

UAW Tops Knife Caterpillar Strike

EAST PEORIA, Illinois, April 14—Early this evening the leadership of the United Auto Workers caved in to the dictates of Caterpillar Inc. and ordered the more than 12,000 strikers back to work.

The five-month-long strike was a showdown between labor and capital in this country. CAT declared all-out war on organized labor when it announced it would begin hiring scabs April 6.

For the last week the eyes of American labor have been on Peoria. "Hell no, we won't go!" chanted thousands of angry UAW strikers who massed at plant gates in East Peoria, Decatur, Mapleton, Aurora and other industrial towns in Illinois. Few UAW members crossed the picket lines.

But now the UAW leadership of President Owen Bieber and Secretary Treasurer Bill Castevens, head of the union's Agricultural Implements department, has declared unconditional surrender. In a "deal" brokered by a federal mediator, the company's "final offer" is being imposed.

The UAW traitors who knifed the strike are deliberately keeping the membership in the dark. No meetings were called, committeemen are nowhere to be found. There is talk that the return to work is only for 90 days. Many strikers are furious at this shameful capitulation. Demobilizing the strike and calling off the pickets spells defeat for this crucial, hard-fought battle.

While the union is telling everyone to report tomorrow, Caterpillar announced that scabs should show up for work, and strikers should wait until they are indi-



Pickers outside CAT plant in Aurora, Illinois. Rather than mobilize all labor in class struggle, pro-Democratic Party UAW tops stabbed the strikers in the back.

vidually recalled. Workers rightly fear a purge of union militants and the destruction of seniority. This would threaten the future of unionism at the largest construction equipment manufacturer in the world.

This was no isolated dispute. The *Wall Street Journal* (7 April) wrote of the

Caterpillar strike that "with other corporations and unions looking on, it has become a critical battle that could shape labor relations for years to come."

At the March 22 solidarity rally in Peoria, one sign said simply, "PATCO 1981, CATCO 1992." For the last decade everyone has said the labor movement

"should never have let them destroy PATCO." The air traffic controllers union was destroyed because, while the union tops talked "solidarity" and staged a phony consumer boycott, they never took strike action to shut down the airports.

This was followed by union defeats
continued on page 8

U.S. Cops of the World Double-Cross Former Henchman The Noriega "Trial"

In an act of supreme imperialist arrogance, the United States government invaded a country, killing thousands and destroying the homes of tens of thousands, kidnapped the head of state—a former U.S. flunkie—and hauled him off to Miami in handcuffs. After a farcical show trial in which the defense was not allowed to raise any of the fundamental political and legal issues, the verdict is now in. Under heavy pressure from the government's hand-picked judge, the jury found Panamanian leader General Manuel Noriega guilty on eight counts of conspiracy, drug trafficking, racketeering and money laundering. George Bush was spared the embarrassment that an acquittal would have brought in this election year. And Washington could proclaim a victory in the "drug war," casting itself top cop and supreme judge of a "New World Order."

The chief defense lawyer, Frank Rubino, said Noriega would appeal the conviction on numerous grounds, including his illegal seizure during

an illegal invasion; his status as a prisoner of war; his status as head of a sovereign state; the government's freezing of his financial assets; the electronic "bugging" of his confidential telephone calls to his lawyer from his cell; and the prohibition of any testimony about his donkey work for the CIA, DEA and Defense Department. Rubino remarked bitterly, "The United States will now trample across the entire world, imposing its will upon so-called independent, sovereign nations. Unless leaders of foreign governments are willing to kneel once a day and face Washington and give grace to George Bush, they, too, may be in the same posture as General Noriega."

Noriega faces up to 120 years in prison. After the July 10 sentencing in this case, he will go on trial in Tampa on charges of smuggling marijuana into the U.S. After the verdict in the Miami trial, federal attorneys were guzzling champagne and joking about "flipping" Noriega.

continued on page 11



General Noriega with his lawyer Frank Rubino, who bitterly remarked that foreign leaders who don't kneel to Washington could end up in his client's shoes.

"Tax the Rich" Fakers Back "Flat Tax" Jerry Brown

If Bush or Pat Buchanan had proposed something like this, liberal and not-so-liberal Democratic politicians would have lashed out at them with fake outrage for wanting to increase taxes on the poor. But it is none other than Jerry Brown—current spokesman for the rad-lib wing of the Democratic Party—who is calling for a flat-rate tax with everyone from a black teenager working at McDonald's to Donald Trump paying 13 percent of their gross income to Uncle Sam. Plus he wants an additional 13 percent across-the-board value-added tax (VAT), in effect a national sales tax, alongside the existing array of state and local taxes.

A new (April 1992) study by the Congressional Budget Office estimates that under such a scheme, federal taxes on the poorest one-fifth of American families would more than triple, increasing from 8 to 28 percent. This would produce a fall in their real income of a whopping 22 percent! In contrast, the taxes of the richest fifth would fall while their income would rise.

Last year, a slew of anti-Bush liberals and "progressive" trade unionists were campaigning on a program to increase taxes on the wealthy. For instance, the New York City labor leadership called an April 30 march of tens of thousands in which the most prominent slogan was "tax the rich." But in the recent New York Democratic presidential primary, Brown was endorsed by CWA phone workers leader Jan Pierce, transit union chief Sonny Hall, Teamster Barry Fein-

stein and Mr. "Tax the Rich" himself, 1199 hospital union leader Dennis Rivera!

Brown is running a phony populist campaign, denouncing the powers that be. He's become popular among liberal student activists, and when the AFL-CIO's protectionist darling Harkin dropped out, Brown tried to pick up labor support, ostentatiously wearing union jackets. He spoke to a cheering Pennsylvania state labor meeting of "revolution" and the "alliance" of "my family and labor." Standing on the steps of the federal building, across from the Wall Street stock exchange, Brown railed that "Capital and money lenders and the greedy elite have been able to subvert the democratic process."

Yet Jerry Brown's flat-rate tax scheme has been endorsed by that authoritative mouthpiece for money lenders and the greedy elite, the *Wall Street Journal*, as well as by the right-wing business journal *Forbes*, self-described "capitalist tool." Interestingly, echoing the editors of the *Journal* on this issue is the paper's token radical contributor, Alexander Cockburn, who devoted a 2 April column (co-authored by academic economist Robert Pollin) to "Why the Left Should Support the Flat Tax."

Cockburn/Pollin attempt to answer liberal economist Robert Kuttner, who pointed out that under Brown's scheme working-class families would no longer be able to deduct thousands of dollars spent for medical emergencies, at a time when company medical plans are

being slashed or eliminated outright. "Surely," they blithely argue, "the solution to families facing overwhelming medical bills is not a tax deduction, but national health insurance, which Mr. Brown supports."

Surely the worldly Cockburn is aware that arrayed against national health insurance is a capitalist monopoly far more powerful and rapacious than anything ever dreamed of by Michael Milken or Carl Icahn—the American Medical Association. It will take red revolution to get socialized medicine in this country. And surely he hasn't forgotten the massive protests a couple of years ago against another "flat tax," Margaret Thatcher's hated "poll tax" in Britain.

There are so many loopholes in the federal tax code that rich people often pay a smaller proportion of their income than working-class families. Still, the federal income tax is mildly "progressive"—i.e., the wealthy owners of capital are supposed to pay a higher percentage of their income. That's what the "Reagan revolution" tried to roll back. Even more flagrantly than Reaganomics, Brown's flat-rate scheme is a frontal attack on the very principle of progressive taxation.

And more regressive still is a value-added tax. "Value added" is the difference between a firm's revenue and the cost of inputs purchased from other firms—basically its own labor costs, depreciation on capital assets and profits. A 13 percent VAT would be passed to consumers through higher prices as is now the case in Europe, where this tax is widely used.

Every student of high school economics learns that sales taxes are regressive; the poorer you are, the larger proportion of your income is taken by this particular form of tax. The more affluent people are, the more they invest in stocks, bonds, money-market funds, etc., and the less (proportionately) they spend on goods and services which are taxed. The Congressional Budget Office study noted that in any given year families on the bottom 20 percent of the economic scale "spend much more than their annual income, financing such spending by borrowing or selling assets. These families would pay a significant portion

of their income in value-added taxes."

One of the sharpest radical critics of Brown's flat tax is Doug Henwood, editor of the *Left Business Observer*. Its 10 February issue also exposed the sinister side of Governor Moonbeam, quoting extensively from Jerry Brown: *The Man on the White Horse* by J.D. Lorenz, who served for a time as state employment director when Brown was California governor in the 1970s. Lorenz recalls his boss fantasizing: "People want a dictator these days, a man on a white horse. They're looking for a man on a white horse to ride in and tell them what to do. A politician can do anything he wants so long as he manipulates the right symbols."

Once the governor rhetorically asked his employment director: "Are poor kids really hungry, or is that another liberal myth? I don't know why we should subsidize school lunches. Nobody ever gave me a school lunch when I was a kid." Since his father Pat Brown was California state attorney general and then governor, little Jerry's school lunches and a lot more were provided from the public belt.

Brown Sr. made even more money as a lobbyist for the Indonesian state-owned oil company, Pertamina. The Indonesian military dictatorship came to power in 1965 in a U.S.-backed massacre of half a million Communists, workers and peasants. The Brown family wealth, which is now helping finance Junior's presidential campaign, is literally derived from the blood of Indonesia's toiling masses.

While many radicals, such as Doug Henwood, view increasing taxes on the rich as the key to ending the economic immiseration of American working people, we have pointed out that such a program is illusory since it leaves control over production, employment, wages and prices in the hands of the wealthy owners of capital (see "U.S. Economy Dead in the Water," WV No. 541, 27 December 1991). Thus it is no accident that various left-liberals like Alexander Cockburn and "progressive" labor fakers like Dennis Rivera who seek to work within the confines of this capitalist system end up in bed with the likes of "Flat Tax" Jerry Brown. ■



TROTSKY

For Revolutionary Class Struggle

In the decade before World War I, the *Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)* wrote a heroic chapter in the history of the American working class, pioneering industrial unionism. Many of the founding figures of American Communism, such as James P. Cannon, served their apprenticeship in the revolutionary syndicalist IWW but later recognized the need for a Leninist vanguard party to lead the masses of workers in overturning the bourgeois order. The preamble to the IWW constitution, despite its syndicalist elements, sets forth fundamental principles which must govern the struggle of labor against capital.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life....

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class....

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system." It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism.

—Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World (1905)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS Liz Gordon

EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Joan Parker

CIRCULATION MANAGER Karen Valdez

EDITORIAL BOARD George Foster, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamborg

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7852 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions \$7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to Workers Vanguard Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 549

17 April 1992



1199 hospital workers leader Dennis Rivera (left) and Jerry Brown.



Social Democrats of DSA and CWA phone workers union march in NYC labor demo last April calling to "Tax the Rich."

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

NYC Transit Workers: Rip Up the Taylor Law!

Last month, transit workers threw back by a two-to-one margin the sellout contract that Transport Workers Union Local 100 president and Democratic Party loyalist Sonny Hall tried to foist on the membership. This massive repudiation of the TWU tops was unprecedented. Angry transit workers are now asking, what next?

We reprint below excerpts from a leaflet by the Committee for a Fighting TWU presenting a class-struggle program to win. The Committee is circulating a petition to convene a mass membership meeting "to take whatever action is necessary to defend our jobs, benefits and working conditions." The "New Directions" grouping, which represents a wing of the Local 100 bureaucracy, orients instead to pressuring the Democrats.

