

## South Africa: The Fraud of Neo-Apartheid

# De Klerk's Bantustan Massacre

For the second time in three months, a bloody massacre has brutally exposed the myth that the racist apartheid state is being transformed into a "democratic" South Africa. On September 7, the army of the Ciskei bantustan unleashed a prolonged machine-gun fusillade into a protest march of 50,000 African National Congress supporters, killing at least 28, and wounding scores of others. Ciskei's military regime headed by the despot Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is a creature of Pretoria, and blame for this heinous crime lies squarely at the feet of President F.W. De Klerk.

Like the Inkatha strongman Buthelezi, Gqozo is one of apartheid's dogs of war. South African officials make up most of his cabinet and head the intelligence service. The commander of the "Ciskei Defence Force" which mowed down the ANC protesters is on loan from the South African army. Troops of the "South African Defence Force" lined the route of march up to the "border" of the "independent homeland," where they watched the Ciskei forces mow down the fleeing demonstrators. Many of those killed were still on the South African side of what one writer called the "imaginary line, delineating the imaginary border to an imaginary country."

The parched Ciskei is a dumping ground for apartheid: more than a quarter of the people were forcibly relocated there in the 1970s. The drought-ravaged land has turned into a dust bowl, largely denuded even of thorn trees. But as a supposedly independent state it has been outfitted with an airport that can handle 747 jumbo jets, and a three-block downtown with a gambling casino and offices of the government that lords it over the overwhelmingly pro-ANC population. As Bill Keller noted in the *New York Times* (10 September):

"South Africa underwrites the budget that pays for the 30,000-member civil service and its perks, including the black bulletproof Range Rover that the brigadier favors and the fleet of Mercedes preferred by his cabinet. South Africa trained and equipped the army—assisted by such a large contingent of Israelis that for a time the Pick 'n Pay supermarket in Bisho had a kosher section."

The Ciskei massacre amounts to the South African government's response to the ANC's two-day general strike in August. Like the police-instigated bloody slaughter in Boipatong township in June, this atrocity is part of a concerted campaign of terror to undercut the authority

of Nelson Mandela and his organization, which has been pressuring for "power sharing" with the apartheid rulers. But while the anger of blacks over Boipatong forced Mandela to cut off talks, this time the mass killing has led him to accept De Klerk's insulting "offer" of talks aimed at

### No "Power-Sharing" Illusions—For Workers Revolution!



Marinovich/AP

ANC marchers carry wounded comrade after apartheid "homelands" troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators.

curbing "conflict-creating mass action."

Behind this is a deepening rift in the ANC: its decision to resume talks with the government came after "what is believed to have been a rumbustious two-day meeting of the organisation's national working committee" (*London Guardian*, 11 September). As De Klerk demands that Mandela break from his allies of the South African Communist Party, who are a majority of the ANC leadership, there is a chorus of anti-Communist howling extending from

Brigadier Gqozo to white liberals and ANC "moderates." Yet in reality all wings of the ANC/SACP maintain their criminal illusions that they can pressure a deal with the apartheid rulers. This is a cruel betrayal of the aspirations for freedom of the South African oppressed masses—36 million black, "coloured" (mixed-race) and Indian people groaning under the yoke of white supremacy.

The liberal media fall in line behind De Klerk, bashing the Communist Party for being too militant and "needlessly

provoking" the massacre, by enraging the Ciskei despot and daring to march into his lair. Yet the adventurism of this action lies in the opposite direction, in the ANC/SACP's faith in the reform pretensions of the De Klerk regime, and the terrible illusion that defenseless marchers would be protected by the presence of the imperialist press. According to ANC/SACP leader Ronnie Kasrils:

"We had been providing the army with leaflets and people had been speaking to

*continued on page 6*

## Yugoslavia Bloodbath: Made in the Fourth Reich

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## Polish Workers Defy Solidarność "Free Market" Regime

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## Alan Dershowitz and the Witchhunt of Woody Allen

11 September 1992

Dear Editor,

A point on the article on Woody Allen (WV No. 558, 4 September): it can hardly be an accident that Mia Farrow has hired the sinister Alan Dershowitz as her lawyer. Dershowitz is not simply another sleazeball lawyer who defended the "Queen of Greed" Leona Helmsley. He is a Zionist spokesman for the Israeli government, a leader of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) and a professional anti-communist witchhunter.

The Spartacist League has had a number of run-ins with Dershowitz, notably

over the 5 November 1988 labor/black mobilization which spiked a threatened Klan/Nazi/skinhead provocation in Philadelphia. On the eve of this demonstration, Dershowitz went on the air with the smear that the Spartacists "are as fascist and as racist and as non-civil libertarian as the Ku Klux Klan." This was part of a concerted—but unsuccessful—campaign by the ADL to defame the SL and derail militant anti-fascist struggle.

Although the ADL was originally founded to fight anti-Semitism, it and other Zionist organizations have sought to ingratiate themselves with the centrally white Christian ruling class of

this country, placing themselves in the service of racist American reaction to push a bloc with Israeli reaction. Dershowitz defended Jonathan Pollard, the Israeli spy in the U.S. Navy; Israeli fascist terrorist Meir Kahane; and Natan Shcharansky, the traitor who passed Soviet defense secrets to the U.S.

Clearly the proletarian internationalism of the SL is anathema to everything the Zionists stand for, but even liberal *pro-Israel* Woody Allen is far too decent for Dershowitz. Alan Dershowitz works to derail anti-Nazi demos; Woody Allen says in *Manhattan*: "Has anyone read that the Nazis are going to march in New Jersey?... We should go down there, get some guys together, you know,

get some bricks and baseball bats, and really explain things to them." Dershowitz defended Israel's brutal crushing of the Palestinian *Intifada*; Woody Allen protested against it. Woody Allen directed *The Front*, which exposed the McCarthy witchhunt; Dershowitz claims the Rosenbergs were guilty, trying to kill them all over again.

So Mia Farrow hired the right man to pursue a dirty frame-up in today's reactionary "family values" climate. Here's hoping Woody Allen doesn't have to flee the country like the unjustly persecuted Roman Polanski and Charlie Chaplin before him. We can ill afford the loss of this talented and decent man.

Diana C.

## Thanks for Tearing Down That Evil Flag

Sherburne, NY

To Workers Vanguard:

When I read in your issue (No. 555, July 10) that German Spartacists had torn down a Nazi flag near Brandenburg gate, I was very happy. Tearing down and burning that racist and fascist flag was a victory for communists and socialists worldwide who are trying to destroy fascism, racism, capitalism, and imperialism. Even though I am 12 years old, I know very much what the Nazi flag is, and most of all, what capitalism is: an economic system which has oppressed the working class of the world. But there is a cure to this evil system: Socialism and Communism.

So before I end this letter I'd like to give my thanks to Toralf Endruweit and his comrades for tearing down that evil flag.

With comradely greetings,  
K.B.



Spartakist  
Comrades of Spartakist Workers  
Party rip down swastika flag in Berlin,  
June 23.

## Balkanization and Imperialism

23rd June 1992

To the Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

Many on the left have spoken about the "New World Order" but never explained what it actually means in practice for the Balkan peoples. A map published by E. Mortimer on 24.1.1990 in the London based *Financial Times* spells out the general plans of the imperialist centres, i.e. the destruction of the nation state. This will mean the ending of borders, the creation of broader unions, dependent from a central superpower—that of the U.S. Specifically for the Balkans it envisages the *dissolution of Yugoslavia*, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece.

Seen from this perspective it is not only ridiculous to regurgitate imperialist myths concerning the outbreak of "nationalisms" in the Balkans, but also to judge present development with past eras. Nationalism in reality doesn't exist. It's imperialism's guise with which a U.S. dictatorship can be imposed in the Balkans. Under the framework of this policy the Balkans must be divided into small, weak and defenceless statelets, subjects and servants of imperialism and finally to a lone superpower. If [Greek premier] Mitsotakis is so concerned with the preservation of the "bourgeois state" why is it that his party funded Zheliev's election in Bulgaria, the first government that recognised the "Independent Macedonian nation"? Mitsotakis, [Turkish prime minister] Demirel and the ex-Stalinists in the Balkans are common agents of imperialism and are working for the imposition of the "New World

Order." Their only problem is how to impose their policies on the people.

The working class is internationalist. It wants the dissolution of the nation state. But not by imperialism and for its interests. The events unfolding in Yugoslavia are part and parcel of this process of counterrevolution and the next stage, as noted by the director of the State Department of Foreign Affairs on the Balkans, Mr. Souhah (10th April 1991, Harvard University): "The forthcoming independence of the Macedonian Nation with a special relationship and cooperation with Bulgaria will possibly influence the borders with Greece—as is possible a war between Albania and Serbia."

The necessity of fighting by any means necessary to preserve the *unity of Yugoslavia* against the wishes of U.S. imperialism has supposedly become defunct as capitalism has been restored in Serbia and Serbian irregulars are "uncontrolled gangs of criminal terrorists." By the same logic, Yeltsin's constitution of the C.I.S. means capitalism has been restored and we should not be concerned about the dissolution of Greece, after all that is capitalist as well...

The "anti-war" movement in Greece led by OSE (Tony Cliff's followers) recently marched in Athens with the slogans: "No to Nationalism, No to War! Milosevic the Butcher of the Balkans! Serbia Out of Bosnia!" One wonders if they weren't literally taken out of *Time* magazine with a few minor corrections! Trotskyists cannot but be for the victory of the Serbian army (including what



TROTSKY

### For United Class Struggle in the U.S. and Latin America

*The rapidly growing Hispanic population can be a human bridge between the working class in the U.S. and the combative toiling masses of Latin America. This underscores the obligation of revolutionaries in the imperialist heartland to defend the foreign-born, notably the demand for full citizenship rights for immigrant workers, to stand for independence of Puerto Rico, one of the few remaining colonies; and to link workers' struggles to the*

*perspective of socialist revolution throughout the Western Hemisphere. The founding conference of the Trotskyist Fourth International pointed to the strategic unity of working-class struggle in the U.S. and in Wall Street's Latin American neocolonies.*

The revolutionists in the United States are obliged to rouse the American workers against the sending of any armed forces against the peoples of Latin America and the Pacific and for the withdrawal of any such forces where they now operate as instruments of imperialist oppression, as well as against any other form of imperialist pressure, be it "diplomatic" or "economic," which is calculated to violate the national independence of any country or to prevent its attainment of such national independence....

At the same time, the Fourth Internationalists point out that none of the countries of Latin America or the Pacific which are now under the domination of American imperialism to one degree or another, is able either to attain complete freedom from foreign oppression or to retain such freedom for any length of time if it confines its struggle to the efforts of its own self. Only a union of the Latin American peoples, striving towards the goal of a united socialist America and allied in the struggle with the revolutionary proletariat of the United States, would present a force strong enough to contend successfully with North American imperialism....

Just as the Latin American sections of the Fourth International must popularize in their press and agitation the struggles of the American labor and revolutionary movements against the common enemy, so the section in the U.S. must devote more time and energy in its agitational and propaganda work to acquaint the proletariat of the U.S. with the position and struggles of the Latin American countries and their working class movements. Every act of American imperialism must be exposed in the press and at meetings and on indicated occasions the section in the U.S. must seek to organize mass movements of protest against specific activities of Yankee imperialism. In addition, the section in the U.S., by utilizing the Spanish language literature of the Fourth International, must seek to organize, on however modest a scale to begin with, the militant revolutionary forces among the doubly exploited millions of Filipinos, Mexicans, Caribbeans, and Central and South American workers now resident in the U.S., not only for the purpose of linking them with the labor movement in the U.S., but also for the purpose of strengthening the ties with the labor and revolutionary movements in the countries from which these workers originally came. This task shall be carried on under the direction of the American Secretariat of the Fourth International, which will publish the necessary literature and organize the work accordingly.

