

Stop the Executions!

Defend Chinese Workers!



Cambio 16



AFP

Armored personnel carrier burning in Tiananmen Square, June 4. Chinese TV shows Shanghai worker condemned to death for protesting killings.

The June 4 massacre at Beijing's Tiananmen Square brought China to the brink of civil war. The mass outpouring of defiance heralded the Chinese proletarian political revolution against the corrupt and despised Stalinist bureaucracy. For the moment the Deng regime has weathered the storm and is now cracking down, striking first and hardest at the working class. But the decrepit bureaucratic caste, which has opened the doors of China to massive capitalist encroachment and shamelessly allied itself with U.S. imperialism, can be shattered. *The central*

For Lenin's Communism— Forge a Trotskyist Party!

lesson of the Beijing spring and the urgent task which stands before the Chinese workers is the forging of an authentic communist party, an internationalist vanguard.

On June 15 in Shanghai, the commercial center of China and an industrial

powerhouse with four million workers, the first death sentences were handed down. The victims are three workers: Xu Guoming, Bian Hanwu and Yan Xuerong, accused of stopping and burning a train which on June 6 plowed through a Shanghai crowd

protesting the Beijing massacre, killing six demonstrators. On June 16, in Beijing eight more workers accused of taking part in "riots" against government troops were sentenced to die. In China judicial appeals are quickly dispatched with, and it is expected that the sentences will soon be carried out, with a bullet to the back of the neck. Families of those executed are charged for the

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Report from Hong Kong
See Page Nine

Hunger Riots Explode in Argentina

Leftists Targeted by State of Siege

For the second time this year, a major South American country has been wracked by hunger riots of desperate, starving poor people. In March the slums of Caracas, Venezuela exploded: more than 300 were killed looting stores and battling police in response to brutal austerity measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund and imposed by the government. Then in Argentina, in late May, rioting broke out in the industrial center of Córdoba in response to hyperinflation and mass layoffs. On May 28, as looting spread to Rosario, Argentina's second-largest city, President Raúl Alfonsín ordered a state of siege, suspending democratic rights. In the ensuing hours, the police and army killed 16; hundreds were wounded and more than

2,000 were arrested.

In the working-class suburbs of the capital, crowds of up to 1,000 people, many of them housewives and children, broke into supermarkets. Businessmen and government officials claimed the looters were led by subversive agitators. But the rioters were clearly "instigated" by hunger: a videotape of a grocery store being looted showed people sitting on the floor avidly eating the food they had seized. In some places, such as the Buenos Aires suburbs of San Miguel and Morón, there were pitched battles between the police and crowds armed with rocks and Molotov cocktails. In other cases, owners of butcher shops and grocery stores handed over their stocks to avoid destruction. A security

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Police roundup in Rosario. Argentine rulers tell starving poor: let them eat lead.

Independent (London)

AIDS Blacklist

In the midst of the raging AIDS epidemic, New York City's Health Commissioner Stephen Joseph has proposed a stupid and truly sinister program: mandatory reporting of the names of everyone testing positive for HIV (the "AIDS virus") to the NYC government. Joseph says "aggressive contact tracing" of their sexual or drug-use partners should become "standard public health applications for controlling HIV infection and illness." This can only be a program for blackmail—or much worse!

People with AIDS, and even those merely suspected of testing positive for antibodies to the HIV virus, have been viciously persecuted: kicked out of apartments, denied insurance, treated like lepers in medieval times. With no cure for the virus yet discovered, and in the atmosphere of fear and hysteria whipped up by anti-gay bigots and racists against those stricken by the deadly

disease—who are disproportionately black, Hispanic and homosexual—there is everything to fear and nothing to gain from mandatory HIV reporting and "aggressive contact tracing."

Joseph sprang his proposal at the international Montreal conference on AIDS on June 5, drawing instant protests from AIDS activists. ACT UP members in the audience shouted "Shame! Shame!" and in New York City ACT UP led a demonstration of over 200 at City Hall on June 8, chanting, "No listing, no tracing, no way!" An ACT UP leaflet, referring to the Health Department's earlier controversial slashing of its estimate of HIV-infected New Yorkers from 400,000 to 200,000 noted, "First you don't exist, now you're on the list." So explosive is this proposal that Koch was forced to convene a "panel of experts" at Gracie Mansion on June 17, who predictably opposed Joseph's plan—though the



Sawshuk/Newsday

New York City, June 8—ACT UP protests Health Commissioner Joseph's plan to turn in names of all those testing positive for HIV virus.

Commissioner says he's not abandoning his proposal.

ACT UP members have felt firsthand the sadism of Koch's cops. Women arrested at an ACT UP demonstration at City Hall on March 28 were forcibly strip-searched. "They barked out orders for us to lift up our shirts, take off our bras, drop our pants and underwear and squat. When we asked why they were doing it, there was no answer," theater director Debbie Levine told the *Daily News* (3 April). After the women went to the press about this outrage, it came out that the cops' "booking form" included an entry for "homosexual"—another blacklist already in place.

AIDS is spreading like wildfire in America's hellish inner-city ghettos, along with other scourges like tuberculosis. Most tragic is the growing number of babies born infected with the HIV virus, overwhelmingly to black and Hispanic mothers. The message has come down from the White House to the nation's decaying cities: American capitalism doesn't care if millions of Americans die of this deadly epidemic—so long as they're black or Hispanic or poor or "deviant" in some way, well out-

side the corridors of power.

Once on Joseph's "AIDS blacklist," drug users or "illegal aliens" uncovered through "contact tracing" would be subject to arrest or deportation. And when some psycho or the cops get their paws on the Health Department's "confidential list," which they inevitably will, it will become a hit list.

We are for voluntary, anonymous testing for everyone at risk from AIDS. This would provide medical and scientific experts with the necessary information they need to track the disease, while allowing those at risk to decide how to proceed. One burning need for this information is for pregnant women, who must have the right to decide whether or not to have an abortion if they think they may be carrying an infected fetus.

Decriminalize drugs and hand out free disposable needles! All social and medical services should be immediately available to all HIV-infected people, as part of a system of free quality health care for all, ripping the profit motive out of medicine. It will take a socialist revolution to put society's resources at the service of human needs, not profits. ■



TROTSKY

The International Red Aid, Our Revolutionary Heritage

Working people around the world have demonstrated their solidarity with the heroic defenders of the Afghan city of Jalalabad against imperialist-backed reactionaries. In undertaking the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, the Partisan Defense Committee and fraternal legal and social defense organizations in other countries acted in the revolutionary tradition pioneered by the International Organ-

ization for Aid to Revolutionary Fighters (MOPR in Russian). MOPR, popularly known as International Red Aid, was established in 1922 and endorsed by the Fourth Congress of the Communist International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. Its aims are described in an article in the journal of the International Labor Defense, the fraternal U.S. organization founded under the direction of future Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon.

Out of the sharpened conflict which has developed since the Russian Revolution between the exploited and the exploiting classes has grown this world-wide organization for the defense of political prisoners, for relief for their families, for amelioration of the hard conditions of prison life. The more or less national and local defense and relief bodies have given place to the international. The struggles and sufferings of the workers of any country are of vital concern to the workers of every other land.

The purpose of the MOPR, in the words of Chamkin, General Secretary at Moscow, is to give defense and aid to the revolutionary opponents of capitalism in every land without regard to party or political belief. Communists, Social Democrats, Anarchists, non-partisans—all are included. The only question asked is, "Does he suffer persecution as a working class fighter in the class war?"...

Speaking with a responsible leader in the Russian organization, I asked him what had been the predominant note in the propaganda. I could understand its appeal to Communists, but what had drawn the great hosts of non-Communists (more than 80%)? Was it sympathy, humanitarianism or what?

"We simply sound the note of international solidarity," was the reply. "All our thinking workers and peasants know what it means to struggle for bitter years against oppression. They do not have to be Communists to have a fellow feeling with the workers of Germany, France, Bulgaria, Italy, India, Poland. Whatever differences there may be as to tactics and strategy we all come together on the hard rock of the class war. If the proletariat is to be successful in the struggle it must take care of those who fall into the hands of the enemy. This is enough to draw all earnest revolutionists under our banner. When our comrades in prison cry out, 'Do not forget us,' we reply, be assured you are remembered. We will fight for you as you are fighting for the final victory of the proletariat."

—"M.O.P.R." *Labor Defender* (March 1926)



LENIN

Narc Squad Terror in New York City

NEW YORK—It was like the scene out of *Fort Apache*, *The Bronx*, minus cop-with-a-conscience Paul Newman, but this rooftop was no movie set and the blood in the alley below was the real thing.

On the evening of May 31, Trevor Francis, a former Jamaican soccer player, plunged six floors to his death from the Harlem roof where two Manhattan North Narcotics Unit detectives on a drug raid had chased him. Edgecombe Avenue residents who witnessed the fall from different vantages said Francis was pushed by the cops, or grabbed by the T-shirt at roof's edge, then let go. From her fifth-floor window below, Gidget Howell heard the cops celebrating Francis' death. "Did we splatter him?" she heard one cop ask the other. Then the cops "gave each other a high five," Howell said (*Daily News*, 2 June).

