

## Black Liberation and the Fight for a Workers Party

# The Bankruptcy of American Capitalism

We print below an edited talk by Frank Hunter of the Spartacist League Central Committee, given in New York City at an East Coast SL educational conference on April 18

It's appropriate, since we seem to be next to a room called the Sulzberger Parlor, that today's *New York Times* is headlined: "Young Black Men in Capital: Study Finds 42% in Courts." It's an article which says that the American social safety net has been replaced by a dragnet. The first part of that is a lie; there never was one. The second part is all too real. Eighty-five percent of black men in the District of Columbia are arrested sooner or later, mostly sooner. Forty-two percent of the black men between 18 and 35 are under the "supervision," as the euphemism is, of the judicial system in this country. Fifteen percent are in prison, 21 percent are on parole or probation; 6 percent are on bond or are wanted.

After World War II, the head of General Electric, Charles E. Wilson, who was one of the more adept practitioners of labor discipline in this country, spoke for the capitalist class when he said the problems of the United States can be summed up as two: Russia abroad, labor at home. The only reason Wilson didn't add blacks to his formula was that Jim Crow was still in place; a few years



NYC transit workers demonstrate against layoffs. To unchain labor's power, the pro-capitalist union tops must be swept aside.

later, he certainly would have. A more astute spokesman today would add the upsurge of Latino labor, particularly on the West Coast and the Southwest, to

the worry points of the bourgeoisie.

So today, even as the ideologues of the rulers of this country arrogantly proclaim the end of history, the death of

communism, and their dreams of the end of class struggle, they have not let up one iota in their attacks on the working class and the poor and the blacks and the Latinos in this country. Soviet workers facing the wonders of the "free market" should ask a Caterpillar worker, or perhaps a motorman out here on the No. 1 line, about the wonders of the "free market."

Or they could ask a Bolivian tin miner, who's gone because of Jeffrey Sachs. Or a Polish steel worker. Or anybody in the East German proletariat, which has seen a 75 percent drop in industrial production, the annihilation of that economy. But Russian workers don't really have to ask, because unfortunately today they're getting firsthand the experience of the homelessness, the unemployment that you see every day on the streets of New York and Detroit.

Just a year ago, M1 tanks and Patriot launchers were rumbling up those streets, coming up Broadway through the canyons of Wall Street. And the "Democratic Socialist" mayor Dinkins was rolling out the red carpet to celebrate Desert Slaughter and the triumph of the New World Order in the Persian Gulf. A lot of people turned out, but nowhere near the number that have been laid off in this recession in the state of New York alone—over half a million people.

*continued on page 8*

## Murder in Moscow: We Demand a Serious Investigation

### Protests in 12 Cities Worldwide

The following press release was issued on April 21 by the Spartacist League/U.S. announcing protests to be held on April 30 in 12 cities worldwide. In the U.S., demonstrations will be held at Russian consulates in New York and San Francisco, and at the Russian embassy in Washington, D.C.

Martha Phillips, an American Trotskyist of Jewish background, living, working and politically active in Moscow, was found brutally strangled and stabbed on the morning of February 9, hours before a major anti-Yeltsin demonstration there. Ten weeks later, Moscow authorities have yet to show any progress in tracking down whoever is guilty of this vile crime. Martha Phillips' death and the investigation itself remain mysterious. And while normally the murder of an American in Moscow would provoke substantial Soviet and inter-

national press coverage, in this case there has been a virtual blackout. Why?

"A heinous crime has been committed here. We demand action," said Alison Spencer, spokesman for the U.S. Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee which called for worldwide protest on behalf of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), the ICL. For weeks, though with increasing impatience and concern, Phillips' comrades, friends and loved ones have cooperated in good faith with the militia (Moscow police) investigation. Our urgent inquiries have been met with stalling, smokescreens and incompetence. We demand a serious investigation!

Demonstrations outside embassy and consular offices of Boris Yeltsin's Russian government around the world will be held on Thursday, April 30, the eve

*continued on page 11*



Martha Phillips

10 March 1948 – 9 February 1992



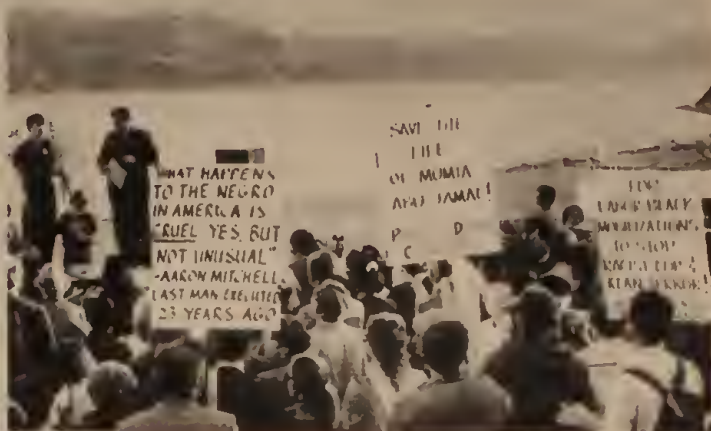
# High Court Murder

At 6:10 in the morning of April 21 sodium cyanide pellets were dropped into a waiting bucket of acid, filling the San Quentin gas chamber with deadly gas. One and a half minutes later convicted killer Robert Alton Harris slumped unconscious in his chair. For the next ten minutes he writhed in convulsions. At 6:21 Harris was pronounced dead.

As much as the killing itself, the Supreme Court's heavy-handed intervention to ram through Harris' execution marks a deadly watershed. Rehnquist, Scalia, Thomas et al. stayed up all night to make sure Harris did not live to see another day. In the early morning hours the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals issued four separate stays of execution,

based on the American Civil Liberties Union's class action lawsuit challenging the use of poison gas as cruel and unusual punishment, and on the contention by Harris' lawyers that his brother committed one of the murders for which he was convicted in 1979. The Supreme Court lifted each stay. Finally, in an unprecedented move, at 5:45 a.m. the High Court commanded: "no further stays of Robert Alton Harris's execution shall be entered by the Federal courts except upon order of this Court." Thirty-six minutes later Rehnquist had another notch on his gavel.

Executed alongside Harris was the power of the federal appeals courts to exercise their judicial powers—if it stands in the way of the state's "legal"



Protest against death penalty outside San Quentin, April 1990.

murders. For months Rehnquist & Co. have been at odds with the Ninth Circuit over that court's refusal to hastily reject death penalty appeals. In January the Supreme Court issued a stern warning to its underlings to let the states kill. But with the Harris case they reached a new level of bloodlust, going too far for the staid *New York Times*, which complained that "The Court's Rush to Kill" again "hent the Court out of shape."

Harris' execution, the first in California in 25 years, reverberated through death rows across the country. Though Illinois, Delaware and Arizona recently resumed executions, it's been commonly assumed that the resumption of executions in the "Golden State," with over 300 inmates on death row, would be a signal to open the floodgates for legalized state murder nationwide. But with this grisly Supreme Court intervention Harris' death was no longer merely a signal—it was a command.

To prop up its oppressive class rule in the "New World Order," America's capitalist rulers are in the throes of a kill frenzy—from the massacre of more than 150,000 Iraqis in last year's "Desert Storm" to the states' "legal" lynchings—through the courts and by racist cop killings of impoverished black youths on the streets of U.S. cities. When 34-year-old Billy Wayne White was executed in Texas two days after Harris, the *New York Times* reported, "Another U.S. Execution Amid Criticism Abroad."

Nobody wants to speed up the assembly line of death more than Chief "Justice" Rehnquist. Eleven years ago he demanded "let's get on with it" and has since led a war on challenges to the death penalty. Rehnquist has also gone after most provisions of the Bill of Rights. Frustrated at Congress' failure to enact a crime bill which would gut the right of *habeas corpus* challenges, the Court recently accepted an appeal with the declared intent to use it to circumvent Congress and eliminate by judicial fiat the right of federal *habeas* review of most state court convictions. The high court of American imperialism is bent on building up its deadly apparatus of government terror.

As Harris was led to the gas chamber he quipped, "You can be a king or a street sweeper, but everybody dances with the Grim Reaper." Maybe so—but for the rich in racist capitalist America an invitation to that prom doesn't come on the end of a rope, in the seat of an electric chair or the gas chamber. Of the more than 2,500 on America's death rows, about half are black or Hispanic, almost all are poor.

The Partisan Defense Committee has been active in opposing the death penalty. As part of that opposition we have played a leading role in the campaign to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. More than any other, Jamal's case expresses what the death penalty is about. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, prominent Philadelphia journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless," and well-known sup-

porter of the MOVE organization, Jamal was framed in 1982 on charges of killing a cop and sentenced to death specifically for his history of political activity. Jamal is one of 140 on death row in Pennsylvania, where Democratic governor Robert Casey is intent on ending that state's 30-year moratorium on executions.

In a taped message from death row broadcast on KPFA radio in the San Francisco Bay Area on the eve of Harris' execution, Jamal demonstrated the eloquent power and compassion which the racist state authorities are determined to still forever:

"A man with organic brain damage, if the politicians of death prevail, will usher in the roll of deadly dice that threatens over 300 men and women on California's death row, and by extension over 2,500 people in 34 states. These 2,500-odd people, of which I am a member, have long ago lost our lives as we became stiff cardboard symbols, props for faltering political campaigns, living non-persons whose features, foibles and wretched lives have propelled ambitious politicians into ever-higher office, while they promise illusions of public safety that never become reality.

"We are New Age sacrifices lain upon the altar of political expediency to appease an insatiable god of blind ambition, and judges become high priests, offering our lives, our blood, our sanity in a corrupt, leaking chalice called finality.

"If Robert Alton Harris is legally asphyxiated, that is, choked to death by the poison fumes of the San Quentin gas chamber, not one Californian will arise on the morning after, on April 22, feeling the least bit safer.

"This, the first legalized state murder in California in 25 years, will be for naught—it will be the premeditated, pre-planned killing of a brain-damaged man, whose extinguishing will cause a debit in the life of human—not a credit."

Abolish the racist death penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! (For information about the campaign to save Jamal contact the Partisan Defense Committee.)

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



TROTSKY

## Remember Class-War Prisoners on May Day

As long as the system of capitalist exploitation remains, those who fight against it will be subject to persecution and imprisonment by the ruling class. Following the Russian October Revolution of 1917, which inspired workers around the world, the American rulers launched a vicious anti-Communist terror campaign. The "red scare" forced the newly formed Communist Party to go underground as thousands of working-class mili-



LENIN

tants were arrested or deported in the "Palmer Raids." James P. Cannon, a CP leader who went on to become founder of the American Trotskyist movement, dedicated May Day 1921 to the memory and defense of class-war prisoners.

The ruling class of America used to laugh at the talk about socialism. They didn't take it seriously. But the Russian revolution created a panic amongst them. It demonstrated that the thing can be put over quickly if the time is ripe and the workers get the right idea. When they saw the conditions for working class revolt developing here in the United States, they began to search for agitators to put in their jails. They wanted to lock up their ideas....