—Fourth International, "Theses on the World Role of American Imperialism" (September 1938)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 559

18 September 1992



# Munich Olympics: Cops Killed 8 Israeli Athletes

## 20 Year Cover-Up!

While the Zionist media wildly cheered Israel's first-ever Olympic medal a month ago, one Israeli newspaper carried a little-noticed blockbuster about the Munich Olympics 20 years earlier, when eleven Israeli athletes were taken hostage by the Palestinian guerrilla group Black September. Following a West German commando assault and initial reports that all eleven athletes had been rescued, the authorities then claimed that they were all murdered at the hands of the guerrillas. That turns out to be a lie.

The Olympics massacre provided the pretext for an international vendetta against Palestinians everywhere. The Israelis carried out Nazi-like "collective punishment," with murderous bombing raids into Lebanon and Syria followed by a massive invasion into Lebanon, where hundreds of Arab civilians were wounded and at least 23 killed. Meanwhile, Arab students in West Germany, Italy and elsewhere were rounded up in mass indiscriminate dragnets.

We condemned the Munich killings at the time as an "indefensible petty-bourgeois terrorist frenzy," while denouncing the far more bloodthirsty terrorism of the Zionist butchers and the racist crusade by their imperialist patrons. We noted: "The wave of anti-

Arab repression has been most vicious in West Germany, where the authorities' hands are stained with the blood of the Black September guerrillas and the Israeli athletes" (WV No. 13, November 1972). When then Israeli ambassador (now prime minister) Yitzhak Rabin visited Boston that October, the Spartacist League organized a protest against the Zionist terror raids.

Twenty years later, the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Aharanot* (22 July) reveals that at least eight of the athletes were murdered by the German police, not the Palestinians. Based on secret documents recently obtained "in unknown ways" from the Bavarian attorney general's office by the athletes' families, the article reports: "Eight of the 11 Israeli athletes who were murdered in Munich 20 years ago lost their lives from the bullets of the German rescuing forces." Castigating the Germans for a "shlemiel job," the report notes that the documents show only two of the athletes to have been killed by Black September.

Can we now expect the Israeli leaders to order "retaliatory" bombing raids against Berlin and Munich? Hardly likely. The Zionist mass murderers are as thick as thieves with the leaders of the Fourth Reich, collaborating on such



1972 Olympics: helicopter destroyed in West German commando assault in which cops gunned down Israeli athletes.

efforts as forcing Soviet Jews who flee the "promised land" to Germany to go back to Israel. And whether it was simply a "shlemiel" botch-up or an indiscriminate shooting frenzy aimed at fomenting anti-Arab hysteria, can anyone doubt that the Israeli Mossad collaborated with the German cops in the "Olympics massacre"? Indeed, an account in the *Jerusalem Post* International Edition (1 August) reports that former Mossad chief Zvi Zamir was part of the operation in Munich.

Pointing to the "alleged acquiescence of the Israeli government in the German whitewash," the *Jerusalem Post* also notes that the Israeli government's own report on the Munich

Olympics killings remains classified to this day. Meanwhile, the more-Zionist-than-thou *New York Times* (1 August) dismissed the *Yediot Aharanot* bombshell in a tiny paragraph tucked away near the end of an article on the Israeli victory in the Barcelona Olympics.

As we have always insisted, Zionist Israel is a deathtrap for the Jewish people, in every conceivable way. Whether under former fascist Yitzhak Shamir's Likud or the thoroughly bourgeois "Labor" Party of Rabin, the Zionist state is predicated on the Nazi-like torment and subjugation of the oppressed Palestinian masses. Defend the Palestinians! For a socialist federation of the Near East!

the imperialist press characterises as irregulars) against U.S. imperialism. Coming after the Gulf War and the L.A. Upheaval, the Balkans are set to become the new arena of U.S. imperialism in its death throes. The tradition of the Balkan peoples for unity has defined and characterised historical turning points this century. This time around the end of superpowers once and for all is being questioned.

V.N. Gelis  
Athens Trotskyist

*WV replies:* It is true that the bloody breakup of Yugoslavia is the outcome of imperialist-backed counterrevolution in East Europe. Yet there is a fundamental difference between our proletarian internationalist opposition to the dissolution of the multinational Yugoslav deformed workers state and the phony "anti-imperialism" of nationalists (who are in many cases themselves the architects of capitalist restoration).

While V.N. Gelis has his own unique ideas (such as, nationalism "doesn't exist," and "the tradition of the Balkan peoples for unity"), his claim that there is an imperialist conspiracy to balkanize the Balkans is a variant of a view that is fairly common in the region. Thus the Milosevic regime in Belgrade denounces imperialist machinations against Yugoslavia in the interests of Greater Serbian nationalism, while Greek Stalinists in the name of "anti-imperialism" echo the chauvinist line of the Greek bourgeoisie against an independent Macedonia.

Gelis sees a uniform imperialist policy, dictated by the United States, to further reduce the Balkans to "small, weak and defenceless statelets." However, there is no common imperialist policy in the Balkans, a region which has been historically and is today again an arena of conflict between German imperialism on the one hand, and French, British and more lately American imperialism on the other.

After World War I, the Western imperialist victors formed the Yugoslav bourgeois state by attaching the South

Slav regions (Croatia and Slovenia) of the defunct Habsburg Empire to the kingdom of Serbia. The Communist International in the 1920s and later the Trotskyist movement defended the right of self-determination, i.e., the right to secede, for Croats, Macedonians and other oppressed nationalities in Yugoslavia.

During this period Serbian chauvinists and their Anglo-French imperialist backers denounced the Communists for inciting the breakup of Yugoslavia. Precisely because the Communists defended the democratic rights of all the peoples of Yugoslavia, Tito's Partisans gained the moral authority to reconstruct Yugoslavia after World War II on the basis of proletarian state power (albeit bureaucratically deformed) and a nationally federated governmental system.

However, Tito's pan-Yugoslav nationalism was a far cry from proletarian internationalism. A genuinely internationalist program would call for, as Trotsky did in the 1930s, a Socialist Federation of the Balkans (including Greece) within a Socialist United States of Europe. Such a Balkan federation would provide a framework for Macedonian independence (should the people of Macedonia so desire) and for a united soviet Albania.

Especially after Tito died in 1980, the Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy, under the pressure of world capitalism, splintered along national lines. It is not true that U.S. imperialism's "new world order" initially envisaged the breakup of Yugoslavia into small statelets. Washington's policy aimed to transform all of Yugoslavia, within its existing boundaries, into a capitalist state. In March 1991 Bush wrote to Belgrade prime minister Ante Markovic expressing support for a "united and democratic" Yugoslavia. A top U.S. official lectured Yugoslav politicians that "if they balkanize into little countries, they will set themselves back economically" (*Washington Post*, 17 May 1991).

Recently the Bush administration gave special dispensation for an American

millionaire of Serbian extraction to become prime minister of the rump Yugoslavia, thereby indicating that American imperialism is not fundamentally hostile to a Greater Serbian state if it acts as Washington's client in the Balkans.

German imperialism, on the other hand, has a long historic enmity toward Serbia. It was Helmut Kohl's Fourth Reich which provided the decisive big-power support for the Croatian and Slovenian secessionists, thereby leading to the unraveling of the rest of Yugoslavia as well (see "Yugoslav Bloodbath: Made in the Fourth Reich" in this issue).

In Macedonia, unlike Croatia and Slovenia, there had been no strong secessionist movement or sentiment. The Macedonians were driven to declare independence for fear they would other-

wise become an oppressed nationality in a rump Yugoslavia ruled by arch Serbian chauvinist Milosevic, who rose to power by brutally trampling on the Albanians of Kosovo.

It is especially important for Greek revolutionaries to support national self-determination for the Macedonians, who have been the target of intense, indeed hysterical, chauvinism by the Greek ruling class and its reformist henchmen. We don't recognize that regional powers such as Serbia and Greece should have a privileged position vis-à-vis the smaller nationalities in the Balkans. As Lenin and Trotsky taught us, the national state can be transcended only if the proletarian revolution led by its communist vanguard scrupulously and militantly defends equal rights for all peoples. ■

## INS Raids Xmas Ornament Factory, Arrests Expectant Mothers

They must give prizes in the Immigration and Naturalization Service for who comes up with the most offensive racist atrocity they could commit. Last week's winner was an INS raid on a Brooklyn factory producing Christmas ornaments. *La migra* cops arrested more than 130 people, 70 percent of the work force, and according to the *Daily News* (4 September) more than ninety of those arrested were pregnant women. The raid caused consternation in New York City's fast-growing Mexican community, estimated at 200,000. The Partisan Defense Committee sent off the following letter protesting this outrage.

10 September 1992

District Director  
Immigration and Naturalization  
Service  
New York, NY

Dear Sir:

The Partisan Defense Committee strongly protests the September 2 INS raid in which 150 workers were arrested at the Commodore Manufacturing Company in Brooklyn. We demand they be immediately released and all deportation proceedings be dropped.

Ninety of those arrested at the Christmas ornament factory were pregnant women. Thanks to the INS' racist policies these workers and their newborn infants will spend their first holiday season in abject poverty—only to face a future of even greater exploitation under the "Free Trade Agreement"—while you sip eggnog in front of a tree adorned with the fruits of their sweatshop labor.

Anyone who makes it to this country has the right to stay. We demand full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families!



## Clara Fraser: Protesting Too Much

# Personalism as a "Political" Program


As we noted in our article "In Defense of Dick Fraser": "We're really not interested in getting into a shooting match with Ms. Seattle Six-Gun"—a.k.a. Clara Fraser, the current *lideresa máxima* of the Freedom Socialist Party. Obviously, the feeling is not mutual. The two letters printed below are a representative sample of the eight missives we have received to date from the FSP and environs, grotesquely comparing Clara Fraser to Rosa Luxemburg while charging us with "terminal misogyny" and "cover[ing] up for your misogynist male buddies."

To simply acknowledge Dick's role as a veteran American Trotskyist leader and originator of the program of revolutionary integrationism as the road to black liberation in America, is to be tarred as unmitigated male chauvinist pigs who would deny Clara Fraser's "stellar theoretical advances to the understanding of Black liberation." We invite people to read our Prometheus Research Library bulletin, *In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser*. Although only a small selection, it gives a good idea of the scope and erudition of his most seminal works on revolutionary integration—which were completed long before he

got involved with Clara Fraser.

Dick's exposition of the program of revolutionary integrationism was the product of his years-long fight in the SWP for a revolutionary interventionist policy in the black struggle, and of a lifetime of meticulous scholarship on the question of black oppression. In particular, we call readers' attention to his 1953 two-part lecture titled "The Negro Struggle and the

Proletarian Revolution" (printed in the PRL bulletin), which is a brilliant presentation of the ideas to which Dick committed his life—for black freedom through integrated revolutionary struggle for an egalitarian socialist society. His 1955 polemic against black nationalism, "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle" (printed in our *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5), was a shaping influence on the de-



**Clara Fraser**

**The Freedom Socialist**  
*Voice of Revolutionary Feminism*  
May-July 1992

**Our defense of comrade Richard Fraser against the personal vilification contained in this article by Clara Fraser has now evoked a spate of letters from her followers.**

**Thelma and Louise "R" Us**

EVER SINCE FEMINISTS ORGANIZED the modern movement in the '60s, we have been harangued from all sides for being insane, unfulfilled, petty-bourgeois, narcissistic, frivolous, home-wreckers, strident bitches, dykes, man-haters, and enemies of civility and civilization.

## Letters from the FSP

August 14, 1992

Workers Vanguard  
To the editor,

It doesn't surprise me a bit, given Spartacist League's atrocious record on women's issues, that you responded with hysterical denunciations to Clara Fraser's hard-hitting column "Thelma and Louise 'R' Us" which appeared in the *Freedom Socialist* newspaper.

Fraser surveyed today's worldwide legal, political and physical assaults on women and concluded that there is still an urgent need for women to mobilize in self-defense.

As if to prove her point, *Workers Vanguard* rose up in arms over Fraser's reference to her 1967 divorce from then-

FSP leader Dick Fraser, an event which continues to divide the Left along the lines of feminism vs. sexism. In a July 24 diatribe entitled "In Defense of Dick Fraser," *Workers Vanguard* ignores the fact that their hero acted as a fink by hauling Clara Fraser into the bourgeois courts and accusing her of being an unfit mother because she was a socialist organizer. The article presents SL "mentor" Dick Fraser as a saint who is being hounded by his harpy ex-wife even beyond the grave.

