears its share of responsibility for the immiseration of the masses and the upsurge in fascist terror.

Against Popular Frontism

The social welfare programs currently under attack in West Europe were granted by the bourgeoisie in the period following World War II to avert the "threat of Communism." Since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the imperialist bourgeoisies have moved to dismantle the "welfare state."

Today in Europe it is the social democrats who are doing the dirty work for the bourgeoisie in administering capitalist austerity. Germany appears headed toward an SPD government, possibly, as is already the case in a number of states, in coalition with the bourgeois Greens. But even a government of the SPD alone (whether supported by the PDS or not) would be nothing other than a capitalist

government, which would continue the attacks on workers and immigrants. In countries like Italy and France, the social democrats administer the capitalist state in coalition with outright bourgeois parties. The ICL is opposed in principle to any support to such popular-front coalitions, whether in government or in opposition, and we oppose voting for reformist workers parties in popular fronts. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France opposed a vote to Jospin's Socialist Party as well as to the French Communist Party. The Jospin government's deportation of immigrants amid skyrocketing unemployment has further emboldened Le Pen's fascists. As Trotsky pointed out, "People's Fronts on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution."

The reformist misleaders subordinate the interests of the workers to the bourgeoisie and its state. As Trotsky stressed, the trade unions must be completely independent from the capitalist state: "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat." The merging of the trade unions with the capitalist state is symbolized by the "trade union" of police, the bosses' professional strikebreakers and racist thugs. We demand: Cops out of the DGB!

The large number of workers of Turkish and Kurdish origin, alienated from chauvinist German bourgeois society, can play a vital role in the struggle against German imperialism. The social power of the proletariat must be mobilized to defend all the oppressed. **For full citizenship rights for all immigrants!**

What is necessary is the fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours to maintain the workers' living standards and to spread the available work around. The bosses' attempt to create a two-tier wage system is aimed, among other things, at pitting youth and immigrants against the unions. Now more than ever, the unions must fight to organize all unorganized and unemployed workers. The crisis of unemployment and the attacks on social welfare have hit women workers the hardest. We demand equal pay for equal work and free 24-hour childcare. To achieve these demands requires the systematic mobilization of the masses for the proletarian revolution.

The 1938 Transitional Program of the Fourth International shows clearly how the revolutionary party links the fight against the fascists to the mobilization of the proletariat to seize state power:

"The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory—and ends in the street. Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. **Strike pickets** are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating **workers' groups for self-defense.**"

Fake Lefts Tail Social Democracy

The policy of reformist groups like the ISO and Linksruck and the centrist RSB of voting for the social democrats flows from their anti-Leninist conception that the state is neutral and stands above classes. Linksruck says, "Vote SPD without illusions." The ISO calls for a vote "to the left of the current regime" (*Linke Offensive*, January 1998). The RSB says, "It is conceivable to give critical support to the PDS" (*Avanti*, December 1997). Calling for a vote to the PDS is simply a way of supporting an SPD government through the back door. The PDS is the pathetic remnant of the SED Stalinist bureaucracy which sold out the DDR to capitalism. It is the "Germany, One Fatherland" party of Modrow and Gysi.

These groups all promote illusions that the treacherous social democrats can be

pressured to fight for the interests of the workers. Posturing more to the left is the centrist Socialist Action/Communist Politics Working Circle (AKP), which reprints substantial excerpts from *Permanente Revolution*, the press of the German Trotskyists in the early 1930s. In fact, the AKP's line is to build ongoing propaganda blocs with other so-called "anti-fascist" groups on the popular-frontist basis of "fight the right." Thus during the June 1994 European Parliament elections, the AKP issued a joint statement with the Anti-Fascist Action Group, the Democratic Workers Association of Turkey, the Autonome Antifa Café and others, which said:

"Prevent the entry of the fascists into the Europarliament! No vote for the rights! No vote for the fascists of the REP and NPD!... Every vote for fascists and right-wing extremists is a signal to the rulers to continue their policy of social devastation!"

This is a barely disguised appeal to vote for the SPD, PDS or the bourgeois



East Berlin, 3 January 1990: 250,000 joined demonstration against Nazi desecration of Red Army monument at Treptow Park initiated by Spartakist-Gruppen/TLD call, "Stop the Nazis Through United-Front Action!"

