

Bush, Democrats Push Japan-Bashing Depression Elections

FEBRUARY 17—Six months ago Bush and the Republicans thought the 1992 election was going to be a cakewalk. The "KKK strategy"—Kuwait, crime and quotas—was going to sweep Bush into a second term. But the chauvinist euphoria of the Persian Gulf War is dissipated as yellow ribbons are replaced by pink slips. Unlike in 1988, when Dukakis was denounced as a liberal and a "card-carrying member of the ACLU," in 1992 the "L" word only means two things: laid off or losing my job. This election is taking place during the longest U.S. economic downturn since the Great Depression, coming after two decades of falling real wages.

With the economy going nowhere but down, every capitalist politician from Hitler-admiring "America First" Pat Buchanan to FDR liberal Tom Harkin is campaigning on a "Buy American" protectionist program. "Free-trader" Bush turned his Japanese excursion into the "Sparkplug Summit," trying to stuff American auto parts down his hosts' throats. The would-be emperor of a "New World Order" and his entourage of corpulent CEOs came to Tokyo "to deliver a message," imperially demanding that Japan Inc. drag the moribund U.S. economy out of the depression. Instead, Bush's high point was the grand opening of the new Toys 'R Us store in Tokyo—stocked with toys from Taiwan! But the symbol of the Bush trip broadcast

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Dump the Two Parties of Capitalist Decay— Fight for a Workers Party!



Tens of thousands of NYC building trades workers march in December, calling for funds to "Rebuild New York—Rebuild USA." It will take socialist revolution to rebuild America. WV Photo

Israel: New Step to "Final Solution" Against Palestinians Zionist Shoot-to-Kill Order

FEBRUARY 17—Israeli aircraft yesterday carried out a series of "revenge" murders in southern Lebanon. Blasting away at two densely populated Palestinian refugee camps, the Zionist butchers killed at least three children, among others. Another raid targeted cars carrying pro-Iranian Hezbollah (Party of God) leader Sheik Abbas Musawi and his family, including a young child, incinerating them and several supporters with rocket fire. Israeli war minister Moshe Arens cynically justified this assassination, saying Musawi was "a man with lots of blood on his hands" and leader of a "murderous, terrorist organization." By those standards, Arens and his fellow terrorists at the head of the Israeli state deserve the same treatment ten times over.

Israel touted the killings as "retribution" for the stabbing deaths of three Israeli soldiers, including two Soviet immigrants, at a military outpost near the West Bank a day earlier. But the latest atrocities by the Zionist state are part of a general escalation in its war of terror against the Palestinian people in the Occupied Territories since the phony U.S.-sponsored Near East

"peace" talks began. On February 2, the Israeli army announced that soldiers would no longer be expected to first fire warning shots at the legs of "fleeing suspects" before gunning them down. In other words, the occupation forces have now been ordered to shoot to kill any Palestinian they deem "suspect."

Two days before, the army announced that it was officially deputizing fascist "settler" gangs in the West Bank, which have already been running rampant, indiscriminately stopping and terrorizing Arab drivers, running "convoys" armed with automatic rifles through Palestinian villages, and smashing car and home windows. In reality, these sinister new directives give an official imprimatur to existing policy. Already, troops could shoot any Palestinian youngster who so much as wore a mask or held a rock.

This war of terror is part of a deliberate campaign to drive out the Palestinian people and consolidate these areas as part of "Greater Israel." In a "night and fog" operation reminiscent of the Nazis, in December armed

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Fascist Settlers, Army Terrorists Take Aim



Nilzan Shorer

Mobilize Against Anti-Labor Repression in Mexico, South Korea

In a craven display of union-husting and bonapartist state repression, at 4 a.m. on February 1, a 75-year-old union leader in the Mexican border city of Matamoros, Agapito González Cavazos, was arrested on three-year-old "tax evasion" charges and spirited off to Mexico City in a waiting airplane. The arrest came just days after President Carlos Salinas de Gortari met with representatives of the Maquiladora Association of Matamoros to discuss strikes by 15,000 members of González' Union of Laborers and Industrial Workers against nine U.S.-owned factories (including three owned by General Motors), which won a 20 per-

cent wage hike, and two days before a strike deadline in negotiations with 62 other companies.

For the capitalist rulers of Mexico and the U.S., González had to be slapped down. In the *maquiladora* (free trade) zone on the U.S.-Mexico border, nearly half a million workers, mostly women without union protection, slave 48 hours for average wages of \$28 a week—one of the lowest industrial wages in the world. Conditions are unspeakable—child labor, brown lung, toxic wastes—and workers are crowded by the tens of thousands into shantytowns ringing the plants. But in Matamoros, where most



Nadine Markova

Mexican auto worker in *maquiladora* (free trade zone) plant. Union leader was arrested for leading strike against U.S.-owned company.

of the *maquiladora* workers are organized in unions, the workers have won a 40-hour week and the still-miserable wages are nearly double the level elsewhere. Fred Quintana, executive director of the Maquiladora Association of Matamoros, spelled out the motive for the arrest: "This leader had been very strong. He has used the strike as a weapon against U.S. companies that just can't take a strike."

A Mexico City judge quickly dismissed the charges and ordered González released. But the federal prosecutor immediately lodged new tax charges and González was again detained. He remains under arrest in his hospital room. With González out of the picture, the bosses rammed through a sweetheart deal, saddling the 35,000 workers with a cut in real wages. The 18.75 percent pay increase barely keeps pace with the current inflation rate, and the companies will no longer pay for Social Security benefits—a huge saving for the capitalists.

Lurking behind González' arrest is the pending Free Trade Agreement (FTA), by which U.S. imperialism seeks to turn Mexico into a giant *maquiladora*—"free" of unions and "free" for U.S. capital. At stake for the government of Harvard-trained technocrat Salinas and his Yankee bosses was a demonstration that there would be no labor struggle standing in the way of the massive profits to be squeezed from the superexploited Mexican workers. González was removed just before negotiators from Mexico, Canada and the U.S. met in Ottawa on February 10 and 11, and the day after they adjourned, the Matamoros contract settlement was rammed down the workers' throats.

In late January the United Auto Workers union (UAW) sent a \$15,000 contribution to the Matamoros strikers and later protested González' arrest. While labor protest against this attack on the *maquiladora* workers is crucial, talk of solidarity from the mouth of UAW president Owen Bieber rings hollow. Just as Bieber and the UAW tops have let tens of thousands of U.S. auto workers be thrown on the scrap heap without a fight, they didn't lift a finger to help the Cuautitlán, Mexico Ford workers in their

bitter 1990 class battle. What motivates these labor fakers is protectionist opposition to the FTA—not solidarity with our class brothers and sisters across the border, but pitting Mexican and American workers against one another.

In this the UAW joined with Democratic Party enemies of labor, such as Ohio Congressman Donald Pease, who used the arrest to "raise very serious questions about the suitability of Mexico as a partner in a North American free-trade agreement." Much of the protectionist opposition to the FTA has been couched in empty criticisms of Mexico's human rights record.

American labor tops may criticize the arbitrary arrest of a maverick leader connected with the PRI (Revolutionary Institutional Party) regime's CTM union federation, such as Agapito González. But there has been not a peep of support from U.S. labor for three workers—Moisés Alvarado Cano, José Luis Aguilar Vera and Amado Maldonado Cortés—who were jailed last fall in a bitter strike at the Santa Rosa textile factory in the industrial town of Ciudad Mendoza. The three are being framed on charges of killing a scab who died in a clash when hundreds of Veracruz state police broke the strike on September 26. Maldonado is a Mexico City bus worker associated with the radical syndicalist Movimiento Proletario Independiente (MPI).

What's needed is united action by Mexican and American workers, expressed in militant class struggle on both sides of the border against the capitalist assault on workers' living standards. A vital component of this solidarity must be defense of the imprisoned victims of capitalist repression. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a letter to the Mexican embassy protesting González' arrest and demanding all charges be dropped, and demanding immediate freedom for Alvarado Cano, Aguilar Vera and Maldonado Cortés.

* * *

To assuage its critics, the Salinas regime, whose hands are stained with the blood of murdered trade unionists, leftists, peasants and Indian union

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TROTSKY

Against Nationalist Protectionism

Economic conflicts between the United States, Japan and Germany are sharpening Washington politicians—from conservative Republicans to liberal Democrats—push "buy American" protectionism as the supposed solution to the decay of U.S. capitalism. During the 1930s, beggar-thy-neighbor trade protectionism deepened the Great Depression and laid the basis for the second imperialist world war for the redivision of markets and spheres of exploitation. Leon Trotsky

pointed to the link between the world capitalist crisis, the rise of fascism, economic nationalism and war.

The growth of world exchange took place parallel with the formation of national economies. The tendency of this development—for advanced countries, at any rate—found its expression in the shift of the center of gravity from the domestic to the foreign market. The nineteenth century was marked by the fusion of the nation's fate with the fate of its economic life; but the basic tendency of our century is the growing contradiction between the nation and economic life. In Europe this contradiction has become intolerably acute....

In a recent programmatic speech, Mussolini hailed the death of "economic liberalism," that is, the reign of free competition. The idea itself is not new. The epoch of trusts, syndicates and cartels has long since relegated free competition to the backyard. But trusts are even less reconcilable with restricted national markets than are the enterprises of liberal capitalism. Monopoly devoured competition in proportion as the world economy subordinated the national market. Economic liberalism and economic nationalism became outdated at the same time. Attempts to save economic life by inoculating it with virus from the corpse of nationalism result in blood poisoning that bears the name of fascism....

In its day democratic nationalism led mankind forward. Even now, it is still capable of playing a progressive role in the colonial countries of the East. But decadent fascist nationalism, preparing volcanic explosions and grandiose clashes in the world arena, bears nothing except ruin. All our experiences on this score during the last twenty-five or thirty years will seem only an idyllic overture compared to the music of hell that is impending. And this time it is not a temporary economic decline that is involved but complete economic devastation and the destruction of our entire culture, in the event that toiling and thinking humanity proves incapable of grasping in time the reins of its own productive forces and of organizing those forces correctly on a European and a world scale.

—Leon Trotsky, "Nationalism and Economic Life" (November 1933)



LENIN

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VANCOUVER

Our beloved comrade Martha Phillips died February 9 in Moscow. A professional revolutionist and supporter of the Trotskyist politics of the Spartacist tendency (International Communist League) for 20 years, Martha was living and working in Moscow as a teacher of English at the time of her death. As the senior cadre among several comrades who were working to reimplant the revolutionary program of Lenin and Trotsky in the land of its birth, Martha was engaged in a crucial struggle whose outcome still hangs in the balance. Her death is a bitter blow to the future Soviet section of the ICL and a shattering tragedy for her many close friends in our party. We extend our sympathy also to Martha's family, the Greenbergs, to Jeff, and to her son Lael, who she deeply loved.

Martha was won to Spartacist politics along with several other comrades out of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency/Leninist Faction left opposition inside the Socialist Workers Party. Originally recruited to the SWP as a college student in Madison, Wisconsin, Martha was living in Washington, D.C. when she and others there came to see in the Spartacist League the embodiment of the authentic program of Trotskyism. After fighting for their views in the Leninist Faction, they formally fused with the SL in November 1972. This regroupment laid the basis for winning other comrades from the SWP in the U.S. and from their sometime cointelers internationally over a period of several years.