On April 7, primary day, New Directions called a rally outside Governor Cuomo's World Trade Center office. In spite of the fact that 35,000 transit workers have been without a contract for a year, their banner and main chant was "no contract, no peace." This is meant to hide the fact that these junior labor fakers oppose calling for a strike. Yet only by mobilizing the union's power can transit workers win against the cut-back Democrats who are squeezing New York City on behalf of Wall Street and the White House.

**No Contract—No Work!
Rip Up the Taylor Law!**

**We Voted It Down,
Now Let's Shut It Down!**

The health trust arbitrator is threatening to drop our supplemental health benefits. That means working in a deathtrap every day without full medical coverage. The TA, which just got \$292 million from the federal government, says there's not a penny more for us and is threatening to send the entire contract to arbitration. This is a direct result of the decision by Hall and New Directions to extend the contract and refuse to use our power and strike. Management's playing hardball and it's about time we do the same. We need an effective strike led by a leadership that fights to win. Smash the Taylor Law...no fines and no victimizations or we don't go back.

No more closed door meetings and back room deals to sell us down the river! We've had it with a leadership that called the cops on us to keep us out of our own union hall. We need an immediate mass meeting of the entire Local 100 membership at the Garden to discuss the issues, decide how to fight and win.

There is a lot of hesitancy about a strike—nobody trusts Sonny Hall to be a school crossing guard, much



Transit workers demonstrate outside Governor Cuomo's World Trade Center office, April 7.

less a strike leader. Since PATCO, labor has been taking a beating because housebroken pro-Democratic Party misleaders knifed militant and popular labor strikes like Eastern and Greyhound, turning them into losing consumer boycotts. Now Caterpillar has thrown down the gauntlet to the UAW, threatening to run scabs in and run union men and women out.

Our union is the most powerful public employees union in any city in this country. New York City is the financial capital of the world. The stakes are big—Wall Street wants to stick it to us. But we have the power—if we use it—to tear up the givebacks/cutbacks with a solid strike to shut down New York.

The Committee for a Fighting TWU stands for:

- A union-wide elected strike committee representing every shop, gang, depot, and terminal—and subject to instant recall if it's not doing the job. No confidence in the bosses' courts and arbitrators. No secret negotiations—for regular mass meetings.

- Rip up the Taylor Law. The anti-labor laws can be smashed through successful class struggle. No judge's injunctions can get Wall Street to work if we don't move the trains or buses. In 1966, [TWU leader Mike] Quill went to jail for refusing to call off our strike. This union played hardball and won total amnesty from the no-strike law penalties and a contract

that led the industry in wages and working conditions.

- Uninn control of union funds. Abolish the dues check-off. Having the TA as our union banker ensures we won't have our funds when we need them most—as a war chest for the battle against the TA bosses. Dues collection by elected stewards would make the leadership accountable to the membership and prepare this union for combat.

- Elected safety representatives to shut down unsafe work on the spot. The TA is substituting our blood for the massive funding needed to rebuild the subways. We've lost lives and liberties because of the TA's deadly neglect. Defend Robert Ray—the bosses' scapegoat for the Union Square deathtrap. No to drug and alcohol testing. Rehire the provisionals and mass hiring to repair and maintain the entire system.

- Equal pay and benefits for equal work. Scrap the tier system—full parity at the highest level for TA, MABSTOA and private lines workers. Reduce the work week to 30 hours at no loss in pay. Maternity and paternity leaves and free 24-hour day care.

- Rip out the turnstiles. We can rally riders to our side by demanding free mass transit.

- Real labor solidarity—in strike action! Half the unions in this town are working without a contract. CUNY students face tuition hikes and cutbacks that mean a racist purge of black, Latin and working-class youth from their only shot at an education. Local 100 can lead a powerful working-class fight on behalf of all labor and the oppressed in New York! We must appeal to NYC workers and link up with PATH, LIRR, NJ Transit, and Metro-North to strike with us. We should all be in one powerful NY/NJ transit union.

- Labor defense guards to stop racist attacks. Remember Willie Turks, Yusuf Hawkins, Federico Pereira! For union-run minority recruitment and job-training programs. Down with racist immigration laws. Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers.

Disgusted with Sonny Hall & Co., a lot of workers are looking to New Directions for answers. Even now, New Directions opposes organizing for a strike. That's why they talk about gimmicks like slowdowns three months from now at the Democratic Party convention. We need collective union action now, not impotent atomized slowdowns which risk individual victimization.

The capitalists are bleeding workers and the poor in New York to feed the bankers. And they will do it as long as our power is throttled by the union tops who are beholden to the bosses' parties. We need a multiracial workers party that doesn't "respect" the bosses' rules, a party that will lead a fight for a workers government to rip the wealth out of the bosses' hands and create a society where those who labor rule.

Safeway, Blue Diamond—Teamsters Must Fight Union-Busting Drive!

OAKLAND, April 13—Safeway, one of the country's largest supermarket chains, is out to break the Teamsters union in their Northern California warehouse distribution network. On May 1, Safeway plans to close its Richmond and Fremont warehouses and open a new \$125-million non-union facility in Tracy, 50 miles east of Oakland. Safeway has hired Specialized Distribution Management Inc. (SDMI) to manage the new facility. Southern Pacific Railroad used this same scam on long-shore union members in their container transfer yard outside Los Angeles (see WV No. 544, 7 February). SDMI is threatening to operate with scabs rather than transfer the 800 workers, if the union does not accept its latest offer.

Teamster warehousemen and drivers voted Sunday by 425 to 10 to reject what SDMI president George Crum called the company's "LAST AND FINAL OFFER." At the last minute SDMI agreed to "offer employment" to the existing workforce, but Safeway workers, many with 15 to 20 years seniority, would essentially be starting over as new hires. The proposed five-year pact has a draconian no-strike clause, saying workers must "not refuse to cross a picket line" and forbids "handbilling, boycotts" and even "adverse publicity"! Sick benefits and holidays would be slashed, a seven-tier wage scale imposed and drivers' pay tied to mileage.

Meanwhile, some 7,000 Michigan clerks, cashiers and meatcutters are in a make-or-break battle against Kroger's, the nation's largest supermarket chain, which

takes in \$21 billion a year. Management is already hiring scabs. Teamsters must honor the lines and choke off Kroger's deliveries!

Safeway's plans have been known for years, and now the new facility is built and stocking goods. The Teamster bureaucrats' failure to counter Safeway's stalling and foot-dragging has cost the union valuable time. Now they're substituting impotent consumer boycotts and useless Congressional hearings for picket lines. United strike action by Teamsters, Retail Clerks, butchers and other unions at Safeway could spike this union-busting attempt in a hurry. Mass pickets should shut down the Tracy operation tight until all present warehousemen and drivers are hired with seniority rights, wages and benefits preserved.

The consumer boycott diversion is being used to cover the bureaucrats' abandonment of 500 members of Teamster Local 601 striking the Blue Diamond Walnut processing plant in Stockton. The workers, who process 50 percent of the world's walnuts, are two-thirds minority women. For them, a union cannery job is the way out of the backbreaking, brutal life of a migrant worker.

In 1985 the company slashed base wages 45 percent, with seasonal employees making as little as \$4.25 per hour and full-timers making up to \$7.65 per hour, according to Local 601 business agent Barbara George. Now Blue Diamond is insisting on co-payments for health benefits and fighting union demands to return to pre-1985 wage levels.

Three hundred scabs have been brought in to "permanently replace" the workers in the processing plant. Unionization for cannery workers in California's Central Valley is threatened by this union-busting assault. But the strikers are determined to win. Early in the canning season, strikers went to the Oakland docks to picket a container of Blue Diamond walnuts. Longshoremen honored their line, but the container was loaded elsewhere.

Instead of calling on dock workers and Teamsters up and down the coast to hot cargo Blue Diamond products, the Teamster tops launched a consumer boycott centered on appeals to corporate giants like General Foods. Rather than calling for mass picketing to keep scabs out and shut down the Stockton plant, the bureaucracy has treacherously insisted the ranks obey an injunction limiting pickets to four to a gate. This is the kind of sabotage that repeatedly undercut the courageous 18-month strike by women cannery workers in Watsonville in 1986-87. Now Pillsbury/Green Giant has moved its Watsonville operation to central Mexico. Union jobs in the area have been decimated with an impact worse than the earthquake.

Various fake-lefts trumpet the Justice Department-run election of Teamster president Ron Carey as a "revolution" and prattle about the "new" Teamsters. But when it comes to putting labor's muscle on the line against the bosses and their government, the "new" Teamsters are indistinguishable from the "old." The election Carey won was a government operation aided by the Teamsters for a Democratic Union. The survival of the labor movement depends on breaking the pro-capitalist bureaucrats' grip. This requires building a workers party committed to the fight for socialist revolution internationally. ■

Workers League Vile Provocation

The murder of our comrade Martha Phillips in Moscow has drawn the sinister attention of David North's Workers League and other denizens of his self-styled "International Committee of the Fourth International."

For more than 20 years this outfit has variously described the Spartacists as "racist" and "fascist," the "main spokesman for the national interests of the American bourgeoisie," "provocateurs in the service of Stalinism," "the finger-man for the world capitalists," "Finger Man for the FBI" and generally as the most decadent and unregenerate, "politically diseased" elements, motivated by "hatred of the working class." Why would they care what happens to our comrades? Yet twice in the space of four weeks the Workers League's *Bulletin* has carried articles dealing with the death of our comrade.

Their 28 February issue cites the "disturbing report" in *Workers Vanguard* (No. 545, 21 February) of Martha's murder. They shed a few crocodile tears, although everyone who knows the Workers League knows full well that they would gleefully break open a bottle of champagne over news of an SL leader's death. There soon follows a long list of dark and insinuating "questions" and innuendos about "sketchy" accounts of the murder, "hastily" organized memorial meetings, a "highly unusual" lack of any reports on the murder in the Moscow or U.S. press. The article asks darkly, "Could the killers have been known to Phillips?" Even more explicitly, a second installment on "The Murder of Martha Phillips" (*Bulletin*, 27 March) talks of "the unavoidable inference that Spartacist has something to hide."

For Martha's comrades, the agony of her brutal and untimely death has been compounded by the fact that we still do not know who murdered her. Describing in the obituary the circumstances of the discovery of Martha's body on the morning of February 9, we said:

"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."

Two weeks later, after we had managed with great difficulty to get some further details from the militia investigation, this was reported to a memorial meeting by SL/U.S. National Chairman James Robertson. Laying out the range of potential suspects, comrade Robertson concluded:

"I do not have any basis now to speculate. It could have been somebody within our milieu for personal or pro-

vocateur reasons. We've had altercations with Pamiyat. The Kuzbass region independent mine workers union is run straight out of Washington by a Russian fascist and the CIA; we intervened and got in their way. There are many other possibilities. Moscow is hardly New York—that is, you don't get knifed in the street in Moscow, although increasingly with impoverishment you can get robbed. But this was not that kind of murder at all. And the plain truth is, we do not know."

North & Co. talk as though they do know more, or pretend to, claiming to find in our straightforward statement the "smell of political coverup." They demand a "public accounting of the 'milieu'" in which we intervene in the Soviet Union, reports of which appear

a "commission of inquiry" raised in a very powerful letter of solidarity by a sympathizer of our organization (see *WV* No. 546, 6 March). They even cite Trotsky as a precedent. Yet the Dewey Commission was convened not to determine that it was Stalin who murdered Left Oppositionists in the 1930s, but to clear Trotsky's name from the lies heaped on him by Stalin's infamous Moscow Trials.