Greens, none of whom are criticized or even mentioned in this statement. Moreover, the idea that fascism can be stopped at the ballot box is sheer parliamentary cretinism.

Trotsky sharply polemicized against centrist organizations like the Socialist Workers Party (SAP) in the 1930s, which in the guise of calling for a "united front" advocated propaganda blocs of the left around joint candidates to "fight the right." In "What Next?" Trotsky wrote:

"But it is precisely in the sphere of propaganda that a bloc is out of the question. Propaganda must lean upon clear-cut principles and on a definite program. March separately, strike together. A bloc is solely for practical mass actions. Deals arranged from above which lack a basis in principle will bring nothing except confusion."

A united front is *not* a political bloc which buries programmatic differences, but rather a means for common *action* by various organizations of the workers movement. Through the tactic of the united front, communists seek to unite the proletariat in action against the class enemy while at the same time demonstrating the superiority of the communist program as against that of the reformists and centrists.

Trotsky strongly criticized those who fetishized the united front, noting that "a centrist swears readily by the policy of the united front, emptying it of its revolutionary content and transforming it from a tactical method into a supreme principle" ("Centrism and the Fourth International," 1934). In "What Next?" Trotsky noted:

"In any case, the policy of the united front cannot serve as a program for a revolutionary party. And in the meantime, the entire activity of the SAP is now being built on it. As a result, the policy of the united front is carried over into the party itself, that is, it serves to smear over the contradictions between the various tendencies. And that is precisely the fundamental function of centrism."

The fake-Trotskyist centrists are the

main obstacle in the struggle to build the revolutionary party. Centrism can be described as "revolutionary in words, opportunist in deeds."

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

The destruction of the Soviet Union has led to sharpening interimperialist conflicts among rival trade blocs over the redivision of world markets and spheres of exploitation, ultimately threatening World War III. The European Union (EU) is an economic bloc dominated by German imperialism, a vehicle for capitalist cooperation against the working masses of Europe and for competition for markets with the trade blocs dominated by the U.S. and Japan. The idea of a peaceful unification of Europe is a chimera under capitalism; unification is possible only by the means of war used by Hitler. As proletarian internationalists, we of the ICL reject the EU. Down with the EU Maastricht Treaty! Down with racist fortress Europe! For a red Germany

all refugees from right-wing terror!

The U.S. war threats against Iraq in January were also a show of military might against U.S. imperialism's equally rapacious rivals, German and Japanese imperialism, aiming to reassert its control over Near East oil. In our international protest statements in January we called for: Defend Iraq against U.S. attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade! German Army (Bundeswehr) out of the Balkans! The Balkans are strategic to the German bourgeoisie, not least because its access to Persian Gulf oil reserves traces the route of the old Berlin-Baghdad railroad through the Balkans peninsula.

In the face of growing interimperialist rivalries, we stress, "The main enemy is at home!" In contrast, in their "antiwar" leaflet, the Linksruck Jusos (SPD youth) completely whitewash the crimes of the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz, which engaged in two interimperialist wars: "The most ruthless aggressor is the USA itself. No other country has started wars nearly as often as the USA, e.g., Korea, Vietnam, Grenada, Panama, Honduras, Iraq." What about German imperialism, which murdered millions in World War I and perpetrated Operation Barbarossa and the Holocaust in World War II!

The RSB's statement on the Gulf crisis (*Avanti*, March 1998) raises the demands, "U.S. troops out of the Gulf!" and "Turkish troops out of Iraq!" And while featuring an anti-American cartoon on the Balkans, it doesn't raise the slogan, "Bundeswehr out of the Balkans." Quite the opposite! As the army of German imperialism again marched into the Balkans in 1993, the RSB argued for a conscript army! And this January they praised the Bundeswehr: "Without a doubt there are dedicated democratic officers.... The Bundeswehrverband [army association] is by no means a reactionary mass. The majority of officers are liberal and technocratic." In its next issue, the RSB deplors the Greens' support for German military deployment, though "of course, not in those areas where it simply concerns freedom and humanity, as with the Kurds or the genocide against the Tutsis." What is this but a call for direct German imperialist military intervention in those areas. Put simply, what the RSB calls for is: U.S. troops out, Turkish army out and German imperialism in! That is social-chauvinist loyalty to their own bourgeoisie!

In contrast, Trotskyists say: Not a man, not a penny for the imperialist army! German imperialism: Hands off the Near East!