There is a definite purpose behind this persistent and systematic railroading of working class agitators. The money-sharks who rule America thought they would be able to break up the movement by taking away the leaders and intimidating the rank and file. But the revolutionary movement grows up out of the life needs of the workers and there is no power that can break it. Persecution is but the fire in which it is tempered and hardened. When leaders go to prison others come forward out of the ranks and take their places. When fainthearted followers desert, new recruits, better suited for the stern requirements of the class war, are enlisted.

The men who have gone to prison for the workers' cause know this. That knowledge enables them to bear their confinement without complaint, oppressive as it is to men of independent spirit. They see the proletarian revolution still triumphant in Russia; they see it rising in all the countries of Europe where capitalism has played out its string and cannot reorganize production; they know that we, who are on the outside of the jails, have not forgotten them nor our sacred obligation to appeal to the all-powerful workers in their behalf.

The day is coming when the toiling masses of America will hear that appeal and act upon it. Then the prison doors will be opened and the prisoners set free, for the masses have an authority higher than that of any court. To redouble our efforts to hasten on the day of liberation is the pledge we make to our imprisoned comrades on this First of May.

—James P. Cannon, "The Political Prisoners," *The Red Album* (1921)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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## British "Workers Power": More from the Yuri Butchenko Brigade

The massive turnout by some 200,000 or more Moscow workers for the March 17 anti-Yeltsin protest, like the Revolution Day march last November 7, demonstrated the depth of popular anger in the Soviet Union over the immiseration being introduced by Yeltsin's starvation policies. Yet a gaggle of Western fake-leftists have tried to play down the size of the anti-Yeltsin demonstrations, which is not surprising, as they themselves hailed Yeltsin's counter-coup last August. With Soviet workers being ravaged by "free market" misery, these "traitors, not Trotskyists," as we labeled them several months ago, have to lie about the size and composition of protest demonstrations in order to cover up their own criminal support for capitalist counterrevolution.

So the up to 90,000 who marched on Revolution Day became, in the eyes of Cliff Slaughter's British Workers Revolutionary Party, "about 6,000." The British *Workers Power* (December 1991) went even further, ludicrously deriding that mass protest with its red flags and portraits of Lenin as a "motley crew of ageing Stalinists led by Nina Andrejeva, Pamyat supporters...and a few monarchists." While we sold more than 4,000 pieces of literature to Revolution Day marchers, WP and the Slaughterites were engaged in a tiny Third Camp stunt with a few hundred people off to the side. No doubt miffed that our opposition to Yeltsin counterrevolution was gaining a hearing among Soviet workers, *Workers Power* manufactured the outlandish claim that International Communist League supporters at Revolution Day "proceeded to share a platform with the Stalinists and Pamyat."

To the WP small-time practitioners of the Big Lie, it hardly mattered that the fascist Pamyat did not even have an organized presence at the march, or that the Stalinist organizers shut down the podium rather than allow our comrades to speak. *Workers Hammer* (No. 127, January/February 1992), newspaper of

the Spartacist League/Britain, remarked: "It takes a lot ofchutzpah not to mention gross cynicism from Workers Power to try this on. After the infamous Yuri Butchenko scandal Workers Power has some real, documented expertise in the dirty business of dealing with outright fascist outlaws." In the summer of 1990, WP sponsored a British tour of the Soviet

Unlike Revolution Day, the January 12 protest was marked by a pronounced and organized nationalist/fascist presence (see WV No. 543, 24 January). Yet Workers Power said not a word about this—maybe they didn't "notice." The WP supporter there was at the very least obtusely obstructionist, getting in the way as our comrades sought to defend

"bordering on criminal irresponsibility" because we "puff up the size" of the anti-Yeltsin protests (which even in WP's lying accounts have grown from "motley crews" of fascists and deadbeat Stalinists to not "more than 40,000").

The *Workers Power* article pictures a reproduction of a leaflet they distributed at the Soviet Army Day march on February 23, which in WP's own words was "the most nationalist" so far. The article solemnly declares: "Revolutionaries here an absolute responsibility to confront the anti-Semitic and chauvinist rhetoric...."

Revolutionaries did. But WP's sup-

## Big Lie: New York Times Calls This 10,000



Moscow, March 17: More than 200,000 protested in Manezh Square near the Kremlin against Yeltsin's drive to impose "free market" misery.

"worker" Butchenko, in full knowledge that he was connected to the MI6/CIA-financed pro-Nazi NTS.

But then these inveterate opportunists evidently decided that the Stalinist-organized demos were the only show in town, and changed tack. The January *Workers Power* congratulated itself for selling "over 100 copies" of its Russian-language journal at an "early January Moscow march against price rises."

themselves from harassment by an aggressive clot of Pamyat fascists. And he certainly didn't solidarize with our sharp denunciations of anti-Semitism and Great Russian chauvinism.

Now the March issue of *Workers Power* announces it will intervene in these demonstrations "to offer those under the sway of the Stalino-fascist bloc an alternative answer." Meanwhile it denounces the Spartacists for

posed broadside against "anti-Semitic and chauvinist rhetoric" has not a mention of internationalism, nor of defense of Jews or other national minorities. In fact, it does not even contain the words "Jewish person," "anti-Semitism," "Pamyat" or "fascist." It's no accident that the leaflet is reproduced in its British newspaper only in Russian. (WP is so parochial

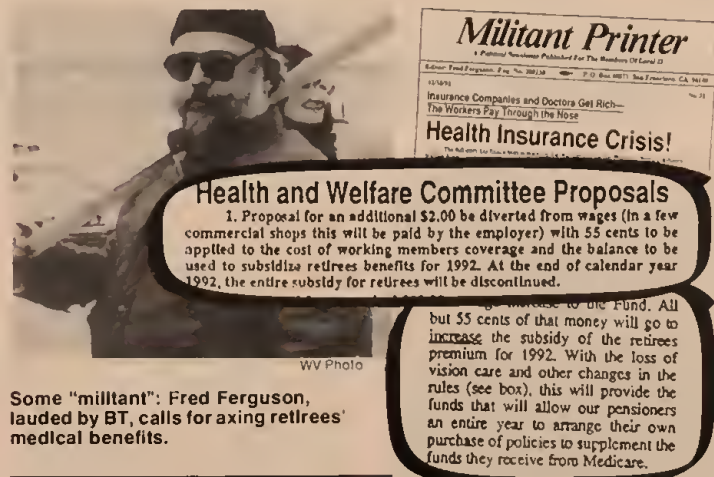
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## BT Sleazeball Says: Ax the Pensioners

SAN FRANCISCO—You can't pick up a newspaper these days without confronting the atrocities wrought by the bosses' and insurance industry's gutting of health care—it's the issue in scores of strikes. Older workers, if they are among the 34 million workers without health insurance, retire to face the nightmare of the public "health" system. Often, that means dying in a pool of urine on a gurney in the corridor of some county hospital. Well, now we're told by the so-called Bolshevik Tendency, that's just the way it's gotta be.

A newly surfaced BT publication, *1917 West*, reprints an article on health care. The article appeared in the *Militant Printer*, an "oppositional" newsletter in the Bay Area printers union put out by one Fred Ferguson and described as "politically supported by the Bolshevik Tendency." What you see in *1917 West* is something titled "Good Health Care—Only If You Have the Money." What they don't print is the other three-fourths of the newsletter, which details Ferguson's proposal, as a member of the union's Health and Welfare Committee, to dump the retirees off the union medical plan!

Ferguson "faces the facts" of a decimated printing industry and a rotten union bureaucracy by calling "For a Limited and Orderly Retreat." What he



Some "militant": Fred Ferguson, lauded by BT, calls for axing retirees' medical benefits.

really means is framed in a little box on page 2 called "Health and Welfare Committee Proposals": "At the end of calendar year 1992, the entire subsidy for retirees will be discontinued." Ferguson goes on to explain that he supports the elimination of vision care and the imposition of other takebacks to "provide the funds that will allow our pensioners an entire year to arrange their own purchase

of policies to supplement the funds they receive from Medicare." How generous of Ferguson—a whole year to scrape up funds for your own funeral! Fortunately, the Committee's proposal has been ignored.

What an obscenity—a union "militant" trying to victimize retired workers in the interest of administering the plan for the employers. The whole newsletter

sounds like some sleazy social democrat administering a bankrupt capitalist economy. It even praises Germany for providing "reasonably priced health care," and indeed ascribes this system to the German Social Democrats! In reality, the German insurance system was instituted by Bismarck against socialist objections that the money would be controlled by the Kaiser.

No red worthy of the name would be caught dead doing this dirty deal for the bosses—they'd be fighting to organize workers into the union. But the sleazebag bush-league bureaucrat Ferguson grooves on it. A real socialist organization would spit on anyone who proposed putting veteran workers out to die on the street. But not the BT, they print the puff piece and hide the dirty work.

The episode recalls another "militant" supported by the BT, Howard Keylor, formerly of the ILWU longshore local in San Francisco. In 1986 Keylor did his hit for the Reagan/Meese war on drugs by demanding "union discipline" against workers with "drug problems." This call for union narcs dovetailed neatly with the government's and maritime bosses' use of the drug scare to go after unionists, especially minorities.

A few years ago we headlined an article on this outfit: "What Makes the BT Run?" The superhead was "Garbage Doesn't Walk By Itself." In Ferguson's case, they need a shovel brigade with big pails to carry it. ■



# Young Spartacus

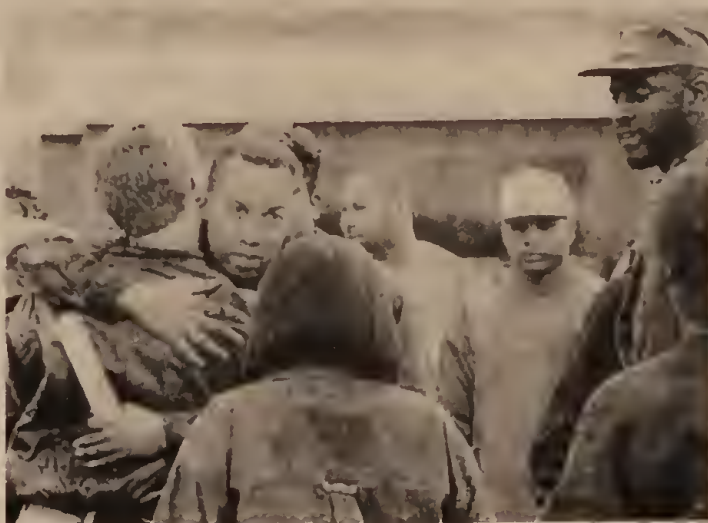
## After Racist Rampage at Michigan College

# Black Students Walk Out of Olivet

On the night of April 2, a racist melee against black students erupted at Olivet, a small liberal arts college 110 miles west of Detroit. Months of harassment culminated in a campus-wide racist riot. Black students, hopelessly outnumbered, were beaten and chased by white mobs yelling, "Run, niggers, run! Go back where you came from!" Two students were sent to the hospital. In the next days, as black students were terrorized with death threats from the Ku Klux Klan, college administrators babbled about introducing a "multicultural curriculum" and ostentatiously refused to take any action against the white fraternity thugs who incited the mob attack. Virtually the entire black student population (over 50 of the 60 black students enrolled) packed their bags and left Olivet in protest.