As we wrote in reply to our supporter, "unlike in Stalin's time, today it is not an easy task to identify the culprit(s)." The Workers League claims this statement is "so specious and flimsy that it invites suspicion." What "invites suspicion" is that the *Bulletin* editors willfully



regularly in *Workers Vanguard*. These virulent Stalinophobes point an accusing finger at the "political swamp of disintegrating Soviet Stalinism," with which they attempt to put us in league. They find it expedient, to say the least, to ignore other suspects, such as the numerous "assets" of the CIA in the Soviet Union, or even the possibility of a simple criminal act.

The *Bulletin* remarks that the *WV* obituary has "no suggestion in the headline that Phillips was the victim of murder." Perhaps they will next denounce Trotsky for titling his obituary of his slain son, "Leon Sedov—Son, Friend, Fighter." And maybe they will go after Trotsky's article as well for the fact that "the first mention of murder as the cause of death comes more than three-quarters of the way into the article."

They cynically pick up on a call for

ignore the many sinister and deadly forces we pointed to as potential suspects. We observed that "within the decomposing bureaucracy, several of its wings" could be implicated, but "equally there are those with considerable investment in Yeltsin or ties to Yeltsin," as well as smaller forces who "may have seen our activities as a direct roadblock to their aspirations." The Workers League certainly fits in this last category. Far from demanding a commission of inquiry, they should be worried about what an inquiry might reveal!

What do they really want, these people who have for years treated the Spartacists as deserving nothing more than to be shot down like mad dogs? They want to seize on a tragedy which has struck our organization, and use that tragedy to hurt the Spartacist League.

The SL has earned a reputation for telling the truth, no matter how bitter, just as the rules of Trotsky's Fourth International instruct us, from warning against Solidarność counterrevolution back in 1981, when the bulk of the left (and the Workers League) was cheering it on, to correcting errors in our press. We stand on our record, making available the indexed bound volumes of *Workers Vanguard* and *Spartacist* dating back to our first issue.

We tell our readers the truth, as it is known to us, when it is known to us. And when we don't know, we say that too.

The Northites, on the other hand, specialize in the arts of fabrication, innuendo and anti-communist smear designed to bring forces far more powerful than their own down on those whom they target. In short, they are

an organization devoted to committing provocations against the left. And they go after the SL not least because they see in us all-purpose surrogates for their anti-Soviet venom.

This is not the first time they have expressed a macabre interest in our dead. Following the suicide of one of our cadres two years ago, the Northites raised this in an article on the New York *Daily News* strike, as they tried to weasel out of our exposure that the *Bulletin* is published by non-union labor. Several months later, they seized on the untimely death of another comrade from cancer to twist their gruesome knife again.

Take this ghoulish mindset, add the mercenary appetites of a poison pen for hire, and that gives you a rough approximation of the North gang. In exchange for petrodollars, the IC under North's British mentor Gerry Healy served as press agents for anti-Communist repression by Near East dictators. They are notorious for assisting the bourgeois state in persecuting working-class militants, from the Healyites' smear of British miners leader Arthur Scargill to North's campaign to imprison American SWP trade-union activist Mark Curtis.

In November 1990, they seized on the attempted assassination of German SPD leader Oskar Lafontaine to go after our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), the only organization to unambiguously oppose the imperialist annexation of the DDR (East Germany). In a vicious smear, whose only purpose could be to set us up as would-be "terrorists" in the eyes of the Fourth Reich's agencies of repression, the German Northite BSA vituperated that "The hysterical language of the SpAD is directed at people who are in a mental state similar to that of the schizophrenic would-be assassin of Lafontaine."

For years, the Workers League has been out to get us. Now they seek to use the tragic murder of our comrade who died at her post, fighting to defeat counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, for another of their insidious "campaigns." Whose interests does the Workers League serve?

Poisoned Pens for Hire

The "International Committee" has a well-known history as a mercenary outfit. This is a matter of public record. By their own later admission, Healy's IC received at least well over £1 million (over \$2 million at the time) from a variety of Near East sheiks and bonapartist butchers over a period of years beginning in the mid-1970s (see "Northite Blood Money," *WV* No. 523, 29 March 1991). And this really was for services rendered.

Beginning with a 1976 deal with the Libyan government for £50,000 with which to buy a four-color web offset printing press, according to an IC Control Commission report, the IC received more than a half million pounds from the Qaddafi regime over the years. Among the services this money bought was turning Healyite publications into hagiographic press agents for the Libyan strongman, as well as supplying names of and intelligence on prominent "Zionists" in "finance, politics, business, the communications media and elsewhere."

Another £20,000—and this figure can only be the tip of the iceberg, given that the "investigation" was carried out by the guilty parties themselves—came from Saddam Hussein. In exchange, the IC hailed the execution of 21 Iraqi Communist Party members in 1978. They not only whitewashed the Ba'athist regime's anti-Communist terror, they actively assisted it. Healyite provocateurs spied on anti-Saddam demonstrations in Britain, taking pictures of Iraqi leftists and turning them over to the Ba'athist regime.

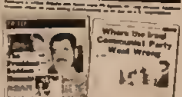
North points to the IC "control commission" to claim innocence, protesting the WL never got any of the loot. But the entire IC earned out the political

A Matter of Public Record

Libya	£542,267
Kuwait	156,500
Qatar	50,000
Abu Dhabi	25,000
PLO	19,997
Iraq	19,697
unidentified or other sources	261,702
Total	1,075,163

Reprinted from *Workers News*, April 1988

Northite Blood Money



WORKERS VANGUARD

29 March 1991

WV has documented Healyites' well-known history as paid mercenaries of Arab bourgeois regimes.

services required for this money over a whole period, and the fact that the Healyites were on the take was obvious to anyone who looked. In 1977 we ran an article, "Healyites, Messengers of Qaddafi," concluding that "even a cursory look" at the IC's "year-long pandering to the oil-rich Qaddafi forces the observation that there is indeed something very rotten in the state of Denmark."

Three years later, Sean Matgamna, editor of the British *Socialist Organiser*, was dragged by Healy into Her Majesty's courts on libel charges. But the one charge that Matgamna raised which Healy didn't contest was the central one, that the Healyites must have been subsidized by "one or more Arab governments." In 1985, when Healy was deposed by his lieutenants, the accusations of taking blood money from Arab bourgeois regimes became a big scandal in the IC. Why? Because by then the flow of money had dried up. When it was coming in, nobody complained (see "Healyism Implodes," *Spartacist* No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86).

More than 20 years ago, we characterized the Healyites as unsavory "political bandits" whose positions were tailored to their own opportunistic advantage. As they continued to degenerate, their ostensible politics, like their cheering for a mythical bourgeois "Arab Revolution," became a front—basically

How the SWP Tried to Dupe the Labor Movement The Mark Curtis Hoax

Part One: The SWP Invents a "Frame-Up"



On the March 1988 issue of the *Workers League's Bulletin*, we published a story about the SWP's attempt to frame Mark Curtis, a leading figure in the labor movement, for the purpose of discrediting the Workers League and its efforts to organize the labor movement. The story was based on a letter from the SWP to the Workers League, in which the SWP accused Curtis of being a "frame-up" and of being a "bourgeois agent." The story was based on a letter from the SWP to the Workers League, in which the SWP accused Curtis of being a "frame-up" and of being a "bourgeois agent."

Workers League's *Bulletin* helped bourgeois state to railroad SWP trade unionist Mark Curtis, seen here after vicious beating by police.



has been an FBI-controlled organization for decades. Within their own demented framework, what would that make the Workers League?

True to form, the main vehicle North & Co. have used in pursuing their vendetta against the SWP is the capitalist courts—appealing to the U.S. government to determine that the SWP is an organization of "government agents"! In 1979, when the SWP was engaged in a lawsuit against the FBI's COINTELPRO infiltration, the Northites—using WL tool Alan Gelfand—took the SWP to court in order to force it to hand over Political Committee minutes.

Four years ago, the "Workers" League launched a big international campaign with the aim of sending SWP Mark

the Healy/Northites have been found on any side fighting against the Soviet Union.

Thus in Britain, when anti-Communist "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher was gearing up for a bloody showdown with the powerful National Union of Mineworkers, the Healyites put their support for Solidarność into service for the union-busting cabal. On the eve of the heroic 1984-85 miners strike, Healy's press made a big play of scandalizing NUM leader Arthur Scargill for opposing Solidarność as "anti-socialist." The scurrilous anti-Communist campaign was instantly picked up by the Labour Party/Trades Union Congress right wing and the Fleet Street tabloids with the aim of isolating the miners union and trying to crush it.

A few years later, the American AFL-CIO's International Department (widely known as the "AFL-CIA") sought to put together a new Solidarność by creating a layer of pro-imperialist "free trade unionists" in the Soviet Union. To this end, they tried to get the so-called Independent Union of Miners (NPG) to endorse slanders that Scargill had pocketed contributions by Soviet miners to the British miners strike. Our comrades' intervention into the founding conference of the NPG in the Donbass in 1990 put a spike in this disinformation campaign. We gored the ox of these CIA-connected elements, and they have good cause to hate us.

Currently, the Northites are engaged in a fund drive for "aid to the Vorkuta miners," who however are not presently engaged in any particular struggle. This was launched at a November Berlin meeting of North's "IC," supposedly on the basis of an appeal from the miners. Yet the appeal has not been published. Could this be related to the fact that a few months earlier the AFL-CIO set up a "relief fund" for Soviet miners? This was reported in an article on Boris Yeltsin's visit to AFL-CIO headquarters, where he was hailed for his "commitment to free unions." Interestingly, the article talks of the "plight of the Soviet miners, who first struck in November 1989 in Vorkuta" (*AFL-CIO News*, 24 June 1991).

Now this is curious indeed, for the

Soviet miners struck massively across the country in the summer of 1989. The later Vorkuta strike, however, was the first to openly raise anti-Communist demands. The WL's *Bulletin* (8 December 1989) publicized an appeal by the "Vorkuta Workers' (Strike) Committee," which included a demand for the "complete cutoff of the financial and economic help to the fraternal totalitarian regimes"—i.e., Cuba, Vietnam, etc. In introducing this appeal, the *Bulletin* explained that it had been "transmitted by telephone from Vorkuta to Leningrad and published there by the Democratic Union Party." The Democratic Union is a pro-Western, anti-Communist outfit which has been financed by the American government through the notorious conduit of the "National Endowment for Democracy!"

One of the leaders of the Vorkuta miners is Nikolai Terokhin, who railed that "The Cubans receive this money out of our pockets and practically flip out under their beautiful sun" (*izv.*, 18 November 1989). This same Terokhin, along with another Vorkuta miner, Sergei Masolovich, were brought to Britain in June 1990 by the fascistic NTS, which has been financed for decades by Western intelligence agencies. There they addressed the scab "Union of Democratic Miners" which was set up to destroy Arthur Scargill's NUM. These two are also sponsored protégés of AFL-CIO leader Lane Kirkland, who have been highlighted in the pages of that other *Bulletin*, published by the AFL-CIO "Department of International Affairs." Is this the "milieu" that North & Co. have been working? What's in it for them, we wonder, and does it have anything to do with their interest in the murder of our comrade?