In 1972 Martha moved to the Bay Area and took up her first party post as organizer of the Revolutionary Communist Youth there. She spent the bulk of her political life as a comrade of the Bay Area SL, including a stint as party organizer. She also spent briefer periods in Los Angeles (1973-74), Detroit (1981-82), New York (1982-83) and Seattle (1987). Always one of our most effective campus activists, Martha also worked closely with young comrades as party representative to campus fractions and as a party educator. A powerful public speaker and public polemicist, Martha led the party in numerous campaigns. She was Spartacist candidate for Oakland City Council in the spring 1983 election.

A lifelong fighter for women's liberation, Martha was passionate and thoughtful on all questions of special oppression and was heavily involved in launching the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense. She was an active campaigner and spokesman for the Partisan Defense Committee. In 1982 she helped organize the November 27 militant mass demonstration which stopped the fascist KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. and was on the front lines of that successful action.

In the fall of 1990, after studying Russian diligently in her spare time over the course of several years, Martha went to Moscow for an intensive language course. Although most of the students had had considerably greater preparation and were half her age, and while pursuing a heavy schedule of political activities, Martha worked hard on her studies and passed her course with flying colors. Her progress enabled her to return to Moscow in May 1991 and take up a job teaching English. Martha was a dedicated teacher who used everything she had learned in politics and in her life to spark her students' interest. Their stories, as well as her own experiences in Moscow, informed

Martha Phillips



10 March 1948 – 9 February 1992



Spartacist

her letters home to her comrades.

In July 1990 Martha presented greetings from the ICL to a meeting of the Moscow Workers Congress. Her remarks, published in WV No. 532 (2 August 1991), sought to lay bare what capitalist restoration would mean for the working people of the Soviet Union and to present a fighting perspective of proletarian political revolution to return the Soviet Union to the internationalist program which animated the October Revolution of 1917. She sharply denounced the anti-Semitism which permeates the Stalinist "patriot" milieu.

After her return to Moscow, Martha wrote up some points for consideration by an SL/U.S. Central Committee plenum held in October 1991. Coming out sharply against "any tendency to write off the Soviet Union in advance," she summarized her observations in light of Yeltsin's triumphant counter-coup against the halfhearted coup attempt by the so-called "hardliners":

"In the absence of active working-class resistance there is certainly not dual power in the sense that it existed in 1917. Nevertheless, all maneuvering here operates under what I'd call, for lack of a better phrase, the 'shadow of the working class'—that is, it is not accidental that the 'democrats' have failed to firmly consolidate their hold, have not moved even more boldly in the situation after their easy victory in August. They are afraid of the 'dark people'—what will happen if they are pushed too far. So there have been a lot of half-measures.... Probably it is in *In Defense of Marxism* that Trotsky makes the point that terminology on the workers states is an attempt to as closely as possible describe the contradictory reality. My best approximation

is that Yeltsin has consolidated an unstable bonapartist regime over what remains of the workers state. The bourgeoisie is attempting to consolidate its hold over the fractured apparatus of the workers state. Nevertheless, that consolidation is far from accomplished.... Greetings from the Trotskyist Group of the Soviet Union."

Martha courageously faced many obstacles in her life, but none greater than the struggle to function as a communist in Moscow as a foreigner, an American and of Jewish background, and as a woman in the face of the pervasive social backwardness toward women as political people and leaders. She confronted this challenge with the courage, intelligence, humor and unswerving determination that were characteristic of her,

until her life was cut short with brutal suddenness.

Martha was murdered. Comrades who arrived at the apartment where Martha was staying on the morning of February 9, the day of the most recent large demonstration against Yeltsin, found her there having apparently died in her sleep. Although she had recently been quite ill with a kidney ailment, her death seemed medically inexplicable since she had been improving. In the midst of their shock and grief, the comrades asked for an autopsy which, when it was finally performed, revealed that she had been stabbed. At the present time, the possibility cannot be ruled out that this hideous crime may have been politically motivated. The Moscow militia is carrying out an investigation in which our friends and supporters in Moscow are cooperating.

Many moving messages from comrades who knew Martha and loved and valued her greatly have been received and we will share excerpts from some of them in future issues of our press. In the U.S., formal meetings to honor her are planned in the Bay Area and New York City. Other ICL sections are planning their own commemorations, as we seek to celebrate Martha's life in the communist movement, to rededicate ourselves to the goals she cherished and fought for with all her intelligence and energies, and to come to grips with the shock and sorrow of our irreparable loss.

Comrades in Mexico City plan to lay red carnations in honor of Martha at Trotsky's memorial in Coyoacán. The ICL's French section will gather to remember Martha at Leon Sedov's grave outside Paris. On February 16, German comrades held a memorial meeting for her at the Friedrichsfelde Monument to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in Berlin. At the ceremony held February 15 at Marx's grave in London, a spokesman for the Spartacist League of Britain told the assembled comrades:

"We are gathered here today to honor Martha Phillips, who died in Moscow on the front lines in the urgent fight against counter-revolution in the Soviet Union. In her work there, on the numerous occasions she was asked why the International Communist League was in the USSR, Martha explained that the Soviet Union was the birthplace of our communist program, that the Russian Revolution in fact belonged to the workers of the whole world, and that we were coming home to fight to defend the gains of the October Revolution. For us Trotskyists the Soviet Union has never been a foreign country, and we can say truthfully that Martha died in her homeland."



WV Photo

Campaigning for Oakland City Council in 1983, Martha talks with UAW members at the East Bay Skills Center.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

ILWU Needs All-Out Strike to Save L.A. Jobs

One-Day "Sick-Out" Idles West Coast Ports

LOS ANGELES, February 18—A longshoreman pointed to the docks and said, "In L.A. harbor the booms were all up." And from Seattle to Long Beach, a dozen ships were tied up Monday. "'Sick-Out' Paralyzes West Coast Ports," headlined the *Journal of Commerce*. Some 3,000 longshoremen and supporters gathered at the Local 13 hall in Wilmington to rally in defense of 350 union members at the Intermodal Container Transfer Facility (ICTF) who were fired by the Southern Pacific railroad last week. But the anger and solidarity of longshoremen up and down the coast is being pissed away as the union tops flirted with a potentially powerful action only to blow off steam and let the union-busting go unchallenged.

The shipping bosses and Southern Pacific put newly elected ILWU president David Arian to an early test by wiping out 350 jobs in his home local. Arian had made organizing the container facilities a key campaign pledge. He blustered about going "to the mat on this one" and called a coastwide shutdown for one day (and a holiday at that). But then he engaged in a cynical charade toward the SP and PMA bosses, even reportedly offering to give up representation to the Transportation Communication Union. When SP fired the workers last week, Arian did nothing. At the rally, he recounted how he pleaded with the PMA to approve a sliding scale of shutdowns for February 17: 24 hours in L.A., 8 in the Bay Area, and nothing in the Northwest. No dice, said the PMA and got an injunction against the stoppage.

The International dutifully sent out notice to obey



Angry longshoremen protest at L.A. harbor, February 17.

the injunction. However, at the rally longshoremen "made it clear any dock worker who offered his services would be considered an outcast," wrote the *Journal*. At the rally, there were busloads of longshoremen from the Bay Area and contingents came by plane from the Northwest. "They got their restraining order. Now let's see them load their ships," shouted one speaker. But after endless speeches of empty "solidarity," the ILWU tops led workers on a three-mile march—not to the

scab facility, but to the L.A. Harbor Administration building which was closed for the holiday! Three young black workers who had been fired by the railroad were furious the ICTF had not been shut down. Almost 700 copies of *Workers Vanguard* headlined "Strike Now to Save L.A. Longshore Jobs!" were sold.

The business press said the "sick-out sidestepped a court order" and "the union could have opened itself to fines and its leadership to incarceration" if they defied the restraining order. But you can't "sidestep" the bosses' state. Unlike today's "labor statesmen," once upon a time union leaders were regularly thrown behind bars for defending the interests of their members. "So maybe some labor leaders go to jail six months after they surround the terminals with thousands of pickets and call a solidarity strike and the battle is won," we wrote in the *Workers Vanguard* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win." Instead, Arian drapes himself in red-white-and-blue: "We have to make the American flag our flag again." The ILWU was built in massive, bloody struggles against the shippers, their cops, courts and politicians. What's more ludicrous than appealing to them and their flag to save ILWU jobs?

ILWU members have shown that they are willing to fight. What is needed is a class-struggle leadership that's willing to use the unions' power instead of bowing to the bosses' rules and begging the Democratic Party. Start by appealing to Teamsters and railroad workers, who are facing over 2,500 layoffs in the SP system, for joint strike action. Use ILWU power to really paralyze West Coast ports, and ring the container yard with mass pickets that can shut it down until every single ILWU worker is back on the job!

City Workers Give D.C. Mayor Kelly "UnBirthday Party"

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Two thousand militant, mainly black city workers protested in the bitter cold outside of Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly's \$500-a-plate birthday party on February 1. As Kelly was wining, dining and cutting cake with her capitalist developer friends, she was threatening to take her budget ax to 3,500 union jobs. Protesters chanted "Recall Kelly!" "The witch has got to go!" and "Uncle Toms, shame on you!" as the well-heeled guests crossed the line in furs and tuxedos.

The demonstration was called by District Council 20 of AFSCME along with AFGE, CWA and Laborers International Union, among others. Sharon Pratt Kelly, the corporately correct "buppie" (black yuppie) mayor who is most popular with Washington's small layer of white businessmen, had been refusing to even speak to union leaders. But the ranks were mad as hell and in no mood for negotiating. One poster said "France had Marie Antoinette, D.C. has Sharon Pratt Kelly."

One worker commented, "You saw Mount Pleasant—at this rate we're going to tear D.C. up," referring to last May when youths battled cops in the streets to protest a racist cop shooting of a Hispanic man.

Life is going to hell for black D.C. Kelly has closed shelters while a record number of homeless have frozen to death this winter. With gratuitous viciousness, D.C. cops invaded the largest homeless shelter, and are on a campaign to run "beggars" out of the Metro. In Kelly's drive to bust the unions by "privatizing" city services, she is sitting on federal funding for 220 maintenance jobs which have been vacant since at least last spring. Meanwhile, D.C. housing crumbles and more families are driven into the streets because 2,250 city apartments stand boarded up and empty. Medical care is in crisis, and less than half of the black children in the area have been fully immunized.

During the first week of February, Kelly's cops shot four young black "suspects" in five days. On February 8, they raided a large gay club and made ten arrests on "sodomy" charges. The feds joined in on January 31 when the FBI, along with local forces, carried out an orgy of racist cop terror as part of their drug witchhunt. Even pro-Kelly *Washington Post* columnist Courtland Milloy called it "a domestic version of the Persian Gulf War," in which "some officers wore ski masks and black Ninja-style outfits, giving the raid the feel of a Chuck Norris 'Invasion, U.S.A.' movie."