The only way to destroy imperialism is through international proletarian revolution! We seek to go forward to new October Revolutions throughout Europe and the world. The International Communist League fights to build the revolutionary international vanguard party which is needed to bring to the working class the consciousness of its historic task—to conquer state power around the world. Forward to the reorganizing of the Fourth International! Join us! ■

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California Prop 226...

(continued from page 12)

In 1996, the "new" AFL-CIO under John Sweeney kicked in some \$35 million for imperialist chief Clinton's re-election campaign, while the unions account for 46 percent of the money the Democratic Party collects from political action committees.

Many workers rightly resent surrendering their dues money year after year for CAP and COPE contributions to racist, anti-labor politicians while the union tops do their best to enforce labor "peace" while sabotaging strikes when they do occur. But these questions must be fought out *inside* the unions as part of a political struggle to oust the labor traitors and replace them with a class-struggle leadership.

What is happening in California is a bald attempt by right-wing forces to mobilize the most politically backward sections of the population, under the guise of a "democratic" referendum, as a battering ram for state intervention against the unions. Thus the "yes on 226" campaign has been spewing racist demagoguery about "union bosses" spending money for "legalizing drugs" and to oppose "three strikes" laws, which mandate life prison terms for three-time offenders. In a direct appeal to racist xenophobia, Prop. 226 also includes a "ban" on political contributions from "foreigners" who are already under such a ban by state and federal law. No doubt the backers of Prop. 226 are also banking on votes from those turning out for the anti-immigrant Prop. 227, which would ban bilingual education in the state (see "Down With 'English-Only' Racism!" WV No. 688, 10 April). **No on Prop. 226! Government hands off the unions!**

Wall Street's Anti-Labor Offensive

From California voting booths to court proceedings in Washington, D.C. and New York City, the capitalist rulers are continuing their vendetta against the unions for having actually won the UPS strike. Although the gains for workers were modest, the fact that this was a widely popular and *winning* strike—moreover one which backed down a major U.S. corporation after more than two decades of union-busting attacks—caused shock waves on Wall Street and a subsequent retaliatory *bipartisan* campaign to cripple the unions.

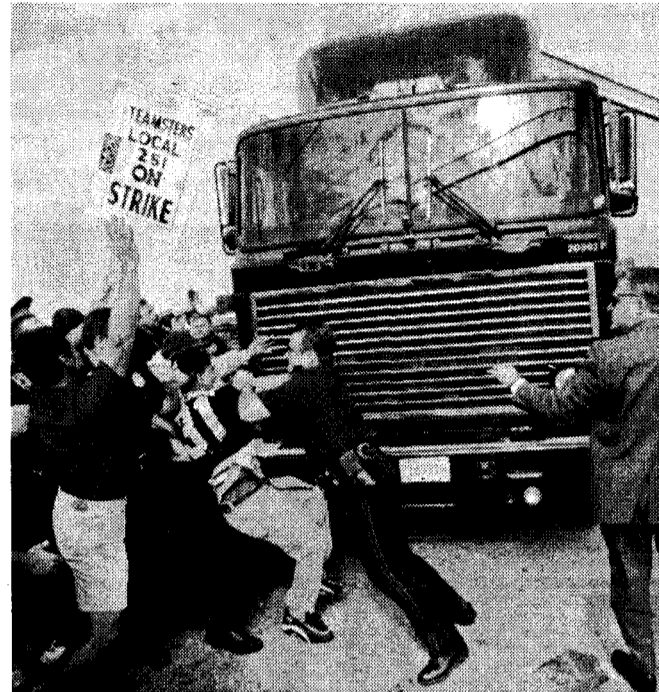
The move by Clinton's Justice Department against the Teamsters, ordering new union elections while barring Ron Carey from seeking re-election as president, is continuing with the indictment last week of the union's former political director on charges of perjury and "illegal" campaign financing. The indictment also aims to implicate several other Teamsters officials as well as AFL-CIO vice president Rich Trumka. In Congress, arch-reactionary Republican Senator Orrin Hatch's proposed "Freedom from Union Violence Act" would literally make defense of picket lines a federal offense. Already, RICO statutes ostensibly targeting "racketeers" are widely used against the unions to squelch strike activity. Meanwhile, so-called "workplace violence" measures are increasingly being implemented at worksites around the country, allowing employers to target workers as "violent" for daring to speak up for their rights on the job.