Spartacist League puts Dick Fraser on a pedestal because of his theoretical contributions on the Black struggle. But why is it Spartacist League has never, ever noticed, given credence to, or ac-

knowledgeed the fact that "Revolutionary Integration: The Dialectics of Black Liberation" was co-authored by Dick Fraser and Clara Fraser?! SL simply cannot conceive of an equal team of male and female co-thinkers.

I don't think SL took Dick Fraser under its wing for his theoretical contributions as much as for your identification with him as a poor, misunderstood, maligned male, expected to shoulder the onerous burden of carrying his political principles into his personal life.

Base your politics on chauvinist sentimentality and male bonding if you like. But try to show a modicum of respect for a leader like Clara Fraser, who has made stellar theoretical advances to the understanding of Black liberation and women's emancipation, and has also built an international party, the Freedom Socialist Party. The laudatory Dick Fraser, on the other hand, dropped out of politics except for making a "drift back into [SL's] orbit," as your article puts it so well.

When you resort to smears that Clara Fraser is a dizzy "guru," you're just showing your pathetic inability to accept the reality of women's leadership. After 30 years of feminist upheaval, you still equate Bolshevism with testosterone. SL won't even notice when the American revolution begins because you'll be so busy sneering at the women, lesbians and gays, and people of color in the forefront.

Helen Gilbert  
Seattle, WA

Dear *Workers Vanguard*:

Your "In Defense of Dick Fraser" (No. 556, July 24, 1992) was just another Spartacist League attack of Clara Fraser, National Chair of the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP). And because you do not have a clear political argument, substituting contradictory and confusing snipes, you wind up shooting yourself in the foot.

Once again the SL reveals its program-

velopment of our political tendency.

As for Clara's role, we are more than willing to acknowledge her contributions to the later document "Revolutionary Integration: The Dialectics of Black Liberation," published in 1968. Indeed, although the document upholds the program of revolutionary integrationism, it was otherwise a retrogressive step from Dick's earlier work, in the direction of the polyvanguardist *sectoralism* that is the sine qua non of Clara Fraser's FSP.

For reasons that would appear to revolve around pride-of-authorship, egotism and vindictive organizational advantage, Clara Fraser's FSP continues to pay tribute to the program of revolutionary integration. Yet their operational politics are completely antithetical to any conception of united *class* struggle. Combining pseudo-Marxist verbiage with leftover New Left phraseology like "white skin privilege," under the guise of "following leadership of people of color," women or any oppressed group, in practice their line is a guilty liberal version of sectoralist tailism.

Such a posture is not unusual on the "left," but the FSP has the unique distinction of being so shameless (when it suits them) in the view that "oppressed blacks/women/Chicanos/Indians can't be wrong" that in 1985 they embraced the contra-allied, CIA-bankrolled leaders of the Miskito Indians in Nicaragua against the petty-bourgeois radical Sandinista government, a position unique on the left so far as we know. As the old saying goes, "politics makes strange bedfellows." But unlike the FSP we don't believe that rejection of (or by) one's former bedfellows makes for a political *raison d'être*.

The FSP takes the old New Left feminist slogan that "the personal is political" to the crudest and most apolitical lows, unashamedly suggesting an official organizational practice of subjectivity,

automatic contempt for women leaders and feminism. But your article also reveals an appallingly blatant sexism against all women—and *agrim*.

You accuse Clara Fraser of basing "her entire political career on her divorce"—in other words, basing the political on something personal and petty. You have yet to see that marriage and divorce are political issues as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky have made quite clear. She merely developed that theory and turned it into action.

In addition, Clara Fraser's leadership as a Revolutionary Marxist was recognized decades before the 1967 divorce and she remains a leader to this day.

You state that Clara Fraser is trying to "bury" the truth that Dick Fraser was a well-known leader of the American Trotskyist movement, and yet in this same article you quote from the FSP National Committee statement to his memorial in L.A., "[Dick] Fraser's profound Marxist analysis in Revolutionary Integration is destined to become one of the most powerful weapons in the arsenal of U.S. radicals...."

You quote Clara Fraser out of context and distort her meaning by leaving out key words. For your readers I quote the sentence you used and underline what you leave out: "[It's] Time for women guerrillas, 20th-century Amazons, mad shrieks of protest, and careful mobilization of political battalions." ("Thelma and Louise 'R' Us", *Freedom Socialist*, Vol. 13, No. 3, May-July 1992)

Finally, your snide contempt for older people comes out when you state, "Rehashing old history may be one of the few pleasures of getting older, but willfully rewriting it is another matter." By saying that our elders do little more than dwell on their memories, you render yourself contemptible.

Yours in struggle,  
Merle Woo,  
Freedom Socialist Party  
San Francisco, CA

### SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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not to mention cultism. Merle Woo, a prominent FSP spokesman in the Bay Area, argues that the Spartacists "have yet to see that marriage and divorce are political issues as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky have made quite clear. She [Clara Fraser] merely developed that theory and turned it into action."

Are we to assume from this statement that the FSP takes a "political" side in every marital breakup between its comrades? What kind of J. Edgar Hoover type procedures are followed to determine which partner has the "correct" line? Or is it just that the woman is always right? Then what happens in the case of gay and lesbian couples splitting up? Or has the FSP attained such a state of personal nirvana within capitalist society that comrade-couples normally "live happily ever after"? Or is it simply that the only divorce of "political" import is that of the "party's founder and National Chairperson," Clara Fraser?

Levity aside, as the letter from David Dreiser printed here makes crystal clear, the supposedly principled question of the disputed divorce was actually Clara's cover for avoiding discussion of the politics of the split in their tendency, substituting personalism and personal slander for program.

Dick Fraser was a political mentor of our organization. He won Jim Robertson to the theory of revolutionary integration and was a co-reporter on the black question at the founding conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. in 1966. His foray into support for Mao's China put our relations in cold storage for a period. But in his later years, Dick was a close and invaluable collaborator in elaborating a perspective for our work among militant black workers and youth through establishing organizations of labor/black defense. Sharing our outrage against the U.S.' terror-bombing of Libya in 1986, he resolved the contradiction between his then-formal membership in the Democratic Socialists of America and his fervent political beliefs, in particular his intransigent opposition to U.S. imperialism: at the time of his death Dick was a comrade of the Spartacist League.

That we could continue to have relations with a man who once wrote that the national chairman of our organization combined the "worst aspects of Cannonism and Shachtmanism," is obviously a foreign concept within Clara Fraser's FSP—where it seems any political disagreement or challenge to the "leader" is lèse majesté and ipso facto evidence of "male chauvinism." Well, neither Dick nor the SL was of this cult-like school. As we wrote in our obituary to Richard Fraser (WV No. 466, 2 December 1988): "Over the years we had our disagreements with Dick. Neither of us tried to hide these, but we were always happy to bend the stick in favor of the areas of profound political agreement between us."

For the FSP this is simply an expression of our "chauvinist sentimentality and

## "Time to Correct the Record"

September 5, 1992  
Workers Vanguard  
To the Editor:

Clara Fraser's renewed vituperation against Dick Fraser in her recent article, "Thelma and Louise 'R' Us," distorts the truth in several ways.

First, Dick did not charge Clara with adultery, or doing political work, in the custody case. At one point during the proceeding, Dick's attorney started to raise an issue of adultery but Dick would not allow her to proceed. What Dick claimed was that he had done most of the child rearing. That, if true, would not reflect on Clara in any way. Millions of women work outside the home, then do the housework, raise the children and cook. If, in this case, both parties worked, but the husband did the child rearing, it is no moral reflection on the wife, but might provide grounds for custody. At least, to try to get custody does not make the hus-

band a male chauvinist as Clara has been claiming somewhat hysterically for 25 years.

It is also false to claim that Dick was made into a martyr by most of the left. On the contrary, since Clara's charges have never been answered, her view has gained broad and undeserved currency in the left. Dick's reputation has suffered greatly and it is time to correct the record.

Dick never answered Clara's charges. Even to his friends he never attacked Clara or said a word against her, probably out of concern for the feelings of their son. *Revolutionary Age*, the journal published by Dick and his associates after the split in the FSP, never answered Clara. It was felt there were other things to publish. But the journal did treat the woman question as a vital part of the founding program of the FSP. The third issue was devoted to the woman question with articles by Joan Jordan,

Lee Mayfield and a piece by Clara and Dick Fraser.

Clara's claims are also false in what they do not say about the real reasons for the split in the FSP. "Why We Left the SWP" was written in June 1966 by the founders of the FSP. It had four perspectives, revolutionary integration, a serious concern for the woman question, support of Arne Swabeck's position on China and an organizational concept rejecting the perspective of a new vanguard party in favor of an open democracy looking toward regroupment.

Clara abandoned two of the four perspectives, but her differences were never discussed. On the contrary, the divorce case provided a pretext to force a split while avoiding a discussion. She changed her mind on China, and proceeded to form a new vanguard party, a sort of mini-SWP in a microcosm. Of the signers of "Why We Left," all remained with Dick politically except Clara.

Comradely,  
David Dreiser



A revolutionary labor movement must actively champion black freedom struggle: stopping the Klan, Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982. Dick Fraser was a mentor for our party's Marxist analysis and program on the black question.

male bonding." You'll have a hard time making that one stick against the Spartacist League, which has a majority of women on its Political Bureau. Among Dick's closest collaborators and friends were senior leading women of our organization, in particular Karen Wyatt, leader of our Los Angeles branch, and Deborah Maguire, the national organizational secretary of the SL/U.S. (Former longtime CP leader Dorothy Healey was also a good friend to Dick.) In response to the FSP's charge that Dick was a "political dropout" following his breakup with Clara, Maguire wrote on September 10:

"Dick didn't 'drop out of politics,' he got cancer.... More than anything else, Dick wanted to be a working communist—he talked about it often. He was a teacher and the worst thing about his cancer was that it affected his jaw and the resulting surgery adhered his tongue to the bottom of his mouth—thus he could not talk very well. So he started his writing project, the book with David, and went through surgery after surgery—

hours-long, life-threatening operations to try to fix his mouth so he would be able to make himself understood. I remember trying to talk him out of one of his last operations, telling him we needed him and this was too risky—he told me if he couldn't talk, his life wasn't worth much to him. Far from 'contempt for older people,' our treatment of Dick shows how much we care for, respect and fight to preserve the contributions of those communist veterans who came before us."

In a decent society, a scholar and writer like Richard Fraser would have had available to him the facilities and resources to pursue his work. But in capitalist America, Dick had to research and write in his spare time, living all his life under conditions of material want, insecurity, and in the end, painful and debilitating illnesses. This was compounded by Clara Fraser, who seized Dick's library as part of the divorce settlement. Within our limited resources, the SL sought to replenish his library so

that he could continue with his work. Even from beyond the grave, Dick Fraser haunts the FSP, which obsessively continues to try to destroy him.

The issue posed is: either Dick Fraser was a male chauvinist pig and "political dropout" or Clara Fraser is a monster of cult-like proportions. Well, "you pays your money and you takes your choice." For our part, we are proud that we did what we could to make sure that Richard Fraser did not end up living the last years of his life according to Clara Fraser's agenda—alone, friendless and without influence.

To quote Shakespeare, "The evil that men do lives after them/The good is oft interred with their bones." We do not intend to let Clara Fraser's FSP bury Richard Fraser—a veteran American Trotskyist who made invaluable contributions to a revolutionary program for black liberation in this country—under a mountain of self-serving invective. ■

### Prometheus Research Series

A memorial to comrade Richard S. Fraser (1913-1988), who pioneered the Trotskyist understanding of the black question in the United States

After joining the Trotskyist movement in 1934, Fraser was an organizer and union activist for close to 30 years and a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee for 25 years. During internal debates in the SWP in the 1950s he developed and fought for the programmatic perspective of Revolutionary Integration, while the majority, with George Breitman as its spokesman, tailed the liberal pacifist/Democratic Party leadership of the civil rights movement and soon capitulated to black nationalism.