As cop terror escalates and D.C. hits an all-time high for unemployment, some workers look back fondly on former mayor Marion Barry. The (sometimes) street-wise Barry was popular in the ghetto, but is now in

jail as a result of a federal entrapment frame-up aimed at showing what happens to black officials who don't "play by the rules." The "Justice" Department went after Barry with a vengeance, and now continues to harass him in prison.

City workers at the mayor's un-birthday had signs saying, "Mayor Kelly—We Put You In, We Can Take You Out!" But AFSCME District Council 20 officials only want to replace her with another Democrat. They put out a leaflet saying "Democrats oppose privatization!" and "Democrats do not balance budgets on the backs of workers and the poor!" Oh no? The partner parties of racist American capitalism join hands in imperialist war and have black Democratic Party mayors do their dirty work in the inner cities, whether in the haughty style of "Marie Antoinette" Kelly or the "down home" image of Marion Barry.

Labor doesn't have to bow to these Democrats. Washington teachers have gone almost two years without a contract and are "working to rule" in protest. The contract for D.C. transit workers is up soon; they too face cuts. Kelly attacks one and all—we say an injury to one is an injury to all. United strike action could knock the wannabe queen of black D.C. off her throne.

El Paso Garment Strikers Win Union Contract

After eight months of militant struggle, the El Paso garment strike of mostly Mexican women workers ended in a victory. Though small in size, it was the first successful strike in that industry locally in 20 years. On December 30, jubilant strikers left the picket lines in front of the struck sweatshops in auto caravans, going up and down the avenues of the garment district with horns blaring. The contract was ratified ten days later, and on January 18 a victory rally was held in San Jacinto Plaza. Shortly afterwards, workers in notoriously exploitative U.S.-owned *maquiladora* (free trade zone) plants in Matamoros, Mexico, across the river from Brownsville, Texas, struck for higher wages and better working conditions, leading to the arrest of their union leader (see page 2). As negotiators try to push through a "Free Trade Agreement," conditions are ripe for a labor offensive on both sides of the border.

Hurting for lack of orders, Andrés Díaz, the "Sweatshop King" of DCB Industries, finally settled with the combative workers, who kept up their picket lines for the duration of the strike. Though the contractual gains are extremely limited, and apply to a new factory that Díaz has yet to open, this is a step forward. Very few of El Paso's low-wage garment shops are unionized. The sleazy operators of these hellholes are abetted by the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO leadership, who have never mounted a serious drive to organize the largely immi-

grant workers who toil under appalling conditions for starvation wages. In addition, city cops and the Border Patrol work hand in hand with fly-by-night employers, who routinely rob these border town workers (not only the undocumented, but also those who have citizenship papers or the resident's "green card") of their wages.

In an open letter to the people of El Paso circulated eight days after beginning a hunger strike last May, La Mujer Obrera (Working Woman) called for support to put an end to "modern-day slavery." The garment strikers withstood police harassment and arrest of workers and organizers. They occupied the Sonia plant, seizing the sewing machines as "collateral" for back wages. The machines were returned last weekend, with Díaz' promise to pay up in 20 days. However, under the settlement, Sonia's workers lose their seniority because the shop closed down completely in the face of the militant occupation. The three-year contract provides for a marginal wage increase of 25 cents an hour annually, one week paid vacation, medical insurance, a grievance procedure, seniority and one paid holiday. But even with these meager terms, a platform has been built to extend unionization throughout the region.

Medical insurance is a key issue for workers subjected to laboring in these unsanitary, unventilated sweatboxes, which cause frequent sickness. Unions can also provide protection against arbitrary firings, the paternalism and divisive tactics of greedy bosses like Díaz. With recently elected shop committees and delegates in each shop, the workers may fend better than before. Under the agreement, Díaz must call strikers back first. But a contract is only a piece of paper that the bosses and their courts will tear up if it serves their purpose. The key to defending even these modest gains is forging a class-struggle leadership that can extend them to other El Paso garment shops and to the thousands working for one-fifth the wage in *maquiladoras* across the border in Ciudad Juárez. But the leadership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union with their chauvinist "Buy American" campaign is dead set against such internationalist organizing.

According to an article in the *El Paso Times* (19 January), ILGWU organizer Esther Tinajero "said the union's immediate goal isn't to organize other workers, but to 'ensure these workers are installed back to work, then train them in union work'." Yet the only way the DCB workers can protect their jobs is by an organizing drive up and down the border. As capital becomes increasingly mobile internationally, this underlines the urgent need for an internationalist leadership of the workers movement. National borders must not separate the workers, and nationalism must not divide their struggles against a common capitalist enemy. We in the Spartacist League of the U.S. and the Grupo Esparquista de México are fighting to build a world party of socialist revolution. ■

NYC Transit Workers: Rip Up the Contract Rip-Off!

On February 12, 1,500 enraged New York City transit workers marched from Transit Authority headquarters in Brooklyn to City Hall in Lower Manhattan and then took the train to converge on union headquarters in Midtown. After working almost a year without a contract, the ranks of Transport Workers Union Local 100 were protesting the swindle that the TWU tops are trying to ram through. It was the biggest mobilization against the sellout leadership since the hard-fought 1980 transit strike.

The protest was called by the "New Directions" grouping, the housebroken "opposition," which carried a banner, "Vote No—For a Just Contract." They want to pressure the Sonny Hall crew in the Local 100 leadership to beg for a little more. But the hundreds of TWUers who marched across the Brooklyn Bridge, stopping rush hour traffic, had another idea, chanting: "No contract, no work! Shut it down!" That is exactly what must be done, and that means building a class-struggle leadership that will take on the TA bosses and their masters in Wall Street.

The class-struggle Committee for a Fighting TWU carried placards, eagerly snatched up by other transit workers, calling for "Strike to: Defend Our Jobs! Save Lives! Smash the Taylor Law!" "Dump the Democrats Cuomo/Dinkins—For a Workers Party," "TA Bosses Kill Workers & Riders—For Workers Control of Safety," "Let's Furlough Wall Street with a Citywide Strike!" and "We Need a Mass Meeting at the Garden! Vote It Down! Elect a Strike Committee!"

Sonny Hall is trying to slide this contract through by mail ballot, dividing and demoralizing workers until they go along with his betrayal. Hall is banking on the defeatism that his misleadership breeds. But the signs of the long-smoldering anger against the TA bosses were already visible last month, in the face of a move to wipe out seniority rights. Hall loyalists said to wait for the arbitrator, but motormen and conductors voted to take any action necessary. The next day word spread in the crew rooms, workers observed all the technicalities in the rule

Union Tops Call Cops on Membership

book, soon there were long delays, and they won. But guerrilla skirmishing won't be enough to dump this contract—it will take an all-out battle.

On February 12, after the brief rally at City Hall, hundreds headed up to Local 100 HQ on West End Avenue to give the bureaucrats hell and discuss what has to be done. Afterward *Workers Vanguard* interviewed Mary Jo Marino,

Word spread that the cops had been called to evict members from the hall. The cops said there would be no arrests unless the union leadership authorized it, and Local 100 VP Herbert Jones gave them the go-ahead. "The room erupted again in pandemonium," said Marino. "Jones was berated up one side and down another."

Marino got the floor, speaking on



February 12—1,500 TWUers stream across Brooklyn Bridge in angry protest against contract sellout.

a car inspector and member of the Committee for a Fighting TWU: "At first, union officers tried to insist only conductors would be allowed into the meeting, but everybody started chanting 'All titles!' When they tried to cancel the meeting, the room erupted. People surrounded officials, berating them, insisting that it must go on. They tried to leave the room but the members just blocked the doors."

The meeting grew to over 200 with several hundred TWUers still outside.

behalf of the Committee for a Fighting TWU. "I said, 'Everybody knows this contract stinks. Sure we can vote no, but then what? The leadership has made it clear they want to ram this through, they even called the cops on our own members. We're up against Dinkins and the Democrats and you guys [TWU tops] are in their pockets. Pressure is not going to work, we need a leadership that wants to fight to win.'"

When she put forward a motion for a local meeting at Madison Square Gar-

den, it was unanimously passed. International VP Fulton threatened binding arbitration. When he said, "You can talk strike all you want, nobody's going on strike," there were catcalls. New Directions leader Corinne Scott responded, "Nobody's talking strike here...who's talking strike?" Marino hollered back, "I am!"

Last year the number of major strikes in the U.S. was at the lowest since the end of World War II, yet in New York, with one of the highest concentrations of unionized workers in the nation, militant *Daily News* strikers drew broad public support across racial lines. More recently, tens of thousands of hospital workers and construction workers rallied for jobs. Yet once again they were told to get behind the Democrats. Hall and Local 1199 hospital workers leader Dennis Rivera are Democratic Party delegates for phony "friend of labor" Tom Harkin.

Transit workers face a major challenge. They have the power to launch a strike that shuts down NYC. The 1980 transit strike cost the bosses \$100 million per day until Sonny Hall's predecessor, John Lawe, sold it out. But you need a clear-sighted leadership. "New Directions" is a ragtag bag of reformist "socialists" and lower-level officials who refuse to call for a strike; now they're dropping hints about "disrupting" service during the Democratic convention—five months from now.

The stakes are enormous, and penny-ante gimmicks won't cut it. The U.S. ruling class engaged in an orgy of triumphalism over the one-sided Persian Gulf slaughter and the supposed "death of Communism." But it's in deep trouble at home, where the economy is dead in the water, the cities are falling apart, racist attacks are rising. And it all comes together in New York City. Defense of the unions and workers' livelihoods means challenging the capitalist system. We reprint below excerpts from the February 11 leaflet by the Committee for a Fighting TWU raising a program to fight the contract swindle, sweep out the sellout misleaders, break with the capitalist parties to struggle for power.

We Need a Leadership That Wants to Strike and Knows How to Win!

The contract stinks and the Hall gang is helping the TA slip it through with a mail ballot. Not only are we paying for our "increase" out of injury pay, new hires' raises and pension fund but those increases will be tied to "productivity"; and we are the first union workers who will pay fines for getting written up! The \$1,000 bribe is insult to injury. We want a union-wide mass meeting at the Garden to vote this contract down and mobilize for a winning strike!

A fighting leadership would strike now while rallying support citywide by demanding "Free mass transit—rip out the turnstiles!" A political strike would bring out all the city unions who are without contracts and are facing massive cutbacks. All the working people in New York are facing cutbacks in education, social services, hospitals, crumbling expressways and rotting bridges. We must fight back or starve and TWU Local 100 is in a position to lead all city labor in strike action to stop these attacks.

The roadblock here is leadership. The union bureaucrats have done nothing but collect our dues and give them to the Democratic Party, while hiring themselves out as the bosses' labor cops to enforce the massive attacks on working and poor people over the last decade.

Look at the case of brother Robert Ray. He is charged with murder and held without bail for the Union Square crash, scapegoated for the unsafe system which is the TA's crime! While the media vultures picked at Ray and the entire union, Hall & Co. let this brother twist in the wind and used this case to impose drug testing on all of us. TWUers packed the courtroom in solidarity at Ray's hearing and the motormen voted unanimously for his immediate release and for the union to cover all expenses. Ray's next court hearing is on February 21 at 9:00 a.m., 111 Centre St. Be there!

The Japan-bashing cartoon and column in the last *TWU Express* is racist trash which feeds attacks on minorities

here and has no place in our union paper! We should be looking to other workers for examples, like the militant Hyundai workers in Korea, and for solidarity in common struggle against the capitalists on both sides of the Pacific.