At the same time, a federal appeals court ruling in Ohio that "union shop" clauses in labor contracts are "invalid" would reverse the hard-fought gain that prevented employers from establishing non-union workforces within unionized plants (see "Government Steps Up Anti-Labor Attacks," WV No. 675, 3 October 1997). More recently, a proposed Congressional bill, particularly targeting the construction unions, would allow

employers to fire union organizers working at more than one site.

While ganging up with the Republicans against organized labor, the Democrats are bristling over Prop. 226 for transparent reasons of self-interest. Now that there is a threat to the flow of dollars into the campaign coffers, Vice President Al Gore has declared himself a defender of labor's "right to organize" (*New York Times*, 20 March). Moreover, a section of the ruling class worries that such measures would undercut what is a key political mechanism in regimenting the unions.

Of a piece with open-shop "right to work" laws, the measure is an attack on



Rhode Island Teamsters face cop attack during August 1997 UPS strike. In wake of successful strike, vindictive capitalists have escalated attacks on labor movement.

the right of trade unionists to engage in any political activity. Under Prop. 226, unions would be required to keep a record of where the dues money of each member went. These records would be available to the government, leaving union members open to victimization on the basis of their political affiliation.

Since at present union dues are deducted from paychecks, if the initiative passes, employers would need the signed consent of each worker before deducting that portion going to political contributions. Thus, the "dues checkoff" provisions of most union contracts would be used to choke off money in order to politically control the unions. For the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats, the "dues checkoff" system saves them from having to send organizers to collect dues, where they might run into hard questions from the membership over union policies. But for the workers, having the bosses collect union dues means putting union money in the custody of the class enemy. While opposing Prop. 226, we say that the unions should collect their own dues money!

This nasty anti-union legislation is being heavily promoted by outgoing Republican governor Pete Wilson, who clearly wants to deprive the Democrats of a major source of funds for the upcoming 1998 gubernatorial elections. The Republicans are also intent on preventing a repeat of the defeat of a 1993 "school vouchers" initiative which called for the state to provide vouchers for sending kids to parochial schools. That measure, which represented a further attack on the already criminally underfunded public education system in the state, was voted down after an aggressive campaign spearheaded by the teachers unions.

Unchain Labor's Power!

In their desperate campaign against Prop. 226, the union misleaders appeal to the same class enemy which is instituting the barrage of anti-union attacks and employ the same kind of racist demagoguery as the backers of the measure. The union-backed "Californians to Protect Employee Rights" highlights the support not only of the bourgeois League of Women Voters but of the police—the racist armed thugs of the capitalist class. Mimicking Prop. 226's chauvinist spon-

sors, a leaflet by the Alameda Central Labor Council denounced the measure on the grounds that it "opens an important loophole" for more "foreign contributions for state initiatives."

From embracing the racist cops to issuing vile chauvinist appeals against "foreigners," the AFL-CIO tops work to poison the possibility of a class-struggle fight against the anti-labor offensive. The dyed-in-the-wool reformists of the Communist Party and Committees of Correspondence, who openly support the capitalist Democrats, have embraced the labor bureaucracy's campaign against Prop. 226. However, the more left-

sounding International Socialist Organization (ISO) has also latched onto the anti-Republican, pro-Democratic chorus. Thus an article on Prop. 226 in the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (27 March), while not once mentioning the Democratic Party, whines that the law "would make it virtually impossible for unions to participate in the November elections."

Like the AFL-CIO tops, the ISO looks to the "democratic" bourgeois state as some sort of "neutral arbiter" that can be employed to further the interests of the working class. This has led the reformist ISO to *support* government intervention into the unions in the name of "rank and file" control. Last fall, as Clinton's feds drove their man Carey out of

office, the ISO complained that "Government Intervention Hurts Unions" (*Socialist Worker*, 7 November 1997). Yet these social democrats have long hailed Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which as early as 1977 demanded that the courts take action against the Teamsters leadership and ten years later literally wrote the blueprint for the government plan which "reorganized" the union under Carey (see "Feds Out of the Teamsters!", WV No. 679, 28 November 1997).