Accounts vary on the gruesome details, but black Harlem knows all too well the face of cop terror, and until reinforcements came 500 angry residents surrounded 20 narcs who were pelted with bottles and debris from above. As *Newsday* columnist Denis Hamill put it:

"The perception that a narc threw Francis from the roof stained the muggy air like a promise of a terrible summer to come.... Drugs, heat,

poverty and the rumor of police brutality and legal murder made this a disaster waiting to happen... the people in this part of Harlem aren't asking any questions. They already have their answer: COP MURDER!"

—*Newsday*, 2 June

Just one week earlier, 200 demonstrators tied up rush-hour traffic on the Queensboro Bridge hours after Richard Luke, a 25-year-old black man, died in police custody. Luke's sister summoned an ambulance to Queensbridge project late in the evening of May 21 because Luke, an asthmatic, was having trouble breathing. Emergency Medical Service paramedics could not find the patient, according to an EMS spokesman, but housing cops dispatched to the scene did. Residents saw cops beat Luke, pin him down and chokehold him. The cops claimed two vials of crack rolled out of his pocket while he struggled in the station house lockup and began banging his head against the cell wall. He died en route to Astoria General.

Residents summed up their outrage: "We call an ambulance and get beat up by some cops," said Elizabeth Foles. Joanne Franklin said, "They think everything is drugs, drugs, drugs. We want drugs out of the projects too, but we don't want our people killed."

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Why Should Anyone Believe David North?

The Workers League and Mark Curtis

Mark Curtis, a 29-year-old member of the Socialist Workers Party and union activist at the Swift meatpacking plant in Des Moines, is doing 25 years in an Iowa state prison on charges of burglary and sexual abuse. David North's Workers League, meanwhile, has been relentlessly working to undermine defense efforts for Curtis in the workers movement, here and internationally. Claiming that the "government-controlled" SWP is covering up for a "depraved rapist," the WL is vilifying leftists and trade-union leaders who sign statements or speak out on his behalf. Currently, the WL's *Bulletin* is running a weekly series on "The Mark Curtis Hoax," already in its eleventh installment. This campaign is now the Workers League's major activity. What is going on?

Mark Curtis was convicted on 14 September 1988 in a Des Moines court of third degree sexual abuse and first degree burglary, based on the state's charge that six months earlier Curtis forced his way onto the porch of the residence of a black family and attempted to rape 15-year-old Demetria Morris. But according to no account, not even that of the police or the young woman, did a rape ever take place, nor was anything stolen, nor was there a weapon, and there is no physical evidence of contact between Curtis and the alleged victim. Yet a young socialist militant faces 25 years of his life behind bars—for what? And why is David North's Workers League running point for the prosecution? Isn't there something



Mark Curtis with supporters: Edna Griffin, Des Moines civil rights activist; Kate Kaku, Curtis' wife; and Susan Mnumzana, of African National Congress mission to UN.

weird here?

Let's look at their targets. The Workers League has attacked the Socialist Workers Party as "a police-infested organization which works among politically diseased and disoriented layers of the middle class typified by the rapist Curtis" (*Bulletin*, 25 May). They have labeled our organization, the Spartacist League, a "politically deranged petty-bourgeois group," claiming: "The defense of this depraved rapist has become the rallying point for a politi-

cal provocation against the Workers League, the most frantic exponent of which is, as always, the Spartacist League" (*Bulletin*, 6 January). What set off this tirade was our noting that "the Northites have suddenly and cynically discovered the use of black oppression in order to get a white SWPer in Iowa sent to prison for 25 years on a dubious rape charge" (*WL* No. 467, 16 December 1988).

The Socialist Workers Party is a reformist political organization of the left. It was one of 16 groups singled out for special scrutiny by the FBI's so-called "administrative index" (ADEX), a "subversives" list set up under Nixon to consolidate the earlier "Subversives Index" and "Communist Index." In 1973, at the height of liberal reaction against the government's Watergate "dirty tricks," the SWP filed a legal suit against FBI spying and disruption, particularly under the infamous COINTELPRO program. Testimony and documents uncovered during the "Watersuit" revealed that between 1960 and 1976, the FBI committed 206 burglaries at SWP offices or homes, stole 12,600 documents and tapped telephones for at least 20,000 days. In August 1986, U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa ruled in favor of the SWP, ordering the FBI to pay them the not very munificent sum of \$264,000 in damages for its 38-year-long campaign of harassment.

The Spartacist League was also listed on the ADEX file, targeted by the government for "special" attention. The ADEX code included a group designated "SPL," along with the Communist Party, SWP, Black Panthers, Progressive Labor, SDS and others (see illustration). The FBI's definition of "SPL" claimed the Spartacist League "does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time," implying that we were some kind of secret terrorist conspirators. The SL, too, sued the government, in a 1983 suit over the Attorney General's "Guidelines for Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations." And in 1984 we won the case by forcing the government to delete its slanderous and deadly "definition" of

the SL, thus conceding that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or criminal terrorism.

What about David North's Workers League? Unlike the SWP and the SL, they don't appear on the ADEX file. And while the SWP was in court fighting, in its fashion, against government surveillance and provocation, what was the WL doing? North and his godfather Gerry Healy's International Committee were mounting their own smear campaign, "Security and the Fourth International," cop-baiting SWP leaders as simultaneously agents of the FBI and the Russian secret police! When a WL agent, Alan Gelfand, was expelled from the SWP in 1977, North & Co. dragged the SWP into court, demanding that the capitalist state carry out a fishing expedition, prying into the party's minutes, finances and membership lists. It takes effrontery to haul groups into court who are the object of vicious governmental repression.

One has to ask, who benefits—*cui bono*?

And one has to ask, who's doing the talking?

The rather shadowy David North is the latest in a long line of now infamous and sinister characters who have been prominent in the Gerry Healy tendency in Britain and their organization in the U.S., the Workers League. Let us see how North now describes his illustrious predecessors. Tim Wohlforth, who was axed in 1974 as *lider máximo* of the WL amid allegations of CIA connections, is reviled as a "petty bourgeois American philistine." Following the 1985 blow-out in the Healyite organization, North dismissed Michael Banda, Healy's top hatchet man, as one of many "politically diseased petty-bourgeois renegades." Cliff Slaughter, another of the Healyites' ex-leading lights, is described as "a consummate cynic and hypocrite" who "epitomizes in his political and personal life all that is corrupt and perverse" in the British intelligentsia, "gathering into his net the most degenerate human specimens produced by this decadent social milieu" (*Bulletin*, 9 December 1988).

These were David North's mentors who showed him the ropes. Alex Mitchell, a fellow hack in the Healyite slander mills who together with North penned most of the "Security" smear job against the SWP, resurfaced with a column in an Australian bourgeois paper, the *Sydney Sun Herald*. Peter Fryer, who got out of the Healyites before the really dirty business got started, is described as "a degenerate middle-class journalist." Freddy Mazelis, who did a brief stand-in performance as WL honcho after Wohlforth was axed, has so far escaped being satanized, but only so long as he serves as North's toady. As for Gerry Healy, the evil sorcerer whose apprentices have run amok, in the 1985 implosion of the Healyites it was proven that he determined the party line in accordance with money from Arab colonels and sheiks. Now Healy is called a "political agent of the Kremlin" who is welcomed in Moscow "because he has placed his knowledge of the inner workings of the Fourth International at the disposal of the KGB" (*Bulletin*, 20

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In 1971, Attorney General John Mitchell, in an attempt to stave off further criticism of the FBI's practice of keeping huge lists of dissidents—alleged subversives—for who knows what nefarious reasons, announced that all of the lists had been abolished, and were replaced by one short "Administrative Index," or "ADEX," of less than 10,000 names. Since that list was also unrelated to proven, or even suspected criminal activity, in 1974 Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray announced that the ADEX had been abolished. However, in 1976, a politically active attorney from New York, requesting his FBI file under the Freedom of Information Act, discovered, buried in his dossier, a copy of his ADEX entry Memorandum and Report. ADEX, it appears, was not abolished, simply moved around. No explanation of the four categories was given. The New York office recommended that the lawyer be put in the lowest category, IV, "because of subject's apparent influence with New Left leaders." However, the home office stated: "In addition to the foregoing, a review of subject's activities clearly depicts him as a revolutionary attorney and sympathizer who, during a time of national emergency, would be likely to commit acts inimical to the national defense. In view of the above, subject is being included in Category III of ADEX." What fate is in store, we wonder, for people put in Category II? The names and addresses have been changed, otherwise the document below is an exact replica of an ADEX Memorandum.

FBI's Hit List

ADEX:

The Index of 7500 Americans

<input type="checkbox"/> AWC	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNIST	<input type="checkbox"/> NL	<input type="checkbox"/> PLP	<input type="checkbox"/> PRN	<input type="checkbox"/> SNC	<input type="checkbox"/> SWP
<input type="checkbox"/> BNT	<input type="checkbox"/> JFG	<input type="checkbox"/> NOI	<input type="checkbox"/> PPA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SDS	<input type="checkbox"/> SPL	<input type="checkbox"/> WWP
<input type="checkbox"/> BPP	<input type="checkbox"/> MIN	<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (Specify)				

Note the importance given to "Union Affiliation."

Some of the political groups are obvious: BPP—Black Panther Party; PLP—Progressive Labor Party; SDS—Students for a Democratic Society; SNC—Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; SWP—Socialist Workers Party; WWP—Workers World Party. For some, we can make educated guesses: MIN—Minutemen; NOI—Nation of Islam; PRN—Puerto Rican Nationalists. Some are less clear: NL may mean National Lawyers Guild; AWC may be American White Citizens Council; SPL could mean Spartacist League, no one at *CounterSpy* can guess what JFG stands for.