The bulletin contains material reflecting the entire span of Fraser's political life, including his seminal 1953 lectures, "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution."

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Dick Fraser speaking at Spartacist League conference, 1983.

WV Photo



# South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

soldiers. We felt we had been softening them up.... The assessment was that a peaceful protest march would not be shot at, not be shot at in full view of the international press."

—New York Times, 9 September

Kasrils said that the march was part of a plan for the "peaceful overthrow" of the Ciskei's tinpot dictator. This was the so-called "Leipzig option" bandied about by the SACP/ANC militants led by Chris Hani, general secretary of the SACP and head of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the military arm of the ANC. (Kasrils was also a leader of the MK.) Focusing first on the Ciskei, the strategy aims at toppling the puppet hantustan rulers through "mass action." But first of all, this isn't Leipzig. Mass demonstrations in East Germany in the fall of 1989 led to the rapid collapse of the brittle bureaucratic apparatus sitting atop the deformed workers state. But the apartheid regime is the executive committee of the capitalist ruling class, one of the most ruthless, racist bourgeoisies of modern times. They and their puppets aren't about to crumble because of concerns about bad press in America and Europe.

Mobilization of the exploited and oppressed is a key component of the struggle for proletarian revolution led by a Trotskyist party. But ANC/SACP proponents of mass action seek to manipulate it as a pressure tactic in negotiating with the apartheid Randlords. During the upheavals of 1984-85, when it was necessary and possible to unite the township and bantustan masses behind the power of black labor in a revolutionary fight



Contingent of trade unionists in COSATU/ANC march against cutbacks. Combative black workers movement must break with ANC to bring down apartheid capitalism.

for workers rule, the ANC/SACP called to "make the townships ungovernable"—as if chaos were a strategy. When they later moved to take control of an insurgent black union movement, coalesced around the powerful Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), despite the red flags and socialist rhetoric it was not to fight for revolution, but to broker a mythical "post-apartheid" capitalist state.

That has meant clamping down on workers' militancy at key junctures (such as calling off the 1990 Mercedes-Benz strike) in the interests of class peace with the *verligte* ("enlightened") capitalists. At other times it requires funneling mil-

itancy into "safe" channels. Last month the ANC/SACP/COSATU brought off the biggest general strike in South African history, but all for the small change of what would be parliamentary maneuvering, except that the vast black majority is excluded from any parliamentary representation! Asked "What did mass action achieve?" Chris Hani replies that it established the pre-eminence of the ANC-led alliance and "addressed the imbalances between negotiations and the struggle." He adds: "I support the return to negotiations, but at a price" (*South African Labour Bulletin*, September/October 1992).

Through the intermediary of the ANC nationalists and SACP Stalinists, the COSATU tops have become real labor lieutenants of capital. Meanwhile, township residents are left defenseless in the face of the violence of government-sponsored Inkatha Zulu *impis* (fighting squads), and in the Ciskei tens of thousands of unarmed demonstrators are led to a killing field under the illusion that the murderous apartheid puppet regime will fall. Moreover, the ANC initially supported Gqozo, helping to contain rioting after he took power in a 1990 coup. He also warned a chair at the CODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) gabfest last December. Next door in the Transkei, Hani is closely linked to the bantustan chief. And what if they had succeeded in bringing down Brigadier Gqozo? This would establish the ANC as head of a Xhosa-based "homeland," thus intensifying furious ethnic rivalries with Zulus and other peoples.

In the aftermath of the Ciskei massacre, there will doubtless be calls by black youth for arms. But a few AK-47s won't change the balance of power. The MK never did more than put a little heat on Pretoria to go to the bargaining table: it wasn't in a position to fight a war against the apartheid regime, which is armed to

the teeth and fully prepared to use its enormous firepower. Hani's "Leipzig option," as we just saw, is based on astounding faith in the capitalist state. Particularly in South Africa, the military question is subordinate to the class aims of the struggle. A serious struggle for proletarian power must be based on the cities and factories, where a working class composed of blacks of different tribal/ethnic groupings, coloureds and Indians can unite in common struggle—along with those numerous whites who do not wish to live in an embattled racist garrison state—using their enormous power to bring industry, mines and commerce to a standstill.

There will be widespread revulsion in the townships as Mandela sits down to bargain with the paymasters of the Ciskei killers. But while various black nationalist groups criticize the ANC's negotiations with De Klerk, they are only angling for factional advantage. The Pan-Africanist Congress rejects CODESA but is prepared to "enter into bilateral talks with the view to entering an alternative forum," said PAC official Barney Desai (*Weekly Mail*, 14 August). The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, in turn, calls for "our comrades in the ANC to break off talks with the government until at the very least the situation has normalised" (*Workers' Voice*, June 1992). But as opposed to such opportunist maneuvering, even a principled opposition to collaboration with the murderous regime is not sufficient as a program for revolutionary struggle to bring down the whole system of apartheid slavery.

The urgent task in South Africa is the forging of a genuinely communist party that can take up the felt aspirations of the black masses—that their decades-long fight, through countless massacres from Sharpeville to Soweto to Boipatong and the Ciskei, not be in vain—and lead a fight for workers revolution. While everyone from the ANC to WOSA calls upon the De Klerk government to organize a "constituent assembly," we declare that "power sharing" with the apartheid butchers is a dangerous hoax, and fight for a revolutionary constituent assembly through bringing down the apartheid dictatorship and building workers soviets as the organs for proletarian rule. As opposed to the treacherous Stalinist-Menshevik hoax of "two-stage" revolution—"democracy" now, later for socialism—we fight for Trotsky's program of permanent revolution, with the democratic tasks growing over into socialist ones.

Under the British or the Boers, whether called apartheid or not, the bedrock of South African capitalism is the superexploitation of and denial of democratic rights to the oppressed non-white masses. Only the formation of a black-centered workers government, led by an integrated Bolshevik-Leninist party, can bring about the rule of the downtrodden majority and the emancipation of the toilers of South Africa. ■

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126 Barrows Hall  
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**For a Class-Struggle Workers Party  
to Fight for a Socialist America**

**Racism and Decay in  
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Guest Speaker: Keith Anwar, member of ATU Local 308

**Thursday, Sept. 24, 7:30 p.m.**  
See "Today in the Union" for room  
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**MADISON**

**Saturday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.**  
Regency Room, Blackstone Hotel  
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**CHICAGO**

South African bantustans were created by forced relocation of black population on barren dumping grounds.





# "Hate Speech" Codes and the Supreme Court of Racism

In another example of capitalist "justice," the black-robed Supreme Court ruled on behalf of the nightriders in white sheets that cross-burning is a protected form of "free speech" in America. The case, *R.A.V. v. St. Paul*, involved skinheads who were convicted of violating St. Paul's ordinance against "hate crimes" for burning a cross on the lawn of a black family that had moved into a predominantly white Minnesota neighborhood. Now, as colleges open for the fall semester, racist punks who've been chomping at the bit over campus "hate speech codes" have been given a green light to attack blacks, gays, Jews and leftists.

It's rather rich to hear the high court hold forth on the inviolability of the First Amendment. We Marxists have been around the block a few times fighting the government's McCarthyite witchhunters and deadly COINTELPRO repression. The courts were only too eager to throw 18 leaders of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters into prison for their class-struggle opposition to the imperialist Second World War. Leftists like us have led the fight for free speech against the government's drive to criminalize dissent.

But unlike liberal muddleheads whose response to fascist terror has been to beg the government to legislate away "hate speech"—with laws that can also be used against black nationalists, for instance—we understand that the instigators of racist terror must be stopped by mobilizing all anti-racists alongside the power of the labor movement to stop the fascist skinheads and Nazis in their tracks!

The Court's majority opinion striking down the St. Paul city ordinance against hate crimes clearly situates itself in the broader ruling-class offensive against labor, minorities and the left. This has as its corollary the witchhunt against the "PC" ("politically correct") bogeyman on campus. While agreeing that the St. Paul ordinance was "too broad" in its proscription of "symbols," lone liberal holdout Justice Blackmun noted, "I see no First Amendment values that are compromised by a law that prohibits hoodlums from driving minorities out of their homes by burning crosses on their lawns, but I see great harm in preventing the

people of St. Paul from specifically punishing the race-based 'fighting words' that so prejudice their community."

Racist threats and epithets are not a question of free speech but incitements to violence. Bigots screaming "nigger" or "faggot," or burning crosses or carving swastikas on synagogues, are engaged in acts of racist terror. When they gang

Nationwide, as racist assaults against minorities escalated in the Reagan/Bush years, "PC" academics and anti-racist students pushed for speech codes from the same administrations which have presided over declining minority enrollment for years. As we wrote:

"Ninety-nine out of a hundred times, speech codes will be used against the left

the "right" of the Nazis, Klan and other fascist groups to terrorize their victims. The ACLU's supposedly "classless" liberalism provides a platform for these vermin, allowing them to spread their venomous filth and nightriding terror under the cloak of the First Amendment. Of course, the ACLU's supposed commitment to free speech didn't stop them from purging Communists from their ranks during the 1940s and '50s, nor did they utter a peep against the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. But when the Nazis tried to march through Skokie, Illinois in 1977 to terrorize Jewish Holocaust survivors, the ACLU were the lawyers for the fascists.

The Klan, Nazis and skinheads are a threat to every fundamental right of black people, other minorities, the labor movement and the left. The fascists feed off the economic and social decay of this bankrupt capitalist system, and they have the complicity and direct assistance of the state, which unleashes its dogs of war as needed. We will never forget the 1979 Greensboro Massacre of five anti-racist leftist demonstrators, carried out by the Klan with the strategic assistance of local and state cops as well as the lads (and later whitewashed by the courts). We are proud of our record of initiating and carrying out successful mass mobilizations of labor, blacks and others targeted by the fascists' genocidal plans. We have stopped the racist terrorists cold in such cities as Boston, Washington, D.C., San Francisco and Philadelphia.

In the wake of the Supreme Court ruling, the University of Wisconsin in Madison has repealed its speech code, and other universities are expected to follow suit or face suits by racist frat rats and right-wing creeps who have the wind in their sails. We don't need preachy lectures on racial tolerance, or "speech codes"—which the administrations can use against radicals—to combat these bigots. The race-terrorists must be "educated," as the Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky recommended, through successful mass actions that "acquaint their heads with the pavement." Militant action by both students and labor, in struggle together, can help uproot the rotting system which breeds fascist scum. ■



Spartacus Youth Club calls for class-struggle mobilization to smash racist attacks, Madison, Wisconsin, 1988.

up to do it, we're dealing with lynch mobs. The liberals want to deal with this by making certain exceptions to the First Amendment under the rubric of "fighting words" which the state would "regulate." The conservatives want to unleash the fascists, Marxists have a class view: we defend the intended victims of the fascists—blacks, Jews, Hispanics, leftists and the labor movement as a whole—by mobilizing them in mass working-class centered actions to crush the Klan, Nazis, skinheads and racist mobs. This is a life-and-death issue for the oppressed, not a matter to be left in the hands of the capitalist state, which is hardly neutral and indeed breeds this filth.

and anti-racists. The problem with this strategy is it disarms the victims by fostering illusions in the supposed "neutrality" of the racist university administrations and the cops. It gives enhanced power to those institutions to act against, for instance, leftists who might rightly protest Colin Powell or Schwarzkopf and call these imperialist pigs "imperialist pigs." What's more, this strategy doesn't work."

—"Racism and Witchhunts on Campus," *WV* No. 533, 30 August 1991

Disgustingly, civil libertarians like the ACLU, which filed an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief in support of the St. Paul skinhead, have long devoted their considerable resources to defending

## Racist Dragnet Targets Black Students

### Oneonta, New York

For black youth, life in America is a hell called "Police State, USA." Millions saw the videotaped beating of Rodney King and the outrageous acquittal of the racist cops who beat him. Now, far from L.A.'s mean streets, in a sleepy town in upstate New York every black student at the State University College at Oneonta became a target of a vicious police manhunt.