The TWU tops hack the same Democratic Party politicians—Cuomo, Dinkins—who are swinging the ax against the unions, the homeless and poor in NYC. There is also a layer of junior fakers and wannabes who can't seem to wrap their mouth around the word *strike*. When Sonny Hall extended the contract last April, he did so with the votes of his loyal opposition, New Directions. If they can't be for "no contract, no work" who thinks they are going to lead this union against Cuomo, Dinkins and the Taylor Law? New Directions wants to pressure Sonny Hall to pressure Jesse Jackson and the Democrats to beg the whole gang that keeps things running the way they are.

TWUers should know about a sinister

outfit called the Workers League. For years they have begged the racist AFL-CIO brass to form a labor party, while opposing any fight against the special oppression of blacks and women. When we mobilized Local 100 members to stop the Klan in Philadelphia, Workers League supporters opposed bringing out our members to stop the Klan and then physically harassed rally organizers outside 207th Street.

The misleadership of our union is so bad that some of our most militant members have given up entirely on the whole idea of a union. This is wrong—we must forge a class-struggle leadership. We can begin now by fighting for a mass meeting in the Garden and electing a strike committee to lead a winning strike. The key to unleashing our power is *breaking* from the gang of Democrats and their flunkies in the union leadership who are cracking the whip for the capitalists. We need full employment—30 hours work for 40 hours pay with full COLA! Create jobs with massive programs to rebuild housing, hospitals, schools, roads and bridges—and starting in New York with the signals, tunnel fans and filthy shops of the TA! We need a fighting workers party that will fight for a workers government which will rip the wealth we create out of the hands of the bankers and junk bond ripoff artists. ■

"Nationalism Is Poison"

Ukrainian Red Army Vet Speaks at ICL Educational

On January 18, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) sponsored an All-Union Educational Seminar in Moscow. In a modest way, this gathering pointed the internationalist road forward for the multinational Soviet proletariat in the face of counter-revolutionary turmoil and growing fratricidal nationalism.

The seminar was introduced by a dedication to the "3Ls"—Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht—reasserting the Bolshevik tradition, buried by decades of Stalinist nationalism, of commemorating the deaths of the three revolutionary leaders in late January. Tackling head-on the recent sharp rise in Great Russian chauvinism, the ICL educational featured a presentation by comrade Len Meyers on the Bolshevik struggle against anti-Semitism, and the proud history of Soviet Jews in defending the homeland of October (an article based on this theme appears in the forthcoming Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* No. 3, under the title "Bolshevism vs. Stalinism on the Jewish Question: Down With Anti-Semitism, Tool of Reaction!"). A second presentation outlined the history and development of the ICL.

The internationalist character of the gathering was reflected in the attendance as well. While Russia's Yeltsin and Ukrainian leader Leonid Kravchuk fuel fratricidal nationalism in their drive to tear apart the Soviet state, the ICL seminar brought together communists from various regions and cities of Russia as well as from other republics, including the Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Additionally, the seminar was attended by representatives of the recently founded Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRП), the newspaper *Kontrargumenty i Fakty* and the "League for a Revolutionary Communist International" associated with the British Workers Power group. Neither the RKRП nor LRCI spokesmen chose to speak in the discussion period.

A rich and lively discussion followed both presentations, as a diverse audience, including Moscow and Leningrad industrial workers, a rank-and-file miners' leader and international visitors, brought their own views and experiences to bear. Of particular note were remarks (excerpted below) by comrade Galeos Pavlovich Mikhailyuk of Kiev, editor of the newspaper *Bukhenvaldskiy Nabat* (*Buchenwald Alarm*), a Ukrainian Red Army veteran of World War II and sur-

vivor of the Buchenwald concentration camp. In the course of presenting valuable contributions on the fight against anti-Semitism and nationalism, comrade Mikhailyuk also presented his own view of what kind of revolutionary party is needed today, a theme that was taken up by various speakers in the discussion period. The ICL's program for the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party was the focus

already have the threats. And the terror—we have it all. Now we have "our" flag, and an anthem, which has not even been approved by the Supreme Soviet, or by the people, or by any referendum; these trappings have simply been tossed at us, and we're supposed to show them respect.

In our country there is an organization, the SLUN—it's a youth organization along the lines of the stormtrooper

uation would arise, like after 1905, where a scapegoat had to be found, that scapegoat would be the Jews. Stalin did the same kind of thing, both before the war and then later in the "Doctors' Plot."

Now we have these UPA [the pro-Nazi World War II Ukrainian Partisan Army] thugs walking around, talking about their *streltsy* [riflemen], like they were some kind of anti-fascist heroes. This is a lie. They used to kill all Russians, just for being Russians. We have lists of those eliminated in the course of a single year in the single district of the Ivano-Frankovsk region, a list of 630 people, entire families. They murdered them for being "Moskal" [Russians]; they murdered a German officer, who escaped from a Soviet prison, for being German. Poles they killed just for being Polish. These lists are very precise accounts—they're the reports, the lists that were made by the people who carried out the actions—the "SB" or security service, as it was called. These lists showed exactly who was killed, and why—"Ubiystvo propagandivno" [Ukrainian for "propaganda murder"]—and we know what that means: exemplary execution.

Unfortunately, the real heirs of Stalin, our "partocrats," who we and the party were not able to deal with properly, have now provided the leadership of these states which have been built on the ruins of the Soviet Union. Now they are wrangling like dogs on a garbage heap, fighting over a bone—only this "bone" is the Black Sea Fleet, the Army, the Air Force and so on. Yes, like fighting over a bone.

Meanwhile, there's Yeltsin at odds with our Kravchuk. Now I knew Kravchuk personally, when he was still in charge of the Ukrainian CP's ideological department. And so here are these people looking around for their scapegoat. They all start from the same position: as nationalists, whipping up national differences. And that is exactly what we have here. We have a civil war in Georgia. We have a war between the Azeri and Armenian peoples. We have war between the Moldavian and Russian peoples, the Gagauzy.

And this is right next door to us in the Ukraine. Just count them up, in the Ukraine we have 52 million people, of whom 18 million are Russians. And now these nationalists, who can't even use proper Ukrainian, are telling us all how we have to be Ukrainians, and how we're supposed to behave, how we're supposed to hate the "Moskal," i.e., the Russian, and the "Yid" of course, i.e., the Jew. We won't even mention the Gypsies, there are probably almost none of them left by now, and if there are, it is only a pitiful remnant.

So now we can already see the competing pretensions of the Ukraine and Russia, of the Ukraine toward its neighbors—and that can only lead to an outburst of national antagonism and war. The only possible thing that can save the situation is, of course, the restoration, the re-establishment of a communist party. It would be a party of a different type altogether. Not the kind of party that appointed our chiefs without us having any say—except to applaud and cast our unanimous vote. All these Shcherbitskys, Kravchuks, Brezhnevs, Yeltsins and so on—they're all birds of a feather. They are about as much com-



Moscow, January 18: ICL educational was dedicated to commemoration of "Three L's"—Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg.

of the second presentation, as outlined after this excerpt.

* * *

Comrades, I hope I may make use of the term "communist." Perhaps if there is anyone here who isn't a communist, well, he can just listen. I didn't simply become the editor of this newspaper. Its first issues still appeared under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. If you took a look at the paper's second issue, you would find exactly the materials which the speaker has been talking about: on the founding of the SS "Galitsyn" Division [composed of Ukrainian fascists] in 1943. This is the meaning of Ukrainian nationalism.

I have come from a country that, right now, is rabid. It is careening toward fascism—toward the most open, shameless kind of fascism. We already have the attacks, the bloody confrontations, we

brigades in Germany during 1932-33. These thugs walk around downtown in SS Galitsyn uniforms. On November 7, I was giving a speech [at the Revolution Day demonstration] in Kiev and they twice tried to block the movement of our column. They were attacking us, beating people up; even after the rally was all over they attacked and beat up the old men, the veterans. They were afraid to go after the young guys, but they beat up the old men.

Here is my story. I lost my father in 1938, when Joseph Vissarionovich [Stalin] settled his score with the Leninists, the Communist-Leninists. So there I was, "Family Member to a Traitor of the Motherland" (that was the term that was used, "FMTM"). All the same, I went to the front. I had to volunteer, since I was too young to be called up for service. I was wounded, taken prisoner, and survived the purgatory of Buchenwald.

In fascist Germany they knew only three terms: *Übermensch* [superhuman], *Mensch* [human], and *Untermensch* [subhuman]. The *Untermensch* included the Jews, yes, and the Gypsies, and of course us as well, Soviet citizens. But if they were going to incinerate us in stages, then it was the Jews whom they first drove into the suffocation vans, first into the gas chambers, first into the ovens. I myself saw that woman Ilse Koch, who made gloves, slippers, lampshades, from human flesh. I saw this with my own eyes in the Buchenwald concentration camp.

The comrade speaker reminded us of the "Beilis affair" [a Zionist anti-Semitic fabrication in 1911, in which the Jewish worker Mendel Beilis was accused of the "ritual murder" of a Christian youth]. Now this affair took place in Kiev; my mother and father organized workers defense guards to defend the Jews from pogroms. Always, whenever such a sit-

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munist as I am the Pope of Rome.

We're here to address the people with the need to build a Leninist party, to establish Leninist principles of party leadership. To clean house, and explain to the people that they have been lied to when they were told that Lenin ruled through terror, etc., etc. Now Stalin was a terrorist, definitely. He was, in fact, an executioner. But he was not communist. What kind of communist could he be, this Stalin? Well, there are people like him still around, people who would make use of the same methods to resolve disputes in a fragmented country.

As editor of *Buchenwald Alarm* an original document came into my possession; it was a document of the German political staff from April 1944. By then Germany was suffering a defeat, and giving a valuable lesson to its future heirs: so as to prevent it from ever again threatening capitalism, the capitalist world, Russia must be divided up. We must expect, if things keep going on as they have, that in our long-suffering Soviet land we will see pogroms break out against the Jews.

We must get through to people, we must rally them. The comrades can refute this if they like, but my opinion is that



Pro-Nazi Ukrainian nationalists now march through streets of Lvov, above, where in World War II they carried out pogroms against the Jews.



Stein and Day

Please understand, I was a member of the underground in the Buchenwald concentration camp. In the international committee I worked closely with the democrats. I was just a young kid, and one guy broke down in tears in front of me—this was someone who had been a deputy in the Reichstag [German parlia-

Republics. Our goal, our task—to found anew the mighty rule of the toilers, free of the Stalinist-Gorbachevite disfigurations. Later we'll manage to rehabilitate Trotsky and place him in the appropriate position of authority in the revolutionary movement. I think we can save this accomplishment for later, when things are brighter, clearer.

In the discussion period, a number of speakers voiced their opposition to comrade Mikhailyuk's conception of an all-inclusive party. A particularly powerful contribution was made by a miners' leader, who related from his own experience that to build a party of Lenin and Trotsky you have to say so forthrightly. A comrade from the former DDR (East Germany) stressed the Leninist policy of a united front—march separately, strike together—in fighting fascism, and attacked the RKR for "uniting" with monarchists, thus opening the door wider to counterrevolution. An older industrial worker cited the ICL's opposition to Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland in 1981 as the "real Trotskyism" that's needed, as opposed to the impostors who supported Walesa.