Note that fluctuations in Category are obviously contemplated.

Note the date of "Rev." If the ADEX was only established in 1971, what was being revised?

CounterSpy 7

Sample page from FBI's "ADEX" hit list, as it appeared in *CounterSpy* magazine, 6 December 1976. Sixteen groups were singled out, including the Spartacists ("SPL") and SWP—where was the Workers League?

Argentina...

(continued from page 1)

guard at gleaming Shopping Soleil in a posh neighborhood recounted the plight of the poor in the surrounding slums:

"Two women came to me yesterday, just girls really, and both with babies, and they were crying and asked me for some powdered milk. They said they didn't want to steal. What was I going to do? I gave it to them."

—[London] *Independent*, 1 June

Looking for scapegoats, government officials blamed the looting on "ultra-leftist groups," "Marxists" and the like. This was the line both of the federal administration of Alfonsín's Radical Party and of the provinces dominated by the Justicialista Party, followers of the late General Juan Perón. The Peronist standard-bearer, flamboyant provincial *caudillo* (strongman) Carlos Menem, thoroughly trounced the Radical candidate in the May 14 presidential election. But while he campaigned on a populist program, promising a "productive revolution," Menem supported the state of siege and joined Alfonsín in blaming the unrest on "the action of identified groups." Patricio Echegaray, head of the Communist Party, remarked ironically: "The Government discovered eight million agitators disguised as hungry people." Interior Minister Pugliese took the lead in whipping up an anti-Trotskyist hysteria, claiming that the incidents were provoked by activists intent on "a Trotsky-style takeover of power" (*Unomásuno* [Mexico], 31 May).

Their aim was directed at the Partido Obrero (PO—Workers Party), several of whose militants were arrested in Rosario and in Buenos Aires suburbs. The next day, PO presidential candidate Jorge Altamira and two other party leaders, Juan Carlos Capurro and Octavio Camera, went to the Government House (Casa Rosada) to protest. When they tried to hold a press conference after speaking with Interior Ministry officials, they were suddenly set upon by police who arrested them in front of journalists and brutally dragged them out. Soon after, police broke into Partido Obrero headquarters, arresting Gregorio Flores, Pablo Rienzo and Catalina Guagnini, and closed down the offices. In the next days party offices throughout Greater Buenos Aires were occupied. Some 14 PO members were arrested, as well as several members of the Communist Party, the ostensibly Trotskyist Movimiento al Socialismo and other leftist groups.

This brutal assault on a Marxist group recalled the days of the military's "dirty war" during the 1970s, when over 30,000 leftists and labor militants were assassinated or "disappeared." PO lead-

ers were taken from their offices in white Ford Falcons, the favored vehicle of the security forces, and then held incommunicado. The arrests of the PO leaders provoked an outcry of protest abroad, in which sections of our International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) together with fraternal social and legal defense groups played an early and active part (see box). Initially charged with responsibility for "illicit acts," after six days in jail the five PO leaders were released on bail. But they are still charged under Article 213—membership in an organization which attempts to "impose its ideas... by force or fear"—which car-

ried from the generals. And when his managers decided to let the currency float against the U.S. dollar in February, the bottom dropped out.

The austral lost half its value on the first day, quickly falling from 17 to the dollar to over 200 now and climbing rapidly. Inflation took off, spiraling from nearly 400 percent last year to over 100 percent a month today. The *New York Times* (2 June) reported that with food prices losing 1 percent of their value *every four hours*, fancy Buenos Aires supermarkets use computers and product codes to "adjust" their prices daily. "The rub for Argentines is that their salaries do not increase by 1 per-

cent every four hours," commented *Times* reporter James Brooke. Already by January, the economy had become "dollarized," with all major purchases such as houses or cars carried out in greenbacks. The total number of dollar bills circulating in Argentina far exceeds the total value of the national currency. The desperation of workers who rushed to exchange their miserable weekly wage for a \$5 bill led to defeat at the polls for Alfonsín's Radical Civic Union (UCR).

"Alfonsinism," which translated into "starvation democracy," was repudiated. But what does the Peronist victor stand for? Today Menem declares he has made no demagogic promises... because he said nothing at all about his future policies. Touring the slums to popular acclaim in his "Menemobile," he brushed off accusations about his lifestyle proclaiming, "I am a seducer, not a womanizer." His answer to low pay was a *salario*, a vague suggestion of a big wage hike. But with a lame-duck president in the Casa Rosada, financial circles lost confidence completely and genuine hyperinflation appeared, now at an annual rate of 400,000 percent. Everyone began making comparisons with Weimar Germany: "Argentina '89 and Germany '23" headlined the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín* (11 June), recalling the days when a meal in a Berlin restaurant cost 20 billion marks. Government printing presses are running 24 hours a day producing new 50,000-austral bills.

The transfer of the presidential sash wasn't to take place until December, but with the spiraling economic crisis Alfonsín tried to get rid of the hot potato by offering to resign early. Menem at first refused to take office until he could get his act together. But the Peronist-led CGT (General Labor Federation) demanded an immediate inauguration, and soon business leaders joined in the chorus. Finally Menem agreed to take office on June 30. And if anyone had doubts whether the Justicialista leader would satisfy the demands of his shirtless followers or the stuffed-shirt bankers, they were soon dispelled. Menem appointed as his economic minister Manuel Roig, a former vice president of the Bunge and Born grain monopoly. Roig's "B&B" plan is designed to deliver a shock treatment to the Argentine economy.

Wages are so far below the vital mini-

were at least one-fifth of those killed during the "dirty war."

Ever since General Bignone turned over the Casa Rosada in 1983, as the ruling junta decided to cut its losses after their humiliating defeat in the Falklands/Malvinas adventure, Alfonsín has been bedeviled by demands for punishment of the military criminals of the "dirty war." But as the army repeatedly threatened to revolt over attempts to prosecute these mass murderers, Alfonsín continually backed off. First came the December 1986 "*punto final*" (full stop) law setting a deadline for prosecutions. But when more than 400 officers were named as the authors of horrendous crimes against the working people, elite troops staged the 1987 "Holy Week" barracks revolt led by Colonel Aldo Rico at the key Campo de Mayo base outside the capital. In order to get the military conspirators to call off their action, Alfonsín agreed to the law of "*obediencia debida*" (due obedience) exonerating all those below command level. Like the Nazi Eichmann, they were supposedly "only following orders."

But the relatives of the thousands who were killed, and particularly the courageous Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, have refused to let the issue die. As Colonel Rico and his *carapintadas* (painted faces) continued to stage trial coups, all the bourgeois parties, from the conservative UCD to the Peronists and UCR, have tried to work out a face-saving formula to free even the few (20) top officers still facing trial. Now Menem and Alfonsín are squabbling over who authored a rumored decree which would order an amnesty for the dirty war criminals. Menem's future "defense" minister Italo Luder is emphatically for ending the trials, not surprising since in 1975 he issued the decree calling on the military to "annihilate the action of the subversives" (*Clarín*, 11 June). He also supports Alfonsín's recent creation of a National Security Council for domestic spying, since "modern war begins with the destruction of the internal front in every country."

Smash Capitalist Austerity and Military Repression! Workers Must Rule!

In announcing his short-lived post-election "crisis cabinet" in late May,



La Capital

President Alfonsín (above, left) and Peronist president-elect Menem seek to conciliate military. Barracks revolt (right) at Campo de Mayo military base outside Buenos Aires in 1987 against prosecution of officers responsible for mass murder.



Reuters

ries sentences of three to eight years. We demand: Drop the charges against the PO, MAS, CP and all leftists! Free all the hunger protesters! For workers mobilization against the state of siege!

"Argentina 1989, Germany 1923"

The hunger riots came only two weeks after presidential elections in which voters "punished" the Radical Party for its abysmal failure to deal with Argentina's by now catastrophic economic problems. Alfonsín came to office in 1983 as the candidate of "democracy" after years of bloody military rule. Introducing a new currency, the austral, he clamped a lid on inflation through brutal austerity. Through several programs (the latest called the "Springtime Plan") worked out with the International Monetary Fund bankers, he managed to keep profits up and wages way down. The minimum wage, which applies to many industrial workers, dropped to \$43 *per month*. This provoked a record number of 13 general strikes during Alfonsín's administration. But with the economy stagnating, he could do nothing about the \$58 billion international debt largely inher-

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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Alfonsín declared a "war economy." Despite empty talk of price controls and investigating companies that don't pay taxes, the war is against the working class. And the bourgeois parties are waging it in a common front. Ever since the Justicialistas won 17 provincial governorships in the September 1987 elections, there has been de facto "co-government" in Argentina. Even before the May 14 elections, the Radicals and Peronists had set up a joint "transition team." Now an Alfonsín associate is to be justice minister in the new Menem government, and the UCR majority in the present Congress has agreed to pass a "Peronist economic package" in order to get a quick change of presidents. But above all, they are united in repression: the 15 dead hunger rioters were mowed down by police sent in with shoot-to-kill orders from *Peronist* provincial governors.