Hate the Soviet Union, Hate the Spartacist League

If there has been one political constant to North's organization for the past couple of decades, it has been unadulterated anti-Sovietism. This is "theoretically" justified with the description of the Stalinist bureaucracy as "counterrevolutionary through and through"—which flatly denies Trotsky's understanding of the

continued on page 8



Visiting delegation of Soviet "free trade unionists," including Vorkuta miners leader, hosted by "AFL-CIA" chief Lane Kirkland in Washington, January 1991.

dependent on who they were working for at any given time. The petrodollar connection was only one of their contracts. In Australia they took money to print a Vietnamese rightist émigré newspaper, the *Bell of Saigon*, which called on its fascist supporters to "exterminate" communists. Even when it isn't exactly clear in whose employ they are at a given moment, like out-of-work gun-slingers in the Old West they have continued to do their dirty work with the aim of serving somebody.

In the early 1970s, the Healyites began a decades-long vendetta against the reformist SWP entitled "Security and the Fourth International." Resuscitating the vile Stalinist slander that Trotsky had been killed by "one of his own," the Healyites tried to smear the entire SWP leadership—especially Trotsky's secretary Joseph Hansen—as "FBI and KGB agents" and "accomplices" in the murder of Leon Trotsky. This slander, of course, also implicated SWP leader James P. Cannon and Trotsky himself. David North cut his teeth on that campaign.

The Workers League's *modus operandi* in order to get left-wing opponents is to place themselves at the service of larger forces hostile to revolutionaries. In 1971, at a time when the bourgeoisie worried over growing radicalization, the SWP decided it was time to draw a blood line in the "antiwar movement." At a meeting of the SWP's "National Peace Action Coalition," a popular front including prominent Democratic Party politicians, the WL rushed to join in a vicious thug attack led by SWP goons against Progressive Labor and the Spartacist League when we protested the presence of Senator Vance Hartke on the podium. And here they were acting as guard dogs for the same SWP which they now claim

Curtis to prison (see "The Workers League and Mark Curtis," *WV* No. 480, 23 June 1989). Curtis was an Iowa trade unionist who was getting in the way of the Swift Packing Co. He is currently serving a 25-year prison term after being railroaded on charges of burglary and sexual abuse. Whole paragraphs of the prosecutor's summation at the trial that put Curtis behind bars were taken almost word for word from what the *Bulletin* had written a month earlier! As the headline of a subsequent *WV* article said, "Why Should Anyone Believe David North?"

What "Milieu" Does North Work In?

And that brings us back to the Northites' grotesque insinuations concerning the murder of Martha Phillips in Moscow. We have sought to marshal whatever resources we can to press Moscow authorities to pursue all possible avenues of investigation with vigor and rigor. And we are taking other measures. Particularly given the chaos of the disintegrating Soviet Union since Yeltsin's pro-imperialist counter-coup last August, pursuing this investigation is fraught with difficulty. This is compounded by the fact that Martha was a Trotskyist, a Jew and an outspoken public opponent of Yeltsin counter-revolution. As we've said, at this point we have no way of knowing who killed our comrade and are in no position to exclude any possibility.

But as noted above, the Workers League has been quick to exclude certain possibilities, notably those connected to the CIA and the Yeltsinites. Why might that be? From opposing Soviet intervention against CIA-financed Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan to hailing CIA-sponsored Solidarność in Poland,

Just Out—New Bound Volume

WORKERS VANGUARD

Volume No. 22: Issues 517-541, 4 January to 27 December 1991

\$25 Completely Indexed

Also available

Workers Vanguard Volumes 1-21: 1970 through 1990

Volumes include one year of *WV* except: Volume 1 includes 1970-73;

Volumes 4-9 include six months each, 1976-78

Spartacist Volume 1: Issues 1 to 20, Feb. 1964–July 1971

Volume 2: Issues 21 to 30, Autumn 1972–Autumn 1980

Volume 3: Issues 31/32 to 40, Summer 1981–Summer 1987

Discounts available — For larger orders of any combination of *WV* and *Spartacist* bound volumes:

3-10 volumes: \$20 each 11 or more volumes: \$18 each

All volumes also available on microfilm. All prices include postage.

Order from/make checks payable to:

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA

Young Spartacus

Down with the Confederate Flag of Slavery!

Southern Schools Ban Malcolm X

Black students in the Old South have been besieged by "in your face" racists insisting on their "right" to wave the Confederate flag of slavery in public schools. In Georgia, South Carolina and Tennessee, white racist students have joined forces with hooded Klansmen and swastika-tattooed skinheads in school boycotts, walkouts and racist rallies demanding the right to carry or wear this flag in public schools. Underscoring the precarious position of blacks in the so-called "New South," public school boards and principals have responded to this resurgent racism by politely labeling it "racial tension" and slapping black youth back down in their place to appease the race-haters.

In public schools across the South, black students have been *banned* from wearing the popular "X" hats or any T-shirt bearing an image or quotation from Malcolm X, the militant spokesman for black self-defense against racist attacks. At suburban Atlanta's Peachtree Jr. High (which banned Malcolm X clothing on the eve of February, Black History Month) a student who thought it was OK to wear a shirt bearing the likeness of the accommodationist Martin Luther King Jr. was harassed and humiliated by school authorities and forced to wear his clothing inside out all day. And it doesn't stop there...the principal is even on the prowl for "Black Bart"!

Dimwitted school principals argue that banning fascist regalia and Malcolm X T-shirts is just an evenhanded dress code against "message clothing." But to equate the youthful expression of black pride, by an oppressed minority in a white racist society, with the bloody banner of white supremacy is an outrage. The Confederate flag is a call to arms for murderous thugs North and South. It represents a *program* of racist terror for those who want to live in the kind of

society we'd have if the South had won the Civil War. The Confederate flag has nothing to do with "freedom of expression"—it is the battle flag for fascist violence, and it is increasingly brandished as black rights are rolled back and as the fascist vermin grow in the decay of this bankrupt capitalist economy.

Last April, Ku Klux Klansmen from across Georgia targeted a suburban Atlanta school, Newton County High, for recruitment to their fascist ranks. Alleging "bias" in favor of blacks, some 30 white students in KKK T-shirts walked out to join a Klan rally outside the school. Protected by agents of the notoriously racist Georgia Bureau of Investigation and sheriff's deputies, the Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan whipped up the white-supremacists to a racist frenzy over the selection of a black student as school valedictorian. Emboldened by the right-wing climate in this country, the KKK presented formal demands that a Klansman be included on the school panel where an NAACP member sits, and further that the Confederate flag and "Dixie" be put back in the classrooms.

Meanwhile, Main Street in Duncan, South Carolina was transformed into a sea of Confederate flags to honor the more than 100 white punks who were suspended for a few days for wearing the racist banner in school. At one rally for these junior would-be Klansmen, a white school board member was arrested carrying a .38 calibre pistol. These racist rallies spread like a virus to nearby counties, and demonstrations around the area were boosted by squads of Nazi skinhead thugs from North Carolina and beyond. With black students literally under the gun, the school principal in Duncan responded by canceling Black History Month. The school superintendent appointed a "Rebel Mascot Advisory



Peterson/JB Pictures

Southern schools have banned popular Malcolm X buttons, caps and other clothing in order to appease white racists.

Committee" to decide whether to continue with a Confederate soldier as the school's official emblem.

What began initially as an effort by black students and organizations like the NAACP to pressure the school boards to remove the Confederate flag from public facilities has come back with a vengeance against the black students themselves, who are now stripped of their rights and facing vile racist reaction. This example drives home the point that pleading with bourgeois politicians and state authorities to "outlaw" fascist activity and symbols simply gives the state more ammunition to restrict and regulate the rights of unionists, socialists, opponents of racist terror. If more people who wear Malcolm X

read Malcolm X, they might not fall into the trap of asking their enemy to defend black rights. Although Malcolm did not have a program of integrated class struggle, at the time of his murder in 1965 his views were evolving from black nationalism. He was deeply hostile to U.S. imperialism's oppression of dark-skinned peoples throughout the world, and saw with x-ray vision the sham of racist American "democracy." Malcolm said, "when you vote Democrat, you vote Dixiecrat," and spoke the bitter truth about Uncle Tom black leaders who fostered illusions that the system could be made to work for black people.

Especially in the South, there should be no illusions in the supposed "neutrality" of the government or any of its institutions from the courts to the cops to the school boards. It was in open defiance of the *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* decision outlawing segregation in public schools that the Georgia state legislature dug up the old Confederate battle flag and slapped the state seal on it in 1956. (Alabama and South Carolina immediately followed suit and Mississippi has just about *always* flown the Confederate flag.) It is to this barely modified battle flag of slavery that school principals ask students to rise and pledge allegiance each morning. It's a daily reminder that there is a lot of unfinished business to attend to in this country.

To wipe out the scourge of racism and Klan terror, and bury forever the Confederate flag of slavery, requires a thoroughgoing socialist revolution in this country to *finish the Civil War* and make good on the unfulfilled promise of black freedom. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are dedicated to winning students to build a multiracial revolutionary party to fight for this future. ■

Looking for Recruits in Fascist Nest

SWP at KKK Duke Rally

Join the Socialist Workers 1992 campaign...and you may find yourself traveling to David Duke rallies, meeting Nazi skinheads and "talking socialism" with race-haters!

We kid you—*NOT!!* Back in November we told you that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) had issued a lying "fact sheet" on David Duke that never once mentioned the word "Klan," "Nazi" or "fascist." We warned that the SWP "seeks to woo Duke's voting base by soft-pedaling this deadly dangerous fascist" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 538, 8 November 1991). Now the SWP's *Militant* (April 3) *boasts* about members of

their Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) selling papers and chatting up the fascist fringe at a Duke rally in League City, Texas! This is downright disgusting...and deadly dangerous.

The *Militant* article informs us that YSAers joined a picket line on February 27 set up by members of the gay liberation group Queer Nation. When anti-fascist picketers jeered "Nazi!" at skinheads lining up to enter Duke's fascist rally, the article says, "*Militant* supporters sought to engage rally-goers in discussion." They brag that four skinhead thugs pooled their money to buy the *Militant* when they heard it was

"socialist." We can just imagine how it went... "We see you're into 'National Socialism,' why not give our brand of socialism a try." After printing *without rebuttal* Duke's white-supremacist filth about immigrants and welfare "cheats," they gush over a sale to another racist creep who opined, "I agree with Duke on welfare, but I'd like to read your newspaper, too." What's next? "I agree with Hitler on genocide but I'm open!"

Duncecaps would fit these YSAers—and might help them mingle in the white-hooded Klan nest they've opted to work in—but idiocy is far too benign an explanation for the SWP's fishing expeditions

Anti-Duke pickets discuss politics with workers attending rightist rally

BY BILL LAMBERT

AND RICHARD HARRIS

LEAGUE CITY, TEXAS — Young Socialist

Alliance members and other Marxist sup-

porters joined a picket line outside a rally

for ultrarightist presidential candidate David

Duke here February 27. They also joined in

discussion with the mostly young working

class crowd who sat in the rally. Several

people brought copies of the *Militant* and

other people waiting to get into the rally

or leaving it.

Some 700 people filled the Civic Center

auditorium here.

Representative Ericson, and United from

from Dallas. Inside the rally, Duke told

illegal immigrants. "I am opposed. May

we will not let Texas, creating jobs, raising

income, and more welfare," he said. "It is obvi-

ous we fight to preserve the majority of the

Texas Mexican border."

Militant supporters sought to recruit rally

A meeting, seeing the YSA's sign "Duke is

treason, United American Action," said

"I really agree with you. My husband is

making me come to this, but I am going to

express my opinion." She was carrying a hand

lettered sign that said "United Negro College

and Anti-Human Being." Her husband re-

sponded, "United American Action is a racist

organization."