With just two weeks left in the semester, many of the black students who left Olivet risk losing their degrees, promised jobs, and further academic study. As black student Henry Henderson put it, "It would have been easier to stay, but the campus is unsafe and unjust." But Idris Fountain, a black sophomore who decided to stay at Olivet, said, "Right now we're in the midst of a civil war on this campus, and you can't turn your back on it." Speaking of the civil rights struggle, he added, "If they had quit the first time they were called 'nigger,' we'd still be riding in the back of the bus. I feel as though I have to make a stand here."

Founded in 1844 by abolitionist John Shipherd, Olivet was among the first colleges in the country to admit blacks and women. In 1986 the student body of 750 was 15 percent black—this year the numbers plummeted below 8 percent.



Saying goodbye to Olivet—black students leave campus in protest of racist violence.

The economic devastation of urban centers like Detroit, where most of Olivet's black students come from, has placed education beyond the reach of most black youth. And capitalism in decay spawns the racist scum, on and off campuses, who look for scapegoats to bash for the bankruptcy of this economy—targeting Japanese, Jews, Arabs and, especially in this racist country, black people. Black students at Olivet have been under attack for a long time—inter-racial couples have been a particular target. Black students have long feared traveling in the surrounding area because the Klan is active in the small towns around Olivet.

In the days before the racist riot, the campus was abuzz with a lie that a white sorority girl had been raped by black students. Like countless lynch mobs before them organized on the pretext of "defending white womanhood," Olivet's racists set fires in the hallway of a predominantly black dorm. Later, when a black student went to a white female student's room to ask about a paper she was typing for him, a white frat mobilized a racist mob to "defend" the white girl. Every black man and woman on the campus became a physical target for the white racists, who turned the campus into a boiling cauldron of violence that night.

Black students at Olivet distrust the college administration—and rightly so! The administration called in the FBI and "conflict resolution experts" from the racist "Justice" Department—two arms of the capitalist state that have carried out the murder and imprisonment of hundreds of blacks and leftists. Remember Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker murdered in 1964 by an FBI "informant." Remember the Black Panther Party members killed or framed up (like Geronimo Pratt) in the FBI's COINTELPRO program. With not one black faculty member, Olivet's administration is now making noises about hiring...black cops (!) to police the student body for the racist administration.

Black students at Olivet are isolated in a racist backwater. Integrated class struggle, emanating from centers of proletarian power, can and must bring decency even to the Klan-infested cow pastures of southwestern Michigan. A visit to Olivet by an integrated union "education" squad from Detroit would teach a badly needed lesson. On the campuses, the Spartacus Youth Club has taken the lead in building student contingents for massive labor/black mobilizations that have stopped the KKK and Nazis cold when they've tried to march in major urban centers coast to coast. These mobilizations serve notice to the racist punks on campus that their side lost the Civil War against slavery! It's going to take a socialist revolution to finish the job the Civil War started, to smash the race-terrorists on and off campus for good, and eradicate the racial oppression that is built into this rotting capitalist system. Then, among other things, we can have quality, free and integrated education for all. ■

## Battle for Abortion Rights in Buffalo



Cop manhandles abortion clinic defender, Buffalo, April 25.

Abortion rights were on the line last week as rightist bigots attempted to shut down women's clinics in Buffalo, New York. The god squads wanted to repeat their siege of Wichita last summer, where Randall Terry's "Operation Rescue" (OR) besieged clinics for 46 days, closing several down. But this time hundreds of women's rights activists, chanting "You're not in Kansas anymore," outflanked them and kept the clinics open. The battle in Buffalo coincided with hearings before the Supreme Court on the Philadelphia Planned Parenthood case in which the Bush/Reagan Court is expected to gut or lay the basis to repeal *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 decision which declared the right to abortion constitutionally protected.

The stand at the Buffalo clinics came amid growing frustration of "pro-choice" activists with the extreme legalism of mainstream feminist leaders like the National Organization for Women (NOW), who ceded the initiative to the

extreme right wing. In December, Buffalo mayor James Griffin announced he would welcome OR to town. Local clinic owners advised ignoring the siege or relying on the cops. This prompted the formation of Buffalo United for Choice (BUC), a popular-front coalition linking more activist feminist and leftist groups. They were joined by Los Angeles activists of the "Feminist Majority" who claim success against OR with cellular phones and mobile units.

Earlier, on April 5, half a million people turned out for a huge abortion rights rally in Washington, which served as a vehicle for grandstanding by Democratic candidates Clinton and Brown. The bourgeois feminists of NOW and the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) are trying to use this election year to present the Democrats and liberal Republicans as the vehicle for securing abortion rights. But both capitalist parties are enemies of rights for women and all the oppressed. With the anti-abortion



# For a Solid NYC Transit Strike!

May 1 will mark a bitter anniversary for New York City transit workers—they have gone a full year without a contract, and now they're losing their supplemental health benefits. The fund for dental, vision and major medical benefits has been declared insolvent by the Transit Authority and the fund administrators. Now 35,000 members of Transport Workers Union Local 100 face the deadly dangerous working conditions and the abysmal and expensive medical care "system" in NYC without full medical coverage.

NYC transit workers need a leadership with the class-struggle program and determination to use the tremendous power that this union has to *shut down New York* and lead city unions against the Wall Street hankers and Democratic Party politicians who are bleeding the poor and working people of New York.

Last month, the membership overwhelmingly rejected a sellout contract proposed by Local 100 president Sonny Hall. This was a massive repudiation of Hall's leadership, but TWUers remain imprisoned by the class-collaborationist, no-strike policies of the bureaucracy, including the New Directions "opposition."

Militants in the Committee for a Fighting TWU (CFTWU) launched a petition campaign and issued a leaflet with a program to fight and win (see "NYC Transit Workers: Rip Up the Taylor Law!" WV No. 549, 17 April). On April 16, the CFTWU submitted to a TWU executive board meeting over 1,100 signatures on a petition calling for a mass meeting of the union "to take whatever action is necessary to defend our jobs, benefits and working conditions." A motion was made to call such a meeting, but it was voted down by the exec board.

The last month has seen a dance by the TA, Hall and New Directions, all designed to put TWUers in the clutches of a state arbitrator. The TA bosses demanded binding arbitration on the contract as the price to keep the health fund going. Hall postured against arbitration, while making noises about calling a "strike authorization" vote in the next two weeks. He has created "Strike Information Committees"—not to prepare the union for battle, but to threaten

## For a Mass Meeting at the Garden to Elect a Strike Committee!

the membership with warnings of fines under the state's no-strike Taylor Law!

But even Hall's empty strike talk threw New Directions into anti-strike fits. Despite their chatter about stunts to disrupt the Democratic National Convention three months from now, New Direc-

tioning class that neither Hall nor New Directions would ever strike the Big Apple. Hall told the labor-hating *Times* that "the Taylor Law is a disaster for workers to go on strike. You lose no matter what happens." Schermerhorn said that "he did not think the union was

**March 3:  
Transit workers  
demonstrate  
against sellout  
contract proposal  
pushed by TWU  
Local 100 chief  
Sonny Hall. You  
voted it down,  
now shut it down!**



tions is dead set against a strike—now or ever. They were against letting the membership choose between arbitration and a strike, since it would increase the chances of workers voting for a strike!

A New Directions leaflet argues that "we'll be faced with the prospect of striking in May or June, just about the worst time of year for us to go out...when the weather is ideal for walking or bicycling." Who do they think they're fooling? Just like Hall, last year New Directions voted not to strike and instead work without a contract. They've had a whole year to pick the season and the weather they want. Meanwhile the supplemental health benefits are gone!

Two weeks ago the *New York Times* held a "debate" at their offices between Sonny Hall and Tim Schermerhorn, New Directions' candidate for local president last fall. This exercise was to assure the

prepared now to go on strike."

Hall also engaged in some dirty redbaiting of New Directions. But class struggle is the furthest thing from these aspiring bureaucrats' minds. Naomi Allen, a New Directions leader and an avowed socialist, was against having a rally on May 1, pandering to anti-Communist prejudices against May Day, an international workers holiday. Another of these "militants" was even against wearing red armbands!

Both Hall and New Directions knuckle under to the Taylor Law. Likewise, supporters of *Workers Voice*, put out by the Marxist-Leninist Party, rail against the dangers of a "premature strike." But transit workers are being hit with Taylor Law arbitration right now. What transit workers need is a leadership that will mobilize the union in a solid strike, appealing to the commuter rail and bus

unions and city workers to wage a hard-hall political fight against Wall Street austerity. And that means above all the fight to break the unions from the Democratic Party, which is administering the vicious cutbacks.

The day after Sonny Hall heged Mayor Dinkins and Cuomo to intervene in negotiations between the MTA and the TWU, Cuomo announced that New Yorkers "cannot tolerate an illegal transit strike." Meanwhile, Dinkins "discovered" a cool half a billion dollars surplus in the city budget! City workers are furious. Both Dinkins and Municipal Assistance Corporation honcho Felix Rohatyn declared that the unions should not get any ideas about pay raises. Rohatyn blasted the mayor for using some of the money to pay off bank debt—he doesn't want anything to loosen MAC's stranglehold on the city budget.

Rohatyn thinks he's got the city by the throat, but a solid transit strike would grab Wall Street by the balls. To be sure, the capitalist class will not sit quietly by while the TWU brings the financial capital of U.S. imperialism to a grinding halt. That's why they have their no-strike laws and strikebreaking injunctions. But the unions' power lies in organization, militancy and a leadership armed with a class-struggle program. Transit bosses can't replace 35,000 skilled workers overnight. Key will be spreading the strike by appealing to the countless thousands of workers who would love to see the unions dishing it out for a change.

Everyone knows that the capitalists have run New York into the ground. Rents are extortionate, the bridges are rusting, the subways are left to crumble. In the current recession alone, 500,000 workers in New York State have lost their jobs. Like Gerald Ford, Bush's message to New Yorkers is "Drop Dead!" But there is plenty of cash to hire more racist killer cops and arm them with 9 mm. Glock semi-automatics, billions more for the S&L boondoggle, and trillions to impose their "New World Order" on the world. Their decaying system must be swept away by forging a revolutionary workers party that will expropriate the capitalist class and bring the working class to power. ■

bigots on the cutting edge of American bourgeois reaction, defense of abortion rights requires a *class mobilization* against the partner parties of racist American capitalism.

The legal showdown over abortion rights began April 22 when the Supreme Court heard opening arguments over a challenge to the extremely restrictive 1989 Pennsylvania abortion law. An almost identical Pennsylvania law was overturned by the high court in 1986, but since that decision three justices have retired, and now hlack conservative Clarence Thomas has been added. Lawyers for Planned Parenthood are demanding that the Court must not "chip away at fundamental rights" but either reaffirm or reject *Roe*. This is part of NOW's strategy to make abortion rights an election issue. As Planned Parenthood acting president David Andres put it, "The real decision will be the decision made by the voters in November"—i.e., vote Democratic.