In the face of this capitalist coalition government of repression and starvation, the response of the Argentine reformist left was to join the clamor for an "early transition" to a Peronist administration. While CGT leader Ubaldini was calling for Menem to take office, the Movimiento al Socialismo, followers of the late Nahuel Moreno, called for the "immediate resignation" of Alfonsín. To dispel any doubts about what this meant in practice, the MAS declared: "Menem received the majority of votes of the working people.... Why doesn't he use the support of the many millions of votes and the 17 provinces governed by the PJ [Peronists] to impose the solutions he says he has" (*El Cronista Comercial*, 31 May). But already last fall, when they formed the Izquierda Unida (United Left) popular-front coalition together with the Communist Party and left Peronists, the MAS and CP signed a document indicating that IU electors in the electoral college would vote for Menem if necessary to give him a majority.

This backhanded support to the Peronists is nothing new for the Morenoites. Peronism is a bourgeois-populist movement which has historically drawn the bulk of its support from the working class. Today many Argentine workers look back to the government of General Juan Domingo Perón during the late 1940s and early '50s as a golden era when wages were raised, social works launched and unions organized. Back then Nahuel Moreno presented his group as the voice of "working-class revolutionary Peronism." But even in the "years of the fat cows," Perón outlawed the Communist Party, smashed every manifestation of working-class independence, even simple economic strikes, and subordinated labor to the state in corporatist fashion. And where Perón's "welfare state" was financed out of the massive wealth accumulated from feeding the allied imperialist armies in World War II, today the treasury coffers are virtually empty (with reserves barely enough to finance one month's imports).

Menem is riding to power on the Perón myth, but he will use the Peronist-led unions and the army to "discipline" the Argentine working masses for the Bunge and Born grain traders, the Rural Society landowners, the Industrial Union bosses, the blood-sucking IMF bankers and the blood-drenched generals who enforce the capitalist dictatorship. He vows to "manage Argentina like a business," and the bottom line is profits. Argentina is careening toward catastrophe. The proletariat doesn't lack militancy: 13 general strikes in five years against Alfonsín demonstrate that. The situation cries out for revolutionary leadership, for an authentic Trotskyist party to break the workers from bourgeois politics and undertake a struggle for socialist revolution. This is the only way to end the bloody cycle of starvation democracy and military coups which have beset Argentina for decades.

In the face of the impending catastrophe, such a party would advance

Drop Charges Against Argentine Leftists!

The declaration of a state of siege by Argentine president Alfonsín and the arrest of two dozen leftists, particularly targeting the Partido Obrero (PO—Workers Party) was met with sharp protests internationally. The Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S. fired off the protest printed below to the Argentine government. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization, which purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/U.S.

The Comité de Défense Sociale in France sent a telex noting that "These massive arrests and the witchhunt against the left inevitably recall the dark days of the generals' dirty war against the population." Protests were sent as well by the Partisan Defense Committee in Britain, the Comitato di Difesa Sociale e Proletaria in Italy, the Partisan Defense Committee in Australia and the Komitee für soziale Verteidigung in West Germany. In France, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste participated in a June 8 demonstration of several left groups denouncing the arrests and state of siege in Argentina. And on June 13 in London, the Spartacist League joined in a protest outside the Argentine interests section of the Brazilian embassy.

2 June 1989

President Raúl Alfonsín
Casa Rosada
Buenos Aires, Argentina

The Partisan Defense Committee emphatically protests the arrests by



London, June 13—Spartacist League and PDC join protest against Argentina repression, demanding "Free Members of PO, MAS, CP and All Left-Wing Groups!"

your government of leaders and members of the Partido Obrero and other left-wing groups. We urgently demand their immediate release, along with the over 2,000 reportedly detained by police and army in the current hunger protests. These arrests and the declaration of a state of siege (approved as well by your recently elected successor) are an attempt to find scapegoats for the social crisis set off by the starvation policies of your government.

To the poor people clamoring for bread you say "let them eat lead" as they are shot down by the "forces of order." Throughout Latin America millions are suffering from immiseration and hunger so that the IMF bankers cartel can squeeze out their blood

money. The debt bomb already exploded in Caracas, and now the starving have risen up in Argentina's "towns of misery."

Down with the state of siege! Free Jorge Altamira, Juan Carlos Capurro, Octavo Camera, other members of Partido Obrero, the Movimiento al Socialismo, the Communist Party and other left-wing groups! Drop all charges against Gregorio Flores, Catalina Guagnini and Pablo Rieznik! Thousands have been arrested because they assert their right to eat, to provide milk for their children. On behalf of working people around the world, indignant at this outrage, the PDC demands: Release them all, now!

Partisan Defense Committee

a transitional program of concrete demands to galvanize the proletariat around its own class interests and unite behind it the poor of the cities and countryside in a struggle for workers power. First and foremost this brings up the question of Argentina's almost \$60 billion foreign debt. Menem has stated categorically that "Argentina will not renounce its foreign debt, it will pay it" (interview in *Liberation* [Paris], 9 June). Siphoning off billions for Wall Street translates directly into hunger for the masses. The Izquierda Unida program begins with a call to "not pay the fraudulent foreign debt," and the MAS talks of a "moratorium." But Alfonsín is already implementing this program—Argentina hasn't made a payment for well over a year! What's called for is repudiation of the debt—not one more dollar to the imperialist looters!

To protect the Argentine masses against the ravages of inflation, the IU calls for "price control on leading companies" (thus exempting small businesses). Alfonsín has already issued decrees controlling prices on basic necessities, but these are scraps of paper in the face of the powerful economic forces at work. The freeze on bread prices simply provoked Buenos Aires bakeries to stop producing. Real price controls and measures to prevent hoarding must be imposed by committees of delegates from factory committees, trade unions, cooperatives, housewives. The IU calls for a "vital, sliding minimum wage." Roig's B&B plan also calls for "immediate wage adjustment." Whatever the mechanism, carried out by the bourgeois state it can only be a fraud. A genuine sliding scale of wages and hours, to fully compensate wages for the loss of buying power and to divide available jobs among all those seeking jobs, is a measure pointing to a socialist planned economy, and requires

a revolutionary mobilization of the working class.

But that is what the reformists have sought to avoid at all costs. In the May 14 elections, the IU received 4.5 percent of the vote for Congress and elected Luis Zamora as deputy. While Alfonsín was babbling about his administration being threatened by "100 Trots," his interior minister was calling on deputy-elect Zamora to "contribute to calming spirits" and to "assume responsibility" for his words. And that is exactly what the MAS leader did. When a march was planned to protest the state of siege, Zamora & Co. mobilized... to call it off. *Clarín* (9 June) reported that "The Movimiento al Socialismo, Communist Party and other groupings in the United Left decided it would be inconvenient to carry out the demonstration after Interior Minister Juan Carlos Pugliese warned that it would be banned." What's needed is not just another hunger march of empty pots and pans, but a genuine general strike, not just a 24-hour protest, by Argentina's powerful labor movement.

Repudiation of the imperialist debt, a sliding scale of wages and hours, control of prices by workers committees, opening the books of the capitalists, occupation of the factories, a real general strike, the formation of factory committees and workers militias—what's posed is a fight for state power. A workers government would put an end to the chaos and superexploitation the Argentine masses are condemned to so long as the capitalist order survives. Menem rightly says that he is taking office in "the worst crisis of Argentina's history." The comparisons between the desperate situation of Argentina today and Weimar Germany in 1923 are quite to the point: what's posed is a prerevolutionary crisis, what's needed is a resolute revolutionary leadership. As Leon

Trotsky wrote of Germany '23:

"This period was characterized by the thorough shaking up of German society. The mark plummeted downward at such a mad pace that our quiet Soviet ruble might have been the object of envy. Prices of basic necessities rose wildly. The dissatisfaction of the working masses was expressed in open clashes with the state. The German bourgeoisie was discouraged and incapable of action....

"Why then in Germany has there been no victory thus far? I think there can be only one answer: because Germany did not have a Bolshevik party, nor did it have a leader such as we had in October [1917]."

—"On the Road to the European Revolution" (April 1924)

The communists failed to take power in 1923... and ten years later Hitler did. Argentine workers only have to think back to the years of the dirty war to know what lies in wait for them. Not another Peronist "savior" with his left flank covered by pseudo-Marxist reformists, but a fight to forge such a Bolshevik party as part of a reborn Fourth International is the key to the salvation of the Argentine masses. ■

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Afghan War Vet Denounces Traitor Sakharov

When Andrei Sakharov came out in support of U.S. sanctions against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan ten years ago, he became the darling of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. This Nobel "peace" prize winner was the favorite of liberals who found Solzhenitsyn's "back to the tsar" diatribes a bit too much to stomach. In the last couple of years, as the Kremlin has gone from one capitulation after another to U.S. imperialism abroad while encouraging capitalist "market" forces at home, Sakharov has become something of a celebrity among Gorbachevite intellectuals as well. As a member of the newly-created Congress of People's Deputies, he was lionized in corridor TV interviews. But on June 1, Sakharov finally got a long-overdue blast of outrage for his pro-imperialist slander campaign against the Soviet army's role in Afghanistan.

In an interview with a Canadian newspaper last February, Sakharov had accused Soviet troops of firing from helicopter gunships on their own comrades who were about to be taken prisoner by the murderous *mujahedin*. In the most dramatic moment of the Congress' eight days, disabled Afghan war



Former paratroop major Sergei V. Chervonopisky (right) applauded by Soviet Congress as he attacked Sakharov (lower left) for insulting Red Army veterans of Afghanistan war.

veteran Sergei V. Chervonopisky got up to the podium to denounce Sakharov for wanting "to demean the memory and the dignity of those sons of our people who perished on the soil of Afghanistan." Reading a letter from an airborne division demanding condemnation of Sakharov, Chervonopisky declared: "We believe Deputy Sakharov wants to discredit the Soviet Army."