THE MILITANT

3 April 1992

CUNY Tuition Hike Is a Racist Purge

The New York budget ax team of Governor Mario Cuomo and New York City mayor David Dinkins is continuing its assault on working-class New York. Cuomo's latest \$500 tuition hike, on top of last year's increase and new financial aid cuts, will mean a doubling of tuition at CUNY (City University of New York) in one year. This is a deliberate racist purge—literally thousands of poor inner-city youth, mostly black and Hispanic, will be driven out. Cuomo's budget also dictates some \$40 million in additional cuts for CUNY. Entire academic departments are on the chopping block. Students who have worked and studied for years (many of them while holding down full-time jobs and supporting families) are now kicked in the face and told if their department is cut then they can't graduate.

City College had a long history of free tuition, a school that was supposed to provide a quality education for the working-class youth of the city. But the U.S. ruling class doesn't need or want educated youth anymore, especially not minorities, who have constituted a majority at CUNY since 1976—the same year tuition was introduced. The greedy bosses have bankrupted the U.S. economy—and they couldn't give a damn about skilled labor or educating youth because there are no jobs for them anyway. Bush and the Democrats' "education policy" is to let a whole generation of working-class youth die

No Illusions in the Democrats!

on the ghetto streets or be used as cannon fodder for imperialist wars.

The CUNY Coalition of Concerned Faculty and Staff has brought a class-action lawsuit against Cuomo and New York State, challenging the class inequality and racism in the funding of public higher education. The coalition's research shows that CUNY's senior colleges have received \$500 million less than if they had been funded on a basis equivalent to the State University of New York system, which is 85 percent white. The capitalist politicians who arrogantly dictate this "separate and unequal" funding for working-class colleges replicate the pattern of racist inequality beginning from first grade in a country where "public" schools are primarily funded by local property taxes. As we wrote in "Education U.S.A.—Separate and Unequal":

"There are two 'publics'—those who've got property and those who don't. And families from the red brick housing projects cannot provide a tax base for education comparable to that of families from the green lawns and white picket fences."

—Workers Vanguard No. 544,
7 February

Last year CUNY students waged a hard struggle against the budget ax

murderers, occupying buildings on over a dozen campuses and shutting down City College for three weeks. Despite pledges of support from city labor leaders, the students were hung out to dry while the union tops tried to cut a deal with the bloodsucking hankers who dictate Dinkins' and Cuomo's budgets of doom. Protest is stirring again this spring, but thus far has been held firmly in the straitjacket of Democratic Party election year politics.

An outfit called the "CUNY/Community Coalition" produced slick ads and leaflets (including "An Appeal to Labor"), but despite the rhetoric this group is explicitly opposed to any real struggle. Apart from telling students to waste their time writing letters to Albany, their only activity was to organize a rally at Lehman College outside a Democratic Party debate between Dixiecrat Clinton and "Flat Tax" Brown before the New York primary.

The implicit deal was, "if you speak for us, then we'll deliver the vote for you." They even went so far as to beg a Democratic Party honcho to address the student demonstration. Perhaps they wanted to hear Clinton discuss his plans for military boot camps for "delinquent" youth, or how students should pay back their student loans by

working as adjuncts to the killer cops! Most CUNY students are so alienated by the Democratic Party losers that only a few hundred turned out for the farce at Lehman, where they beseeched the Democrats under a massive cop presence, including police helicopters circling overhead.

As against these junior ward heelers for the Democrats, the Spartacus Youth Club has been actively intervening in rallies and protests to win students to a class-struggle perspective. Spartacus Youth Club member Semeon Gershkovich addressed a rally of 500 students at a walkout at Brooklyn College on March 24:

"To win these struggles the students can't fight alone. We have to look to the power of the working class.... Look at the transit workers, who just voted down a sellout contract. The transit workers on strike could shut this city down. That's the kind of power we need in the fight for education. Last year the Spartacus Youth Club said that the whole CUNY system should have been shut down, and a one-day general strike called in the city. But that would require a fight against the trade-union bureaucrats, who support Democrats like Dinkins and Jerry Brown and even Dixiecrat Bill Clinton. Dennis Rivera [head of Local 1199 hospital workers] sold us out for the sake of Dinkins and Cuomo."

We are fighting to build a workers party which will fight for all the oppressed. No illusions in the Democratic Party of war, racism and capitalist misery! Join the Spartacus Youth Club!



Left: Student bureaucrats appeal to Democrats at Lehman College, March 31. Right: At March 24 Brooklyn College walkout, SYC fought for an alliance with labor in struggle against Democrats' killer cuts.



Louis Malle's chilling film *Alamo Bay*, is where the KKK unleashed a murderous terror campaign against Vietnamese fishermen on the Gulf Coast.

• Next door in Brazoria, and just two months before Duke's rally, a black couple's home was destroyed twice by white supremacists who spray-painted the house with racist epithets and left a noose hanging at the door. Some months earlier, a black Marine was gunned down by four whites who told police they did it to "fuck with some niggers."

• In the weeks immediately before Duke's fascist rally, Ku Klux Klansmen "warmed up" by sending death threats to public black activists in Houston.

Next the SWP popped up at the April 5 abortion rights march in Washington with a front-page headline, "Buchananism: What It Is and How to Fight It" (*Militant*, 10 April). If that same headline appeared in the press of any of the more garden-variety American reformists, like the Communist Party's *People's Weekly World*, you'd assume it was the usual popular-frontist drone for the Democratic Party. But after the SWP's antics

in Texas, one has to wonder whether it's an attack from the left or the right!

Today the SWP's *líder máximo* Jack Barnes says that Buchanan is "fascistic"—but yesterday the SWP allied with this former Goebbels of the Reagan administration and would-be *Führer* of the White House in defense of the fascist butcher of Lyon, Klaus Barbie, and Estonian death camp commandant Karl Linna. Along with Pat Buchanan and Ed Meese, the SWP opposed the extradition of these Nazi butchers, whining that "Linna, Barbie, and other war criminals like them are scapegoats" (*Militant*, 12 June 1987).

The SWP cried crocodile tears for the fate awaiting these mass murderers who were extradited to stand trial for the deaths of thousands of Jews, Communists, Resistance fighters, Gypsies, and children, ostensibly because they wanted to be "consistent about opposition to all use of the death penalty." But the SWP hailed the Stalinist show trial and execution of Cuban general Ochoa (who led the Cuban troops as they valiantly defeated South Africa's racist

army in Angola but was shot for falling afoul of Fidel Castro). According to these *semper fidelistas*, shooting Ochoa was a "resolute response" for which "working people everywhere owe a debt of gratitude to the Cuban government" (*Militant*, 11 August 1989). Consistent? For the SWP, only with "civil liberties" for fascists.

Genuine Marxists, Trotskyists such as ourselves, are consistent in our class loyalty and struggle for the working people to achieve power. We opposed the execution of Ochoa (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 500, 20 April 1990). As for the fascist mass murderer, we starkly headlined, "Kill Klaus Barbie!" As our French comrades wrote:

"As communists, we are opposed to the death penalty. But we know there are many justified executions following a bloody war. A court made up of their surviving victims should decide the fate of war criminals like Barbie. He should be judged by the Jews of Buchenwald and Auschwitz, those tortured in Lyon, those who escaped the French and Russian villages he devastated, the Bolivians that his thugs tortured."

—Le Bolchévique, May 1987

And while the SWP looks for recruits in fascist nests after earlier providing a platform for fascist KKK killers to incite racist murder under the guise of a "debate" with SWP candidates, the Spartacist League, like the then-Trotskyist SWP of the 1930s and '40s, has mobilized mass labor/black actions to stop the fascists in urban centers across the country.

In the past we've described the SWP as a particularly quirky band of social-democratic reformists who want to act as salesmen for Castro (or variously stranger Third World nationalist revolutions) to imperialist liberals. Their strange fixation with American farmers, who the SWP ludicrously equate with oppressed Latin American *campesinos*, has kept SWPers in a fairly right-wing milieu for many years. Their new plunge into the fascist Duke's fringe indicates that something more sinister than a loose screw may be animating Barnestown. To youth who may run across the SWP's "campaign for a social-list alternative": *caveat emptor*—buyer beware! ■

Workers League...

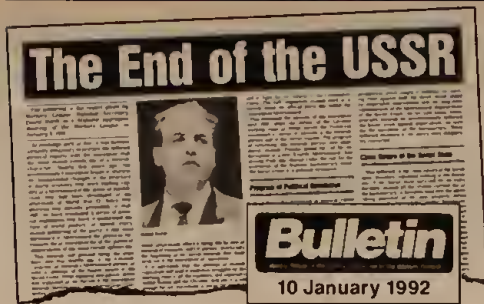
(continued from page 5)

dual nature of this parasitic caste sitting atop proletarian property forms. Hostile to defense of the gains of the October Revolution, now the Northites have joined Yeltsin in proclaiming the death of the Soviet Union. Under a headline trumpeting "The End of the USSR," David North writes: "It is impossible to define the Confederation of Independent States as a whole, or any of the republics of which it is comprised, as workers states" (*Bulletin*, 10 January).

In his famous trade-union analogy, Trotsky compared the Soviet Union under Stalinist rule to a giant labor organization which must be defended against the capitalist enemy despite its bureaucratic misleaders. North inverts Trotsky's analogy to write off the organized labor movement along with the Soviet Union. After years of groveling to the racist, pro-imperialist labor fakers to build a "labor party," the Workers League now says, "to define the AFL-CIO as a working-class organization is to blind the working class to the realities which they confront."

Only a few years ago, the WL denounced us for saying that the hard-fought Hormel meatpackers strike had been knifed by the "labor traitors that currently make up the top leadership of the American labor movement." North's *Bulletin* (1 April 1986) claimed that this revealed our "virulent hatred of the working class and deep pessimism." Now the Workers League writes off the unions along with the Soviet Union. This comes from an outfit which is notorious for hailing police "strikes," a supposedly "working-class" group whose newspaper is produced with no union label, an ostensibly socialist organization which in this deeply racist society fulminates against SL-initiated anti-Klan actions as an "obsession with race."

Other than providing a convenient excuse for scabbing on strikes, North's



Virulent Stalinophobe David North joins Yeltsin in proclaiming death of Soviet Union.

pronouncement that the unions in the U.S. can no longer be considered working-class organizations reflects his *líder máximo* complex. In Berlin last November, North pompously declared: "The delegates today speak to the international working class as the authoritative representatives of the Fourth International" (*Bulletin*, 22 November 1991). From the "modest" start of crowning himself as Healy's heir apparent at the top of the IC garbage heap, North is now assiduously trying to eliminate any perceived rivals to his new claim to be leader of the world proletariat.

In his Berlin speech, North declared that Ernest Mandel, leader of the United Secretariat, has "become, in the full sense of the word, a bourgeois politician." He took Mandel to task for preparing "the ground for the restoration of capitalism in Eastern Europe," in particular by supporting Polish Solidarność and its ideologue Jacek Kuron. He charged that "through the medium of Jacek Kuron, Lech Walesa himself is a political Frankenstein created by Mandel." What chutzpah! When it comes to cheering Solidarność, the Northites took second place to no one, including the Mandelites. David North is a "political Frankenstein" created by Gerry Healy (and who knows who or what else).