The struggle for the political independence of the proletariat from the class enemy has nothing to do with the so-called "Labor Party" promoted by the former Labor Party Advocates (LPA) which was initiated by slightly more militant-talking labor fakers like OCAW oil and chemical workers leader Tony Mazzocchi. Especially now that it is making noises about running in its own name, the LP is being lauded by various reformist organizations such as Socialist Organizer, which urges it to "elect representatives to positions where they can help enact and enforce laws and policies to benefit the working class" (*Organizer*, February-March 1998). Likewise, Labor Militant hails this move as "smashing the corporate monopoly over the two-party system" (*Justice*, March 1998).

At most, these reformist outfits look to the likes of Tony Blair's Labour Party, which openly courts anti-union sentiment in administering decaying British capitalism on the backs of workers and minorities while carrying out bloody imperialist rule in Northern Ireland. But in the U.S., where the labor tops are wedded to the capitalist Democratic Party, the LPA/LP has always and only acted as a shell for Clinton's Democrats, refusing to run its own candidates in the presidential elections.

Behind the reformists' tailing of the very labor traitors who have presided over the steady erosion of union gains is their lack of faith in the revolutionary capacity of the working class. To unchain labor's power requires forging a Leninist party of the proletariat through political combat against the pro-capitalist misleaders of the working class. Acting to mobilize labor in defense of all the oppressed, such a party is the necessary instrument to lead the fight for workers revolution to expropriate the capitalists and build a planned socialist economy. ■

Leftists Murdered...

(continued from page 2)

common oppressors. From Iraq to Turkey, from Iran to Israel, the capitalist regimes of the Near East have the blood of millions on their hands. *Socialist revolution* is the only road to freedom and equality, and this is unbreakably tied to the fight for workers power in the imperialist West. Down with the oil sheiks, the dictators, the Zionist butchers! For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For a socialist federation of the Near East! For world socialist revolution!

While standing against Islamic reaction and other capitalist terror in the Near East, we emphasize that the biggest terrorists in the world today are the Western imperialist powers. The rulers of Washington, London, Paris, Berlin and other imperialist centers lord it over their Third World neocolonies and brutally exploit millions. In the Gulf War of 1991, the U.S. and its allies butchered more than a hundred thousand Iraqis. Since then, United Nations-sponsored imperialist sanctions have killed over a million more, including more than 600,000 children. During the Gulf War, and again this year in the face of renewed imperialist threats, we Trotskyists called on the international working class to defend Iraq against bloody attack by U.S. imperialism and its allies. It is

up to the workers of Iraq to overthrow Saddam Hussein—not imperialism or its agencies like the UN or the World Court, who would only replace him with another anti-communist dictator.

Despite our political differences with the WCP of Iraq and Iran, we defend them against terror by the capitalist state and by Islamic reactionaries. We are also proud to have stood with them in protest, as at International Women's Day in Toronto on March 8, where our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada joined their successful action to drive out agents of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The WCPI also joined with us in driving out a Canadian armed forces recruitment table. These were symbolic blows for the liberation of women, workers and all the oppressed around the world. We condemn the feminist organizers who invited and defended the army and the agents of the Iranian regime, and also self-styled leftists like the International Socialists, who vilely denounced the WCPI protest as a "racist assault" in order to cover for the Iranian ayatollahs' brutal regime.

The working class of Iraq and internationally will avenge the brutal murders of leaders of the Worker-Communist Party by overthrowing the bloody system of imperialist capitalism worldwide. The International Communist League fights to build Leninist parties of the working class to lead this struggle. We say: Down with anti-communist terror and murder! Workers of the world, unite in the fight for socialist revolution! ■

Australian Waterfront...

(continued from page 12)

oppressed. Thousands of workers across the country have stopped work in solidarity with the MUA and bolstered the picket lines, despite obstacles placed by the ACTU [Australian Council of Trade Unions] leadership.

While the number of unionised workers dropped from 50 per cent to 35 per cent from 1982 to 1994 (under the rule of the Australian Labor Party—ALP), there is still union clout to wield. The working class, through its labour, produces all the wealth in society. Its power lies in its numbers and organisation, and its ability to withhold its labour, bringing the wheels of capitalism to a grinding halt. But to unleash this power requires winning workers away from the pro-capitalist ALP and forging a revolutionary workers party dedicated to smashing the entire system of capitalist exploitation.