He went on to express his disappointment with the Congress deputies for failing to stand up in defense of "country, motherland, communism." As the former paratroop major, who lost both legs in the war, hobbled away from the podium, the hall echoed to sustained applause.

Sakharov got up to extol himself for denouncing this "war of annihilation" from the outset, claiming that his internal exile over this was a badge of honor. Then one speaker after another followed Chervonopisky to the podium to denounce Sakharov. Former Soviet chief of staff Sergei Akhromyev declared Sakharov's charge to be a "blatant lie." Tursan Kazakova, a woman deputy from the Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan, was greeted by a standing ovation when she blasted Sakharov: "You have insulted all those who died and perished, and I think we despise you." Even prominent critics generally sympathetic to Sakharov refused to defend him this time. Roy Medvedev commented: "In this case he is wrong. He really did insult the Soviet Army and Soviet people. He should have apologized" (*New York Times*, 3 June). Afterward, Sakharov spouted off to the Western press that he was only

sorry that he "didn't speak of all the crimes committed by the Soviet army in Afghanistan."

What "human rights" champion Sakharov didn't say one word about are the very real crimes of the *mujahedin* or the rights of Afghan women and children slaughtered and horribly defiled for removing the *chador* or learning to read and write. Soviet soldiers captured by the CIA's "holy warriors" have in general met a fate far worse than death, as surviving veterans have recalled: "the rebels would sexually mutilate live prisoners, or slit the skin around their waists and pull it up as though it were a shirt" (*Newsweek*, 20 February). Sakharov doesn't talk about this because he is a witting apologist for imperialism. After supporting the Carter grain boycott to starve the Soviet people, he appealed to Ronald Reagan with a call in *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1983) to "spend a few billion dollars on MX missiles." We responded: "Try the Traitors Sakharov!" (*WV* No. 356, 8 June 1984).

Even Gorbachev, who engineered the ignominious Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, joined in the standing ovation for Chervonopisky's stinging rebuke to Sakharov. But the first issue of the new French edition of *Moscow News* not only defended Sakharov, it shamelessly echoed the vilest lies of the *Voice of America* claiming that Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was an "imperialist adventure" and an "undeclared colonial war"; that to call the *afganitsy* war veterans "internationalist combatants" is a "disgusting Brezhnevite lie"; that "the entire world is convinced" that in Afghanistan Soviet troops carried out "crimes against humanity" (*Les Nouvelles de Moscou*, 9 June). These self-styled supporters of radical perestroika dismissed those who applauded the Afghan vet as bureaucrats, handraisers or hopeless ignoramus. Their "anti-Brezhnevism" is thinly-disguised anti-communism; they look instead to NATO "socialist" Mitterrand (whose interview was featured in their maiden issue).

With denunciations of the Soviet army and even Leninism becoming all the rage these days among the Moscow "smart set," it's gratifying to hear somebody stand up in defense of communism as he understands it. As Trotskyists, who hailed the Red Army's intervention against CIA-backed reactionary terrorists, we can add that Brezhnev's real crime in Afghanistan was that he didn't fight to win. ■



At unofficial memorial in Moscow, citizens honor Soviet fighters who died in Afghanistan.

Effort for Jalalabad...

(continued from page 7)

the fundamentalist Wahhabi sect, who are funded by Saudi Arabia. It is further claimed that the ones not set up in brothels are shipped back to Saudi Arabia via Karachi, thanks to the assistance of some paid-off Pakistani officials."

Ten years ago the war in Afghanistan was ignited by the struggle for women's rights. The mullahs and tribal chiefs went into opposition when the government restricted the bride price and began educating young girls. Today, Afghan women are in the forefront of the battle to defend their social emancipation. Hundreds have signed up for a voluntary women's militia and they will fight for their lives.

Not Charity, But Struggle!

We undertook this campaign to provide desperately-needed funds for the beleaguered Afghan fighters as part of an international working-class defense against imperialism. The Partisan Defense Committee is modeled on the International Labor Defense (ILD) in the early years when James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, was its secretary. The ILD was the

American affiliate of the International Red Aid, launched by the Comintern in 1922. Despite the war-ravaged conditions of the new Soviet Republic emerging from the Civil War and invasion by 14 capitalist armies, Red Aid nuclei sprang up all across Russia because Soviet workers knew that their cause was intertwined with the fate of the international class struggle. In 1921-22, Soviet workers were themselves the recipients of aid from workers around the world who responded to an appeal by the Comintern for aid to famine-stricken Russia.

Another legacy from the International Labor Defense is the PDC's financial responsibility and strict accounting of funds. The practice of publishing a full accounting of numbered receipts for all the workers movement to see was taken from the pages of the ILD's *Labor Defender*. The PDC has just published its *Financial Report No. 1*, a final accounting of the 1985 Aid to Striking British Miners' Families Campaign (see ad this page).

The tradition of international class-struggle defense has been buried under the leaden weight of the Stalinist bureaucracy. For decades, workers' struggles have been sacrificed on the altar of détente and justified with the anti-international "theory" of "socialism in one country." The treachery of Stalin's

heirs is clear in Gorbachev's withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan. But although the Najibullah regime has bent over backward to conciliate the reactionary *mujahedin* in the name of "national reconciliation," the defenders of Jalalabad stood and fought. And tens of thousands of people around the world

proudly stood with them through our campaign. It is in the spirit of the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky, in defense of the Soviet Union and in defense of our class brothers and sisters in Afghanistan that the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund was carried through to success. ■

Just Out!

Financial Report No. 1 Aid to Striking British Miners' Families

June 1989
\$.50 (8 pages)

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PDC Partisan Defense Committee

Financial Report No. 1 June 1989

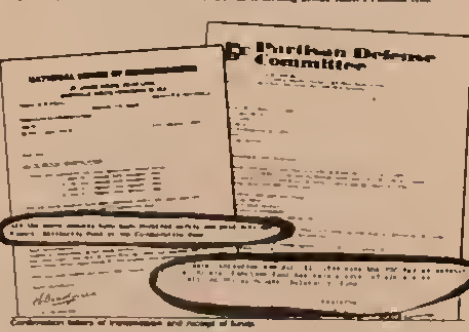
AID TO STRIKING BRITISH MINERS' FAMILIES

In 1984 British National Union of Mineworkers went on strike against Margaret Thatcher's attempt to destroy the coal industry. The Partisan Defense Committee responded with the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families Fund drive. (November 1984 - July 1989). We published the international day of action book and solicited requests to raise over \$25,000 for the struggling British miners and their families.

The PDC organized a campaign of international solidarity, organized meetings, demonstrations in each country where we were active. Every penny collected went to the miners. The PDC received the full name of the campaign, their addresses, and the names of the donors. The financial records of the campaign have been open to any third party who wanted to see them. The financial records of the campaign have been open to any third party who wanted to see them.

The Aid to Striking British Miners' Families campaign was an important step for the Partisan Defense Committee. It represented both the need and promise of bringing an international class struggle to the aid of the working people.

We request that the article on the campaign - last appeared in *Workers Vanguard* No. 277, 19 April 1989, and a full financial statement of the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families Fund.



Chinese Workers vs. Deng's "Capitalist Methods" Report from Hong Kong

HONG KONG, June 13—The news from the mainland provides a glimpse of the scope of the political revolution that began in China. The Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has mounted an enormous campaign of repression. They responded to the fragility and incongruities of their parasitic rule.

It is a bitter irony that with the constant reports of a "successful" crackdown we are beginning to appreciate the immense scope of the protest. An article that appeared in yesterday's *Hong Kong Standard* reporting the return of a law professor from Wuhan University, Barbara Ranagan, reported her as saying that attacks had been mounting against the working class even before martial law had been declared in Beijing. In particular she referred to an incident where two truckloads of students were allowed

through a road blockade while a third truckload of workers was beaten by police. Reports coming through point to the development of autonomous workers unions in major industrial centres of China, including Shanghai. Evidence also indicates that organised working-class resistance that was beginning to transform the situation also intersected massive opposition to the Deng brand of "free enterprise" market socialism.

Take for example reports from Northeast China in Liaoning province. It is referred to as one of China's most conservative provinces. Liaoning's major city Shenyang has been designated as a testing ground for economic "reform." The 13 June *South China Morning Post* reports that it has China's first stock market. It has even had China's first bankruptcy

and includes many privately owned companies. In Shenyang, the city's largest demonstration was mounted by workers from Shenyang Aircraft Company. Last Wednesday 30,000 workers blocked city streets with a convoy of over 100 trucks and hundreds of bicycles. Apparently their actions were initially motivated by the death of one of the workers' sons—a student killed in Tiananmen Square.

Then there is the example of Chengdu in Sichuan province. This is the province where Zhao Ziyang made a name for himself as an architect for agricultural reforms in the '70s. Chengdu is supposed to be one of China's most progressive cities! A *South China Morning Post* (13 June) correspondent reports that when news reached Chengdu of the

killings in Beijing:

"...a mob including students but mostly composed of badly-paid workers and unemployed youths engaged in an orgy of destruction which was probably the most serious anywhere in China."