The road to building an authentically Leninist party was the subject of the second presentation by comrade Meyers, on the history and development of the ICL. He emphasized that a serious

approach to constructing a Bolshevik party must be based on firm programmatic agreement on central questions. These include proletarian opposition to popular-frontism and class collaboration of any sort; a solidly internationalist perspective opposed to any tailing of nationalist forces, whether Khomeini in Iran, Walesa in Poland or the "Arab Revolution"; defense of the Soviet Union, the state born out of the October Revolution of 1917, and political revolution to sweep out the Stalinist betrayers and their thoroughly counterrevolutionary successors.

The speaker discussed as well the perspective of revolutionary regroupment: the need to fuse together, through a process of splits and fusions, cadre who today may be found in a variety of organizations. Comparing the record of programmatic firmness of the ICL with the disarray of various self-styled "Trotskyist" or "communist" organizations, he stressed that there is no shortcut in laying the foundations for an authoritative and solidly revolutionary mass workers party. "What we must do is come together on the basis of firm programmatic agreement," concluded the speaker. "That is the way to build the internationalist party needed to save the Soviet Union on the basis of workers democracy and a planned centralized economy, and to restore the red flag of internationalism to the Kremlin."



Buchenwald Alarm, anti-fascist newspaper edited by Red Army veteran Mikhailyuk.

we should make a bloc with all socialist currents, communist currents, on just one point: the need to combat nationalism.

We in the Ukraine have just this month received coupons in lots of 200: 200 coupons is 200 rubles. Unfortunately I didn't get any, so I can't show them to you. They are printed in France, and it cost \$20 million to produce them, no more, no less. The country just keeps getting poorer. So what do you think I can acquire for these 200 coupons? I can buy one stick of bread per month, a bun, and a half kilo of potatoes, then my money has disappeared. Can you imagine the degree of poverty these nationalist gentlemen are willing to impose on the people?

But they are counting on rebellion and repression. They are counting on the expectation that there will be a flare-up of rebellion, and the tanks won't be silent this time! Because one of these thugs said to me right to my face: "If we had been in charge at Buchenwald, you wouldn't be walking around here, you wouldn't be walking by." So you see, these people are ready to destroy, they're ready to open fire.

This is why we have to appeal to the toilers, to the working class, to the peasantry, and launch a single common powerful party, a powerful movement. Let it be the Fourth International; let it be international in that it must appeal to the toilers, to the international working class, the international communist and socialist movement. There's no need to be shy about it.

But meanwhile we must toss aside all the squabbles, all the quarrels, the dogmatism. Let the theoreticians worry about where the commas, where the periods and exclamation marks belong in Marx. We have to get rid of this hairsplitting. Right now it is necessary to focus our attention on one thing: preserving the land of the soviets.

ment], who had voted for Hindenburg against the Communists, who ended up in Buchenwald. "We were so short-sighted," he said, "we totally underestimated this fascist movement!"

There is no poison more terrible than the poison of nationalism. Especially when there is someone nearby that can be singled out: the "Moskal," i.e., the Russian.

On the so-called GKChP [the August coup committee] putsch. Well, this was the partocracy's bluff. I'm telling you this as someone who has been through the concentration camp, and I'll guarantee you, given a hundred men armed with automatic weapons—no tanks necessary—a hundred machine-guns, and I would have dealt with this Yeltsin. Not the slightest doubt about it. A hundred of my wartime machine-guns of 1941, my intelligence men, and I would have taken out any barricade you care to mention. It was pure bluff. Pure bluff, smoke and mirrors.

Now I'd like to move on to the subject of practical activities. We must construct a communist party. The CPSU was betrayed by its leaders, Gorbachev & Co. along with Yeltsin, Kravchuk and that riffraff. We can't rebuild that party, no one will follow it. Unfortunately, politics follows the principle, a purely mechanical principle, of inertia. If we were to go around today in the Soviet Union dredging up the name of Trotsky, it just wouldn't be feasible in the Soviet Union to get a sufficient number of people into such a party. Make no mistake, I respect the man a great deal. My parents were Communists almost since the last century, my father since 1904, my mother since 1907. They had great respect for this political figure, and they were punished for it.

But in politics there is strategy and there is tactics. Our goal is the building of the Union of Soviet Socialist

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CHICAGO

Elections...

(continued from page 1)

around the world was of his head lolling in the lap of Prime Minister Miyazawa, and then sliding under the table.

The Bush visit spawned a vicious wave of protectionism, as the partner parties of American capitalism and their subservient labor lieutenants sought to deflect workers' anger away from the decaying economy and into racist Japan-bashing. (This chauvinist crap is never directed at the *British*, whose capital invested in the U.S. is *twice* that of the Japanese.) As Chrysler boss Iacocca peddles his racist poison, UAW bureaucrats sell out hundreds of thousands of auto workers who will never see the inside of a plant again. As they got protectionist tariffs to jack up the price of Japanese cars, and after billions in "givebacks" by the union tops, the traditional Big Three auto giants took in an incredible \$61 billion in profits just between 1983 and 1989.

At a Ypsilanti, Michigan rally supposedly against GM layoffs, Congressman William Ford "jokingly" called for beating up people who buy Japanese cars, and a union leaflet declared "when Japan threatens the security of American jobs we must go to war again." The jingoism reached a crescendo when Nintendo, the Japanese game company, offered to buy the Mariners baseball team, to enable the franchise to stay in Seattle. The anti-labor tycoons who run baseball are as upset over the "selling of America's pastime" as they were over the free agent clause breaking their slave labor system. None of this went over in the Northwest, where the economy depends heavily on trade with Japan, including exports from jets to lumber.

Fueling the jingoist outburst were a series of speeches by senior Japanese ruling party officials, who were critical of the short-term outlook of America's rulers. The American bourgeois press went into high gear in whipping up protectionist hysteria when Japanese prime minister Kiichi Miyazawa was quoted as saying that "American workers have come to lack a work ethic." But the media buried the rest of Miyazawa's speech, which was a biting denunciation of Wall Street:

"We have these leveraged buyouts where those without their own money can buy up things, and then, unable to pay the interest on their debts, fall into bankruptcy. It should be obvious to anyone that such a situation could not continue long."

Yoshio Sakurachi, Speaker of the Lower House of the Diet, stoked the fire, saying that the U.S. is becoming Japan's subcontractor, that its workers are lazy and illiterate. In fact, the average U.S. worker puts in 163 more hours a year



NYC workers, students march last April 30 against Cuomo's killer cutbacks. Franco/NY Times

than in 1970, second only to Japan and far more than Germany. More than 7 million Americans hold two or even three jobs. Meanwhile, in Japan there is an epidemic of a disease that takes some 10,000 victims a year, *karoshi*, literally death from overwork.

The Japanese ruling class is among the most xenophobic in the world, as one look at their treatment of Korean workers or Chinese during their World War II occupation shows. Japanese businessmen and politicians make openly racist remarks about American blacks and Hispanics, and Japanese companies deliberately locate their U.S. plants (which now produce 2 million cars and trucks per year) in heavily white, rural areas, far from the tens of thousands of laid-off (and more militant) black and Hispanic workers of the Midwest cities. Now the liberal NAACP is responding in kind, pushing a racist boycott of Japanese cars.

"Hang Around a Democrat..."

The primary campaign is the most jingoistic display in years. On the Republican fringe Pat Buchanan raves, "we're not going to settle for making Cheerios and potato chips for the Japanese." Buchanan's "America First" campaign particularly targets foreign-born workers, complaining that immigration is an "assault on American culture"—which he identifies as Columbus, Custer and the Confederate flag. He praised Adolf Hitler as a "political organizer of the first rank," and is an American kin of the clerical-fascists who ran parts of East Europe under the protection of the Nazi Wehrmacht. This repulsive creep is actually giving Bush a run for his money in the New Hampshire primary. And to Buchanan's right, there's KKKer David Duke waiting down South.

What can the Democrats come up with to compete with this sinister gang? The crew slogging it out in New Hampshire—former Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas (a "pro-business" technocrat), Nebraska's Bob Kerrey (exploiter of child labor, Vietnam vet, glories in having killed Vietnamese), Iowa's Tom Harkin (Vietnam-era vet, wishes he had killed some Vietnamese), California's Jerry Brown (all-purpose faddist known as "Governor Moonbeam") and Arkansas anti-union good ole boy Bill Clinton—are widely seen as second-raters.

So much so that a "draft Cuomo" write-in campaign has mushroomed. But while the liberal New York governor who presents "fiscally conservative" austerity budgets may offer some hope for the Democratic Party, he is no friend of labor or minorities. Just ask the heavily black and Hispanic students of the City University of New York, thousands of whom were forced out of school because of Cuomo-ordered budget cuts.

For a while it looked like Clinton had been anointed front-runner by the media powers that be. "Slick Willie" tried to combine the image of a Middle America "populist" with a tough law-and-order type. In fact, three of the five Democratic hopefuls are for the racist death penalty. As governor of Arkansas, Clinton prides himself in being a "hands on" executive...and executioner. On the eve of his 60 Minutes appearance, he raced back to Little Rock to oversee the lethal injection of a hopelessly brain-damaged black man, Rickey Ray Rector.

Clinton's campaign wasn't hurt so much by the Gennifer Flowers affair—though his wife Hillary had the bad taste to declare she was not "some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette," thereby alienating every country-western fan in the U.S. of A. What really hit Clinton hard was the still smoldering question of the Vietnam War. "Clinton Received a Vietnam Draft Deferment for an ROTC Program That He Never Joined," revealed the *Wall Street Journal* (6 February). Political pundits see his 1969 letter to a ROTC recruiter as the kiss of death in today's flag-waving "America first" climate. He thanked the recruiter "for saving me from the draft" and even described himself as one who "opposed and despised" the war.

Vietnam is a wound that still won't heal for the generation coming to political power now. What, after all, could possibly be an American "war hero" in that losing, dirty colonial war? For a lot of young Americans back then, the real heroes were Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese fighting for their liberation. And they hated the Democratic presidents Kennedy and Johnson as war criminals.

Rad-lib journalist Alexander Cockburn quips, "Hang around a Democrat long enough and he'll promise to invade somewhere." The Democratic sixpack-minus-one sound like Iacocca and Douglas MacArthur rolled into one. The Democratic candidates push their message of trade war because they have no answer to the decay of American capitalism. All

their talk of "industrial policy" amounts to gearing up to clobber Japan and promising a paltry tax cut for the "middle class," coupled with the usual "get tough on crime" speeches where with barely veiled racism they call for more cops, more prisons, more executions. But a lot of workers aren't buying. *Time* magazine (13 January) notes: "There's a genuine feeling that the country has gotten way off track, and neither political party has any answers. Americans don't see any solutions."