What's been needed from the very beginning is a solid national port strike, mobilising not only trade unionists but youth, immigrants and Aborigines—mass picket lines to keep scabs out and stop trucks from entering the docks. Hundreds of thousands of workers are looking for a way to strike back at this greedy, incompetent ruling class. Hunter Valley miners, whose strike last July sparked important solidarity actions by railworkers, have massively rejected Rio Tinto's latest take-back offer. Privatisation of Telstra [telecommunications company] has seen tens of thousands of jobs slashed, while Howard has thrown over 77,000 government workers out of work. Drawing on the palpable support for the MUA in the working class, a call to extend this struggle to other strategic sectors—construction, transport and mining—would strike a chord. But the union bureaucrats, who let thousands of Telstra jobs bleed away and betrayed the miners in the Hunter Valley, are not about to call out their members on behalf of the MUA, especially when the MUA tops have criminally kept the rest of the union—tugboat operators, linesmen and seamen—at work.

Our call for a class-struggle fight to bust the union-busters, based on our revolutionary opposition to the capitalist system, is welcomed by the most conscious militants, but many feel that right now they have to stick with what the union leadership is preaching. But beating back this union-busting assault requires breaking out of the framework of the Labor Party and the capitalist system it upholds. The union misleaders have emboldened the bosses through class-collaborationist deals, accepting the gutting of wages, working conditions and the slashing of jobs. It is their ability to hold the working class in line that makes the ALP, the party of the trade-union bureaucracy, so valuable to the ruling class.

From stopping mass strike action against the CIA-backed sacking of the

Whitlam government in 1975, to overseeing massive union givebacks, to calling out the capitalists' army against strikers, the ALP in power rules for the bosses. The ALP, like the British Labour Party and Canada's New Democratic Party, is what V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, called a "bourgeois workers party." Based on the workers' own organisations, these parties chain the working class to the capitalists and their state, claiming, as does the ALP today when their leaders put in photo-ops at the picket lines, to represent the interests of the workers. For nearly a hundred years, a crucial instrument in this has been the Arbitration system which mandates the compulsory settlement of labour disputes in special, supposedly "neutral" courts.

Bourgeois Reaction and Cop Terror

The union bureaucracy not only betrays the most elementary economic interests of the workers, it also serves as a transmission belt to the working class of bourgeois reaction, part of the political mechanism which ties workers to their exploiters. Most dangerous and disorienting is the lie—peddled incessantly by the union leaders—that the cops are potential "union allies." But to picketers at Fremantle, where the cops have been particularly brutal, or to the 185 arrested picketers in Brisbane, or to Aboriginal peoples who are routinely brutalised, beaten and killed by the cops, reality has taught otherwise.

The fact is, the cops aren't neutral, and they're not "workers in uniform." They are the armed fist of what Friedrich Engels called the "executive committee" of the ruling class—the state. When the cops demand more rights, whether in the guise of "union" rights or not, these are demands for *more power*, better guns and less restraint. That they haven't simply waded in with truncheons, tear gas and guns reflects the tactically conflicting messages coming from their paymasters. But when the order comes, the cops will attack mercilessly. Their job is to do the daily dirty work of the ruling class, defending the interests of the rich and powerful. The police are a sewer of concentrated racism, sexism and anti-socialist consciousness in capitalist society.

While praising the cops and looking to the capitalist courts, the MUA leadership (and the ACTU/ALP) declares Patrick and the Coalition government "un-Australian." But the "Australian" way is savage union-busting, racist murder of Aborigines and "White Australia" chauvinism. Taught in this racist school, some picketers have hurled abuse at the scabs—not as scabs, but because they are Maori or other nonwhite people. This racism is poison to the kind of integrated class struggle that is necessary to win. Maoris and Pacific Islanders, particularly from the construction unions, have been in the forefront of support to the MUA. Many of them are veterans of the Builders Labourers Federation, smashed by the ALP in 1986. Aborigines have joined the pickets, knowing that it is the

same racist government attacking both them and the waterside workers. Immigrants and refugees, facing imprisonment in detention centre hellholes (established by the ALP) and deportation, have also joined the MUA's fight. The rights of immigrants, Aborigines and labour will go forward together or will fall back separately.