The same article reports that:

"Chengdu's main monument to capitalism, the vast underground private market has been sealed off since the rioters tried to take control of it. The market, built in a disused atomic shelter runs directly underneath the Mao statue."

The Shenyang and Chengdu examples are both graphic in their own ways. The Chinese working class revealed their massive social power—they also told the world (not least their class brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union) what they think of "free enterprise" market socialism. There are indications that some nascent working class organisations, indeed organising centres were spreading across major cities.

One can't help but feel the urgent need for a Leninist-Trotskyist leadership of the Chinese proletariat. After all they have a whole hell of a lot to defend, and they can see things beginning to crumble around them under the weight of the Stalinist bureaucracy's corruption and treachery.

China...

(continued from page 1)

cost of the bullet! Racist New York cops would be green with envy.

To date there have been over 1,000 arrests, including leaders of the Beijing Autonomous Student Union and the Autonomous Workers Union and their counterparts in China's other major cities. Premier Li Peng vowed that there would be many more arrests, and called for punishment "without mercy." Students are paraded on television wearing manacles. Arrested workers are marched through the streets with signs describing their "crimes" of "instigating social unrest" and "spreading rumors." Commenting on the executions, the *New York Times* (16 June) noted: "It may be significant that they were workers, rather than students, because the Government has been particularly alarmed about the prospect of workers joining the unrest and going on strike."

The Western media usually describes the oppositional forces in China as "the student movement for democracy." But it was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of "building socialism with capitalist methods" which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature. Organized workers' contingents started to participate in the marches, and it was the threat of a general strike which led Li Peng to order martial law in mid-May. Moreover, the outpouring of hundreds of thousands of working people into the streets stymied the regime's attempted crackdown then. When the troops attacked unarmed people in Beijing on June 4, thousands of workers battled them with whatever came to hand.

Justifying the massacre to his colleagues and military commanders, Deng reportedly stated: "If we had not suppressed them, they would have brought about our collapse. I myself, and all of you commanding officers present, would have been shoved under the guillotine" (*New York Times*, 17 June). This bureaucracy, which grotesquely calls itself Communist, knows well that it rules in place of the proletariat. The Deng regime has more or less tolerated a "pro-democracy" student movement for the past decade. Indeed, many of the student leaders were sons and daughters of top bureaucrats.

So why the savage repression at the very first signs of working-class protest? Is it because these old Stalinists want

Beijing: printing workers rally with drums and cymbals on outskirts of Tiananmen Square. Working-class mobilizations transformed mass student protests into beginning of political revolution in China.



to maintain "totalitarian" control over everything that happens in China? Hardly. After all, Deng & Co. have opened up the Chinese economy to foreign investors and local capitalist entrepreneurs, for which they have been lavishly praised by the Western bourgeois media.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, in both China and the Soviet bloc, is a parasitic caste resting upon a collectivized (i.e., proletarian) economy. Because the bureaucrats do not own the means of production, because they do not have the myriad threads of social control of a ruling capitalist class, their power stems from monopolizing political control of the governing apparatus. Since they claim to rule in the interests of the workers, they cannot tolerate any independent workers organization. Any real workers movement necessarily challenges the legitimacy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Hence, the historic instability of China, the Soviet Union and other bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* (22 June) quotes one observer:

"This leadership is politically unstable and will remain unstable. Whatever arrangements are made now—once Deng dies it will come unglued. Everybody in China knows this. And everybody knows that everybody knows."

The bureaucracy is rent, with those favoring a crackdown in the ascendancy over those who sought to co-opt

the student protests. The army is divided as well. Despite the provocative repression, which pales in comparison to the bloodletting of the Cultural Revolution, not to mention the 1927 Shanghai massacre under Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, attempts to organize independent student and labor groups will no doubt continue. But the indispensable condition for workers' victory is the construction of a Trotskyist party, raising the banner of Bolshevik internationalism against the Stalinist fraud of building "socialism in one country" or "with capitalist methods."

For Bolshevik Internationalism!

Parallel with the death sentences meted out to workers, Deng's regime is conducting a Big Lie campaign, the scope of which is outdone only by its cynicism. The Tiananmen Square massacre "never happened," claims Li Peng. At the same time, the Deng regime is trying to appeal to Chinese nationalism and xenophobia by blaming the "riots" on "bourgeois liberal" ideas imported from the West, while denouncing the U.S. in particular for "interfering" in China's affairs.

To be sure, many of the students displayed illusions in Western-style "democracy." At the same time, they repeatedly sang the *Internationale*, the international socialist workers anthem. But it is the Deng regime itself which has fostered illusions by its military alliance

with American imperialism against the Soviet Union and its glorification of Western capitalism, while unleashing powerful internal forces toward capitalist restoration. A few years ago the president of the New York Stock Exchange visited Beijing to advise the government on setting up a stock and bond market. The head of the Bank of China greeted this personification of Wall Street with the honorific title of "elder brother." Is it any wonder, then, that many students—who for the most part are children of the ruling bureaucracy—idealize capitalist America?

For its part, U.S. imperialism certainly did not incite the protest movement but rather was deeply embarrassed by it. The Bush White House is torn between maintaining its military alliance with the Chinese Stalinists against the USSR and exploiting the Beijing massacre for anti-Communist purposes. Thus the U.S. embassy in Beijing has harbored the pro-Western dissident Fang Lizhi while Bush merely "deplored" the June 4 massacre and temporarily restricted military cooperation with the People's Republic. And U.S. capitalists and financiers are not about to cut back their lucrative business dealings with Deng's China.

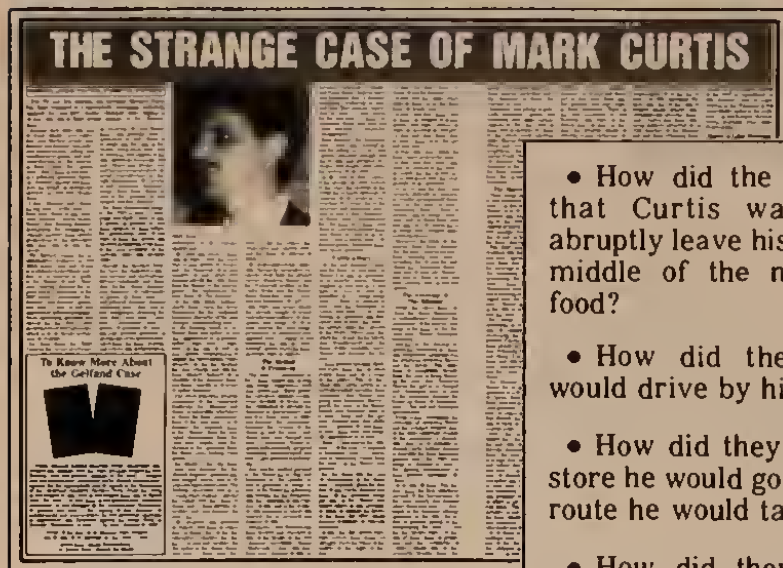
Nonetheless, the events of June 4 have to some degree changed the attitude of American imperialism toward the People's Republic of China. The U.S.

continued on page 10

One More Coincidence?

On August 5, the Workers League asks:

...A month later, the prosecutor's summation:



- How did the police know that Curtis was going to abruptly leave his house in the middle of the night to buy food?
- How did they know he would drive by himself?
- How did they know which store he would go to, and what route he would take?
- How did they know that he would be stopped at a particular red light, where he could be accosted by the girl?
- How did they know that he would agree to let the girl into his car?
- How did they know he would agree to drive her home?
- How did they know that when he arrived at her home, he would get out of his car, go to the porch and then wait placidly to be arrested?

Bulletin
5 August 1988

virtually the exact words of the *Bulletin* (see illustration). They seem to be working from a common script.

Mark Curtis was a subject of FBI surveillance as an activist in CISPES in Birmingham, Alabama. At Swift, where Curtis worked in Des Moines, federal agents had been working with management for three months reviewing per-

"How did the police, or how did Demetria and Jason or their family, know that the defendant was going to abruptly leave his home, sometime between 8:30 and 9:00, to buy food? How did they know?"

"How did they know that the defendant would get into a car and drive by himself?"

"How did they know that the defendant would go to the HyVee store to do his grocery shopping? How did they know what route he would take?"

"How did they know that he would be stopped at a particular red light, where a girl could approach him? How did they know the light would be red?"

"How did they know that the defendant would agree to give this girl a ride to help her out?"

"How did they know that he would agree to drive her to her home, or a home, in what the defense has brought out to be a bad or unsafe neighborhood?"

"How did they know that when he arrived at the home, he would get out of the car, agree to go to the porch, and then wait calmly to be arrested?"

Bulletin
16 September 1988

sonnel files before staging a raid which seized 17 foreign-born workers at the meatpacking plant on March 1. After work on March 4, Curtis had participated in a meeting of workers at the plant protesting the roundup. A couple hours later he was arrested and charged with rape. Curtis says the cops grabbed him, pulled down his pants, beat him



Prosecutor Catherine Thune

brutally at the jail, then lied in court. Mark Curtis maintains his innocence, declaring, "I am not a rapist, but a fighter for women's rights. And I am not guilty of the crimes I have been charged and convicted of."