FDR Democrats like Harkin cite New School economist Robert Heilbroner saying, "Without an adequate infrastructure, private industry cannot live up to its potential." The "industrial policy" of Harkin and Heilbroner is a (futile) call for some sort of corporatist economic structure, futile because the U.S. ruling class won't accept such "state interference." Behind the "pro-labor" rhetoric is a program of straitjacketing the working class through institutionalized class collaboration. Heilbroner told *Time* (13 January) "that if the U.S. had its own type of loose alliance between labor, business and government, as some European nations do, such a structure could provide a means to control excessive wage increases." Excessive wages?! American wages have been falling since 1972 along with the decay of U.S. productive capacity.

Yet in spite of the barrage of protectionist propaganda, even at the height of the Pearl Harbor anniversary media blitz 47 percent of the U.S. population held that "the United States is blaming Japan for its own economic problems" (*New York Times*, 3 December). There is a widespread perception that this country needs to be rebuilt from the ground up.

The reformist left, when they aren't openly promoting the candidacy of one or another Democrat, promotes groups to pressure the Democrats. Thus the National Organization of Women is currently for a third party. Off and on for two decades black nationalists have talked of an "independent black party" (while also pushing Jesse Jackson's Democratic "Rainbow Coalition"). Now various pseudo-socialists are fawning over the "Labor Party Advocates" of Oil Workers union leader Tony Mazzocchi, who dreams of a milkshop social-democratic reformist party like Canada's New Democrats. But he's so worried about crossing the Democratic-loyal AFL-CIO chiefs that the "LPA" declares it "will not interfere with the on-going electoral activities of our unions," and vows: "Organizing Labor Party Advocates is not going to retard the rebirth of the Democrats. On the contrary, it will encourage it."

What all these gambits have in common is that they seek to *prevent* the most class- and race-conscious militants from breaking from the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. The briefest glance at the realities of life in Depression U.S.A. will tell you that reformist tinkering is useless; 3 million are homeless, 16 million can't get a full-time job, 34 million have no health insurance and tens of millions are living in official poverty. Racist mob attacks are on the rise and racist cop violence is endemic. The dying American Empire wantonly slaughters 150,000 in the Persian Gulf War, seeking to blackmail the rest of the world to pay or die. In his "America über alles" State of the Union speech, Bush declared that "by the grace of God, America won the cold war," adding, "the world trusts us with power, and the world is right."

But the working people of the world don't trust the U.S.A. or George Herbert Walker Bush III with power, and they're right. Today the imperialists are trying to breathe new life into the dying capitalist system by destroying the Soviet Union and bashing Japan. The American ruling class must be brought down before it drowns humanity in a new world war. The task for revolutionaries is the construction of a class-struggle workers party to lead the fight for socialist revolution on a world scale. ■

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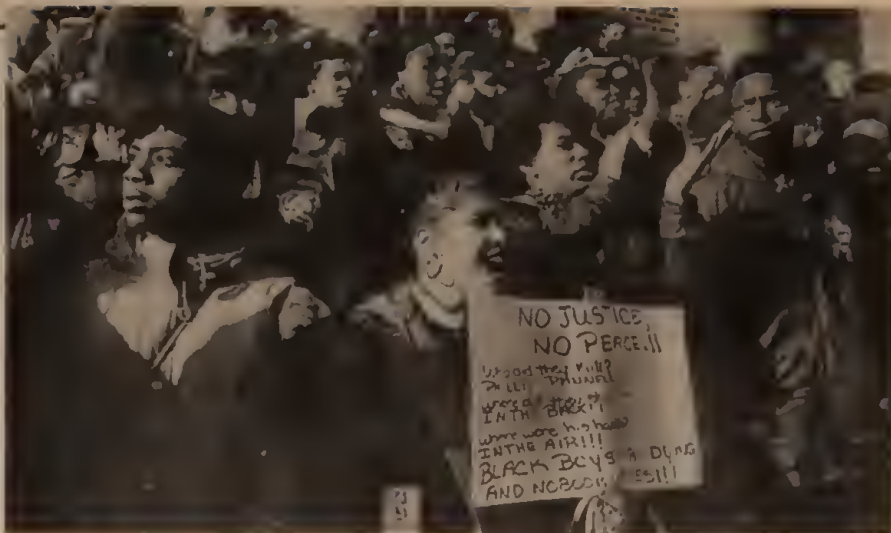
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Outrage!

Teaneck Killer Cop Walks



Racist acquittal sparks angry march of students from Hackensack High.

Solomayor/NY Times

Remember Phillip Pannell

After a travesty of a trial, the racist Teaneck, New Jersey killer cop who shot black teenager Phillip Pannell in the back in April 1990 was cleared by an all-white jury on February 11. The murderer, Gary Spath, was acquitted of "reckless manslaughter." As the jury verdict was announced, Phillip's mother Thelma Pannell wept bitterly. The next day, 200 high school students took to the streets, marching from the courthouse to the Teaneck police station.

The shooting of Phillip Pannell and the bitter outrage that followed put the lie to the myth of racial harmony in Teaneck, which had prided itself on being a model "progressive" community, home of liberals and university professors. But vicious racism against blacks and ominous cop bonapartism were blatantly displayed during the five and a half week trial. Spath was given "leave with pay"—a paid vacation—for the murder, and all his legal fees were paid by the town of Teaneck. Two jurors were actual police family members. No testimony on Spath's previous record of shooting black suspects was allowed, and witnesses against the cops were subjected to legal harassment and intimidation.

The trial was thrown into turmoil after Melvin DeBerry, a 36-year-old black man who testified on behalf of the Pannell family, was surrounded moments after leaving the stand by sheriff's deputies who arrested him on a bogus "parole violation." The arrest was tele-

vised by a CBS camera crew which happened to be inside the courthouse. The dirty tricks were orchestrated by Sheriff Jack Terhune, who as commander of the Teaneck detective division at the time of Pannell's murder was the first to "question" Spath, a longtime friend.

While the grieving Pannell family and friends were subjected to humiliating weapons searches, Spath's entourage of cop buddies was given kid-glove treatment. To top it off, there was the obscene spectacle of paralyzed NYC cop Steven McDonald being wheeled into the courtroom (by an attendant clutching rosary beads) during Spath's cross-examination. McDonald, who became a quadriplegic in 1986 after being shot by a black teenager the cop mistakenly accused of robbing a bicyclist, has become a symbol for the racist PBA in its "shoot to kill" policy. But there probably isn't a courtroom in the land large enough to hold all the black and Hispanic kids maimed by the racist cops!

Amid all the cops' lies and the Sheriff's Department's evidence-tampering, it was forensic pathologist Michael Baden who tore the lid off the cover-up. Formerly New York City medical examiner, the outspoken Baden was fired in 1979 by then-mayor Ed Koch after Baden refused to cover up evidence that Nelson Rockefeller had died with his boots off, as it were, *in flagrante*. In court, Baden demonstrated conclusively that Pannell's arms were raised in surrender when he was shot. It was almost

comical to see Spath's lawyer going into contortions to show that Pannell could still have put his hand in his pocket while his elbows were above his head. But in the end, the evidence didn't matter. The ruling class protects its enforcers.

Pannell's murder ignited protests in Teaneck two years ago, when angry blacks demonstrating outside the Cedar Lane police station were charged by riot police, provoking a riot in which squad cars were overturned and trash cans heaved through storefront windows. Following last week's verdict, over 200 black, white and Hispanic high school and junior high students streamed out of Hackensack High and marched to the courthouse. The students burst into a press conference held by Rev. Herbert Daughtry's "Phillip Pannell Justice Committee to Save Our Youth," chanting "We want Spath!"

The students then marched four miles to Teaneck police headquarters, where they were menaced by a phalanx of cops in full riot gear attempting to provoke a bloodbath. Meanwhile, faced with the anger of the students, Daughtry and the president of the Bergen County NAACP, Robert Robinson, tried to cool things out by calling for federal civil rights prosecution, and demanding an investigation to determine whether the killer cop "violated departmental policies and procedures."

On Saturday, February 15, about 350 blacks marched in the rain from Bryant High, where Phillip Pannell was killed,

to the Teaneck town hall. At the rally, Daughtry and Al Sharpton preached that if more blacks would register to vote, there wouldn't be any more all-white juries! Sharpton obscenely invoked anti-Asian bigotry as a cure, calling for "economic warfare—shut down someone's business, like we did in Brooklyn!" But justice for the oppressed will not be found in the capitalist courts. And scapegoating Koreans or Jews will only strengthen the oppressors.

From New York to Los Angeles, where the four cops indicted in the brutal beating of Rodney King are about to stand trial, the Pannell verdict will be seen as a green light for more racist killings, by both the cops and gangs of white thugs. On New Year's Eve, New York City cops shot down Hector Rivera, a 47-year-old Puerto Rican truck driver and father, in front of his Brooklyn home. As Spartacist signs proclaimed in a January 7 protest over Rivera's killing, labor/black/Hispanic defense must be mobilized to stop the racist terrorists in their tracks. Urgently needed is working-class struggle against segregation in housing and education, against massive youth unemployment and pervasive cop violence, which are the everyday reality for minorities in America. Only a socialist revolution, led by a workers party that puts the power of organized labor at the head of minority communities in the ghettos and barrios, can accomplish those tasks and smash racist terror once and for all. ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

leaders, has made gestures of coming clean—or at least rinsing its pinky finger. In late January the government announced that José Ramón García Gómez, a leading member of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) who has been missing since December 1988, had been kid-

napped and murdered by police. His comrades believe that he may still be alive. During the 1988 election García had been a local official for the bourgeois opposition candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and his Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). At the request of the (government) National Commission of Human Rights, the head of the political investigations section of the Morelos state judicial police was jailed and an arrest order issued for the head of the police, who has not appeared in public.

José Ramón García is one of more than 500 Mexican leftists who have been "disappeared" by the authorities over the last two decades. Many were held in clandestine jails, tortured and their bodies disposed of in empty wells. García was the first "disappeared" person during Salinas' six-year term. Amid charges that individuals acting as police spies inside the 1988 Cárdenas campaign were involved in the kidnapping, a leader of the PRT has now been appointed by the governor of Morelos as special prosecutor in the García case. Our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México are participating in a protest demonstration called for February 21, proclaiming "We

Blame the Criminal Government for the 'Disappearance' of José Ramón García."

* * *

During January's bitter class battle at the Hyundai plant in Ulsan, South Korea, dozens of militant trade unionists were thrown in jail (see "Sharp Class Battle at Hyundai," *Workers Vanguard* No. 544, 7 February). Among those arrested during the Hyundai sit-down strike were three trade unionists, Chu Tae Hwan, Chon Song and Lee Yong Son, who together with a fourth jailed militant, Min Yong Chang, are "suspected of having attempted to establish a party for workers, tentatively named 'Workers Party,' with a pro-communist platform" (*Korea Times*, 19 January). Last year Park Ki Pyong, leader of the Socialist Workers League, was imprisoned for life.

The South Korea police state exemplifies what George Bush's "New World Order" means for workers around the world. Bloodthirsty riot cops attacking striking workers and protesting students, electric shock, rape, sleep deprivation, beatings and other forms of torture—this is the South Korea Bush hails as a "new democracy." During his 1987 election

campaign president Roh Tae Woo promised a "democratic opening." But repression has only intensified. Over 3,000 dissidents have been arrested under the Roh regime—an average of 3.7 per day, and more than double that of his predecessor. At least 1,300 political prisoners are housed in South Korean dungeons, one-third of them under the National Security laws imposed 40 years ago to suppress the Communist movement and any solidarity with the bureaucratically deformed workers state to the North. The newly formed independent trade union federation Chunhohyup had its founding congress in 1990 broken up by the cops and most of its leaders arrested.