Various self-styled socialists have advanced a range of "militant" demands. But, following the lead of the ACTU/MUA bureaucracy, they are simply pimping for the ALP. The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) says, "Sack Howard, not the wharfies," a naked call for an ALP government. The ISO calls for a one-day strike, while the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) calls for "wider industrial action" or a "national strike." But the kind of class-against-class political struggle needed for the MUA and the rest of the working class to win means a fight against the Laborite misleaders—whom groups like the ISO support and seek to pressurise to "do the right thing." Even worse is the DSP, which has no problem voting for the bourgeois Democrats, who to this day uphold the Workplace Relations Act.

A step to the left is Workers Power (WP), which calls for an "indefinite general strike." But a general strike—the mobilisation of the entire working class—by its nature poses the question of *power*: which class shall rule in society. But to WP it's a more militant-sounding slogan than the calls for one- or two-day "actions." Whatever their criticisms of the trade-union bureaucracy, WP is as firmly in their orbit as the ISO and DSP, calling on workers to pressure the ALP/ACTU—the very forces which have worked overtime to demobilise and derail the waterfront struggle in the service of getting Labor back in power—to carry out a general strike! Thus they call to put the ALP "to the test of office," as though 13 years of the ALP's anti-working-class, anti-immigrant rule needs further testing. No wonder they condemn as "abstract sectarianism" what they term our "ritual calls for a break with the ALP and the founding of a new Bolshevik Party."

Workers of the World, Unite!

Workers around the world, especially dock workers, are following the MUA's struggle closely. Our comrades of the International Communist League from the North American West Coast to Britain to South Africa have brought news of this fight and the class-struggle program needed to win it to union meetings and demonstrations, hiring halls and dock entrances. The war on the MUA is part of a broader anti-union offensive around the Pacific Rim. With narrow profit margins, the maritime bosses need to turn ships and cargo around quickly, so from Los Angeles to Vancouver, and Tokyo to Manila, they're out to reduce labour costs and weaken, if not destroy, the unions. But as the bitter defeat of the Liverpool dockers strike reveals, the battle must be fought and won against the bosses and their state "at home." The

Liverpool dockers were stabbed in the back by the Trades Union Congress and their own leaders in the Transport and General Workers Union who got what they wanted: a Labour Party government which is going after unions, students, the sick, the unemployed, minorities and the Irish Catholics, among others.

The nationalist ACTU tops act to poison international solidarity action with their protectionist calls to "save Australian industry," pushing the lie that workers have a common "national interest" with "their" exploiters at home, especially against the peoples of Asia. Down with racist protectionism! International class-struggle solidarity with the combative working classes of Asia means opposition to Australian imperialism and its bloody role of suppressing the struggles of the working class and oppressed in the region. Australian troops out of Bougainville!

Right now hundreds of *millions* of workers throughout Southeast Asia, from Thailand to Indonesia, from South Korea to Malaysia, are facing devastation and destitution—the inevitable result of the workings of capitalist imperialism. In Japan, too, workers and minorities in this major imperialist power, jockeying with its rivals in Germany-dominated Europe and the U.S., face mass layoffs. The capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union—which was strangled by the Stalinist usurpers who betrayed the workers revolution led by the Bolshevik Party in October 1917—has emboldened the imperialists worldwide. In China, the Stalinist bureaucracy seeks to overturn the 1949 anti-capitalist revolution and bring back the days of unbridled and cruel oppression, not least of women. Either the workers, who in dozens of cities have sought to fight back, will oust the Stalinists through proletarian political revolution or capitalist restoration will triumph. For the unconditional military defence of China against both imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution!

Day in and day out the capitalists (echoed by their labour lieutenants) preach the virtues of "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work." Over 150 years ago Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, declared that instead of this conservative motto, which accepts the "right" of the capitalists to live off the labour of others, workers must inscribe on their banner the *revolutionary* watchword: "Abolition of the wages system!" The multiracial working class in Australia must take its place in the international struggle to send the capitalist system of private profit, of poverty, of inevitable war to redivide the world for imperialist exploitation, to the dust bin of history.

The Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League, is dedicated to building a party of the working class, a tribune and champion of all the oppressed, that seeks nothing other than international socialist revolution. Those who labour must rule! Bust the union-busters! Victory to the MUA! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Government Hands Off the Unions!

Down With California Prop 226!