Ostensibly looking for a robbery suspect described only as a black male with cuts on his hands, the police chased down every black in town, from Job Corps day laborers to college stu-

dents. The cops were given a hit list, compiled by vice president for administration Lief Hartmark, of all black males enrolled at Oneonta. In a blatantly racist "defense" of this dragnet, state police investigator H. Karl Chandler said, "If your car has an accident and there's red paint on it, are you going to look for a green car?"

In dormitories, at their parents' homes and even at their jobs, black students were nabbed by the police and interrogated. One humiliated student said, "the people at work think I'm guilty." In scenes that recalled apartheid South Africa, blacks were even dragged off public buses by police. Admissions counselor Sheryl Champer said, "God forbid a black man had a



Enfies/Daily Star

State University College at Oneonta students rally September 10 to protest release of the names of black male students to state police.

cut on his hand. He'd be locked up by now."

On September 10, a large and integrated protest of 500 outraged students confronted the university president and a petition drive is underway to force

Hartmark's resignation. As one protester said, "If you're black you're always on the list... It seems to me the actual criminal is the man who generated the list." Stop the racist dragnet! Hartmark's gotta go!





Igniting breakup of Yugoslavia: fascist Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman (left) with his sponsor, German chancellor Helmut Kohl.



Hammer/Reuters

# Yugoslavia Bloodbath: Made in the Fourth Reich

The following article is adapted from Spartakist No. 97, September 1992, published by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

German imperialism has pushed the other NATO powers into accepting its policy of dismembering Yugoslavia in order to drive forward social counter-revolution—a policy which has led to a bloody massacre in the Balkans. As in World War II, it was to have begun with the creation of client states in Slovenia and Croatia. But instead of creating a "favorable climate" for capitalist investment, this policy has unleashed an all-sided and seemingly endless nationalist civil war. Behind an extremely skimpy veil of "humanitarian" hypocrisy, Bonn expects its NATO allies to play the role of hired cop for the Deutsche Bank and pull its chestnuts out of the fire.

The imperialist powers have already begun their military intervention in the Balkans with an embargo modeled on that of the Persian Gulf War. Their August 12 decision in the UN Security Council to protect "aid deliveries" to Bosnia-Herzegovina, "by any means necessary," is another step in the direction of direct involvement in the bloody civil war in Bosnia. France and Britain have already offered their contingents of troops as chips on the imperialists' diplomatic poker table. After the London conference, Germany promised logistical aid, "within the boundaries of its constitution," as the Italian foreign minister put it. Naturally, the reunified German Reich is now demanding that these "boundaries" be redrawn, so that Europe's boundaries can be redrawn. On the eve of the Nazi pogroms in Rostock, the SPD leadership finally agreed to changes in the constitution in order to deport asylum-seekers more quickly and to deploy the Bundeswehr (sporting blue UN "peacekeeper" helmets) "outside NATO's area of operations."

During his vacation Chancellor Kohl recalled "that the Germans, after the Second World War in the Balkans, cannot afford a military intervention." The Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia during World War II was certainly a nightmare of mass murder—some 1,700,000 Yugoslavs (almost 11 percent of the total population) were slaughtered. Exactly 50 years ago the Wehrmacht massacred countless civilians during an offensive (in Bosnia) and deported 68,000, mainly

women and children, to death camps like Jasenovac. Yet the German bourgeoisie grumbles not about the horror of Hitler's Reich but rather about the defeat inflicted on it by the Red Army. Tito's heroic partisan war in Yugoslavia thus becomes the Nazis' "Vietnam"! The second-string social democrats of Gregor Gysi's Party of Democratic Socialism cry (like Richard Nixon!) "No new Vietnams!" since the Vietnam War was a historic defeat for imperialism.

## Nationalist Slaughter and Imperialist Rivalries

Thus for the moment the Fourth Reich must be content with logistical support to intervention by other imperialists. That does not stop the German bourgeois press from screaming for Serbian blood. Meanwhile German armchair strategists shamelessly base themselves on the "lessons" of 1941-45. A letter to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* nostalgically recalls 1944, when the SS Division Prinz Eugen "secured" Bosnia.

It was nationalist Stalinism, not internationalist communism, that perished in Yugoslavia, as in other East European countries. Nonetheless, the social revolution that was carried out under Tito's leadership laid the basis for the social and national equality of the Yugoslav peoples. With capitalist counter-revolution the Balkans have once again become, as before World War I, a battleground of peoples in which imperialist rivalries crystallize. Leon

Trotsky wrote at that time:

"The Great Powers...have always had a direct interest in setting the Balkan peoples and states against each other and then, when they have weakened one another, subjecting them to their economic and political influence. The petty dynasties ruling in these 'broken pieces' of the Balkan Peninsula have served and continue to serve as levers for European diplomatic intrigues."

—"The Balkan Question and Social Democracy" August 1910

Today we need only replace "petty dynasties" with "bourgeois nationalist demagogues."

The Milosevic regime has destroyed the multinational army of the Yugoslav deformed workers state and forged a force in the service of Serbian chauvinism, incorporating reactionary bands who call themselves Chetniks after the World War II Serbian royalist-nationalists. The choice of Milan Panic (an American citizen and millionaire!) as prime minister of a rump Yugoslavia represents an attempt at conciliating U.S. imperialism.

"Ethnic cleansing" is being carried out—on all sides. The Tudjman regime in Croatia is the heir of the fascist Ustasha, and once again looks to Greater Germany. For the Fourth Reich, Bosnian Muslims, increasingly under Croatian "protection," are but a tool in its drive to dismember ex-Yugoslavia.

"Serbia must be brought to its knees," bellowed German foreign minister Kinkel in May. And who should carry

this out? We wrote early this summer that a massive military intervention, which would require hundreds of thousands of ground troops, "would certainly be a measure of imperialist idiocy" (WS No. 553, 12 June).

In July a genuine "Holy Alliance" lined up: from the Pope (renewing the Vatican's close collaboration with Hitler's Ustashi client state in Croatia) and "military experts" from the Christian Democrats (CDU) and Social Democrats (SPD) to the German Lutheran church, American Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton and Britain's Margaret Thatcher. They were all screaming for air strikes against the Serbs.

Various UN and NATO military advisers raised "technical" objections to this. It would be impossible to take out Serbian military targets, they said. What happened to the vaunted "high-tech," "surgical" attacks by the Pentagon in Iraq? They never existed. U.S. imperialism and its allies simply slaughtered 100,000 Iraqis in cold blood, and they would do it again if need be.

Although the other imperialists agree on sanctions to rein in Serbia, they balk at militarily intervening on the side of Germany's Balkan allies. Washington, London and Paris hold open the possibility that Serbia might play the role of imperialist client state just as well as the heirs of the Ustasha in Croatia.

Revolutionaries oppose any imperialist intervention, including the embargo, and oppose any German "logistical" or "humanitarian" help to such an adventure. Giving no political support to the Serbian-chauvinist Milosevic regime, we stand militarily on the side of Serbia/Montenegro against an actual imperialist military intervention. But in the current nationalist civil war laying waste to the former Yugoslav deformed workers state, working people have no side. The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is fighting for a multinational Leninist party that will struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans.

Today the German Fourth Reich is preparing the possibility of a military intervention. In a highly symbolic action, the destroyer *Bayern* (and later the *Niedersachsen*) was dispatched to the Adriatic, along with air reconnaissance, to monitor ships breaking the UN embargo against Serbia. "A break



Slavic Muslims in Bosnia mourn victims of nationalist war.

Der Spiegel



with the past," "the first naval operation of the WEU [West European Union] in European waters," "close to real war," enthused *Der Spiegel* (20 July). Although the Bundeswehr was not authorized to stop any ships, it went out of its way to provoke the Serbs. The destroyer *Bayern* may go down in history with the cruiser *Agadir*, sent by Kaiser Wilhelm II to Morocco in 1911 to "show the flag." The conflict over Moroccan iron ore foreshadowed the first imperialist world war.

### "Step by Step"

The host of imperialist warships cruising the Adriatic in the name of the UN, CSCE, NATO, WEU, etc., is itself proof of imperialist competition for prestige and influence. George Bush sent in two warships independently of the Europeans. The *Bayern* was not requested by the UN, and was, according to German "defense" minister R  he, an intervention "in our own style." But when the Dutch also wanted to send a warship, NATO secretary W  rner informed them that a special conference of NATO was required. "Behind all the wrangling is the struggle for position in Europe," said a source in German foreign minister Kinkel's entourage. In an interview with *Der Spiegel* (16 March), R  he laid his cards on the table: "Step by step, the soldiers and the population should become accustomed to worldwide actions by the German armed forces."

The outlines of the future relationship of forces are becoming clearer: the WEU is being built up under German leadership as the alternative to NATO. The Bundeswehr is drafting plans for so-called "relief and disaster interventions" to "raise the combat readiness" of its soldiers, including under "extreme climatic and geographic conditions," and its ability to "carry out combat under guerrilla conditions and in situations of terrorist activity" (*Der Spiegel*, 3 August). While demoralized "leftists" question the Leninist theory of imperialism, the "Conceptual Guidelines for the Reorganization of the Bundeswehr," published early this year, declare that the Bundeswehr must ensure "the maintenance of free world trade and access to strategic raw materials!"

Indeed, officers of the General Staff in the new Fourth Reich are feeling increasingly emboldened. They want a "High Command," which means weakening civilian control. And since they are seeking to revive the Wehrmacht's Oberkommando, Inspector General Naumann ordered that the old charter of the Bundeswehr (which pretended that the Bundeswehr had nothing in common with the Wehrmacht) must be rewritten. Some officers are demanding permission for "official contact with organizations of members of the former Waffen-SS." Kohl and Reagan's rehabilitation of the Waffen-SS at Bitburg in 1985 is bearing bitter fruit in united Germany.

"War is too important to be left to the generals," goes the famous refrain. And while Inspector General Naumann says he "advises against a military intervention" on purely military grounds, Bonn—from the right-wing CSU to SPD/Green veterans of the "peace" movement—is mobilizing to go into the Balkans. At bottom, the CDU and SPD are arguing only about the color of the helmets of the future invasion troops.

"Where is the peace movement?" asks the press. In 1991 the German left joined in the cry for a trade embargo to starve Iraq into submission to its imperialist masters. They only added, "no (German) blood for oil." Since the U.S.-led war mobilization in the Gulf was aimed at its imperialist competitors in Bonn and Tokyo as much as against the formerly U.S.-backed Iraqi strongman, hundreds of thousands demonstrated in Germany for "peace" through Iraqi capitulation. Nonetheless, for German imperialism to have a voice in the redivision of the "New World Order," it had to help

finance the war. So Kohl ordered the "anti-American" mobilizations to cease and desist, and their organizers duly obeyed.

Since then, the "peace" movement is regularly called on to organize demonstrations to demand imperialist "protection" of Kurds or Bosnians. Now leading Greens are arguing that with the fall of the USSR (whose nuclear arsenal kept the imperialists in check and saved mankind from atomic war for two generations), pacifism is "out" and Bundeswehr intervention around the world is "in." How right Trotsky was, when he said:

"The imperialists know in advance that the pacifism of the Social Democracy at the first roar of cannon will be transformed into the most servile patriotism and become the most important reserve for militarism. That is why a most intransigent struggle against pacifism, unmasking its treacherous character, is the very first step on the road toward a revolutionary struggle against war."

—"Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam," July 1932

### Propaganda War

The daily propaganda barrage out of Sarajevo is splendid preparation for a military assault on Serbia. Yet this was overtaken by the Nazi pogrom in Rostock, "ethnic cleansing" instigated by the anti-refugee coalition in Bonn stretching from the Christian Democrats to the social democrats of the SPD and PDS.



Der Spiegel Photos

Puppets of the Third Reich: Croatian clerical-fascist leader Ante Pavelic (left), Bosnian SS forces in WWII (right).

When the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz lectures the Serbians about genocide, it is a monumental example ofchutzpah! Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal also objected to the references to "genocide" in Bosnia, since this serves to minimize Nazi genocide, which raged not least in Serbia.