On February 17 the PDC sent a letter of protest demanding freedom for the jailed trade unionists and socialists.

* * *

We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

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Israel...

(continued from page 1)

settlers accompanied by Israeli troops descended on the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Silwan to throw five Palestinian families out into the cold night at gunpoint. The Silwan eviction was part of a master plan targeting 22 Arab neighborhoods for "Judaization." Behind this operation is housing minister Ariel Sharon, who personally kicked it off several years ago by "moving" into an apartment in Arab Jerusalem surrounded by an army of military bodyguards.

A massive official program known as the "seven stars" is aimed at erecting extensive urban settlements which straddle the "green line" (the pre-1967 border), thus eradicating any boundary between Israel and the Occupied Territories. The Israeli "Peace Now" organization reported last month that settlement activity in the Territories had shot up 60 percent in the past year. While Washington insists that no new settlements be started if Israel wants its \$10 billion in loan guarantees for Soviet immigrants, even the completion of those already begun would mean 50,000 more settlers—an increase of 50 percent.

Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir responded to Bush's "conditions" by vowing that "this construction will continue and no power in the world will prevent" it. Noted Israeli civil libertarian and concentration camp survivor Israel Shahak has observed that the problem of the fascistic settlers "does not admit, by now, of any peaceful solution," adding that "even a civil war to save us from their Nazi-like tyranny cannot, and should not, be excluded."

Glossy spreads in the Sunday *New York Times Magazine* would have you believe that, a sprinkling of hot-headed fanatics aside, Jewish settlers in the Occupied Territories are yuppie suburbanites who only want a nice home and a neatly mown lawn. But the backbone of the settler movement is a highly organized and powerful fascistic move-



Palestinians murdered in 1948 Deir Yassin massacre, carried out by Zionist terrorists of Irgun and the Stern Gang of Yitzhak Shamir, shown in "Wanted" poster.

ment, Gush Emunim, whose leaders include prominent spokesmen of the National Religious Party, one of Shamir's coalition partners.

One Gush Emunim leader, Rabbi Elyakim Levanon, boasts: "In ten years, there will be an empire here." Another prominent rabbi, Dov Lior, rails: "Giving up any territory conquered by Jews back to Goyim [non-Jews] is unthinkable." This Zionist would-be Dr. Mengele argues for performing medical experiments on imprisoned Arab "terrorists" and advocates "collective punishment" against Palestinians, insisting that "there is no such thing as innocent people in a hostile non-Jewish population during warfare."

Zionist "liberals" like Peace Now, mean that the fascistic settlers taint the carefully cultivated image of Israel as the only "democracy" in the Near East. Parliamentarian Ran Cohen complains that the settlers "act as masters of the army." In fact, the army and the settlers are both instruments of Zionist expansionism, and in the Occupied Territories they overlap substantially.

The Zionist state has never been a democracy for the more than two million dispossessed Palestinian Arabs living under its thumb—whether they are nominally citizens of Israel or subject to mil-

itary occupation in the West Bank and Gaza. Well over a thousand Palestinians, many of them young children, have been gunned down in the four years since the start of the *Intifada*, the Palestinian uprising. Tens of thousands more have been imprisoned and tortured.

Most recently, Mustafa Akawi was found dead after "interrogation" by the Israeli secret police, the notorious Shin Bet. Several weeks earlier, a young Palestinian was "accidentally" shot through the head by an army guard. These murders are not even investigated. As for Jewish civilians responsible for the murders of 42 Palestinians in the past four years, most were never even brought to court, and the severest sentence meted out was two years in prison!

When Shamir announced last week that he was pulling back from even the sham Palestinian "autonomy" outlined in the 1978 Camp David accords, a spokesman explained: "We have a few facts on the ground that did not exist then." Creating "facts on the ground" is the hallmark of Zionist expansionism: from armed kibbutzim and the "Jewish labor only" policy of the Histadrut corporatist labor federation in the 1920s, to the massacres of the late 1940s aimed at driving the Palestinians off their land, like the slaughter at Deir Yassin perpetrated by

Menachem Begin's Irgun and Shamir's Stern Gang.

Today the (thoroughly bourgeois) Labor Party mutters vaguely about "trading land for peace" to assuage Israel's paymasters in Washington. But Labor spearheaded this expansionist drive and was the architect of the first settlements in the West Bank.

The petty-bourgeois nationalist Palestine Liberation Organization of Yasir Arafat has demonstrated its incapacity to provide even the most minimal defense of the people it claims to represent, subordinating their cause to one or another Arab regime or hoped-for imperialist sponsor. Currently, the PLO is trying desperately to offer itself as a policeman of the Palestinian population under a U.S.-sponsored agreement, which would only mean more suffering for this oppressed people.

In this region of heavily interpenetrated peoples, any kind of nationalist "solution" can only mean genocide. But there is a strong tradition of leftism among Palestinian Arab militants, many of whom can be won to genuine communist internationalism. And while Hebrew-speaking workers remain in the grip of chauvinist racism, a significant section can and must be broken from the deathtrap of Zionism to embrace defense of the Palestinian people and a program of common class struggle.

Israeli workers can only lose from the continued existence of the Zionist state. Unemployment is higher than it has been in 20 years and rising, with the rate among recent Soviet immigrants running at 50 percent. Soviet emigration dropped to its lowest point in two years last month, as Soviet Jews learn that the "promised land" promises only poverty, degradation and nationalist slaughter. What is required to stop the Zionist butchers' genocidal drive and end the cycle of nationalist slaughter in the Near East is the construction of multinational Trotskyist parties committed to smashing all the capitalist states in the region. *Israel out of the Occupied Territories! For a socialist federation of the Near East!* ■

La Migra...

(continued from page 12)

violation of their religious customs) at the jail.

Their courageous action revealed a dirty little government "revenue source": the county has contracted with the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service, or *la migra*) to "house" immigrants and gets federal dollars in return. Many of these people are fleeing political persecution at home, and are held for months awaiting court hearings on deportation or asylum. "We need money in this county," says the sheriff. "We've got space...and the federal government pays on time." Oakland's city jail collects \$80 per inmate per day from the INS, and similar plans are laid for other areas.

In depression-racked California, prisons are about the only burgeoning "industry." With the largest foreign-born population of any state in the country and California's long history of immigrant-bashing, Republican governor Pete Wilson is leading a racist campaign to "stem the tide" of "illegals," as well as poor from other U.S. states, into California. The "Taxpayer Protection Act," which he aims to get on the 1992 ballot, would cut welfare payments to poor mothers by up to 25 percent.

The big problem with the state's busted economy, Wilson says with a wink in the direction of fascist Duke's would-be constituency, is too many "tax receivers," i.e., welfare mothers and immigrants. One Wilson aide cynically remarked of the governor's plan, "The fact is, it is great politics" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 December 1991). State Democratic Party officials, assuming remorseful poses and weeping crocodile tears, agree.

While California's fat ruling class bellyaches about the state getting more than "its share" of immigrants, everyone knows that without tens of thousands of superexploited Mexican and Chicano farm workers, doing backbreaking labor for pennies and living in squalid labor camps, California agribusiness would die. Without Salvadoran hotel workers and Indian motel operators, the tourist industry would close up shop. Without Filipino nurses and Indian doctors the hospitals would shut down.

Racist Attacks Escalate

In California, English was voted the "official" language in 1986. Since then, racist "English only" rules cropping up at workplaces have been successfully challenged by gutsy workers in some individual cases. But classes in English as a Second Language (ESL), key to economic survival for the foreign-born, have become virtually unattainable.

There are over 12,000 people on waiting lists for ESL at San Francisco's City College campuses, over 30,000 for Los Angeles public school and community college programs. And that's not counting those who don't bother signing up for something they'll never get.

When Wilson vetoed ESL funding last fall, some 2,500 people took to the Los Angeles streets in a protest march. They pointed angrily to the official hypocrisy of mandating that English be spoken in the state while doing away with English classes for immigrants.

In the Central Valley agricultural town of Dinuba on January 6, cops and sheriffs stormed a school board meeting, beating fifteen Chicanos including five women and seven children, who were protesting racism in the schools. Latinos have been boycotting Dinuba schools and holding protest marches for over a

month, demanding a voice in the school administration.

Ben Benavidez, the president of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA), told *Workers Vanguard* that he was charged with eleven counts of "contributing to the delinquency of minors" for his role in the boycott. Others at the protest were arrested on a laundry list of felony and misdemeanor charges.

The Partisan Defense Committee has written to the Dinuba court demanding all charges be dropped immediately. Donations for their legal defense can be sent to: MAPA, c/o Dinuba Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1744, Fresno, CA 93717. Send letters of protest to: Judge

Stephen Drew, Dinuba Municipal Court, 920 South College, Dinuba, CA 93618.

Anti-immigrant racism is fostered by the bourgeois politicians to undercut the integrated working-class struggle that's urgently needed to bring down this bankrupt capitalist system. The labor movement must dump its racist, chauvinist leadership, break with the bosses' parties, and fight for full citizenship rights (and unionization!) for foreign-born workers.

This is the program of the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Grupo Espartaquista de México as we fight for workers revolution north and south of the border. ■



As INS erects steel wall along Mexican border, immigrants brave traffic on interstate freeway, rushing through crossing point at San Ysidro.

Gatley/LA Times

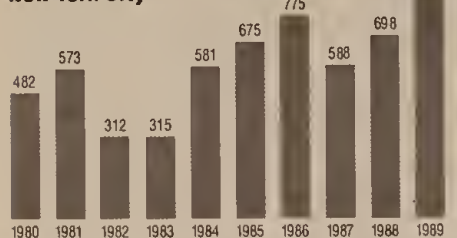
Homeless Deaths Triple in NYC

Deadly Neglect in Decade of Greed

As a followup to our article, "Down and Out in Bush's America" (WV No. 541, 27 December 1991), we decided to investigate not only how many homeless are living in New York City (an estimated 90,000) but how many are *dying* here.

Yearly figures obtained from the city Health Department's Bureau of Health Statistics and Analysis provide insight into the status of life and death in NYC. While no statistics are kept on deaths of the homeless, those for "residence unknown" are an approximation. And this category roughly *tripled* in the space of seven years. The '80s decade of greed and glitter for the rich was a decade of deadly neglect of the poor.

Deaths, Residence Unknown New York City



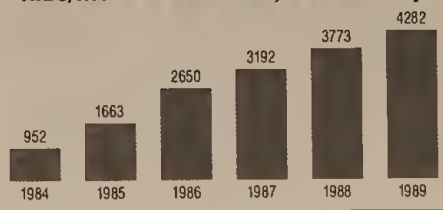
Source: NYC Bureau of Health Statistics and Analysis

The peak figures for deaths of the homeless in NYC during the previous decade (795 in 1973, 757 in 1974) occurred in the midst of the sharp economic crisis which began this wave of mass homelessness. At the same time, tens of thousands of mentally ill patients were dumped from hospitals into "single-room occupancy" hotels and, ultimately, the street.