Yet Buffalo mayor Griffin, who invited OR to town, is a Democrat, as is Pennsylvania governor Casey, whose anti-abortion law is being challenged by Planned Parenthood!

### "OR" Stymied—Clinics Kept Open

Tensions ran high in Buffalo. As the *New York Times* (25 April) reported: "Protesters on both sides of the police lines believe the resolution of the abortion issue will set the course for a broad

spectrum of future political decisions..." Women's activists came from surrounding states, college students came on spring break. Starting each morning at 5 a.m. pro-choicers fanned out to the abortion clinics, linking arms in a human wall to defend the clinics. A ruling by liberal NY attorney general Robert Abrams kept OR 15 feet away from the clinics. The cops set up and enforced a DMZ. As NOW leaders and women Democrats trooped to town for photo ops, the BUC leaders and their "L.A. Law" advisers took over policing the clinics to keep the right wing out... and keep more militant clinic defenders in check.

All Buffalo clinics remained open, as a weeklong standoff continued outside the clinics. There were a few skirmishes with the fundamentalist fanatics. Mainly they knelt and prayed, staring hollow-eyed across the police lines. In one really sick display, Operation Rescue's Rev. Robert Schenk walked up and down in front of pro-choice demonstrators cradling what he claimed was a fetus "murdered" by abortion (which turned out to be stillborn).

Sharp divisions quickly emerged between more militant leftists wishing to confront the anti-abortion bigots, and the NOW "peacekeepers," who instructed demonstrators that if approached by OR wackos, the correct response would be to whine, "Please stop, you're hurting me." An incident at the Buffalo GYN/Women's services clinic on Main

Street on Saturday, April 25 showed the hostility of the "peacekeepers" to any real clinic defense. At one point, cops busted through the lines, ostensibly to arrest an OR photographer, but seized a clinic defender. Spartacist comrades raised the chant "Hands off clinic defenders!" but the official "peacekeepers" chastised the crowd because they "didn't make a corridor for the police."

In reality, various of the leftist groups acted as a tail of NOW and the Democrats. As usual, Workers World reveled in this role, providing the apparatus for the BUC. The "National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition" of the tiny Ann Arbor-based Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) had banners against the Democrats and Republicans and for mass mobilizations to keep the clinics open. But the entire strategy of NWROC/RWL is to pressure NOW. At the March 1990 meeting to set up NWROC, the RWL presented a resolution claiming that NOW had called for a "women's political party" but wouldn't implement the call. In a leaflet distributed at Buffalo, a group called the Trotskyist League, which split from the RWL last fall, continues this line, calling NOW leaders' empty talk of a "third" party a "significant development" and pledging to "work within" NOW.

The outcome in Buffalo was a defeat for the anti-abortion bigots, who were unable to pull off another Wichita. But they are only the rabid attack dogs for far more powerful forces going up to the

White House and its conservative killer Court. And despite clinic defenders' chants of "Hey, hey, ho, ho—Run 'em out of Buffalo," on the streets it was essentially a standoff. What's necessary are mass mobilizations of the class power of the workers movement and all the oppressed, thousands strong, that would truly defend the clinics and *disperse* the rightist rabble, and take up the fight for a workers party that would fight on a revolutionary program against the partner parties of American capitalism.

To be real for the poor and minority women who need it most, abortion must be *free* on demand, and thus it is linked with the fight for free quality health care for all. At the April 1989 women's rights march in Washington, Spartacist comrades marched under the banner, "Labor: Defend Abortion Clinics!" "For Women's Liberation through Socialist Revolution!" and "No to the Veil! Defend Afghan Women! Support Jalalabad Victims of CIA Cutthroats." Yet the various fake-left outfits joined Democrat Jimmy Carter in demanding "Soviet troops out" of Afghanistan. And now, after Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal, the bloodthirsty *mujahedin* have in their sights all women without veils. Likewise over Poland, a host of pseudo-socialists supported the clerical-dominated Solidarność, which having brought capitalist counterrevolution is now seeking to outlaw abortion. The fight against women's oppression is revolutionary and international in scope. ■



# Pre-Dawn Raids and Book Burning

## New German Order: Leftists, Libraries Targeted

BERLIN—The anti-Communist witch-hunt that has gone on in Germany for over two years has reached grotesque proportions. On March 31, the government launched the biggest raid so far against remnants of the former DDR (East Germany). Their main target was a library, the Central Party Archives (ZPA) in the seven-story Institute for History of the Workers Movement (IfGA), full of documentation of the German proletarian, anti-fascist and Communist movements over more than a century. At 6:30 a.m., hundreds of armed cops with vans and trucks stood by. The building was sealed off, workers searched or turned away, public access to the Institute completely blocked.

The IfGA is the former Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the SED (Socialist Unity Party, the Stalinist ruling party of the DDR), now owned by its successor, the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). Brandishing search warrants against "persons unknown," for supposed "crimes" in defending the DDR border with West Germany, the police grabbed 50 SED central committee and political bureau files. The site was an armed camp for the next week. Absurdly backed by 150 armed cops, 50 *Kriminalpolizei* (Kripo) officers and 15 state prosecutors swarmed through the archives, marking dozens of filing cabinets for search and possible confiscation. For two full weeks, the Kripo pored through thousands of pages in the archives reading room, while the IfGA was closed down and researchers from other countries were turned away as the staff cleaned up the mess.

That same day, police in 38 cities also searched *hundreds* of offices and apartments of former leading East German functionaries as radio and TV reports screamed about "DDR government criminality." Putting in the dock everyone from East German border guards to former state security minister Erich Mielke, and demanding that former head of state Erich Honecker be handed over for trial, the capitalist class "justice" system of the successor state to Hitler's Third Reich is hell-bent on "punishing" anyone who had anything to do with the DDR. The Fourth Reich of German impe-



Fourth Reich rulers destroyed factory libraries in former East Germany, throwing books onto garbage heap.

rialism is frantically seeking to erase from the face of the earth the memory of the overthrow of capitalism east of the Elbe.

What's going on is political revenge because the Red Army, which smashed the Nazi regime in 1945, brought on its bayonets a social revolution and the erection of a workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed, in the East. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) warned insistently against the catastrophic consequences that capitalist reunification would bring—including the closing of hundreds of factories, the annihilation of millions of jobs, women driven out of productive labor, immigrants driven out of the country. Now, in its triumphal euphoria the bourgeoisie is whipping up a climate of nationalist hysteria...and

trying to eradicate the very history of working-class struggle.

The capitalist reunification of Germany has indeed brought mass unemployment and misery, escalating racist terror attacks and the vicious anti-Communist witchhunt. State elections on April 5 showed another side of this counterrevolution. As the Social Democrats (SPD) join Chancellor Helmut Kohl's ruling right-wing Christian Democrats in preparing an onslaught against refugees and immigrants, ordering deportations and targeting the constitutional right to asylum, the fascists are growing. In SPD-governed Schleswig-Holstein, Nazi groups polled more than 7 percent. In Baden-Württemberg it was about 12 percent, and the Republikaner fascists are now the third strongest parliamentary fraction. Over 110,000 SPD voters alone voted fascist.

Despite vociferous protest, Kohl further inflamed anti-Semitism and embraced the Nazi war criminal Austrian president Kurt Waldheim on March 27 after complaining that the Jewish World Congress had supposedly "polemicized outrageously against German unity." The "opposition" SPD in Bonn remained silent. No wonder, given recent attention focused on Nazi war criminals in their ranks like former Brandenburg state parliament president Gustav Just, who has admitted actively participating in the mass murder of Jews in the Ukraine under Nazi occupation.

The SPD and CDU act shocked at the fascist gains, but the Nazis are riding in front of the parliamentary all-party racist anti-"foreigner" front that extends to the Greens and PDS. This is not just a matter of right-wing electoral gains. As the witchhunt comes down from above, resurgent Nazis feed off the pogrom atmosphere, wreaking terror from below. On April 24, a skin-

head stabbed to death a 29-year-old Vietnamese man, Nguyen Van Tu, in the East Berlin district of Marzahn while dozens looked on. Now a fascist umbrella group threatens to demonstrate on May 9 (the anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany) outside the Soviet military museum in the Berlin district of Karlshorst, the site where German army chiefs signed their surrender to the Soviet generals. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany are calling for workers mobilization to stop this Nazi provocation.

### When They Start Burning Books...

Since 1989, libraries in factories and social facilities all over East Germany have been destroyed. Under capitalism the very idea of a plant library for the workers is unreal. Mountains of books landed in the garbage dumps. But some, like the factory library of almost 50,000 volumes at the former Ludwigsfelde IFA truck works (now owned by Daimler-Benz), were quite literally *burned*. That more were not is due only to technical difficulties—it takes 451 degrees Fahrenheit... With the raid on the IfGA/ZPA we have the sinister farce of the legal continuators of Hitler's Third Reich setting themselves up as the moral judge of Stalinist crimes—a "cold" book-burning. As Heinrich Heine said: when they start burning books, they will end by burning people.

The surreal sight of hundreds of armed police ready to break down the doors and shoot up seven stories of paper produced a widespread outcry. Among the first to protest was the Committee for Social Defense (KfSV), fraternal organization of the SpAD and of the Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S. The South African Communist Party, legalized in 1990 after 40 years of repression, noted that the raids were "reminiscent of our own experience in the heyday of apartheid" (*Morning Star* [London], 2 April). The bourgeois rulers' aim is to *smash* the ZPA and the entire Institute for History of the Workers Movement as a public institution open to the working people.

Based on Bonn's 1956 ban of the KPD (German Communist Party), the Institute was declared part of the Federal Archives, legally and financially subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior. Meanwhile, the ZPA's holdings from the DDR (the SED archives) were politically expropriated by means of a special amendment to the federal archives law. The decision by the Bundestag (parliament) and the Treuhand (the "trusteeship" agency charged with liquidating East Germany's state industry) to turn the IfGA into a foundation under the jackboot of Bonn's police ministry has the smell of a stay of execution. There is an acute threat that the Institute will be completely strangled, or its character changed to suit Bonn's purpose.

The IfGA, with its library and archives, belongs to the working class. Its unique and extensive holdings include documentation of Ferdinand Lassalle's Workers Association, the SPD, USPD, Rosa Luxemburg's and Karl Liebknecht's Spartakushund, the KPD, Leninbund and SAP. The editorial office for the complete edition of Marx and



Hitler's stormtroopers burning books at Berlin University, May 1933.



## Rescued from Seized Archives

# Lenin and Trotsky to German Soldiers

An example of the priceless documentation that the German federal government is intent on seizing is the following leaflet directed to the German soldiers and workers and signed by Lenin and Trotsky. The undated flyer was evidently written in the period between 20 and 25 November 1917, a scant two weeks after the Bolsheviks took power. To our knowledge, this document remained unknown for decades, and certainly wasn't included in Lenin's *Collected Works* edited by the Stahinists. With the kind permission of the Zentrales Parteiarchiv in Berlin we print below a translation of this document.