Having now defined themselves as the sole representatives of the working class, where the megalomaniacal Northites go from here is anybody's guess. We do know that they are capable of anything;

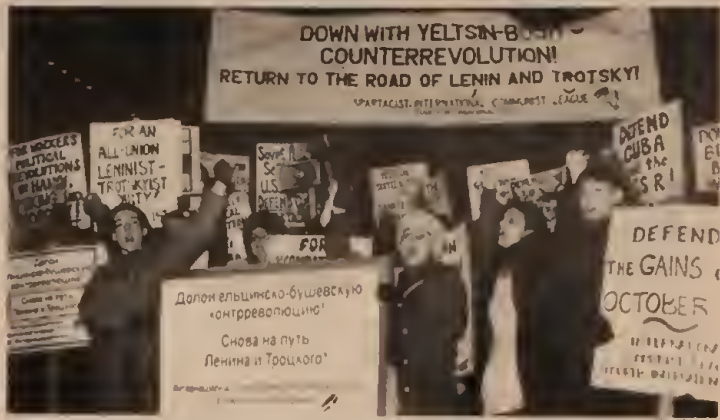
they will work for just about anyone, and maybe they do.

The Workers League claims to be calling for an "inquiry" not "as a question for factional dispute," but because "If Phillips was the victim of a political killing, her death is of concern not merely to the Spartacist League, but to the entire working class movement." If Martha's murder was politically motivated—which at this point we do not know—it is indeed a matter of vital importance and concern for the workers movement internationally. But such interests are of no concern to North's organization, which has crossed over the class line

with such frequency and ease that where it fits in relation to the workers movement is elastic, to say the least. The WL and its activities and associations do indeed warrant close scrutiny.

Martha Phillips was a proletarian internationalist, and as our most prominent spokesman in the Soviet Union she riled the counterrevolutionary nationalists who spearhead the drive to restore capitalist exploitation there. The very forces she fought against are the ones that are championed by the Workers League, from the reactionary Lithuanian Sąjūdis government to the "AFL-CIO"-backed "independent" miners, whose masters pull the strings from Washington. We know that there are powerful and sinister elements intent on stopping us from building the Leninist-Trotskyist party needed to lead the Soviet workers in a proletarian political revolution to defeat the counterrevolutionary onslaught.

As the capitalist-restorationists seek to consolidate a hold on power and uproot the foundations of the Soviet workers state, we honor our martyred comrade Martha by continuing the struggle to reimplant Bolshevism in the land of its birth, to return the Soviet Union to the road of Lenin and Trotsky. ■



New York, January 31: Spartacists picket on Wall Street as Yeltsin met with his paymasters.

Caterpillar...

(continued from page 1)

at Phelps Dodge copper mines, Greyhound, Hormel meatpackers. Now they have pulled a PATCO on the CAT strike, in the industrial heartland of America. This opens the road to a full-scale assault on the entire Auto Workers union.

This strike could have been won. At the very outset, *Workers Vanguard* laid out a program for victory, underlining that the biggest obstacle was the pro-capitalist union leadership itself:

"UAW workers: don't let the 'Sacrifice House' gang hang you out to dry, as in the 206-day Caterpillar strike of 1982. It's high time the ag imp bosses in the Midwest tasted some union hardball. Shut down Caterpillar—occupy the factories! See how fast the CAT bosses come running to talk when the strikers

are on the inside of the plants, sitting on top of their inventory and machinery! Mass pickets must seal off the plants. It's not so easy to sell those big CATs if you can't move them—call on Teamsters, longshoremen and rail workers to refuse to handle them. There's only one way to skin the CAT—mobilize union power!"

—"UAW Workers: Skin the CAT!" WV No. 539, 22 November 1991

Instead, the UAW misleaders kept the strike isolated and partial.

This strike was sacrificed on the altar of support to the Democratic Party in this election year. AFL-CIO chief Kirland called for begging the Democrats for his bill to outlaw "striker replacements." But no strike, no gain of labor, was ever won in the bosses' courts or the halls of Congress.

The sellout of the Caterpillar strike comes less than 24 hours after the AFL-

CIO decision to back Bill Clinton, the "right-to-work" governor of Arkansas. When he came to Peoria last week, Clinton lectured the strikers on their "need to change": "Unions should be willing to abandon outmoded work rules that stifle productivity"! The Democrats are enemies of labor!

The disaster at Caterpillar shows the urgent need to sweep away the entire pro-business bureaucracy that has hog-tied the labor movement. Their loyalty to their capitalist masters has led to a decade and more of union defeats. It is urgently, desperately necessary to forge a class-struggle leadership of the workers movement, and a workers party that will fight to eradicate this exploitative capitalist system of wage slavery and racist oppression.

Class-Struggle Leadership the Key

Last fall Caterpillar boss Fites took a hard line against the pattern contract negotiated by the union with John Deere & Co. Pleading poverty, Fites demanded massive benefit cuts and work rule changes. He claims CAT "lost" \$404 million last year. Bull. This paper loss includes \$373 million in "charges" for closing plants in São Paulo, Brazil and York, Pennsylvania, plus "increased depreciation" and insurance charges. CAT made over \$1.5 billion in the last ten years while real pay raises have been held to a miserable 3.7 percent. Of course, Fites found a cool half-million to give himself a 19 percent raise last year.

CAT bosses prepared for this battle for well over a decade. The bitter 206-day 1982 walkout led to a contract that ceded seniority and work rule changes, allowing the company to gut the workforce in the following years. Over 23,000

UAW jobs were eliminated. The bosses used the weakened seniority provisions to weed out workers, especially women and blacks: today in East Peoria, there is less than one black among every 100 CAT workers, while the area's population is ten percent black.

This strike began on November 4—more than a month after the previous contract expired—as a partial shutdown affecting only 2,400 of the 17,000 UAW members employed by Caterpillar. Three days later Fites responded by locking out 5,600 other UAW members. The union formally called these workers out on strike only in February, after CAT ended the lockout in preparation for its back-to-work ultimatum. Caterpillar spent \$20 million on security, bringing in the strikebreaking stormtroopers of Vance International.

A hell of a lot of unionists in the Midwest didn't want to see the CAT strike go down to defeat. Miners, rail workers, Machinists, rubber workers and



PATCO strike was betrayed by labor tops who refused to shut down the airports.

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Thurs 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (510) 839-0851

Chicago

Tues 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City

Tues 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

Rail Strike Ties Up Tokyo

TOKYO—A bold and powerful strike by private rail line workers on the morning of March 27 tied up Tokyo and Osaka in knots during rush hour. On the lines that struck, it was 100 percent effective. Not a train or subway car moved, as 60,000 workers disrupted rail service for nearly 6.5 million people. Streets adjacent to the stations were turned into human gridlocks as commuters were hours late in getting to work. According to the Transport Ministry, this six-hour strike stopped over 6,800 train runs and 20,000 bus runs. The strike even reduced the crowds at the opening of this spring's high-school baseball tournament at Osaka's Koshien Stadium.

Unlike the typical coffee-break strike or after-work rally which characterizes the ritual annual spring labor *shunto* ("offensive"), this was the real thing. It showed that rail workers have the power to bring Japan, Inc. to a screeching halt. But the union bureaucrats, deathly afraid of the social power they unleashed that morning, capitulated within hours to management and accepted the same wage package the rank-and-file members had struck against. The striking rail workers, having no leaders with the stomach for a real fight, reluctantly started up their trains while seething with anger.

Key to winning was common action between workers on the private lines and the Japan Railway (JR), which continued to operate during the morning of the strike. As a result, JR lines were inhumanly jam-packed, platforms dangerously overcrowded, and a few passengers were injured. Had the private lines stayed out much longer, the JR lines could not have handled the overload. If for no other reason than safety, they would have had to shut down.

Railway workers have long been the most militant section of the Japanese proletariat. For JR workers, who under former prime minister Nakasone's union-busting privatization plan have suffered cutbacks and victimization, this was a golden opportunity to clog up the main artery of Japanese capitalism.

Yet instead of striking when the private lines went out, sections of JR motormen engaged in a 48-hour strike two days later. The unions involved have an ostensibly New Left leadership. But

A strike by rail and subway workers in Tokyo and Osaka tied rush hour in knots March 27 and demonstrated the enormous social power of labor.



these so-called leftists—who've traded their hard hats, bandannas and sunglasses for three-piece suits—refused to engage in a real class-struggle fight against the employers. There were no picket lines to stop scabs, no appeals to the other JR unions for a common offensive. Instead of stopping rail traffic, these New Leftovers employed the traditional *shimeisto* (selective strike) tactic to ensure that on the JR lines where they had members only minor disruptions would occur.

For years, the union bureaucrats have relied on the "spring offensive" to deflect working-class militancy. This was an integral part of the capitalist stabilization growing out of labor's defeat in the 1953 Nissan strike. The *shunto*, instituted by the anti-communist social-democratic-led Sohyo union federation in 1955, seeks to move the workers away from action at the point of production, where their strength lies, into impotent demonstrations and ritual "struggles" that invariably lose. The truncated rail strike dramatically showed that the pro-

letariat has the power to win, but it must sweep away the barrier of the pro-capitalist labor leadership that stands in the way.

Another indication of the suppressed militancy of the Japanese working class is the job action of 80,000 nurses early this month. Underpaid and horribly overworked, nurses staged a number of spirited and militant demonstrations before the official *shunto* ceremonies were slated to begin. Their working conditions are terrible, and recent press reports have revealed that in the past decade 140 nurses have fallen victim to *karoshi* (death from overwork)!

These nurses would have eagerly supported a general labor offensive, but their union leaders, including the Stalinists of the reformist and chauvinist Japanese Communist Party, limited the nurses' "strike" in some cases to a mere 20 minutes! That these overworked heroines, who usually spend all their spare time catching up on sleep, could summon the energy to engage in militant protests is a testament to the powerful role women

workers will play in a future Japanese socialist revolution.

For Revolutionary Internationalism!

The recent railway and nurses' strikes were betrayed and aborted by social-democratic, Stalinist and New Leftist union leaders who for years have echoed the intense hostility of Japanese imperialism to the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Thus it should come as no surprise that they refuse to defend the working class at home when the bosses are gearing up for austerity attacks on labor.

The Japanese left is, in the main, narrow, nationalist and chauvinist, and this is reflected in the social composition of the labor movement. None of the three labor federations have fought to organize either the non-Japanese permanent residents, like the Koreans and Chinese, or the more recent superexploited immigrants from Asia and Africa, into common unions with Japanese workers. Now even *Nikkeijin*, some 150,000 ethnic Japanese whose families emigrated to Latin America (mainly Brazil and Peru) who have now come back to Japan to work in factories and workshops, are facing discrimination and intense exploitation in this chauvinist society.

The fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay is directly linked to breaking the racist "Japanese only" employment system in major industry. The fake-leftist union leaders haven't lifted a finger to fight the vicious part-time labor system that effectively bars women workers and *burakumin* (descendants of feudal-era outcasts) from full employment status and union protection.

Nor have the labor misleaders organized a union-based defense of Koreans in the face of recent racist terror carried out by xenophobic Japanese rightists. We Trotskyists say: the Koreans should vote, have Japanese passports, tear up their *gaijin* (foreigner) cards. Full citizenship rights for all permanent residents and foreign workers in Japan!