So why should anybody believe David North? Who is the Workers League to say that Curtis is guilty, and why? How does the WL come to possess such influence with the prosecution? What kind of purported socialists retail the cops' story as if it were "The Truth"? We and many of our readers have some relevant experience on the nature of these paid thugs of the racist capitalist state. Under the circumstances we must believe Mark Curtis is innocent.

Political Bureau,
Spartacist League/U.S.
12 June 1989

The Partisan Defense Committee has defended Curtis from the beginning and contributed to his case. Those wishing to write to Curtis should address letters to: Mark S. Curtis, No. 805338A, Box B, Anamosa, IA 52205. ■

WL and Mark Curtis...

(continued from page 3)

November 1987). Vanessa Redgrave is thrown in as "the Kremlin's New Leading Lady."

This is quite a record in treachery. As we have noted, "Stalin never claimed that all the Bolshevik Central Committee at the time of the October Revolution were counterrevolutionary spies and traitors. Exempted were Lenin, a few who died early and a couple who lucked out and died a natural death at old age" ("David North: Joseph Hansen's Natural Son," *WL* No. 456, 1 July 1988). But David North claims that every one of his predecessors is degenerate, if not an outright agent—Wohlforth, Banda, Slaughter, Mitchell, Redgrave, Healy, and don't forget the arch-"renegades" Pierre Lambert and Michel Varga. If, as North writes, Banda "can no longer be counted among the living," when it comes to "Marxism and the struggle for socialism," this must make North himself a zombie. He is the only True Believer, descendant of a long and complete line of traitors.

With this "authority" the WL proclaims Mark Curtis a "sociopath," a "vicious rapist," a "sadistic rapist," a "white middle-class rapist," and above all a "convicted rapist" and a "proven rapist"—convicted and "proven" by the bourgeois courts. The SWP is labeled "a sociopathic organization, a watering hole for all sorts of degenerate elements, social criminals, filled with hatred of the working class," of which "Curtis himself—a drug user and rapist—is a perfect representative" (*Bulletin*, 28 April). In the pages of the *Bulletin*, they endlessly regurgitate the words of the prosecution. Stranger yet, in her summation at Curtis' trial Iowa state prosecutor Catherine Thune regurgitates

Accomplices of the Big Lie, authors of "Security and the Fourth International" smear job against SWP and the historical Trotskyist movement: (from left) Alex Mitchell, David North and Gerry Healy.



China...

(continued from page 9)

ruling class believes, with some justification, that the massacre and ensuing repression will greatly increase anti-Communist sentiment in China. They dream of counterrevolution in the not-so-distant future. Thus the *New York Times* (19 June) quotes, with evident approval, a senior Communist Party leader who predicts that "it will be the reaction to Deng in his later years that ends the system of socialism in China." Of course, the bourgeois media always equates Stalinism with communism, and the overthrow of Stalinist rule with capitalist restoration. Yet Chinese workers want to preserve and defend the

social achievements of the Chinese Revolution—guaranteed employment ("the iron rice bowl"), a stable cost of living and a relatively egalitarian society.

While the working masses of China enthusiastically supported the 1949 revolution, they have become ever more alienated from the Maoist-Stalinist bureaucracy. The bond between the people and the Communist Party created by the revolution was broken during the Cultural Revolution—the bloody factional and clique warfare launched and manipulated by Chairman Mao. While unleashing massive demonstrations of student youth, the bureaucrats feared the spectre of workers in revolt. When Shanghai workers organized a "Workers Headquarters" at a mass rally in 1966, and 2,500 of them

commandeered a train to take their demands directly to Mao in Beijing, the head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, Ch'en Po-ta, insisted:

"As workers, their main job is to work. Joining in the Revolution is only secondary. They must therefore go back to work. They can take part in the Revolution outside working hours."

—quoted in Neale Hunter, *Shanghai Journal* (1969)

Yet there remained a deep loyalty to the People's Republic, indicated by the universal belief that the People's Liberation Army would never fire on the people. Thus the Tiananmen Square massacre is a truly traumatic experience for China. The present repression may restore a certain surface stability to China for awhile. The working class has been forced back but has by no means

been crushed. The unemployment, inflation and gross inequality spawned by Deng's "reforms" will continue to fuel popular discontent. As Beijing tries to pay peasants for the fall harvest with worthless IOUs, famine looms. And with an estimated 100 million excess rural laborers, many of whom wander from place to place, it could provoke a mammoth peasant revolt.

The Deng regime is doddering, brittle and now widely hated. The only road forward remains the proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, combined with socialist revolution against capitalist rule—not least in Hong Kong, Taiwan and strategic Japan. For Lenin's Communism! For a Chinese Trotskyist Party, section of a reformed Fourth International! ■

Pittston Coal Strike...

(continued from page 12)

spreading even into UMW strongholds. On the eve of the UMW's 100th anniversary, the UMW is fighting for its life. As *Workers Vanguard* has said from the beginning of the Pittston strike, and every miner knows in his gut, the way to win is to pull out the entire UMW now!

The June 11 rally was billed as a "March for Justice" linking the miners' fight with striking Eastern Airlines workers and other unions. Eastern strikers came from Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Washington, D.C. to join with Teamsters, phone workers, teachers and steel workers. Throughout the labor movement, all eyes are on the Pittston strike. After a decade of rollbacks and cutbacks, labor and minorities are looking to the coal miners for the victory that could ignite militant class struggle throughout the U.S.

Miners: "Let's Go Get 'Em!"

At Charleston, the miners were dressed in the camouflage fatigues they have adopted as their strike uniform. Many were emblazoned with the slogan, "God, Guns and Guts Built the UMWA." After the flimflam of federal mediation with Pittston boss Michael Odom collapsed on June 8 and the UMW bargaining team walked out, hopes were running high among miners that a nationwide strike would finally be called. When UMW president Richard Trumka said, "It's time we fought back..." For 17 long months we've faced the modern-day version of the Baldwin-Felts thugs at Pittston," the crowd cheered. When Trumka spoke of the three UMW officials who were jailed for contempt of court for refusing to halt the demonstrations at Pittston's Moss No. 3 preparation plant, miners roared "Let's go get 'em!"

The great principle of "an injury to one is an injury to all" used to be the watchword of the UMW. It was tenaciously applied in all of the union's battles, from Matewan in bloody Mingo County in the 1920s to the last industry-wide coal strike in 1977-78. But not under Trumka at Pittston. In a CBS-TV *48 Hours* special report on the Pittston

strike on June 15, retired Matewan miner John Whitlock put it clearly:

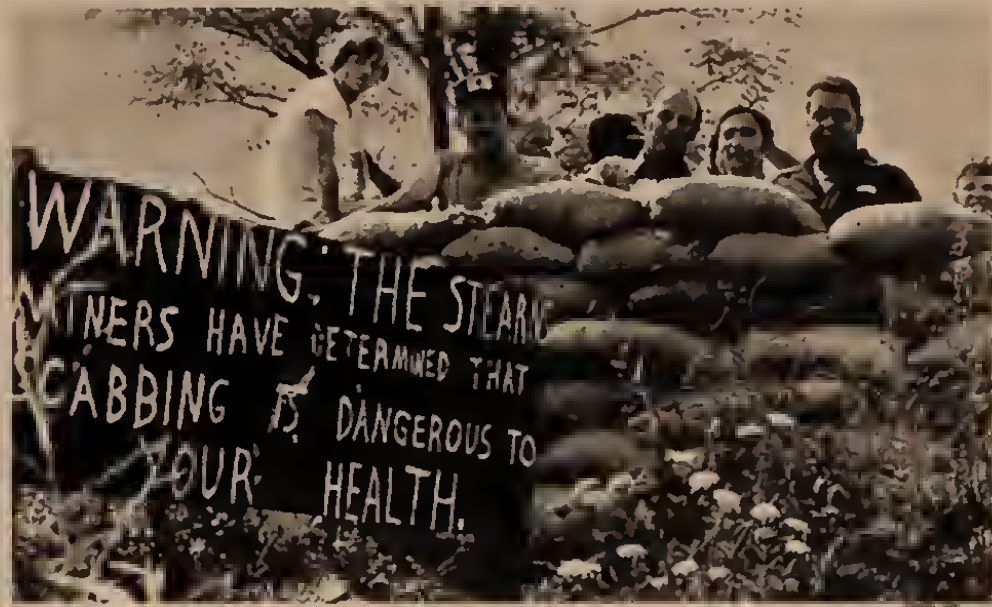
"CBS: How about sitting down on the street... Passive resistance?"

"Whitlock: That's stupid. I wouldn't want people to think that I'm stupid enough to sit in the road in front of a coal truck."

"CBS: So what would you do?"

"Whitlock: You keep these scabs out of here. If they don't mine coal you get a contract. If we get this union back we'll fight for it. You don't do it through courts, laws and labor boards."

But for 100 days the rest of the union has been kept down in the pits, as their Pittston brothers and sisters are dragged away by state troopers and the scab coal trucks roll on Virginia's back roads.



Stearns, Kentucky miners during 1977 strike show what picket lines are all about.