The height of Fourth Reich hypocrisy is surely its "concern" over the fate of the Bosnian population. It's clear that the hundreds of thousands of Serbian refugees from Croatian and Muslim areas don't even exist for the German media. A visa is still demanded of Bosnian refugees at the German border. Once inside Germany, Bosnian refugees are assaulted by Nazi skinheads. Roma and Cinti (Gypsies)—victims of nationalist persecution by all sides in ex-Yugoslavia—are special targets of racist witchhunts by CDU and SPD provincial governments in Germany.

No less despicable is the claim by the successor state to the Third Reich that it has a special "moral obligation" to oppose concentration camps...in Serbia. German imperialist "moralists" have "overlooked" the 40 Croatian and/or Muslim internment camps where similar conditions exist. Also "forgotten" is the unbelievable horror which reigned in the Ustashi death camp of Jasenovac.

At the same time, German propagandists seek to paint a pretty picture of a "democratic" Croatia. The Croatian *F  hrer* Tudjman met with a delegation of fascist deputies from the European Parliament, including French fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen. It has since come out that hundreds of fascists from

different countries, including Germany, are fighting on the Croatian side.

### The Left Enlists in the Drang nach Osten

Adolf Hitler exploited the oppression of the Sudeten Germans and Slovaks in order to break up Czechoslovakia, an ally of Western "democratic" imperialism, and used the Croats to split up Serbian-dominated interwar Yugoslavia (also an ally of Britain and France). Today the bourgeois press claims that Tito's Yugoslavia was a "prison house of peoples" and a "defective construction." After the 1917 Russian October Revolution, the German bourgeoisie (supported by the SPD) used the Freikorps against the Bolsheviks, waving the banner of the "right to self-determination" of the Baltic countries.

And there are so-called "revolutionaries" who are acting as propagandists for the current German *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East). Last year, Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" was pushing Croatian independence, and even called for the "overthrow" of the Milosevic regime through "economic and political isolation of the Belgrade regime by all of Europe." Now, with the triumph of counterrevolution, the Mandelites would like to take a little distance from the bloody catastrophe which they had cheered on only a few months before:

"Any eventual military measures by a Western coalition have to be evaluated both from a strategic and a political point of view," declares the weaselly *International Viewpoint* (6 July).

USec Yugoslavia expert Catherine Verla raises a utopian bourgeois-democratic program: "the limitless extension of the rights of 'minorities,' to make frontiers open with multiple citizenship rights" or, "even better," a "Balkan confederation of multi-ethnic and democratic states" (*International Viewpoint*, 22 June). But where there are interpenetrated peoples occupying the same territory, there is no just solution to competing national rights under capitalism. As we have written: "In this case, a democratic solution to the national question would be found only in the context of proletarian, collectivist property relations which provide the basis for a federative solution free from national oppression" ("The National Question in Yugoslavia," *WV* No. 106, 23 April 1976).

Arbeitermacht in Germany, an offshoot of the Austrian group linked to British Workers Power, hurried to the defense of Kurt Waldheim, an officer in the Waffen-SS in the Balkans who was personally responsible for the mass murder of the Greek Jews of Thessaloniki and of Yugoslav Partisans. They claimed that he wasn't a Nazi war criminal. So it came as no surprise last year when they came out for "immediate recognition of the Croatian and Slovenian declarations of independence," although they were well aware that this meant support to "openly [capitalist] restorationist governments in Ljubljana and Zagreb"

(*Arbeitermacht*, August 1991). Like the Mandelites, they too have gotten cold feet about an imperialist intervention and Croatian nationalism, which they were previously enthusiastically cheering on.

*Arbeitermacht* (July 1992) brands Titoism as "the culture medium for nationalism." Tito's Partisans were victorious in a struggle not only against the Nazi and Italian fascist occupiers, but against the pogromists of the Croatian Ustasha and Serbian Chetniks as well, and the social revolution overthrowing the bourgeoisie laid the groundwork for a democratic solution of the national question. That it was not definitively resolved was not due to "bureaucratic arbitrariness" (*Arbeitermacht's* limp explanation). Rather, the national question in the Balkans could not be resolved within the boundaries of the Yugoslav state. "Workers self-management" increased regional inequalities in the economy, which encouraged the rise of nationalist forces. Proletarian internationalism—a socialist federation of the Balkans—and a centralized planned economy on the basis of workers soviets is the genuine Trotskyist program.

### The Main Enemy Is At Home!

With nationalism serving as the driving force for capitalist counterrevolution in the Baltics and the Balkans, these fake-left groups supported their own bourgeoisie and its quislings, just as they

participated in or even hailed the annexation of the DDR in the name of "democracy." Today the Mandelite Hans-J  rgen Schulz writes: "Jingoism such as in Great Britain during the Malvinas War or in the U.S. during the Gulf War is just as unthinkable in this country as chauvinism like that in Russia, Serbia or Croatia." Germany, according to Schulz, "has become the land of the peace movement"! What planet does he live on? Furthermore, he sees no "Fourth Reich," since this is supposedly an age of "collective imperialism." Shades of Kautsky's "super-imperialism"! That imperialist rivalry and German great power ambitions are the order of the day is glaringly obvious.

In sharp contrast to these fake-Trotskyist satellites of the SPD and PDS, we Spartacists fought against capitalist reunification of Germany. The International Communist League is fighting to mobilize the multinational Soviet working people against Yeltsin-Bush counterrevolution and against the accompanying Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism. With *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR, German imperialism achieved a sinister victory, but Bonn has bitten off more than it can chew. The working class has begun to fight back against the austerity policies which the bourgeoisie needs to finance its *Drang nach Osten*. International class struggle can defeat the German bourgeoisie's plans for world power! In the face of the sinister rise of state racism and Nazi terror, we seek to build a revolutionary workers party in the tradition of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. ■



# Polish Workers Defy Solidarność “Free Market” Regime

After nearly two years of the Lech Walesa presidency, the fledgling Polish capitalist state remains fragile and weak, the regime is increasingly splintered and the counterrevolutionary parties at loggerheads. The hoped-for imperialist investment hasn't materialized, as Western capitalists pass Poland by in favor of neighboring Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Many of the factors which placed Poland in the forefront of the bourgeois “democratic” counterrevolution in East Europe during the 1980s have produced the strongest backlash against its effects. The working class remains highly combative, with widespread strikes and anti-government demonstrations. Although the country is overwhelmingly Catholic, a majority favor the right to abortion against the Church hierarchy and are opposed to clerical control.

Attacks on the working class by Walesa's clerical-nationalist Solidarność regime have brought untold misery and poverty to the Polish masses. Unemployment is growing, reaching 20 percent in some regions, while the numbers receiving the meager unemployment benefits are being slashed. Many enterprises, virtually bankrupt, have suspended work and the payment of wages, while food and energy prices are continually on the rise.

The latest Solidarność prime minister, Hanna Suchocka—a would-be Polish “Iron Lady” Thatcher—declared that for 40 years the workers “were treated as the most important class, on which the whole system of the state stood. And it is very bitter for them to understand now that the new conditions require them to step down to a very low role” (*New York Times*, 3 September).

But the Polish working class is staunchly resisting stepping down to the very low role demanded by their new capitalist masters. The systematic subordination of the economy to the world bankers' cartel, the IMF (International Monetary Fund), provoked a major strike wave throughout the summer centered on demands for higher wages and against layoffs. The strikes embraced the coal and copper mines which provide the country with much of its hard-currency exports, the big FSM car parts plant at



Striking workers from giant Ursus tractor factory protest in Warsaw last month.

Tychy (recently taken over by Italy's Fiat) and the giant Ursus tractor factory, where workers chanted, “Down with Walesa!”

Under intense pressure from its Western capitalist godfathers, the Suchocka/Walesa regime took a hard line, refusing, for example, to negotiate with the copper miners by sending the management on vacation. After a month, the copper miners went back without any of their demands being met. Police were used to remove striking workers who had occupied the FSM/Fiat plant, and management announced that 2,500 would be fired for refusing to return to work. As we go to press, the strike leaders have announced that the workers are going back.

The defeat of the copper miners and the FSM auto workers points to the limited effectiveness of localized economic strikes under conditions of mass unemployment and widespread enterprise bankruptcy. Yet the strong impulse toward a political general strike was derailed by the major oppositional union, the OPZZ, formerly the official Communist union federation and now led by ex-Stalinist bureaucrats turned social democrats.

Consequently, the vacuum of leadership has been partly filled by the most right-wing nationalist forces—Solidarność 80, whose leadership spews out

anti-Communist and anti-Semitic demagoguery, and the fascist Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN). Forty KPN parliamentary deputies took to the Lubin copper fields in July, seeking to channel the miners' just anger against the Suchocka/Walesa/IMF regime in the direction of murderous Polish chauvinism.

Nationalism is the deadly enemy of the working class and the favored instrument of the Polish agents of the world bankers. The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (Spartacist Group of Poland) has fought against all forms of chauvinism in the name of restoring the internationalist communism of Lenin, Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg. On May Day, the SGP was well received by the 15,000 participants at the OPZZ-called demonstration in Warsaw, selling more than 500 pieces of revolutionary literature.

A united workers struggle is necessary against IMF-dictated “austerity,” but the prerequisite for winning is a break with the neo-social-democratic misleaders of the OPZZ in order to mobilize the workers movement against Solidarność counterrevolution in all its variants, in struggle for a new proletarian state power.

## Hot Summer of Class Struggle

In June a strike wave swept through the coal fields of Silesia, a historic center of proletarian militancy. While initially

all unions supported the strikes, the official Solidarność union soon revealed itself as the Trojan horse of the Suchocka/Walesa starvation regime. On July 23, it broke ranks and signed a deal with management for a small wage increase of 10 to 20 percent—while inflation is officially running at 40 percent this year! OPZZ chairman Rajmund Moric rightly denounced the Solidarność action as an “attempt to smash the miners' unity.”

The miners were incensed at the sellout and greeted Solidarność spokesmen with cries of “traitors, thieves, renegades” as they demonstrably tore up their Solidarność membership cards. One chairman of a local Solidarność committee was run out in a wheelbarrow. Unfortunately, the betrayal by the official union allowed the rabid chauvinists of Solidarność 80—who had organized an occupation of the State Coal Agency in Katowice, capital of the region—to posture as the real militants.

Just when the coal strike ended with a sellout, on July 20 the copper strike began. Poland is the seventh leading producer of copper in the world, and 70 percent of its output is exported, so this strike was of great importance. While the Solidarność union sabotaged the coal strike from within, Walesa's labor flunkies withdrew from the strike committees (except for one foundry in Legnica) even before the strike began.

With Solidarność out of the picture, the copper miners' action prompted the formation of a strike negotiation committee—the MKKNS—which in its political character was that of “left-right” oppositional bloc. It included the OPZZ and other formerly Stalinist-led unions along with the virulently anti-Communist Solidarność 80 and the Samoobrona farmers' union, whose leader, Andrzej Lepper, appeals to fascist skinheads to join his peasant-based “national guard.” This unholy alliance announced a list of “21 demands,” harking back to the formation of Solidarność in 1980. However, from the outset Walesa & Co. sought to exploit the just grievances of Polish workers against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the interests of “free world” capitalism. Among the

*continued on page 15*



Workers movement must fight clerical nationalism. Left, protesters against mandatory religious instruction in schools gather at statue honoring Copernicus last April. Right, Warsaw, May Day 1992, Polish Spartacists call for workers mobilization to smash fascist attacks, down with Yeltsin-Walesa-Bush counterrevolution, for workers defense of abortion rights.



# Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

## Rhode Island Teachers Jailed in Fight Against School Cutbacks

WARWICK, Rhode Island, September 14—As almost 2,000 Warwick Teachers Union members, their families and other unionists massed outside the county courthouse, 18 teachers emerged to cheers after three days behind bars. With some still in prison clothes, the 18 marched as heroes through the crowd of supporters. They had been jailed in the Adult Correctional Institution for the "crime" of defending their union and fighting to stop the deep budget cuts in education here.