Also telling is the data for infant mortality. In 1988 the rate of infant mortality for New York City as a whole was 13.4 per 1,000 births. For the city's poorest neighborhoods, however, the rates were markedly higher: central Harlem, 22; Tremont, Bronx, 17.9; Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, 20.8; Fort Greene, Brooklyn, 24.3.

And, of course, the public health crisis in NYC is most dramatically seen in AIDS and HIV-related deaths, which have quadrupled since statistics were first published in 1984.

AIDS/HIV-Related Deaths, New York City



Source: NYC Bureau of Health Statistics and Analysis

Tuberculosis is a classic disease of poverty. With the discovery and success of antibiotics for the treatment of bacterial infections, TB was expected to disappear. Thus in 1973 the Centers for Disease Control optimistically closed the last TB sanitarium in the U.S. Unfortunately, the CDC didn't take into account the decaying state of American capitalism itself. There is now a certified TB epidemic raging in New York. In 1990 over 3,500 cases of active tuberculosis were documented, a 38 percent increase over the previous year (*Newsday*, 19 December 1991).

And the "malign neglect" which compounds the tragedy is a bipartisan effort of both capitalist parties. Even as he begs the Bush administration for \$15 million in emergency funds to combat the disease, Mayor David Dinkins neglects to mention that last year he proposed axing a legally mandated program to test New York's schoolchildren for TB and other diseases, or that over \$1 million in federal TB funds—which could have been used to hire scores of public health workers to follow the care of TB patients—have gone unspent because of a city hiring freeze ordered along with the firing of thousands from city jobs.

As a final note: while we were able to obtain NYC figures for the deaths of those without known residence, there is no official effort to investigate the deadly consequences of the plague of homelessness. We applaud the efforts of San Francisco's *Tenderloin Times*, which for the past seven years has tracked down, compiled and published information on the increasing numbers of homeless who died in that city. From their special report on "Homeless People Who Died in San Francisco in 1991":

"A 29-year-old mentally ill Laotian refugee, a one-month-old baby who died in a shelter, and a 60-year-old Hispanic



Jolie Stahl

At Potter's Field, prison-laborers from Rikers Island lower the coffins of the indigent and homeless.

man who died on the lawn at United Nations Plaza were among the 109 people who died homeless in San Francisco during 1991....

"Proportionately, death struck hardest among African Americans, who represent 8 percent of the city, according to census figures, yet comprised 18 percent of those who died. Mirroring citywide representation, 61 percent of those who died were white, and 14 percent were Hispanic—twice as many as in years past....

"People died all over the city, from the woods in Golden Gate and McLaren parks to North Beach, along the northern and eastern waterfront, and beneath strips of abandoned freeway."

In New York, the bodies are found (or not found) in the cavernous tunnels beneath Grand Central Station, on subway gratings, huddled in front of banks. As the plain wood caskets are lowered into the ground at Potter's Field, stacked one upon another in even rows, it is a chilling indictment of American capitalism, which breeds disease and mass-produces death in its own death agony. ■

Haitians...

(continued from page 12)

back." Another pleaded: "Kill me now. They killed my wife. They killed my momma. They killed my sister. If I go back to Haiti, they will kill me, too" (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 February).

The revulsion provoked by the forced repatriations has been reinforced by documents assembled by the UN High Commission for Refugees containing accounts by refugees of the brutal persecutions they endured after being forced back to Haiti. These are based on interviews conducted at Guantánamo with so-called "double-backers"—refugees who, after being forced back to Haiti, were lucky enough to escape the murderous repression and flee a second time. In an interview with WV, Jim Rogers, an attorney who presented the refugees' case to the Supreme Court last week, summarized the experiences reported in these documents:

"They get to the docks. There are soldiers waiting there. They're processed. Within a few days these people are hunted for. During the hunt, family members are killed, houses are destroyed, people are beaten. Often people that are traveling with family members lose track of them only to find out they're dead or never to hear from them again."

Some 2,000 people have been killed in the wave of slaughter since the military takeover. However, only a small fraction of those who escape are allowed to go to the U.S. and apply for refugee visas. The rest are categorized by the INS as "economic refugees" and are

forcibly returned to the hellhole they fled. There they are met by "security" forces brandishing submachine guns and sporting the sinister dark glasses of the Tontons Macoutes. They are turned over to the Haitian "Red Cross," headed by a notorious Duvalierist prison doctor. All repatriates are photographed and fingerprinted, including babies!

Attorney Rogers recounted to WV the cases of a man leaving the port area who found the murdered body of his cousin with whom he had been traveling; of a man and his wife leaving in a taxicab, who were pulled over by the police, the woman abducted and never heard from again; of police boarding a bus leaving the port area, holding a rifle to the head of one man, forcing him to identify the other repatriates, and then arresting them all; of a man imprisoned in a cell with other repatriates until he escaped—every day, one was taken out and shot.

Bush's hard line on Haitian refugees was taken in large part to bolster his re-election campaign—figuring that this would garner the racist vote. But the Haitian refugees' desperate straits have won them wide sympathy. Even in Florida, opposition to the forced repatriations has extended across political, race and ethnic lines. A poll of Miami area residents showed not only 80 percent of blacks favoring admitting Haitian refugees, but also a strong majority of Hispanics and even 51 percent of whites.

Haitian refugees have long been subject to vicious racist discrimination, thrown into Miami's Krome Avenue concentration camp while anti-Communist Cuban *gusanos* (worms) are welcomed



National Archives

Haitian peasant leader Charlemagne Peralte, assassinated in 1919 by U.S. Marines, who strung up the corpse for display.

with open arms and automatic U.S. resident "green cards." But despite the obstacles, hundreds of thousands of Haitian workers have escaped and are now concentrated in cities along the Eastern seaboard from Montreal, Boston and New York to Washington and Miami. They have demonstrated repeatedly by

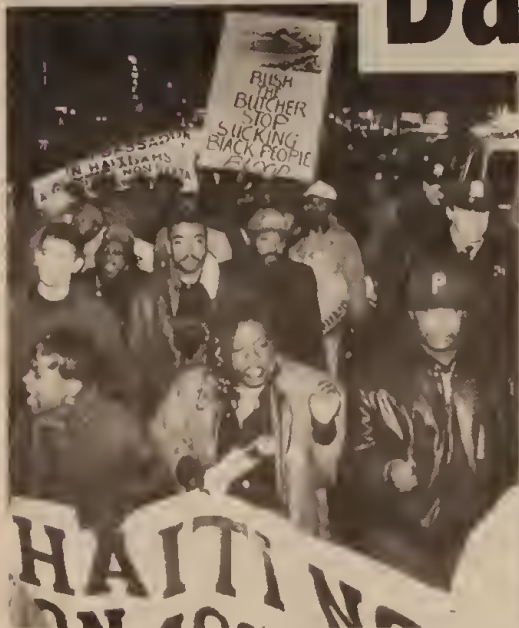
the tens of thousands against the terror in their homeland, and could spark a mobilization uniting Haitian workers with their North American coworkers to force a halt to the repatriations.

Yet the Haitian left is beholden to Aristide and his bid to return to office with the blessing of Washington. And while mildly criticizing the repatriations, Aristide has refused to come out against the 1981 treaty between the U.S. and "Baby Doc" Duvalier which makes Haiti the only country in the world to grant the U.S. the "right" to pick up its citizens on the high seas and force them back to port!

Those who look to the U.S. imperialists to introduce "democracy" in Haiti would do well to consider the 1915 U.S. intervention in Haiti, which provoked an uprising of peasants (*cacos*). The Marines broke the back of the rebellion in 1919 when they assassinated its leader, Charlemagne Peralte. The Marines photographed his corpse, propped up next to the *caco* banner, and disseminated the photo throughout the country. The band of Haitian mercenaries which the U.S. Marines recruited to help drown that rebellion in blood was the forerunner of the present Haitian army.

Racism, murder and callous indifference to the suffering of their victims are hallmarks of imperialist rule, from the Marines' colonial wars to Bush's "New World Order." We defend Haitian refugees as part of our struggle for socialist revolution to sweep away Yankee imperialism, the scourge of all mankind. Stop the repatriations! ■

Bush Sends Haitians Back to Hell



WV Photo



Higgins/NY Times

Haitians in NYC protest (left), as desperate refugees held by U.S. behind barbed wire at Guantánamo naval base are handed over to military dictatorship.

The U.S. government is forcibly shipping thousands of desperate refugees back to imprisonment, torture and death at the hands of the truly blood-crazed military rulers of Haiti. These refugees were plucked from their boats by the U.S. Coast Guard as they fled the murderous repression which has engulfed their island nation. When a federal judge last November blocked the forced return of Haitian refugees, Washington began throwing them into an internment camp at the U.S.-occupied Guantánamo

naval base in Cuba. On January 31, the Supreme Court gave the green light to forced repatriations—even as the Court began deliberations on whether the refugees face persecution when they are sent back!

When radical priest Jean-Bertrand Aristide was ousted as Haiti's president in a military coup last September, the State Department refused to recognize the new regime. Many Haitians followed Aristide's lead in looking for U.S. backing in the name of "democracy." A "com-

promise" plan was worked out to bring back Aristide but rein him in with "moderate" Communist Party leader René Théodore as prime minister. But military hardliners torpedoed this by assassinating Théodore's bodyguard and later shooting up his home. Now Washington has relaxed its economic sanctions, and the illusions of the Haitian masses have been dashed by the U.S. imperialists, who backed the bloody Duvaliers and every other Haitian dictator since the Marines ended their occupation in 1934.

Almost 3,000 refugees have already been sent back to Haiti, and several hundred more per day are being forced onto boats as Jews were once loaded onto boxcars by the Nazis. U.S. officials tried to prettify it by presenting the first boatload as "volunteers." But as the refugees were marched single file from their barbed-wire compound, they implored the journalists for help. One cried out: "The Americans know we are being killed in Haiti, but still they send us

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La Migra's Rent-a-Jails

California

The U.S. Border Patrol figured they had one-upped the thousands of immigrants who come across the line from Mexico every day south of San Diego: beginning in November, Navy Seabees and Army reservists began replacing the old chain-link fence with a ten-foot welded steel wall along a 12-mile stretch from the San Ysidro checkpoint to the Pacific. So now *indocumentados* (undocumented workers) are charging right through the border crossing points, hundreds at a time, running up the freeway in broad daylight.

The running battle at the border has become an election issue, with Republican "America Firsters" Pat Buchanan

and KKKer David Duke bashing "illegal" immigrants, while Democratic liberals spout protectionist chauvinism against the Mexican Free Trade Agreement. Meanwhile the Bush administration wants to deploy military vehicles left over from the Persian Gulf War to patrol border areas. We call upon the workers movement to combat anti-immigrant racism and the use of U.S. imperialism's brutal police and military power against undocumented workers.

Along with the huge increase in immigration to the U.S. over the last decade has come stepped-up racist repression against undocumented workers. In late December in California, 40 "illegal" immigrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh went on a hunger strike at Alameda County's Santa Rita jail to protest their outrageous detention by the INS and the rotten treatment (and forced

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Downing/LA Herald Examiner

INS agents raid garment factory, round up foreign workers in Los Angeles.