Trumka refused even to pull out hundreds of Pittston miners in Kentucky until June 19. And the endless civil disobedience arrests haven't stopped the scab coal. *Time* magazine (15 May) was surprised how Trumka has "tamed" the miners: "John L. Lewis, the late great boss of the United Mine Workers, would rub his shaggy eyebrows in disbelief if he could see a coal miners' strike nowadays." And now, when the walk-outs have finally unlocked the stalemate, the UMW International is firing off telegrams ordering the miners back to work. *Screw the injunctions! Call out every UMW miner now!*

From A.T. Massey to Pittston

Bowing to the bosses' courts and labor boards is what has decimated the

UMW—over half the union has been wiped out in the 1980s. Trumka's disastrous "selective strike" strategy abandoned A.T. Massey strikers to the company gun thugs four years ago. A veteran of that strike, a miner in Matewan, West Virginia, bitterly told *48 Hours*: "I wish it was bloody Mingo now. Because what have we got? Look around; men out of work, men starving, welfare, food stamps." The *Charleston Daily Mail* (6 June) noted that it was the betrayal at A.T. Massey that paved the way for Pittston's assault on the UMW:

"After parting with its 'no contract, no work' image, the UMW gave A.T.

Massey a settlement known as 'a sweetheart deal' to the rest of the coal industry. Pittston wants the same kind of deal, which would potentially allow it to subcontract work to non-union companies....

"But for unexplained reasons, the union still hasn't struck Pittston's union operations in Kentucky or at the Meadow River Coal Co. in Fayette County.... It may be allowing Pittston enough production leeway to continue to operate efficiently."

Not only did Trumka sign the rotten deal at A.T. Massey, he hung out to dry those miners who stood up for their union. Five Kentucky UMW brothers were railroaded in the capitalist courts for their defense of picket lines. Four of these brothers are serving 35-45 years in prison. A fifth miner, who was acquitted of the same trumped-up charges as his

four union brothers, now faces capital charges of murder in Kentucky. But the UMW International has been silent on their fate, sinking so low that it cut off their families' strike benefits. Free the Kentucky miners!

Flight for a Workers Party!

Trumka is following in the footsteps of the pro-Labor Department UMW president Arnold Miller, who dragged the union into the capitalist courts and crawled before their injunctions (when Carter/Mondale used the Taft-Hartley slave labor law) during the bitter 110 day strike in 1977-78. In 1972, when the Labor Department installed Miller as UMW head with his phony "reform" rhetoric against the murderer Tony Boyle, most of the American left including the SWP, the Communist Party and the dubious Workers League supported this agent of the bosses. But *WV* and the Spartacist League told the truth about Miller from day one: the precondition for union democracy and a fighting leadership is complete independence from the capitalist state and the bosses' partner parties.

Trumka, too, has throttled the miners' historic militancy on behalf of his "friends" in the Democratic Party. While Pittston miners were walking out of the Virginia state Democratic convention to protest Governor Baliles sending the state troopers into the coal fields, Trumka had West Virginia governor Caperton on the stage in Charleston. As we wrote in the *WV* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win": "Labor militants must therefore link the fight to oust the die-on-your-knees union bureaucrats to building a revolutionary workers party."

Workers Vanguard has carried the class-struggle program necessary to win at Pittston and for all of labor. The conduct of the strike must be taken out of the hands of the cowardly Trumka and the sellout bureaucrats. Like Arnold Miller, when the battles are fought they'll be hiding out at the Heart O' Town Holiday Inn in Charleston. Strike committees must be elected to organize roving picketing to stop all production and shipment of coal, and to approach transport, steel and power station workers from the U.S. to Japan to hot cargo scab coal. Victory to the Pittston and New Beckley strikers! Spread the strike, shut down the coal fields! ■

Eastern Strike...

(continued from page 12)

the key issues that sparked the strike, was sold to real estate mogul Donald Trump with the support of the bureaucracy. Picket lines at the shuttle in New York, Boston and Washington were pulled down as strikers went back to work alongside the scabs. On June 14, some of Eastern's newest aircraft, A300s and 757s, were sold for \$277 million. Strikers told *WV* that since the sale, some ALPA officials are threatening to break ranks and go back to work.

While Lorenzo rapes Eastern to pay off the creditors, Wimpy tells the striking Machinists to "hang tough." District 100, covering Eastern, is closing IAM union offices in the key strike centers of New York and Atlanta. In one case they faxed a union secretary her layoff notice at 4:58 p.m.! A striker at La Guardia Airport told *WV* that it "looks like the IAM is folding its tent and retreating."

In the latest failed scheme, the AFL-CIO tops offered to fork over union pension funds to Chicago commodities broker Joseph Ritchie for his bid for the airline. Ritchie was promised wage cuts and "productivity increases" exceeding even those served up in the last offer to Peter Ueberroth—over a billion dollars

all told. These are truly the "labor lieutenants of capital."

The Eastern strikers began this battle in a powerful position. The airlines are awash in profits and there is a critical shortage of skilled machinists and pilots. After a decade of defeats—PATCO air controllers, Greyhound bus drivers, Hormel meatpackers, International Paper workers—workers saw the Eastern strike as their chance to strike back. When the AFL-CIO international executive board, in a bluff to get Bush to intervene with anti-strike injunctions, threatened to throw up picket lines at railroads across the U.S., rail workers were ready to walk out. As we said in March: "For years the pressure has been building for a social explosion by workers, by the black and Hispanic poor.... A national airline strike could be just the detonator the working people need" (*WV* No. 473, 17 March).

But the labor traitors fear such an explosion of class power. They begged the bosses' courts to intervene with no-strike injunctions aimed at other airline workers, in order to cut off the one thing that would have brought about a quick, decisive victory: spreading the strike to shut down the airports. The union bureaucrats are aped by such loyal "left" toadies as the Communist Party, which still whines for the anti-labor Democrats to intervene to stop the strike. And when Wimpy ordered the pickets

withdrawn from rail at the last moment, the Socialist Workers Party applauded that "Eastern workers refused to be provoked (!) into breaking the court injunctions...a move that could have jeopardized the broad public support for the strike and the unity of the strike itself" (*Militant*, 5 May)!

Today, Machinists, pilots and flight attendants are facing the destruction of their unions at Eastern. To reverse the disastrous course of the strike, militants must confront what has brought these powerful unions to the brink of

defeat. Two months ago we warned that:

"It takes more than staying power to win against this decaying, capitalist system. Once again, the Eastern strike has posed pointblank the need for class-struggle leadership. Any serious class battle must be waged politically, taking on the capitalist labor boards, no-strike laws and strikebreaking injunctions. This means a fight to take workers' struggles out of the hands of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, ousting these class traitors and forging a workers party to fight for a workers government which will undertake the socialist reindustrialization of America." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

“Be Union or Be Gone”—UMWA Future at Stake

Pittston Coal Strike Sparks Ten-State Walkout

CHARLESTON, West Virginia, 19 June—The coal fields have exploded in anger, as over 27,000 members of the United Mine Workers (UMW) have struck from West Virginia to Indiana in support of Pittston coal miners on strike since April 6. The walkouts came after 6,000 miners, along with their families and other unionists, rallied at the West Virginia state capitol in Charleston on June 11. The next day they walked out at the Hobet, Kess Coals and Roek Run mines in West Virginia. Then came Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio. Thousands of miners have joined the battle—their union is on the line.

The Charleston rally, which followed a 76-mile march through the Appalachian coal fields, was called in solidarity with the 1,700 Pittston miners, who have been on strike since April, and another 250 miners on strike for five months against the New Beckley Coal Company in Beckley, West Virginia. Pittston miners have faced the open assaults of the coal bosses, scabs, state troopers and judges. Over 2,500 unionists and their family members have been arrested in civil disobedience protests, and the courts are trying to choke the UMW with millions of dollars in fines. Sweetheart deals and scab operators are

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Pull Out the Entire Union!



Charleston, West Virginia, June 11—Thousands of miners and their supporters, including striking Eastern workers, rally for Pittston and New Beckley coal strikers.

Strikers Need Class-Struggle Leadership!

Eastern Strike: End Game

For over 100 days, they've stood solid—the Machinists, flight attendants and pilots striking Eastern Airlines. Corporate cannibal Frank Lorenzo's dreams of quickly crushing the 8,500 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) collapsed when the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) and Transport Workers Union (TWU) flight attendants refused to cross the Machinists' lines. Lorenzo went nuts, even hiring psychiatrists to "prove" workers were "brainwashed." Across the country workers poured out to solidarity rallies—finally it looked like labor was going to win one after a decade of defeats.

But the Eastern strikers are being knifed in the back. IAM president William "Wimpy" Winpisinger and District 100 chief Charles Bryan crawl from one junk bond dealer to another, peddling over a billion dollars in givebacks. But Wall Street and the capitalist courts

aren't buying, and they have given Lorenzo the green light to liquidate Eastern Airlines piece by piece. The labor traitors never wanted this strike, and now they are burying it in the graveyard of federal bankruptcy court. And the strikers are burying their own: June 9 a highly skilled mechanic in Atlanta, deeply in debt and losing his family, was driven to suicide. The bureaucratic sabotage that is strangling the Eastern strike must be smashed! Take this battle out of the hands of Wimpy & Co. with elected strike committees and extend it industrywide!

Lorenzo threw the airline into bankruptcy court the first week of the strike. After months of maneuvering, he has begun to carve up Eastern, planning to sell off \$1.8 billion in assets and claiming he will run a "scaled down" Eastern. Philadelphia gates and planes were sold to USAir. The Eastern Shuttle, one of

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Militant Eastern strikers in Miami, March 3, show will to fight. Union tops are burying strike in bosses' courts.