The jailed teachers, along with 50 more who had also been declared in contempt of a strikebreaking injunction, were released after agreeing to return to work under a 1991 contract imposed by the judge. The School Committee had agreed to the contract a year ago, only to withdraw the offer as they sought to increase class size, cut programs and include an "unlimited layoffs" clause. This provoked a four-day walkout last year. As the Committee continued to hardline it, the teachers struck on September 2.

Teachers see the strike as a watershed in defending education here. On September 11, when the judge declared the 18 in contempt, including the majority of the union executive and bargaining committee, the courtroom erupted in protest with shouts of "No contract, no work!" and "Take us all!" As the strikers were led away in handcuffs, unionists organized a picket at City Hall and a vigil at the state prison which drew over 2,000 workers and their families. The next day, the union bargainers were brought to the negotiating table in handcuffs!

Warwick's Democratic mayor Charles Donovan and Judge Pederzani escalated their assault, subpoenaing

Teamsters join Warwick, Rhode Island teachers rallying at City Hall, September 14.



dozens more strikers. But the union mobilization grew as 1,500 workers, including Firefighters, Teamsters and Carpenters from around the state, gathered outside the courthouse today. After an early afternoon rally at City Hall, the demonstration returned to the courthouse, where strikers learned of the impending release of their brothers and sisters.

The Warwick teachers beat back the School Committee because they were prepared to spend a few days in jail. Around the country, Detroit teachers are still on strike after two weeks, Philadelphia teachers "settled" for no wage hike in the first year, L.A. teachers are threatened with huge pay cuts and New York City teachers are now in their second year of working without a contract.

It is a measure of the depth of labor's recent defeats

that strikers greet a return to work under the old contract imposed by a strikebreaking judge as a victory. And it's a measure of the bankruptcy of the labor bureaucracy that their "alternative" to Bush, the "education president" who wants to gut public education, is the "right to work" Democrat Clinton. It's high time to oust the bureaucrats and build a workers party!

In its ascending phase, American capitalism embraced universal public education—though it always had elite schools for the sons (and some daughters) of the bourgeoisie. In its decline, it has turned urban schools into racist prisons. With the budget-slashing onslaught against the public schools, it should be clear that only a socialist revolution can provide decent education for all.

## Atlanta School Bus Drivers Strike

ATLANTA—On September 9, over 200 angry school bus drivers struck the private contractor Laidlaw Transportation, which carries 20,000 students daily, one-third of the public school population here. The drivers, predominantly black women many of whom are single parents, are fighting "to be treated as people, not slaves," as one striker's sign said. Chanting "Fired up, fed up!" the strikers showed high spirits, holding their line strong through the first week.

As "permanent part-timers" bus drivers get a paltry \$8 per hour, with no medical benefits or seniority rights, while 100 drivers employed directly by the school system earn up to \$14 per hour with benefits. Buses made to carry 89 students (!) often hold 130 (!!), as drivers are forced to double and triple their pickup schedules while Laidlaw, the largest school bus company in North America, pays them as though

they're driving one route. On-the-job injuries are common, but drivers are forced to keep working or go without pay. With conditions like these, under a contract awarded to the lowest bidder, it's only a matter of time until some bus is involved in a horrible accident that will really be School Board murder.

The strikers are demanding the right to become full-time, unionized city workers. They are up against the rampant open shop practices in the South, and the increasing drive by the bosses to "privatize" city services. Not surprisingly, strikers are wary of union traitors who collect dues only to betray struggles at the behest of the city's Democratic Party bosses, the same ones who sold out the fight for busing to integrate Atlanta schools. Look what's repeatedly happened to the sanitation workers. But strikers recognize that union organization would provide the organized strength to win job protection. The key to winning is real solidarity in action from teachers, city employees and transit workers.

At a September 14 School Board meeting, drivers had to fight to be heard. Eventually the drivers' spokesman, Rev. E. Frank Hatchett, offered to return to work "for the good of the children." Board members mouthed some empty promises about benefits. As we go to press, drivers are preparing to go back to work. Winning strikes and organizing the unorganized, especially in the Klan-infested, "open shop" South won't be done by do-nothing bureaucrats in the pocket of the Democrats.

## UMW Tops Paid Pittston with Millions in Miners' Money

When Daniel DeLeon coined the term "labor lieutenants of capital" for the trade-union bureaucracy, he probably didn't expect that some day they would actually pay the capitalists millions of dollars for the "privilege" of serving their masters and betraying workers' struggles. But that's just what United Mine Workers bureaucrats, led by president Rich Trumka, did to end the 321-day 1989 strike against Pittston Coal in southwestern Virginia.

The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (8 August) revealed that in a footnote to court papers filed in Russell County, Virginia, the UMW stated that, "As part of this settlement, the union paid the company's parent corporation millions of dollars." UMW spokesman Jim Grossfeld

refused to disclose the exact amount, but admitted that payments made to Pittston to settle the strike were part of \$12 million in "legal payments" listed in the union's 1990 annual report. The payments were disclosed during court hearings this summer to lift \$64 million in fines imposed by the state on the union.

While the New Year's 1990 Pittston settlement was touted by everyone from Trumka to the Communist Party's *People's Weekly World* and the SWP's *Militant* as a historic victory, *Workers Vanguard* told the truth:

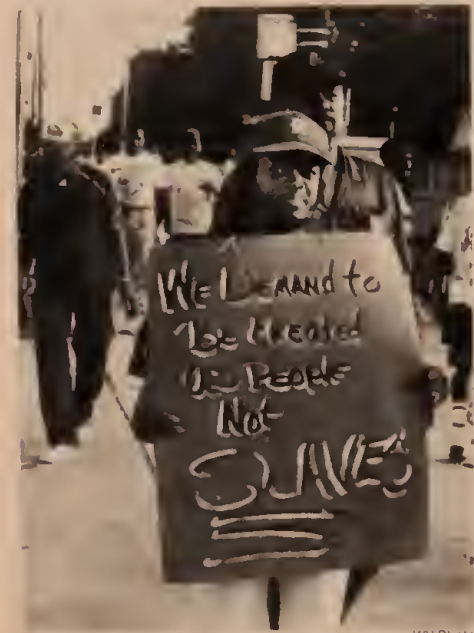
"Trumka is trying to sell a contract which threatens everything the Pittston strikers have fought for.... This will open the floodgates to a coal company offensive against the health and pension funds and industrywide bargaining, endangering the very existence of the union."

And after the sellout was pushed through, over the objections of one-third of the strikers, we wrote that "Pittston will be allowed to buy its way out of one bankrupt medical benefits fund at bargain basement prices." What Trumka kept secret was that he raided the union treasury to give Pittston the cash!

The Pittston betrayal was the direct result of Trumka's "selective strike" strategy, where individual locals are pitted against the coal bosses, industrywide hargaining with the operators' association (BCOA) is thrown out the window, and the historic gains of the union, especially safety and health care which are vital in this deadly industry, are wiped out. Trumka has thrown out the union's historic weapons of militant struggle—tough picket lines, industrywide solidarity strikes—in favor of capitulation to the bosses' courts, civil disobedience, useless "corporate campaigns" and reliance on the Democratic Party.

Trumka is touting a recent Congressional bill as "saving" health coverage for 120,000 retired miners whose benefits are threatened. Meanwhile, coal companies, encouraged by the bureaucrats' gift to Pittston, flee the BCOA. But the bill exempts non-union firms, loots the solvent pension funds, forces workers into second-rate care and doesn't even cover workers who retire after 1994.

The betrayals by the UMW tops have only whetted the appetite of the coal bosses and their hired gun thugs. The infamous strikebreaking outfit, Vance International, has sent out offers throughout the coal fields to bring in "riot-ready former Green Berets" for the expiration of the contract in February. These thugs have left a string of busted strikes and jailed unionists. The upcoming coal contract fight is a chance to whip them good. But UMW miners need to forge a leadership that refuses to play by the bosses' rules. In the face of 60,000 determined strikers, Taft-Hartley will be as dead as Harry S. Truman. ■



Atlanta school bus drivers, fighting for a union in the open shop South.



# Volkswagen Strike/Lockout

## Mexico: "Free Trade" and Union-Busting

MEXICO CITY—Just as final negotiations for the North American Free Trade Agreement were winding to a close, workers at the giant Volkswagen of Mexico plant in Puebla walked out. This display of labor militancy was not the image Mexico's rulers wanted to present to potential investors. So the government of President Salinas de Gortari responded with an anti-union, pro-company hard line that presages what the "free trade" pact will mean: vicious union-husting on both sides of the border.

After a two-week wildcat strike that shut down the VW plant 125 kilometers east of the capital, the company locked out the workforce and appealed to the federal government to rescind the union contract and decertify the 14,200-member Independent Union of Volkswagen Workers (SITAVW). To back this up, VW management claimed it was losing \$10 million a day and made noises about shutting down and moving out of Mexico. The threat was completely empty, as the company has just concentrated all its North American operations there.

But the government took its cue, and on August 17 the Labor Ministry's Federal Conciliation Board complied with the company's demands. This allowed the company to fire the entire workforce and then rehire all but 1,500 workers! This was with the complicity of the SITAVW's executive board, which had earlier negotiated a sweetheart deal behind the backs of the membership. The hard core of union militants was thus excluded. A contract giving management unlimited rights to "flexibilize" production methods was imposed and the union's statutes were modified to give the bureaucracy a hammer lock on the ranks—all without a vote.

The Salinas regime is hoping to deal a death blow to militant labor unionism in Mexico. The SITAVW, which has struck 13 times in the last 15 years, was one of the strongholds of the "independent" unions which emerged in the late 1970s from under the iron control

of the semi-corporatist Confederation of Mexican Labor unions. The CTM is officially part of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the bourgeois party that has ruled Mexico for the last 70 years. But the independent unions failed to break politically with the bourgeoisie, and it was the narrow legalism of the VW union dissidents, appealing to the

already been signed." They thereupon formed the "July 20 Movement," and the next day called a walkout which shut down the plant.

SITAVW militants of the July 20 Movement told *Workers Vanguard* that the Bueno leadership had misrepresented the contract, hiding its new work rules, attacks on the seniority system, elimina-



Summer 1987: workers at Mexico's giant Volkswagen plant win hard-fought strike.

government as a "neutral" agency, which led to their defeat.

### VW: Insurgency and Defeat

The fight at Volkswagen goes back to the election last December of a new union leadership headed by Gaspar Bueno Aguirre. Bueno called a strike at the beginning of July, then abruptly canceled it after less than a day, signing a new contract that provided for a 15 percent wage increase. When a dissident group of shopfloor representatives led by Jesús Valencia de la Luz approached the executive committee on July 20 with complaints about the contract, they were told: "There is nothing to discuss. It has

tion of job classifications, and union jobs being handed over to non-union employees. It would radically change labor relations in the plant, adopting a Japanese-style production "team" system leading to speedup and loss of jobs. At the end of July the company fired Valencia and 13 other insurgent leaders for leading the wildcat. That same day Bueno declared the dissidents expelled from the union. But the strike remained solid.

On Saturday, August 15, some 10,000 VW workers mobilized by the July 20 Movement gathered in front of the Cuauhtémoc Stadium in Puebla to hold a referendum on the SITAVW leadership. From the podium the insurgents emphasized that they stood for democracy and autonomy for the union. The speeches stressed the legality of their movement and the approval they claimed to have from the Labor Ministry to hold the assembly. An overwhelming majority of those present cast votes to unseat Gaspar Bueno and the executive board. But at that very moment, Bueno and his board were in the capital negotiating a deal with federal labor minister Arsenio Farrell to dissolve the SITAVW! On Monday, VW fired all 14,000 striking workers.

After five weeks out of work, the majority of the Volkswagen workforce buckled under the combined force of the company, their kept union bureaucrats and the capitalist government, and went back to work under the new "contract" (whose terms they were not informed of). When the plant reopened on August 20, a few hundred union militants who gathered at a gas station a kilometer down the road to demonstrate were met with police and attack dogs. The workers were beaten, eleven arrested and at least six rushed to the hospital severely bitten.