Class-conscious workers must understand that the labor lieutenants of Japan, Inc. are wedded to the system of capitalist exploitation, which is sustained by racist and chauvinist ideology and practices. The proletariat of Japan needs a revolutionary internationalist party modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. To forge such a party is the perspective of the Spartacist Group Japan as part of the International Communist League. ■

AFSCME members joined striking CAT workers on the lines in Decatur, East Peoria and elsewhere. CAT tried to intimidate the strikers, blustering that there was an army of strikebreakers out there. But scabs are human dust. With a determined effort to organize fighting solidarity and truly mass pickets, the far more powerful army of organized labor would have swept them away. But the UAW misleaders discouraged coal miners and other unions from joining the battle.

Bringing out Chicago labor was key. Yet a Chicago Federation of Labor spokesman said its affiliates were only being asked to join the UAW's "Adopt a Striker" financial assistance program. When an Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241 member reported to his union meeting on the progress of the strike after a trip to East Peoria, ATU leaders squelched his motion to mobilize Chicago transit workers to UAW strike sites by tabling it into oblivion.

The class collaborationist union tops pushed poisonous "Buy American" protectionism and Japan-bashing, thus undercutting any appeal by CAT strikers for solidarity action abroad, particularly by Komatsu and Caterpillar-Mitsubishi workers in Japan. Solidarity House even proposed a consumer boycott of Caterpillar! What were you supposed to do, ask your neighbor not

to buy a 75-ton excavator?

Tailing after Bieber & Co. were a gaggle of fake-socialists. The Socialist Workers Party, whose supporters were waterboys for the Machinists tops who strangled the Eastern strike, asked politicians to "place themselves on the picket lines to show where they stand." The Communist Party called to "redouble our effort to dump President Bush in November." The most craven advice came from David Moberg of the social-democratic *In These Times* (1 April), who criticized the UAW from the right: "Some union strategists think that the UAW might have been better off with an 'in-plant' slowdown"—i.e., no strike at all. They got what they called for: Clinton came to Peoria, and CAT workers got the shaft.

UAW officials were more concerned about stopping "reds" than stopping scabs. But the industrial unions in this country were built by socialists. Farm equipment workers' proud tradition of militant class struggle goes back over a century to the 1886 McCormick Harvester strike, growing out of the movement for an eight-hour day. This was met by the bloody Haymarket Massacre that made May 1 the international workers holiday. To defeat the hard-fought 1948 strike at Caterpillar Tractor, pro-capitalist "labor statesman" Walter Reuther used the Taft-Hartley slave labor law to wipe out the Communist-led Farm

Equipment Workers in Peoria and purge the UAW of reds.

That was at the beginning of the first Cold War. Today, as the rapacious rulers of this country seek to bring capitalism to the Soviet Union, including mass unemployment and homelessness, they're gunning for the unions here.

The Caterpillar strike has shown once again that the key to victory is class-struggle leadership. As we wrote in our review of Barbara Kopple's recently

released film, *American Dream*, about the Hormel meatpackers strike: "The defeat at Hormel dramatically showed that the workers of P-9 were battling not just the company, but centrally their own union misleaders. That is the heart of the crisis of American labor" ("Which Side Are You On?" WV No. 542, 10 January). The misleaders and betrayers must be replaced by class-conscious militants fighting for a workers party and a workers government. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

☐ \$7/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

☐ New ☐ Renewal

International rates

\$25/24 issues—Airmail \$7/24 issues—Seamail

☐ \$2/4 issues of *Spartacist* (edición en español)

☐ \$3/3 issues of *Women and Revolution*

☐ \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____ Phone (____) _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

France...

(continued from page 12)

been legitimized by the anti-immigrant campaigns launched by Mitterrand's governments. Racist terror, unemployment and segregation in bleak concrete ghettos—this is what French capitalism has to offer immigrant workers and their children (many of whom were born in France and are French citizens). Every month the list grows of youth who are gunned down in cold blood by the police or by private security guards—as does the list of racist killers who get off with a slap on the wrist. Yet immigrant workers from France's African ex-colonies are heavily represented in the industrial working class and are often the majority on auto assembly lines.

The outcome of the March 22 vote dramatically underscores that to crush the fascists what's needed is a proletarian struggle to overthrow the capitalist system, that breeding ground of racism, and replace it with a planned economy. Facing a discredited regime and a parliamentary system rife with corruption and scandals, the National Front fascists feed on the economic deterioration under Mitterrand's "socialist" administration of capitalism. The persistent mass unemployment is now officially reaching 10 percent. The perspective of European "unification" in a single market next year, which will subject the weakened French economy to increased competition from its powerful German neighbor, has driven layers of the petty bourgeoisie and small capitalists to despair, seeking salvation by embracing the fascist demagogues.

The NF also made significant advances in many working-class districts, beating out both Communists and Socialists in the former "Red Belt" of the Ile de France region around Paris. In the department of Seine-Saint Denis, a former PCF bastion, and surrounding areas, the NF vote was as high as 29 to 31 percent. The PCF/PS reformists' groveling loyalty to the capitalist state has meant that for the last decade they have imposed brutal anti-working-class austerity, while themselves launching racist anti-immigrant attacks, such as the PCF's infamous 1981 bulldozer assault on an African workers' hostel in Vitry. This has led backward sections of the working class into the arms of the fascists. But there are many more who would combat the racist scum. What they lack is a class-struggle leadership.

At each stop during Le Pen's electoral campaign, thousands of demonstrators mobilized to try to stop him from spewing forth his calls to race-hatred and anti-Semitism. For the liberal, social-



Combative strike of auto workers in Cléon, France, meeting here in general assembly, was left isolated and sold out by Stalinist CGT tops.

democratic and Stalinist organizers, these actions were largely intended as an electoral ploy, but they intersected a widespread desire to sweep the fascist scum off the streets. In the week before the elections in Limoges, in central France, several hundred demonstrators prevented the plane of one FN leader from landing. Le Pen got the same treatment in Corsica. However, instead of mobilizing the workers movement, the organizers of these actions sought to pressure Mitterrand to ban the FN meetings—which the government did several times, while unleashing its cops to protect the fascists from the most combative of the anti-fascist demonstrators.

Opposing such dangerous reformist illusions in the bourgeois state, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) have been present in the anti-fascist rallies and demonstrations, like the one in Rouen on March 6. The LTF calls for all the intended victims of the fascists to join together in powerful united-front actions based on the power of the organized working class against the common enemy. For labor/immigrant mobilizations to *smash* the fascists!

An urgent deadline is coming up on May Day, when the National Front goons are preparing once again to parade through Paris. Our comrade, Gilles Cazin, an auto worker from the Renault-Cléon plant in Rouen, took the floor at a February 15 meeting of his CGT union local in order to underline the urgency of a working-class counter-attack against this provocation: "The First of May is a workers' conquest. For several years now, Le Pen has carried out a provocation against the working class by demonstrating on this day. A few tens of thousands of workers organized by their unions would be sufficient

to sweep this scum off the streets. Only the working class has the power to stop the fascists."

NATO Popular Front of Anti-Worker Austerity

Just days after the election debacle, Mitterrand sacrificed his prime minister, Edith Cresson. During her year in office, this ineffectual social-democratic imitation of Margaret Thatcher "disting-



Rouen, March 6: Contingent of Ligue Trotskyiste was revolutionary pole in demonstration against La Pen's fascists. Signs call for "Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations to Crush the Fascists."

guished" herself by her virulent anti-Japanese and anti-homosexual diatribes. The new prime minister, Pierre Bérégovoy, is the former minister of the economy and finances, a hardline monetarist and champion of anti-worker austerity. Bérégovoy wins hands down the prize of the most popular "socialist"...in the leading circles of finance capital.

The first commitment made by the Bérégovoy government was to keep up the campaign to destroy the CGT dockers' union, one of the rare sectors in which there is a real system of union control of hiring. Broad and determined workers action to defeat the assault on this union bastion could be the *coup de grâce* for this tottering regime. That is precisely why the Stalinist reformist PCF leadership of the CGT, which is directly targeted by this attack but bound to Mitterrand by their popular-front politics, channeled the dockers into a losing "strategy" of weekly 24- and 48-hour strikes and made no attempt to link up with other port workers who are also under attack.

In 1981 the bourgeoisie agreed to hand over the reins of state to Mitterrand, candidate of a class-collaborationist alliance extending from a section of the Gaullist movement to the PCF and the fake-Trotskyist "far left." The previous right-wing Giscard-Barre government had not been able to impose the anti-labor measures demanded by the bourgeoisie against a combative working class, and it balked at firmly aligning French imperialism with the new anti-Soviet Cold War. The bourgeoisie saw in Mitterrand a NATO "socialist" who could carry out

a capitalist "shock treatment" at home, and it looked with favor on one of the goals this former bourgeois politician has obstinately pursued ever since 1968: to reduce the PCF, which has held the dominant position in the French workers movement ever since the Second World War, to nothing.

A few days after Mitterrand's election, while Alain Krivine's LCR, Pierre Lambert's OCI (today PCI-PT) and Lutte Ouvrière (LO) hailed the "victory of May 10," our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste explained that "the Mitterrand government will be a Cold War, austerity government" (*Le Bolchéviek* No. 26, June 1981). In contrast to the LCR/PCI/LO host of fake-Trotskyists, the LTF never called for a vote for Mitterrand.

The LCR's "critical" support to the popular front in the recent elections was summed up in their call to "vote as far as possible." Despite a minimum of anti-government blustering, these latter-day "possibilists" naturally called for a vote to the PS in the second round (run-off) elections where a National Front candidate was still in the running, and in other locations effectively encouraged a vote to the popular-front parties by refusing to take any position on the vote.

The PCF, bled white by the destruction of its industrial bastions (symbolized by the recent closing of the Renault-

Billancourt factory) and discredited by its support to the bankrupt Mitterrand regime, is today desperately trying to survive as a social-chauvinist "Communist" sect—without a "socialist fatherland" to defend. After supporting Yeltsin against the Moscow "putschists" in the name of "democracy," the Marchais leadership proclaimed from the rooftops that it no longer had anything to do with the "ex-USSR." A few months later, the PCF reaffirmed its loyalty to the French bourgeoisie by breaking the month-long Renault-Cléon strike. At the same time it was carrying out a racist campaign demanding more cops to combat "insecurity" (code word for anti-North African and anti-black racism).

The PCF's revolting propaganda pandering to the racist National Front electoral constituency found a "far-left" echo in the "National-Trotskyist" sect LO (whose American offspring is Spark), which carefully avoids using the word "racism" (quite a feat in 1992 France!) while saying that it is necessary to assure "security."

In order to defeat the fascists, the proletariat must rid itself of the treacherous impediment of class-collaborationist alliances and adopt the perspective of a revolutionary struggle for power. A genuinely communist, Leninist-Trotskyist leadership must be forged to lead this fight to victory. As the LTF spokesman said at the March 6 Rouen anti-fascist demonstration: "It is necessary to forge a multi-ethnic revolutionary workers party! We need a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie and smash the fascists once and for all!" ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

Atlanta Box 4012 Atlanta, GA 30302	Detroit Box 441043 Detroit, MI 48244	Norfolk Box 1972, Main PO Norfolk, VA 23501
Boston Box 390840, Central Sta. Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-3928	Los Angeles Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta. Los Angeles, CA 90029 (213) 380-8239	Oakland Box 29497 Oakland, CA 94604 (510) 839-0851
Chicago Box 6441, Main PO Chicago, IL 60680 (312) 663-0715	Madison Box 1492 Madison, WI 53701	San Francisco Box 77494 San Francisco, CA 94107 (415) 777-9367
Cleveland Box 91037 Cleveland, OH 44101 (216) 781-7500	New York Box 444, Canal St. Ste New York, NY 10013 (212) 267-1025	Washington, D.C. Box 75073 Washington, D.C. 20013 (202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto Box 7198, Station A Toronto, ON M5W 1X8 (416) 593-4138	Vancouver Box 2717, Main P.O. Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2 (604) 687-0353
Montréal C.P. Les Ateliers, B.P. 32066 Montréal, QC H2L 4V5	Edmonton PSSE P.O. Box 9605 Edmonton, AB T6E 5X3

Noriega "Trial"...