### To the German Soldiers! Soldiers, Brothers!

On October 25 (old style) the St. Petersburg workers and soldiers overthrew Kerensky's imperialist government and placed the entire state power in the service of the workers', soldiers' and peasants' soviets. The new government has been confirmed by the All-Russian Congress of Workers and Soldiers Soviets under the name *Council of People's Commissars*. The program which this government has immediately begun implementing consists of offering an immediate democratic peace agreement, which has already been communicated to all belligerent nations and their governments; expropriating without compensation all fields, farmland and forests for the use of the peasants and agricultural work-

ers; and implementing workers control in businesses and industrial plants. The new government of the working people and peasantry has already partially or completely carried out all these tasks. We the undersigned have been charged by the government with presiding over the Council of People's Commissars and heading up the foreign affairs of the state.

On October 26 our government, the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government, addressed a peace proposal to the governments and peoples of all belligerent powers, for an urgent cessation of hostilities on all fronts and the immediate opening of peace negotiations with the goal of re-establishing a just democratic peace without annexations and war reparations.

We have taken every measure, and we will spare no measures in the future, to acquaint all belligerent governments and peoples with the full text of our peace proposal. In addition to our peace proposal, we regard it as our duty to turn especially to you, as representatives of the nation that stands at the head of the coalition waging war against Russia on a broad front.

Soldiers, brothers! We call upon you to support us with all your strength in this struggle for immediate peace and socialism, since that alone can ensure a just and lasting peace to the working class of all countries and heal all the wounds inflicted on humanity by the present and most monstrous of all wars.



L.Y. Leonidov

Lenin and Trotsky at a demonstration in Red Square on second anniversary of October Revolution.

Brothers, German soldiers! The great example of your comrade Karl Liebknecht, the highly respected international leader of international socialism; the intransigent and protracted struggle you have waged against the war by publishing newspapers and leaflets, by numerous demonstrations and strikes; the struggle for which your government has imprisoned hundreds and thousands of your comrades; and finally the heroic uprising of your sailors of the fleet, assures us that among the broad masses of the working class in your nation the preparation for a decisive struggle for peace is already ripe.

Brothers, help us! If you do, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the cause of peace, at least on the European continent, will gain the upper hand within a few days, that the most rapid and just peace will be assured and that the inclusion in such a peace of the remaining belligerent parties will occur with as little pain as possible.

If you can assist us in our tasks of uniting the workers with the peasants and carrying out the gradual transition

to socialism in Russia, tasks which present immense difficulties for Russia by itself, then your organizational capacities, your experience, your preparation for building mass working-class organizations will without fail assure our transition to socialism.

Hurry to our aid! In the name of the Workers' and Peasants' Government we vow that our soldiers will not take a single step forward if you take the banner of peace firmly in your hands, even if the struggle for peace within your country leads to the withdrawal of part of your armed forces from the front.

Enough bloodshed!

Long live peace!

Long live the fraternal union of workers of all countries!

Long live the international socialist revolution!

President of the Council of People's Commissars  
Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin)

People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs  
Leon Trotsky

Engels' works is housed in the building. The ruling class would like to seize it all in order to feed the anti-Communist witchhunt and bury the memory of all those who have struggled against the bourgeoisie, hoping to paralyze the workers movement in its present and future struggles. And while thundering about Stalinist crimes, to this day they have shielded the Nazi monsters, carefully keeping those files under lock and key.

Today, even though he was originally certified medically unfit, the ailing 84-year-old Erich Mielke, former head of

East German state security (the Stasi), is on trial in Berlin for the deaths in 1931 of two Berlin cops—charges brought by the fascists under the *Third Reich*. In the courtroom, Mielke is put in a glass cage as though he were another Eichmann. Berlin's SPD "justice" minister Limbach also continues to press for the extradition of former DDR leader Erich Honecker. The Russian Yeltsin government would like to offer up Honecker as a blood sacrifice so Bonn can put him back in the same jails where he rotted for ten years under the Nazis. But so far they haven't been able to pry him out of the Chilean embassy.

Stalinist bureaucrats like Mielke and Honecker are certainly not nature's noblemen and without a doubt committed crimes against the working people. But as we wrote in "Revenge of the Third Reich" (WV No. 546, 6 March), today "They are charged with the wrong crimes before the wrong class." Against this blood vendetta spearheaded by the SPD, the Trotskyists of the SpAD have been in the first line of defense of Mielke, Honecker and the former DDR border guards. In contrast, almost the entire self-styled "left" has howled with the wolves. They lined up on Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary barricades in Moscow last August. Logically they have refused to lift a finger against their "own" bourgeoisie in its vengeful persecution of the last pathetic Stalinists.

When Gorbachev gave the green light in early 1990, the SED/PDS gave away the DDR. Since then they have consistently helped witchhunt themselves. Gregor Gysi's PDS gave Bonn their money, and they even handed over their treasurers who tried to save a hit of it. And now it turns out that the PDS knew of plans for a raid on the ZPA a week in

advance but encouraged the cops to go right ahead. André Bric, PDS deputy chairman, said: "We don't need to prepare for it, we have nothing to hide" (*Neues Deutschland*, 31 March).

The wretched PDS Stalinists-turned-social-democrats, taking their cue from the SPD, work overtime to cram the witchhunt down the workers' throats. But even bourgeois opinion polls show that overwhelmingly working people are sick of it—just as they are sick and tired of

the mounting attacks on their standard of living, East and West, crammed down their throats by the SPD tops in the powerful DGB trade unions. For the organized workers movement, for scholars and researchers, for all those with an interest in the history of proletarian, Communist and anti-fascist struggle in Germany, the answer to this outrageous witchhunt must be a resounding "No!" *Hands off the Institute for History of the Workers Movement! Stop the witchhunt!* ■



Berlin, December 1991: Spartacists protest vendetta by German bourgeoisie against anyone associated with the former East German workers state.

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# American Capitalism...

(continued from page 1)

As the U.S. economy spirals into Chapter 11 and Walt Disney has replaced U.S. Steel in the Dow Jones industrials, the only growth industries in this country are the think tanks that produce this kind of statistics, the misery index in America, and the repressive apparatus. There's a boom in jail construction all over this country, for this place imprisons more of its people than any society on earth. From New York and Detroit and Los Angeles to Warsaw and Moscow it is desperately necessary to fight.

The International Communist League stands before the working class and tells the truth. Only workers political revolution to sweep away the counterrevolutionary regimes now in power can save the Soviet workers state. The alternative is being played out in Yugoslavia and Armenia and Azerbaijan and elsewhere today: vicious nationalist fratricide, both a product of and fueling the disintegration of those societies. All the old rot, the anti-Semitism, of tsarist society is rising to the top.

This ruling class fills the press with the "death of communism." They lie. It's Stalinism which is shattered. Communism lives, it lives in the Russian proletariat, it lives in the South African miners, in the militant Korean working class, in the Central American workers and peasants. It lives in the working class of this country. The question is leadership.

In the U.S. that means above all the fight to forge a workers party that will lead the workers and oppressed in struggle. There will be no social revolution, no fundamental change in this country, without united struggle of black and white workers led by a multiracial vanguard party. That is the truth. And likewise it will only be a workers revolution led by such a party as the Bolsheviks created in Russia that will open the road to black freedom. There is no other road. That is the road of revolutionary integrationism, the emancipation of blacks in the framework of an egalitarian socialist society.

## Persian Gulf War: "New World Order" Massacre

With the groveling appeasement of imperialism by the Gorbachev regime, the U.S. rulers got a chance to try out their high-tech murder machine, on Iraq. As the bombs and the cruise missiles rained down on Baghdad last January, Bush declared his "New World Order." Against a country the size of Kentucky was pitted the most deadly collection of weaponry ever assembled. It wasn't a war, it was a cold-blooded massacre.

This war was a test for revolutionaries in this country. And we in the Spartacist League and the ICL sought to mobilize our class against their war. From the beginning we demanded, "Break the Blockade of Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!" And, opposed to the



Spartacist League East Coast educational conference, New York City, April 18.

"AFL-CIA" labor traitors who backed their masters to the hilt, we called for labor strikes against the war.

That's what we fought for. The rad-lib types, the ones that call themselves socialists, fell in line behind the fig leaf of UN sanctions. Their demand was "no blood for oil," by which they meant American blood. So as soon as Bush got his cheap 100-hour war, there was no protest. Bush got his "kill," his cheap victory. It was a deadly demonstration to the world that U.S. imperialism is back in the saddle.

## Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

But the cheers aren't so loud now in New York or elsewhere, now that the yellow ribbons have been replaced by pink slips. What they call the Reagan years in reality goes back to the 1974-75 recession. It was in the early '70s that the "American Century," launched after World War II, ended its short reign. And we had better not forget that it was ended by the costly and courageous struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, to whom we owe a huge debt and to whom, when we take power, we will repay that debt.

It goes up through the time of "ethnic purity" Carter, who used the Taft-Hartley slave labor law against the miners, who launched the anti-Communist "human rights" crusade against the Soviet Union and planned the busting of PATCO. In this country, since that period there's been a 20 percent drop in the real income of workers. And at the other end of the "Reagan Revolution," between 1977 and 1989 the top 1 percent of families in this country increased their income by 77 percent. Every worker feels that he's scrambling. He knows that his children will have nothing, even compared to what he had.

In Peoria, Illinois an older white work-force, over half of them nearing retirement at the age of 62, stayed out for almost six months against Caterpillar, the largest construction equipment company in the world, only to be ordered to crawl back by their union leadership. The response was outrage. A woman striker, one of the few women (and there are very few black workers), said: "I've

been out there five months busting my buns on the street. I think it absolutely sucks." These are proud unionists. Most of them have been there for 25 years or more. They're crawling back to a vindictive company which has made it clear it's going to get rid of as much as a sixth of them.

It's one thing to be defeated in battle. Comrades, very few strikes win in this world, and when they do they can shape things for a generation. But it's another thing to be sent back when you'd hung tough, and there was no scabbing. The whole country was watching: will the threat of scabbing play in Peoria against a major industrial union? The UAW

was good ole American know-how that did Hiroshima and they'll do it again.

This is particularly insane in the auto industry. Because north of the border, and especially south of the border, there's a tremendous reservoir of allies in the class struggle in the Mexican proletariat. From Ontario to Mexico City, there's an integrated auto industry in North America that offers the possibility for joint class struggle like never before.

PATCO, Phelps Dodge, Greyhound, Hormel, Pittston, the mass firings, the scabs, the pickets shot down—this is the norm in the struggles of American labor, which are at an all-time low. And now Caterpillar. Like PATCO and the bomb-

Growth in Pretax Income 1977-1989					1989 average income
Top 1%				77 percent	\$559,800
Top fifth				29	109,400
2d fifth				9	47,900
3d fifth				4	32,700
4th fifth	-1				20,100
Bottom fifth	-9				8,400

Figures have been adjusted for inflation

New York Times Graph

The Carter/Reagan years: the rich got richer, working people and the poor got the shaft.

bureaucracy answered with a resounding "yes."