In the midst of a nationwide government offensive against the trade unions following last summer's successful UPS Teamsters strike, a measure has been placed on the June 2 primary ballot in California which would further attack union rights. As with similar measures being put forward in 20 different states, Prop. 226 would prohibit union "political contributions or expenditures" unless the unions obtain a signed statement from each member, once a year, authorizing the use of their dues money for such purposes. Similar laws are already on the books in Washington, Iowa and Michigan. Meanwhile, par-

Democrats, Republicans— Partner Parties of Capitalism

allel versions of the California measure are being mooted in both houses of Congress.

Heavily bankrolled by a confidante of Republican house speaker Newt Gingrich named Grover Norquist, who has organized the "Americans for Tax Reform," Prop. 226 is part of a coordinated campaign by the Republican Party

to cut the Democrats off from the millions they get each year in union money. As Marxists, we oppose Prop. 226 because we oppose any and all intervention by the government into the labor movement. The bourgeois state, consisting in essence of the cops, courts, military and government machinery, exists to enforce the rule of the tiny elite of

exploiters over the working class—the interests of these two classes are irreconcilable. The intervention of the capitalist government into the labor movement always serves to weaken the unions and to discipline the working class in the face of the bosses' relentless drive to maximize profits.

At the same time, our call for the independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state means that we fight against the AFL-CIO tops' support to the Democrats, who just as much as the Republicans represent the enemy of workers and the oppressed.

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Bust the Union-Busters—No Reliance on the Bosses' Courts!

Australian Labor Tops Demobilize Waterfront Struggle

We reprint below a special 4 May supplement of Australasian Spartacist, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia, on the dock workers strike against Patrick Stevedores which erupted last month after its mass firing of unionized workers. As we described in "War on the Waterfront—Smash Bosses' Union-Busting Offensive in Australia!" (WV No. 689, 24 April), this move was orchestrated by Prime Minister John Howard's right-wing Liberal/National Coalition government.

**Australasian
SPARTACIST**

John Howard and Patrick Stevedores' Chris Corrigan thought their massive union-busting assault on the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) couldn't go wrong. But the serious show of union power from Fremantle to Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney threw a wrench in their plans, as thousands of workers came out to support the embattled MUA. Now, with some 10,000 containers piled up on the docks, Patrick's share prices and Howard's ratings in the polls have fallen sharply. But the union misleaders have consciously demobilized this power, counterposing reliance on the bosses' courts and...electing a capitalist Labor government which will make good on its own threats of "waterfront reform."

Today the High Court ruled against Patrick's 7 April sacking of MUA workers. But MUA members and supporters have little to celebrate—the administrators of Patrick's labour-hire companies have been given complete power to determine whether *anyone* will be rehired. Even before today's decision, the MUA tops promised that MUAs would *work for free* to help improve Patrick's cash flow. Agreeing that Sydney and Melbourne ports are "over-

manned," MUA secretary John Coombs is also willing to bargain away 200 jobs. *We say: no settlement until all 2,000 get their jobs back, and all the charges are dropped against picket line defenders!*

John Howard has made it clear that no matter what various judges pronounce, the Coalition will continue its union-busting drive against the MUA: "Court decisions will come and go but nothing will alter the determination of my government to reform Australia's waterfront." Howard has said aloud what the capitalist rulers normally prefer to conceal—the true purpose of the legal system is to serve the interests of the tiny minority that lives by expropriating the fruits of the working class' labour. Indeed, the Workplace Relations Act, especially the laws against solidarity strikes, was crafted precisely to make legal this type of attack on the MUA.

While the bourgeoisie's judges played the sacked waterfront workers like a yo-yo, the union bureaucracy bowed before the capitalists' union-busting laws, turning what should be mass pickets that no one dare cross into traffic signals as the lines were ordered open to let the scab thugs enter. In Sydney, the MUA tops cut deals to allow scab cargo—race cars, "emergency" medical supplies, mining equipment, syrup for McDonald's—to move off the wharves.

The state-orchestrated union-busting against the MUA is a watershed for the working class in this country, comparable to the great British miners strike of 1984-85. Just as "Iron Lady" Thatcher staked all on destroying the miners, so the Australian rulers are out to crush the MUA. It is widely understood that a defeat for this union would embolden the capitalist rulers' drive against all unions, immigrants and

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Government-orchestrated union-busting, mass firing provoked militant workers' struggle on Australian waterfront. Union tops seek to derail struggle, preach reliance on capitalist courts.

Economist

Jeremy Piper