(continued from page 1)

offering to reduce his jail time in return for testifying against Washington's nemesis, Fidel Castro. But in Panama there was no cheering. Instead, riot police fired on a crowd of hundreds demanding jobs in the city of Colón, where more than one in three is unemployed. The "government" of U.S. puppet Guillermo Endara is overwhelmingly unpopular, rife with corruption and up to its nose in cocaine money laundering. Even DEA sources estimate that drug trafficking through Panama, far from falling, has "doubled" since the Christmas 1989 invasion.

Make no mistake, Noriega was as sleazy a tinpot dictator as any on the U.S. payroll, though less murderous than some of Washington's "democratic" pals. He is an enemy of the working people. But Noriega's crimes are chicken feed compared to the monstrous war crimes of his imperialist masters who turned on him.

This was the first head of state of a foreign country ever convicted in an American court. It took 25,000 American soldiers and a full-scale high-tech invasion to "arrest" Noriega, causing up to 3,000 civilian casualties and \$1 billion in damages inflicted on the country's economy. The seven-month-long "trial" it took to convict him reputedly cost upwards of \$20 million, including payments for bribed testimony from drug kingpins. (This was in addition to the \$164 million cost of the invasion.) The only peep from the Democrats was to meekly question whether the money spent on this imperialist extravaganza was "worth it."

Legally, the "trial" was an abomination from start to finish. Federal district court judge William Hoeveler ruled as irrelevant or a threat to "national security" any mention of Noriega's decades-long collaboration with U.S. military and intelligence agencies, thus blocking efforts by the defense to examine multiple dirty secrets of U.S. policy in Central America. The judge also warned the jurors at the outset that they could not take into account any of the political questions, nor could they consider



The smug arrogance of Yankee imperialist occupation of Panama.

whether the U.S. had the right to seize Noriega and try him: "I have decided that issue," he declared highhandedly. "You are not permitted to second guess that decision, as it is a matter of law" (New York Times, 10 April).

In an all-out effort to get their man, the prosecution relied on the testimony of convicted drug traffickers and money launderers. One of them, Ramón Milán, reputedly the chief accountant of the Medellín Cartel, was put behind bars with Noriega's aid. One of the most notorious was Carlos Lehder, who used his cocaine profits to build a Colombian Nazi sect. According to an 11 April *Newsday* article:

"In return for his testimony against Noriega, Lehder and his family were allowed to enter the federal witness protection program. He was transferred out of the nation's toughest lockup, the U.S. Penitentiary in Marion, Ill., and promised eventual reconsideration of his sentence of life without parole."

The defense, on the other hand, brought in as many present and former senior government officials as it could mus-

ter to testify about their client's years-long collaboration with the U.S. These included a former DEA agent in Panama, the former head of the DEA in Panama, the former chief of staff to Bush when

he was vice president, and the former CIA station chief in Panama, who emphasized the value to the U.S. of the information Noriega passed on about Cuba.

In a fitting final touch, on March 30 Panamanian police arrested the last scheduled defense witness, Fernando Jaen, a former civilian aide to Noriega who was to refute the testimony of a surprise witness that the prosecution had presented during its rebuttal. Jaen was arrested at the Panama City airport, as he was leaving the country after being given a safe conduct. Judge Hoeveler said he would not delay the trial. Jaen was later released, but not in time to fly to Miami to testify.

The parade of witnesses, both for and against Noriega, was a graphic display of the scum that Yankee imperialism uses to enforce its rapacious domination. The "trial" itself was a brazen assertion of U.S. "supersovereignty," and a travesty of every judicial norm. The 50,000 Panamanians made homeless by the American invasion are still living in airplane hangars or homesteading in the jungle, while the relatives and friends of the hundreds who were buried by the U.S. Army in mass graves still mourn. And what about the Pentagon chiefs and that international outlaw Bush, whose hands are dripping with the blood of thousands of innocent Panamanian and Iraqi dead? It will take international proletarian revolution to bring these mass murderers to justice! ■

State Murder...

(continued from page 12)

to the state's argument for the death penalty.

On April 14, the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, issued a statement demanding "the abolition of the barbaric death penalty everywhere it exists. We fight to abolish the death penalty because we do not accord the state the right to decide who lives and who dies. We oppose the death penalty because this 'legal' brutality necessarily

enhances the brutalization of society in all respects. And in this racist country, the primary victims of this brutality are black."

The PDC's strategy of class-struggle defense is part of the fight for workers power. If during the Depression the legal machinery of death went into high gear, at the same time a powerful workers movement fought to defend itself and its allies. In the 1930s, worldwide protest against the racist frame-up of the Scottsboro Boys saved their lives and exposed the brutal persecution of blacks in the Deep South. It is a fighting labor movement—not impotent moral protest, or beseeching "law and order" Democrats—which has the power to stop the assembly line of death. ■

Spartacist Educational Conferences

New York

1 p.m.

The Foundations of Communist Work Among Women Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Speaker Amy Rath, Editor, *Women and Revolution*

4 p.m.

The Struggle for a Workers Party Class, Race and the Bankruptcy of American Capitalism

Speaker Frank Hunter, SL Central Committee

Barnard College, 116th St. & Broadway
Barnard Hall, Room 304

(Take #1 IRT to 116th Street and walk north)

\$3 registration fee

For more information, or to obtain readings, call (212) 267-1025

Saturday, April 18

Berkeley

1 p.m.

Not Race Against Race, But Class Against Class For Workers Revolution in America!

Speaker Don Alexander, SL Central Committee

3:30 p.m.

The Russian Revolutionary Movement from the Decembrists to the Revolution of 1905

Speaker Joseph Seymour, SL Central Committee

University of California, Berkeley
Evans, Room 10

\$3 donation

For more information, or to obtain readings, call (510) 839-0851

Saturday, May 2

Chicago

10 a.m.

Dialectical Materialism and the Soviet Union For Proletarian Political Revolution to Defend the Gains of October!

Speaker Y Rad, Trotskyist League of Canada

2:30 p.m.

Communism and the Fight for Black Liberation Red and Black in Racist America

Speaker Brian Manning, Spartacist League

University of Chicago
Kent Lecture Hall

Main Quad—Enter from 58th Street and Ellis Ave

\$3 registration fee

For more information, or to obtain readings, call (312) 663-0715

Saturday, May 16

WORKERS VANGUARD

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

State Murder Machine in High Gear

The State of California has scheduled the execution of Robert Alton Harris for April 21. A quarter century has passed since the last execution in California, when a black man, Aaron Mitchell, was put to death. For many years recollection of the outcry over the killing of Caryl Chessman in 1960 stayed the executioner's hand. The Harris execution is intended to seal the fate of hundreds already sentenced to die in California. It will likely be the signal to open the floodgates for legalized state murder nationwide. The national killing machine is now set to go into high gear, ready to extinguish the lives of 2,500 men, women and youth—overwhelmingly black, Hispanic and almost exclusively very poor—packed in on Death Row and waiting to die.

The death penalty in the U.S. has always been an extension of racist terror—from the extralegal murderers of the Ku Klux Klan to the trigger-happy cops shooting to kill on ghetto and barrio streets. "Capital punishment" is merely the juridical statement that for this country's racist rulers life is cheap. The death penalty is the ultimate expression of the government's war on the black population, already squeezed into permanent unemployment in rotting and disease-ridden inner cities with no education, no hospitals, no future. Even apartheid South Africa has now suspended the death penalty. The fight to abolish the death penalty is part of the tradition of struggle for black equality in America.

So far this year 11 people have already been killed by various states, compared with 14 in all of 1991. Death-penalty Dixiecrat Bill Clinton, campaigning for president, made a special point of flying home to Arkansas in January to preside

over the execution of a hopelessly brain-damaged black man, Rickey Ray Rector. In Delaware, Steven Brian Pennell was killed by lethal injection on March 14, the first execution there in 46 years. In Arizona, Donald Eugene Harding died

opposition to the reintroduction of capital punishment.

The last time the states' murder machines were revved up so dramatically was during the 1930s Depression—at its peak 199 prisoners were killed in

government into granting a few concessions to buy off massive unrest. By 1976 the Supreme Court had reinstituted it in law, but the 168 executions carried out since then had until recently been confined largely to the reactionary Southern states of Texas, Florida and Louisiana.

In the Reagan/Bush years, both Democrats and Republicans conspired to put an end to *habeas corpus* appeals to the federal courts by prisoners on state death rows, supposedly in the name of fighting "crime." Now many prisoners' appeals have run out or have been blocked by Bush's packed Supreme Court of Death. In one notoriously bizarre case, the Court is scheduled to hear an appeal by Texas prisoner Leonel Herrera, who had uncovered new evidence proving his innocence. The Court agreed to hear the case in October, but accepting the state's contention that innocence is irrelevant, it refused to stay Herrera's execution (he won a stay from a Texas court).

These accelerating executions make more urgent the cause of former Black Panther Party spokesman and prominent journalist and MOVE supporter, Mumia Abu-Jamal, now a political prisoner on death row in Pennsylvania. Jamal was sentenced to die because as a fighter for black liberation he had been in the cross hairs of the racist Philadelphia cops for almost 20 years. Last month the U.S. Supreme Court threw out a death penalty conviction on the grounds that prisoner David Dawson's political affiliation had been improperly raised by the prosecution to prejudice the jury. Dawson was a member of the racist white Aryan Brotherhood. But the same Court refused to even hear Jamal's appeal that his Black Panther Party membership was central

continued on page 11



Demonstrators in Chicago, April 1989, protest the death penalty, call to save life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, black political prisoner on death row.

after ten and a half agonizing minutes in the gas chamber on April 6, the first execution in that state in 29 years. In California, Harris was evidently chosen to break the 25-year hiatus because he was convicted of the grisly murder of two teenagers, a crime sure to whet the public's bloodlust and undermine

one year—and it is telling that the latest bloodletting comes in a period of deepening economic crisis and mass unemployment. The brief suspension of the death penalty over two decades ago proved to be only a temporary bow to the turbulent '60s, when the mass civil rights and antiwar movements shook the

Austerity "Socialists" Routed, Ominous Fascist Gains

Anti-Immigrant Elections in France



French fascists gear up for more racist attacks, feeding off discontent produced by austerity policies of Cold War popular front. Right: Mitterrand meets electoral Waterloo.

PARIS, April 11—After ten years in office, the Mitterrand regime is in its death throes. The March 22 elections for regional councils were an ignominious rout for the Socialist Party (PS). Only a few months ago, these social democrats cherished the hope of becoming a "party of the entire left and all progressive forces." Now the PS has precipitously tumbled from 30 percent to less than 20 percent of the vote. In the three most populous regions—around Marseille, Lyon and Paris—the fascist National Front (FN) of Jean-Marie Le Pen is now the second largest party, with the parliamentary right-wing electoral cartel taking first place. Although the French Communist Party (PCF) got no more than 8 percent nationally, the FN reaped 14 percent of the votes, and more than 20 percent in most of the big urban areas.

Le Pen's FN and his racist killers have

continued on page 10