What paved this way for betrayal was the most grotesque pro-capitalist poison emanating from Solidarity House in Detroit—the lie that there's a "partnership" between labor and capital in this country against workers with other color skins abroad. They never mention British investment in America, which is twice that of the Japanese. And it's always Mexican workers, Japanese workers who are portrayed as the enemy. The UAW bureaucracy is fundamentally no different in this regard than the racist pig Senator Hollings, who said that it

ing of MOVE, this is intended as a message to this country, to cow the poor and working people, to embolden the Klan and the Nazis. Even the *New York Times* discovered, in its article after the Caterpillar strike, that hiring scabs "tells the workers that management sees them as mere commodities, like the steel and rubber it buys to make their goods." They gave no credit to Karl Marx.

This has been in a fundamental way true about the labor bureaucracy for a long time. Trotsky said in the late '30s, the trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. There is no middle road. The CAT strikers, all workers, must draw the lessons—that the traitors who did this will not be pressured or reformed, they must be ousted. And that requires a fundamental upheaval in the unions to turn them into instruments of class struggle against the bosses.

## American Capitalism = Racist Oppression

An older white Caterpillar striker said: "I'm afraid that if things continue the way they are right now, then the United States is going to be in one heck of a position. Because there's going to be riots in the streets. 'Cause the American dream's gone. The American



Growth industry in racist America: Jail population has doubled over the last decade. U.S. surpasses all countries, including South Africa, in rate of imprisonment.



### Locked Up

Selected rates of imprisonment per 100,000 people in 1989 and 1990 or 1991, the latest figures available from the respective governments.

Source: The Sentencing Project

New York Times Graph



dream's gone." But the dream was always a lie for blacks, for Latinos, for the poor, for many, many workers in this country.

Andrew Hacker has assembled a very useful hook called *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*. What he means by two nations, it's an old quote from Disraeli about Victorian England, rich and poor. In central Harlem, the infant death rate is the same as Malaysia. In East Harlem it's worse: 42 per thousand. Most Third World countries would be aghast. And incidentally, it far exceeds Cuba.

In disease, the increase of death rates just for being black is astounding. For tuberculosis, it's seven times the rate of whites. For AIDS, three and a half times. In the South Bronx—and this is an astounding statistic for the people that know the field—531 infants out of every 1,000 require neonatal hospitalization. More than half. That means retardation, that means brain damage, that means no hope.

From 1970 to 1990, black income as a percentage of white income fell. Black unemployment, which is almost always double that of whites, is increasing relative to white. Increasingly, it's no longer last hired and first fired, but never hired at all. There's a deadly threat implicit in this. If blacks are no longer part of capitalism's reserve army of the unemployed, they become an expendable population.

So to keep order in their "New Order," they have more cops, more prisons, more executions. In this country blacks now constitute almost half of everybody in jail. A lot of people don't make it to jail. Between 1976 and 1987—the latest figures which were available—1,800 black men, women and children were shot by cops and killed. That is almost as many people as are on death row of all races: 2,500.

In New York City, in all of history, exactly one cop has gone to jail for murdering anybody. He was a drunk, I think a sergeant, who ran down an elderly Jewish psychiatrist on Madison Avenue after the St. Patrick's Day parade a few years ago. He was sentenced for manslaughter.

Forty percent of the people on death row are black. And there's a flood of executions coming in this country. We're in America, where capital punishment means if you don't have the capital, you get the punishment. One of those on death row is Mumia Abu-Jamal. And I would strongly encourage comrades and friends to become involved in his defense.

The Democratic front-runner, Governor Clinton, returned to Arkansas to personally supervise the execution of brain-damaged Ricky Ray Rector. It took 50 minutes to find a vein and kill him. In Arkansas there's 45 more people on death row. Clinton set execution dates for 25 of them. He's shown that he would be a hands-on chairman of the executive committee of the ruling class.

### Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Without an integrated workers party as a force for black liberation, all the shit in this society rises to the top. And it is the defeat of black struggle and the dead-end and deadly reliance on the Democratic Party that has left black workers and students prey to crap like the anti-Semitic demagoguery of a Jeffries or a Farrakhan, or the vicious anti-Korean racism of FBI fink Al Sharpton, who picks up on a long tradition of anti-Asian bigotry in this country. But make no mistake, this is a deeply racist ruling class. And they have the means of state power. To join in this endemic bigotry, for black people, is suicide.

In his book on American education, titled *Savage Inequalities*, the liberal writer Jonathan Kozol tells of talking to Charles Mingo, a 49-year-old principal in a school on the South Side of Chicago:

"On the wall of his office is a photograph of Martin Luther King surrounded by



**Hamlet, North Carolina, September 3, 1991:** Twenty-five workers, mostly women, died after being trapped inside a horrible inferno at Imperial Food poultry plant when the bosses locked the fire exits. The state of North Carolina, which never once inspected the plant in 11 years, fined Imperial \$808,150—a little over \$32,000 for the life of each worker. Even that will likely never be paid. Every day in this country 300 workers die from injury or disease from the job. But in over 20 years OSHA has sent only one boss to jail for maiming workers.

police within a crowd of angry-looking people. He tells me that the photograph was taken in North Lawndale. "It was an open housing march. My daddy was his bodyguard. It was a march to Cicero, he got turned back. One of his few defeats...." "What he managed in the South he could not pull off in Chicago. He couldn't march to Cicero. Police would not permit it. They were sure he would be killed. In certain ways that picture says it all. This is where the struggle stopped. You see the consequence around you in this school."

There's a lot of truth in that, because when the liberal pacifist-led civil rights movement collided head-on with the economic and social reality of racist American capitalism and its ruling party in Chicago and the other Northern cities, the Democratic Party, it died.

But now, once again, the "popular front" is gearing up to "fight the right"—Duke and Buchanan and Bush—in an effort to keep black and working people tied to the Democrats. Many black workers are voting with their feet this year. In primaries, the black vote is off 50 percent. And the black front men for the Democrats are worried.

Jesse Jackson's former campaign manager Ron Daniels is the toast of the reformist left, and he looks to the Socialist Party and the Communist Party of the '30s, saying they "forced the Democratic Party to the left." Daniels is selling a lie. The Communist Party delivered militant workers and blacks into the arms of FDR and the Dixiecrats, and we are paying for it today. There is a straight line from there to the suppression of black and working-class struggle to serve the war effort, the no-strike pledge, the obscene applause for the atomic bomb.

The Democratic Party was and is the party of racism, union-busting and war. The "fight the right" rhetoric of the popular front is the method by which the bourgeoisie's political agents in the working class have saved decaying capitalism time and again, with bloody consequences for the proletariat, from Spain to Chile to the American South.

Last September in Hamlet, North Carolina, 25 black and white workers, mostly women, were hideously burned to death in a grease fire inferno. The doors were locked to that plant, because the bosses said the workers were stealing a piece of chicken. The workers had no union, they had no safety committee, they had no right to shut down the job, even though they knew it was dangerous, because the Democratic Party-loyal labor bureaucracy has never undertaken and will never undertake the kind of battle it will take to organize the South against the Demo-

crats, against the Klan, against the cracker sheriffs.

After World War II the CIO did launch an abortive campaign to organize the South, called, typically in a reactionary fashion, "Operation Dixie." It was sabotaged from the start by the deepgoing anti-Communism of these labor lieutenants of capital. From Winston-Salem and Peoria to France in Cold War I, and from Solidarność to the Russian miners in Cold War II, the "AFL-CIA" bureaucracy has functioned as the advance guard of capitalist reaction. They must be ousted for the labor movement to fight.

Jim Cannon, who was the finest communist politician this country ever produced, a Wobbly (IWW) who went on to become a leader of the early CP and a founder of American Trotskyism, could have been talking so precisely of the present gang of union tops, when he wrote in 1928:

"The fight for a class movement of the American workers is in the first place a fight against the capitalist ideology which dominates them. The labor bureaucrats of the AFL and the unaffiliated unions of the same type are the direct bearers of this ideology in the working class and must be fought as such. The labor bureaucracy is a part of the capitalist rationalization and war machine—its 'labor' wing."

Cannon also recognized, however, that the bureaucracy's deeply reactionary

character made it brittle and vulnerable, and he forecast and eagerly looked forward to and took a leading role in the coming explosion of class struggle, for the mass of workers in auto and steel and Teamsters. And it was a Trotskyist leadership in the Minneapolis general strike which paved the way in many ways for the CIO upsurge. These labor battles were led and formed by reds. They brought millions of black workers into social struggle in this country.

Cannon points out that "Everything new on the Negro question came from Moscow—after the Russian Revolution began to thunder its demand throughout the world for freedom and equality for all national minorities, all subject peoples and all races." It was the Bolsheviks who brought to American Communists the recognition that the black question is a special problem of American society.

Hacker sees this. As liberals go, he's about as good as you get. But he can't see a way out. He concludes his book: "A huge racial chasm remains, and there are few signs that the coming century will see it close." Interviewed later, Hacker was asked if he had any hope for race relations in America and he said, "No." "What we're talking about is a condition, not a problem—and while you can solve problems, you can't solve a condition." He can't envision solving this condition because he only conceives of *this racist capitalist society*, where black is pitted against white, against Hispanic, against Asian, for shares of a shrinking pie. Hacker reduces everything to a question of good will. But it wasn't good will that smashed slavery—it took a civil war!

We communists look to the Russian Revolution because at every critical turning point in the history of the international workers movement since November 7, 1917, the Russian question will tell you where to go forward. A quote from Cannon: "The Russian Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917, once and for all took the question of the workers' revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood reality." It was in this prison house of nations that the Bolsheviks built a revolutionary party based on the social power of the working class, a party which brought to power that enormously diverse class. As Cannon said, "The October Revolution put socialism on the order of the day throughout the world.... It showed in life what kind of party the workers must have." That's the party we are building. Join us. ■

## Spartacist Educational Conference

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

**CHICAGO Saturday, May 16**



# Afghanistan...

(continued from page 12)

*mujahedin* topple the Kabul nationalist government, the two-sided civil war could well become a war of all against all."

Now UN emissary Benon Sevan pleads with the disparate feudalist guerilla organizations that "unless you first start thinking as Afghans and less about your ethnic backgrounds, things will not get better. They will get worse." However unclear the situation in Afghanistan may be right now, things will certainly get worse.

## From the "April Revolution" to Soviet Betrayal

The so-called April Revolution of 1978 which brought the PDPA to power was largely carried out by pro-Soviet junior officers in the military and promised a series of relatively modest reforms, notably land redistribution and a reduction in the bride price. In the context of this hideously backward society such minimal measures posed nothing short of a revolutionary transformation. Yet in a country where mullahs outnumbered industrial workers, the social base necessary to sustain such a transformation was utterly lacking. Particularly reforms relating to the status of women were met with a fundamentalist insurgency organized by the mullahs and tribal chieftains. The CIA moved in to finance this anti-Communist insurgency on the Soviet Union's strategic southern flank.

By the time of the Red Army intervention, the PDPA was on the verge of being overrun by the Islamic insurgents while tearing itself apart internally through internecine blood purges. Moreover, according to a recent six-part account in the journal *Soviet Soldier*, then KGB head Andropov had been notified in December 1979 that the Pakistani military was planning an invasion of Afghanistan. By New Year's 1980, some 100,000 Soviet troops had crossed the border into Afghanistan. We wrote at the time:

"There can be no question that for revolutionaries our side in this conflict is with the Red Army...."

"By giving unconditional military support to the Soviet army and PDPA Afghan forces we in no way place political confidence in the Kremlin bureaucracy or the left-nationalists in Kabul. While the Moscow Stalinists apparently presently intend to shore up the PDPA regime, and if anything limit the pace of democratic and modernizing reforms, the prolonged presence in Afghanistan of the Soviet army opens up more far-reaching possibilities.... Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!"

— "Hail Red Army!"

WV No. 247, 11 January 1980

Within a few years, even the Western press was conceding that a Soviet military victory over the ragtag feudalist "freedom fighters" was pending. Soviet intervention made possible the revolutionary transformation of Afghan society. By the late 1980s, the number of women in the workforce had increased fiftyfold, a majority of students at Kahul

## Mujahedin Target: Education and Social Emancipation



Planet

More than half the students at Kabul University were women. Now they stand in deadly peril at the hands of feudalist reactionaries

University were women, and 15,000 women served as soldiers and commanders in the Afghan army. As we noted in "Battle for Afghanistan": "Although conducted halfheartedly, sending troops into Afghanistan was the one unambiguously decent and progressive act of the corrupt and conservative Brezhnev regime, going against the grain of the reactionary Stalinist dogma of 'socialism in one country'."

But we fell from the outset that, in their futile quest for "peaceful coexistence" with hostile imperialism, Brezhnev and his successors could try to cut a deal at the expense of the Afghan peoples. When Gorbachev took over, he began implementing his "new thinking" of down-the-line appeasement of Western imperialism. The Soviet media began churning out defeatist propaganda about the Afghan war to turn the population against it, echoing the insidious Western lie that this was "Russia's Vietnam." Nonsense. In Vietnam the U.S. fought a dirty colonial war to stop a social revolution, and was defeated on the battlefield. In Afghanistan, Soviet soldiers saw themselves as carrying out their "internationalist duty" to stop a bloodthirsty counterrevolution, and they were stabbed in the back by a bureaucracy which never fought to win.

But for the Kremlin bureaucracy desperate to buy peace with imperialism at any price, it was an albatross around their neck. When Gorbachev ordered the troops out, there was no quid pro quo from the U.S. As the last Soviet units left in February 1989, imperialist pundits predicted that the PDPA regime would collapse in a matter of months. The U.S. and its Pakistani clients masterminded a brutal *mujahedin* siege of the provincial capital of Jalalabad. But heroic Jalalabad held strong, and for more than three years after the Soviet withdrawal the Najibullah regime held out. It was Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup last August, leading to a total cutoff of aid, that spelled the doom of the fragile Afghan

economy and central government.

Following the Soviet withdrawal, the Partisan Defense Committee wrote to the Afghan government in February 1989, offering to organize international brigades to fight against the CIA's mullah cutthroats. Kabul instead appealed for humanitarian assistance to the civilian victims of the siege of Jalalabad. The PDC and fraternal organizations around the world organized the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, which raised over

Afghan women and leftists. Three years ago, we wrote: "If the *mujahedin* succeed in hutchering every leftist, teacher and unveiled woman in Afghanistan, their blood will be on the hands not only of the Bushes, Thatchers and Kohls, but also on their 'left' camp followers."

While the "Eurocommunists" denounced the Soviet intervention and Kremlin-loyal Stalinists tried to duck the question, a panoply of supposed Trotskyists climbed aboard Carter/Reagan's anti-Soviet bandwagon. The followers of Nahuel Moreno not only hailed the *mujahedin* cutthroats but called for the extension of Islamic counterrevolution into Soviet Central Asia itself. Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat echoed the imperialist war cry for "Soviet troops out!" And others like the British Workers Power group denounced the Soviet intervention as counterrevolutionary only to then turn around and denounce the withdrawal also as counterrevolutionary. Yes, they all have blood on their hands.

In founding the Fourth International in 1938, Leon Trotsky wrote that "Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind." In the past couple of years alone, in addition to the bloody rape of Iraq at the hands of U.S. imperialism, fratricidal civil wars have engulfed Yugoslavia and the Soviet Caucasus. The looming bloodbath in Afghanistan may well draw in all the neighboring countries and peoples.



Spartacists hailed 1979 Soviet intervention against CIA-backed forces, organized international aid to embattled Jalalabad following treacherous 1989 pullout.



WV Photo

\$42,000 in three months. As an expression of solidarity, we dispatched a correspondent to Kabul and Jalalabad to report the truth to our readers.

Despite the evident desire by Afghan women, leftists and youth to fight to defend their gains, this backward, isolated country could not hold out alone forever. In the wake of the Soviet withdrawal, the PDPA regime attempted to save itself through a policy of "national reconciliation" aimed at splitting away rival *mujahedin* groups. We warned:

"The PDPA may think that as long as they can conciliate and neutralize the clerical-feudalist opposition while retaining control of the cities, they will be able to secure oases of relative social progress in a desert of rural backwardness (where women will continue to be enslaved). But sooner or later, the cities will fall victim to entrenched feudal reaction, and the continuation of ethnic and tribal divisions in the country at large will begin to wreak havoc on the multinational PDPA itself."

— "Afghanistan: Civil War and Social Progress," WV No. 489, 10 November 1989

Tragically, this has now come to pass.

## Now More Than Ever, Reforge the Fourth International!

It is a bitter moment for revolutionaries to be proven right in warning of a bloody betrayal. But we have nothing but contempt for those who mouthed socialist rhetoric while tailing behind the perpetrators of murderous terror against

It was a straight line from Gorbachev's betrayal of Afghanistan in the service of imperialism to the present counterrevolutionary chaos, presided over by the openly pro-imperialist Yeltsin, which threatens to destroy the Soviet Union. A Red Army victory in Afghanistan was not only possible but eminently feasible. This would have stayed the hand of U.S. imperialism and secured a future for the people of Afghanistan. Far better, we said, to fight imperialism in Afghanistan than inside the borders of the Soviet Union. Instead, the conciliatorist Soviet bureaucracy refused to pursue the war to victory and, with Gorbachev, simply caved in to Western imperialist *diktat*.

The martyrdom of Afghanistan is a direct result of advancing counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. Defense of the social gains of the October Revolution is acutely posed in Soviet Central Asia, where the encroaching forces of medieval obscurantism threaten to throw a relatively advanced industrialized society back by centuries. The multinational Soviet proletariat must learn the lesson of Afghanistan. There can be no conciliation of counterrevolution. Stalinism is bankrupt. An authentically Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party must be forged to lead the proletarian political revolution that can sweep away Yeltsin counterrevolution and restore the banner of internationalism to the Kremlin. Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

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# Statement by Esteban Volkov, Grandson of Leon Trotsky "Martha Phillips, a Revolutionary Hero"

On Monday, April 27, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) held a press conference at the Leon Trotsky Museum in Coyoacán, Mexico City. The conference was called to announce the international campaign of demonstrations by the ICL demanding a serious investigation of the murder of our comrade Martha Phillips in Moscow on February 9, and opposing the Yeltsin/Bush drive to restore capitalism to the Soviet Union, homeland of the Bolshevik October Revolution. The Trotsky Museum is at the house where Lenin's comrade in arms spent the last years of his exile, and where he was cut down in August 1940 by a Stalinist assassin. Speaking at the press conference were Esteban (Sena) Volkov, Trotsky's grandson. We print here excerpts from his statement.

In meeting in this place, we do so precisely to add the name of Martha Phillips to the long list of Trotskyist revolutionaries who have fallen in the struggle to defend the working class, at the hands both of their enemies of the Stalinist bureaucracy and of the reactionary capitalist groups. We wish to add the name of Martha Phillips to the long list of fallen revolutionary heroes, a list that is headed by the great revolutionary and Marxist Leon Trotsky, who initiated this struggle in 1923 when the whole process began of betrayal and moving away from the October Revolution which today is reaching its final stage, that of the return to capitalism.

It is worth mentioning that more than half a century ago, Leon Trotsky, with startling clarity, predicted the historical

course which the Russian bureaucracy would follow and whose final stage would be precisely the return to private property. What we are witnessing is the attempt by the bureaucracy, a bureaucracy descended from that of Stalin, neo-Stalinist so to speak, which now wants to give the coup de grâce to what was socialism and write the final chapter of this betrayal of the October Revolution. Trotsky, in *The Crimes of Stalin*, which was written more or less at the same time as *The Revolution Betrayed*, predicted that the new sectors of the bureaucracy would renounce Stalin, would go so far as to accuse Stalin and Trotsky of having the same ideology and political culture and of using the same methods. All that has come true to the letter. He saw the regression to the capitalist system, to private prop-

erty as the alternative in case the masses, the Soviet working class, were not able to reconquer power, to carry out the political revolution.

Thus he posed it not as a pre-determined end but as an alternative. Either the working class reconquers power and returns to the road of the October Revolution, of Marxism, or else the bureaucracy would end up totally hurrying what was the October Revolution and re-establishing the capitalist system. And that is what we are seeing.

I want to reiterate again our admiration for this revolutionary who fell in the struggle. We still cannot say clearly the circumstances in which she was murdered, but from what it appears, there are many elements which suggest that it was a political crime of reprisal against the Spartacist group, which only days before carried out a demonstration against Yeltsin. And the actions of the Russian militia, of the police, leave a lot to be desired and raise many doubts.

## Murder in Moscow...

(continued from page 1)

of May Day, the international workers holiday. The demonstrations will also oppose the drive led by Yeltsin and backed by Bush to impose capitalist immiseration and starvation on the Soviet peoples.

The ICL spokesman continued: "Whoever is responsible for this crime has dealt a terrible blow to everybody who seeks to resist and defeat capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. That's why our protests are taking place in conjunction with May Day. It used to be that if a Trotskyist died under suspicious circumstances anywhere within the long reach of J.V. Stalin, the question of who was responsible was not really a question. That is no longer the case. The Soviet Union today is a rapidly decomposing society. We don't know who killed Martha Phillips, but it cannot be ruled out that the murder of our comrade was a political act."

Martha Phillips was the most prominent spokesman in the Soviet Union for the ICL, which is known there and elsewhere for its determined opposition to Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary course. A leading cadre of the U.S. Spartacist League for 20 years and a passionate fighter against racism and women's oppression, she was a powerful and outspoken opponent of the growing expressions of anti-Semitism and Great Russian chauvinism which have been nurtured by this reactionary climate.

Phillips was struck down only hours before what was expected to be a large anti-Yeltsin protest in which the ICL had planned significant sales of its Russian-language revolutionary journal. Her murder came several days after Yeltsin's visit with Wall Street financiers at the



Spartacist  
Moscow, January 17: ICL banner outside Soviet officers' conference reads, "No to Capitalist Restoration! Yes to Gains of October!"

Federal Reserve Bank in Manhattan was met by a vocal and visible protest organized by the Spartacist League.

"From the moment Martha was found dead, many questions were raised about the manner and cause of her death," said Spencer. When Phillips' body was discovered by her comrades in the apartment where she had been staying, an attempt had been made to make it look as though she had died in her sleep. Moscow militia and medical authorities were immediately called to the scene. Despite a visible chest wound which was brought to their attention, these professionally trained personnel initially and falsely declared that Phillips had died of natural causes. Suspicious of this sudden death, her comrades demanded an autopsy. When the autopsy was finally conducted two days later, authorities confirmed that Martha Phillips had indeed been mur-

dered. Only then did the militia even open an investigation into the cause of violent death.

It took another eight weeks, and numerous requests, before the authorities released even the most meager report on the official autopsy. Elementary forensic tests and interviews with suspects were pursued in a dilatory or unprofessional fashion, if at all. The U.S. Consulate has been passive and unhelpful in the investigation of the murder of this American citizen. Toronto attorney Yossi Schwartz, who went to Moscow to push the investigation on behalf of the victim and her family, stated: "I faced constant delaying tactics and buck-passing. For example, the procurator told me that the militia was responsible for the two-day delay in starting the investigation. But the autopsy report states that the procurator's office knew from the beginning that it was a violent death. So who is lying?"

The ICL spokesman said: "All the authorities have been so vague, so obstructionist and at times even deliberately misleading that we have to ask whether there are bigger forces at play who do not want this murder solved."

There were many, from the nationalist remnants of the decomposing Stalinist bureaucracy to pro-Yeltsin "free trade unions" financed and advised by the CIA conduit National Endowment for Democracy and others as well, who had reason to want to silence the ICL. Only three weeks before her murder Phillips was violently assaulted by a Pamyat fascist and other Russian nationalists at a public demonstration near the Kremlin.

Demonstrations will be held in New York, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Ottawa, Tokyo, Milan, Paris, Berlin, Hamburg, Rome, Sydney and London. There will also be press conferences in Moscow and at the Trotsky Museum in Mexico City, where Esteban Volkov, grandson of Leon Trotsky, will speak.

Comrade Spencer concluded her announcement: "Martha Phillips died at her post, fighting to forge a new Leninist-Trotskyist party in the land of the October Revolution of 1917. The task is posed: either the multinational Soviet proletariat will reconquer political power, usurped by the Stalinist bureaucracy, or there will be the bloody consolidation of social counterrevolution. Already national disintegration and massive poverty and hunger are being brought about by the drive toward capitalist restoration. In demanding a thorough investigation into the murder of our fallen comrade, we continue the revolutionary struggle in whose service she died." ■

### Slogans to be carried at the protests will include:

- No more stalling!  
Full investigation of the murder of Martha Phillips!
- The Freikorps murdered Rosa Luxemburg! The Stalinists assassinated Trotsky!  
Who killed Martha Phillips?
- All honor to Martha Phillips—fighter against capitalist counterrevolution and Pamyat anti-Semitism!
- U.S. State Department: Indifference and malice!  
Moscow Militia: Incompetence, evasion and buck-passing!
- Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!
- Defeat Yeltsin/Bush counterrevolution!
- "Free market" means capitalist misery for Soviet peoples!
- For proletarian political revolution to sweep away Yeltsin's starvation regime!

## Workers Power...

(continued from page 3)

that they must think nobody in the English-speaking world is capable of reading its leaflet sans translation! For it is perfectly tailored to accommodate the Stalinist "patriots" whom WP vituperates against from the safety of its London offices.

Titled "Down With the New Autocracy!" the leaflet was cosigned by Alexei Gusev's Socialist Workers Union (linked to Cliff Slaughter's WRP in Britain) and a handful of anarchists and Greens. Of course, it makes no mention of the fact that WP and its bloc partners were

eager to support the "new autocracy" last August, when they rallied beneath the tsar's flag on Yeltsin's barricades.

To cobble together this bloc with virulent Stalinophobes and anarchists, many of whom opposed the Bolshevik Revolution from the outset, the leaflet celebrates...the February 1917 Revolution (and no mention of October)! Under the heading "1917—February—1992," it proclaims: "75 years ago the working people overthrew the dictatorial regime which had violated its rights, oppressing and suppressing it." So the post-February Provisional Government of Prince Lvov and later Kerensky didn't oppress the working people?

While the ultra-opportunist Yeltsinist "socialists" are increasingly isolated, the International Communist League

(Fourth Internationalist) is uniquely fighting to cohere a Trotskyist nucleus in the Soviet Union. We sell considerably more literature in the Soviet Union than all of them put together, and we do so on the basis of our established record as principled Leninist internationalists who do not brook any kind of national chauvinism or anti-Semitism.

Workers Power barely mentioned Pamyat twice in as many years, while we have had numerous articles calling for Soviet workers to crush these Great Russian fascist scum ever since they emerged in the mid-'80s. And the third issue of the ICL's Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin*, titled "Leninist Party—Tribune of the People," is devoted to the struggle against the oppression of Jews, women and

homosexuals in the Soviet Union.

And Workers Power? At an April 25 talk in Dublin on his trip to the Soviet Union, WP speaker Paul Morris said that anti-Semitism was so pervasive there that all British and Americans were presumed to be Jews. So this intrepid "anti-racist" told Russians he was a German-speaking Swiss! We can only wonder why Morris stopped there, instead of going all the way and announcing himself 100 percent Aryan.

On the barricades with Yeltsin counterrevolution and its NTS backers, capitulating to the anti-Semitism of the "patriot" milieu, maneuvering with every anti-communist rat group in the Soviet Union masquerading as "Trotskyist"—such is the "struggle" of Workers Power. ■



## Soviet Withdrawal Was a Betrayal

# Bloodbath Looms in Afghanistan

APRIL 27—A week after the dramatic collapse of the regime of President Najibullah, Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* ("holy warriors") are swarming through the streets of the Afghan capital of Kabul. Fourteen years to the day since Soviet-backed modernizing left-nationalists came to power in Kabul, offering women some prospect of emancipation from centuries of feudal and pre-feudal slavery, the reforms they implemented are about to be swept away in a counterrevolutionary bloodbath.

The hassle over Afghanistan was the opening shot, and the bloodiest front line, of Cold War II. When Soviet troops moved in December 1979 to prop up the beleaguered government of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) against CIA-backed reactionaries, the Spartacist tendency declared, "Hail Red Army!" Succumbing to the prevailing winds of anti-Sovietism, much of the left fell in line behind Washington's war cry of "Soviet troops out!" A decade later, when Gorbachev abandoned Afghanistan, we denounced this as a betrayal of the Afghan peoples and of the Soviet Union itself. The deadly consequences of this treachery are now before our eyes.

Little over a year ago, the imperialists carried out the wanton slaughter of over 100,000 Iraqis in the name of Washington's "New World Order." Now they plan to proclaim another triumph for "freedom" and "democracy" over mountains of corpses of those who fought for social emancipation. In their name, we cry out: *this crime must be seared into the memory of the international working class!*

One swaggering guerrilla commander on the outskirts of Kabul said, "The only people who have anything to fear are Najibullah's." In the eyes of these reactionary cutthroats, "Najibullah's people" include every secular teacher, every leftist, every schoolgirl who has learned to read and write, every woman who has thrown off the suffocating head-to-toe *chador*. As soon as word spread that the *mujahedin* had entered the capital, government offices emptied, shops and homes shuttered down. The Kahul River may soon flow red with the blood of thousands of "infidels."

As the guerrillas massed outside Kabul, the price of *chadors* skyrocketed, a measure of the panic gripping emancipated women in the capital. *Mujahedin* gangs chanted "God Is Great!" as they roamed through the capital. One of them railed: "We want everything to change according to Islam. For example, if a woman does not want to dress in an Islamic way, I will not let her walk in the city." The *Washington Post* (26 April) reported: "Only a month ago, scores of women strode through Kabul streets in Western skirts and high heels; today those who ventured into the streets wore Islamic head coverings." One young woman law student



CIA's Cutthroats on the Loose



As Islamic *mujahedin* march on Kabul (top), unveiled women and other "infidels" face vindictive terror. Above: fundamentalist guerrilla executes school teacher.

at Kahul University said simply, "Of course we are very much frightened."

Fundamentalist gangs based on rival ethnic and tribal formations have already begun shooting it out in the streets of the capital and distributing arms to the population at large. The Pathan-based forces of the fanatical fascist Gulbuddin Hekmatyar are engaged in a blood feud with rival forces commanded by the northern Tajik rebel commander Ahmad Shah Masood. What awaits is an all-sided fratricidal ethnic slaughter of horrendous proportions, a Lebanon writ

large. If anything, the civilian population of Jalalabad—the last government stronghold to fall and the scene of heroic resistance against a fundamentalist siege three years ago—faces a fate worse even than that of Kabul.

President Najibullah himself went into hiding, reportedly at the United Nations offices in Kabul. Despite UN attempts to guarantee him safe passage to join his family in India, the Islamic rebels vowed that the former Afghan leader would not leave the country alive. But the *mujahedin* killers got what they deserved

when they tried to storm the Cuban embassy in Kabul. An embassy statement tersely explained: "Cuban officials who watch over the embassy and protect Cuban citizens under our flag defended the integrity of the places under their protection."

With the *mujahedin* poised to take over in Kabul, dimwitted State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler piously drawled, "Please do not resort to violence." That takes some chutzpah. From Democrat Carter to Republicans Reagan and Bush, the U.S. funneled billions in high-tech weaponry to the CIA's Afghan cutthroats to kill Soviet soldiers. Now, with the Soviet Union in a shambles, Washington is worried that the array of mutually warring fundamentalist groups it has sponsored and bankrolled over the years will produce havoc and regional "destabilization."

Washington's press agents are now trying to hide the fact that the chief recipient of CIA largesse over the years was the sinister Hekmatyar. So they have been playing up the supposedly "moderate" Masood as a *mujahedin* "hero." A wide-eyed "Gidget Goes to Peshawar" account by Donatella Lorch in the *New York Times* (21 April) lionizes the "soft-spoken guerrilla commander with a wispy beard, craggy face and rakishly tilted Afghan woolen cap." But this reputed "moderate" launched his insurgency well before the "Communist" PDPA came to power in 1978. He objected to even the tepid paper reforms of the Daud regime in 1973.

The downfall of the Najibullah regime came not as the result of a *mujahedin* military victory but due to internal disintegration along ethnic and tribal lines as Soviet support disappeared. A month ago, a government militia commander, General Abdul Rashid Doestam, an Uzbek, formed an uneasy alliance with Masood in the northeast. The commander of the Kabul garrison, also a Tajik, threw in his lot with Masood and Doestam. In central Afghanistan, the Shi'ite Hazaras have taken control of a whole region, while another tribal army established its fiefdom in the south. Meanwhile, elements of the former secret police from the dominant Pathan nationality have reportedly linked up with Hekmatyar.

For years, the imperialists and their left tails howled about Soviet intervention trampling over the "self-determination of the Afghan nation." We pointed out that Afghanistan was not a nation at all, but an artificial entity carved out of this mountainous region by imperialist Britain and tsarist Russia. If anything, the PDPA, the first genuinely multi-ethnic formation in Afghan history, posed the possibility of consolidating a real nation out of the numerous ethnic and tribal groupings. In "Battle for Afghanistan" (WV No. 471, 17 February 1989) we warned: "Should the *mujahedin* killers get what they deserved

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