The dissident group is calling for "moral support" from international union organizations, saying it intends to inform VW workers in Germany of "the abuses the company has committed against their Mexican counterparts." It

also sought to obtain a judicial *amparo* (restraining order) to prevent imposition of the new contract and union statutes. But while the July 20 Movement vainly looked to pro-capitalist union bureaucracies elsewhere and to the capitalist government in Mexico, the company's man, Gaspar Bueno, had the full support of all the other flunkies. The *charro* (literally, cowboy) bureaucracy of the pro-government telephone workers union "advised" Bueno during the negotiations, and will now incorporate the purged SITAVW in its union grouping.

There were two sharply counterposed sides in the Volkswagen struggle. The leaders of the wildcat strike were fighting against a mortal threat to their union and their jobs. The official SITAVW leadership acted as the enforcers of labor peace for the bourgeoisie, even agreeing to the destruction of the union (and its reincarnation in a straitjacketed form) in order to prepare for heightened exploitation of the workers under the Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). What did not emerge in the course of the struggle was a clear program to win. Once they were locked out, the dissident unionists relied totally on discussions with the Labor Ministry. They did not appeal for class-struggle solidarity action from the rest of the workers movement, in Mexico or internationally.

A victory could have been won in this strike with real international labor support. In the 1987 Puebla strike, when VW tried to put on an extra shift at the Kassel plant to replace parts not being made in Mexico, the German metal workers refused to work the shift. This was a key element in the victory of that strike (see "Mexican Auto Workers Play Hardball," *WV* No. 435, 4 September 1987). In the current strike, President Salinas made insinuations about "foreign interference." Yet the bitter reality is that there was no international solidarity.

This time around, the plant council at the VW main plant in Wolfsburg, Germany didn't lift a finger to aid the Mexican strikers. Repeating company propaganda about workers being prevented by violence from going to their jobs, claiming that "intra-union conflicts" made the situation "obscure," grotesquely accepting the management argument that VW workers in Puebla (who make \$15 a day) already earned more than workers in competing plants, a union spokesman shamefully declared: "Can we accept that because of a strike in Mexico we have to go on short time?" (ta: [Berlin], 11 August!) And while the American UAW had aided *charro* unions striking U.S.-owned auto parts plants last January, out of bureaucratic solidarity it wouldn't touch the insurgent VW strikers.

### Forge a Class-Struggle Leadership!

Yet despite the labor fakers' treachery, defeat in this key battle was not foreordained. The Volkswagen workers were not alone in fighting against assaults on their living standards. For six weeks during July-August, tens of thousands of textile workers in more than 300 plants throughout Mexico were on strike. Although led by unions of the pro-government Congress of Labor (CT), this strike, also, was considered "non-existent" by the federal Labor Department. For a month and a half, the Zócalo, Mexico City's main square, was occupied by an encampment of fired oil workers, peasants and street vendors demanding that the federal government come to their aid. They were later joined by students from the northern state of Sonora protesting tuition hikes.

And at the height of the VW strike, on August 18, there was a sharp clash with the police as several thousand marchers of the Proletarian Independent Movement (MPI), based on Mexico City bus drivers, attempted to reach Salinas' presidential residence of Los Pinos. This unleashed a storm of hysteria from the PRI, other bourgeois parties and the media who thundered against "provoca-

## UAW Tops Knife Mexican Auto Workers

The recently concluded strike by United Auto Workers Local 1714 at the Lordstown, Ohio stamping plant had the power to hurt General Motors. In just a few days, nine plants employing 43,000 workers came to a halt, as plants exhausted their shallow inventories under the "just in time" parts system. GM was losing almost \$10 million per day. When the strike was settled, Solidarity House claimed the workers won. They were joined by phony socialists like the Socialist Workers Party, whose misnamed *Militant* called it "an important victory." Like hell.

Owen Bieber, Steve Yokich and the rest of the UAW traitors only intended for the Lordstown strike to blow off a little steam, as GM rolls over the UAW with a massive job-slashing plan which will close 21 plants and wipe out another 74,000 auto jobs in the next three years. In the much-ballyhooed settlement the company agreed to refrain from wiping out the 240 tool and die jobs at issue...for one year. Then the jobs are gone. A GM exec bragged to the *Wall Street Journal* (8 September): "The set-

tlement affirms management's right to consolidate operations."

But the stamping plant strike masked a far more ominous deal between the union bureaucrats and GM. On September 3, as the walkout was about to end, a local agreement was signed at the adjacent Lordstown assembly plant, organized by UAW Local 1112, which says that any layoffs of workers assembling Sunbirds and Cavaliers, the so-called J-cars, have to take place among workers at the plant in Ramos Arizpe, Mexico first!

This backstabbing deal is designed to destroy the urgently needed class solidarity across the Mexican-U.S.-Canadian borders, even as the American capitalists gear up to implement their "Free Trade Agreement" rape of Mexico. It is a gift to the auto bosses at a time when the onslaught against the auto unions requires united class struggle. Like the UAW tops' betrayal at Caterpillar, the Lordstown settlements pose the need to oust the gang in Sacrifice House in the interests of elementary defense of auto workers throughout North America. ■



# NYC: Another Racist Killer Cop Walks

## Police Occupation of Washington Heights

Once again, the NYPD gets away with murder. On September 10, District Attorney Robert Morgenthau announced that no indictments would be made against the cops who killed José "Kiko" García and Dagoberto Pichardo. The Dominican community in Washington Heights is outraged by the verdict and literally under a state of siege by the police. The *New York Times* reported that in preparation for the D.A.'s announcement, some five thousand cops were moved in to "saturate" this single neighborhood. (By comparison, the bourgeoisie employs some 8,000 LAPD thugs to terrorize the entire population of Los Angeles!)

In the face of the massive police presence, 150 demonstrators took to the streets on September 10, chanting, "Precinct 34, a nest of racists!" and "Si no hay justicia, habrá candela" (If there's no justice, there will be fire). Spartacist placards reading "For Labor/Black/Latino Defense Against Racist Cop Terror!" and "New World Order: War on Blacks, Latinos and Labor" were eagerly taken up by protesters. The murderous repression in Washington Heights, like the military occupation of L.A. following the racist acquittal of the cops in the Rodney King case, is emblematic of American capitalism's increasing use of terror to maintain its "order."

The Dinkins administration feared a repetition of the three days of rioting which followed the July 3 execution of Kiko García by killer cop Michael O'Keefe of the NYPD's notorious 34th Precinct. After the grand jury made its decision, city officials delayed the announcement for a week until the cops' plans were ready and rainy weather set in. They even denied a decision had been made after the *Post* leaked the story!

Grotesquely, the blighted, impoverished neighborhood was remodeled—for the police! Gaping potholes were filled to expedite speeding police cruisers. Streetlights that had been broken for years were repaired to enhance night vision for foot patrols. Garbage cans were hauled from the streets so that would-be rioters could not "do the right thing." And with record-level unemployment of minority youth, the city placed 1,000 Dominican teens in jobs to get them off the streets.

In the meantime, the city's "Human Rights" Commission spent the summer preaching faith in the bourgeois "justice" system and the D.A.'s secret grand jury. A coalition of 57 elected officials, religious figures and community "leaders," including Dominican City Councilman Guillermo Linares, mobilized on behalf of "lawfulness," declaring, "The com-

munity cannot tolerate the recurrence of violence or destruction of property." FBI link and Senatorial hopeful Al Sharpton walked the streets telling people to "stay calm"; angry residents threw eggs at him.

The media worked overtime for the D.A.'s office. The outrageous news of the grand jury's failure to indict the killer cop was buried under mountains of racist crap. Story after story portrayed García's family and the whole Dominican com-

munity as drug dealers. The *New York Times* demoted reactionary A.M. Rosenthal summarized the racist outlook of the ruling class: "A convicted drug peddler is shot by a cop in the worst drug building on the worst drug street in the worst drug neighborhood in New York and other drug crooks help the neighborhood go up in flames."

**Angry protesters march through Washington Heights on September 10 after NYPD killer of José García walks.**



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Cops killing with impunity in Washington Heights is the routine workings of capitalist "justice." *El Diario/La Prensa* wrote in a front-page article titled "The Police Never Lose":

"Someone killed 'Kiko' García, and Dagoberto Pichardo, and Federico Pereira, and Juan Rodriguez, and Luis Liranzo, and David Cotto... Someone who is the friend of the judges, of the D.A.s, of the politicians, of the cops, and of the factory owners and of the rich... Someone who is no friend of the Hispanics, of the blacks, of women, of our children...."

Charges of false arrests, arbitrary search and seizure, drug-dealing and brutality by the police of the 34th Precinct are so widespread that the NYPD's own Internal Affairs Department investigated the precinct three times since 1989. The only action taken was, finally, the transfer of the precinct commander for failing to "control his officers." García's murderer,

O'Keefe was indicted. They were so bold as to heckle the mayor when he appeared at the 34th on the day of the D.A.'s announcement to congratulate them as "the best police force in the world." Dinkins lost his cool and hotly defended himself from the charge of being "anti-cop":

"If I am so anti-cop...explain to me why it is I stood up when people came to me and said, 'Dave, you're taking milk from little babies. We got homeless...and you're giving the money to the cops. You don't have to cut. Take it from the cops.' And I didn't!"

—*Daily News*, 11 September

Black social democrat Dinkins presides over the cop terror on behalf of a ruling class which denies the most basic social necessities to impoverished minorities and immigrants who are the majority of the population here. On top of cop terror, residents of the ghettos and barrios are plagued by miserable wages, massive unemployment, rotten schools, scarce-to-nonexistent medical facilities and rampant discrimination. The Washington Heights explosion was the first time the city has taken notice of the half million Dominican immigrants in NYC. But the events showed the class contradictions within the community: conservative bodega owners worried that their businesses would go

up in flames over the death of a poor man, allegedly a drug dealer, while Linares and other "leaders" are securing their spots in the Democratic Party machine.

Meanwhile, many leftists have bought into Bush's "war on drugs" rhetoric. The Dominican Communist Party is part of a leftist coalition, the "Unidad Revolucionaria Caamafista," which denounces the Balaguer government of the Dominican Republic as a "drug power," and

calls to clean up capitalism with a "dignified and honest executive power"! But Balaguer is first of all a lackey of U.S. imperialism, like his former boss, the dictator Trujillo, owing his position to the American troops who invaded Santo Domingo in 1965. Washington ousted Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega in the name of the "war on drugs," leaving mass graves around Panama City. Is this what the PCD and URC want for the Dominican Republic?

What's needed is a perspective of international class struggle for workers to take power, from Santo Domingo to New York. The Spartacist League calls for full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families and no illusions in reforming the capitalist cops and courts. In the face of the massive police occupation, we say: "Cops Out of the Barrio!" Unlike the "Workers World" reformists, who rushed to Washington Heights to shore up people's belief in the system, calling for "community control" of the racist killer cops, we call for mobilizing the powerful labor movement in this city in defense of the immigrant communities. We're working to build a Bolshevik-Leninist party to lead the socialist revolution that will put an end to racist cop terror once and for all. ■

tion" by the workers. The staid *Excelsior* (21 August) ran front-page articles denouncing the "Transition to Chaos" and warning of the "eruption of radicalisms" which could "lead to fascism." Worries were voiced about the August 29 demonstration called by former presidential candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and his Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD), which brought out 50,000.

But the *cardenistas* were well behaved, the MPI made a deal with the "regent" (mayor) of the Federal District, Manuel Camacho Solís (who also brokered a deal between the fired oil workers and the PEMEX state oil company). The PRI regime managed to weather the upsurge of unrest thanks above all to the absence of a revolutionary leadership to unite the multitude of struggles in a common class offensive against the government of capital. In the wake has come a new crackdown. A few days later several

PRD militants were shot down in the state of Michoacán, where they were protesting election fraud. And now right-wingers are demanding regulations limiting protests in the capital (the government claims there were 8,000 last year!) and a revision of the federal labor law.

Under NAFTA, the Mexican bourgeoisie is trying desperately to make its way into the "first world" by squeezing the working class ever harder and tying itself ever closer to its *yanqui* imperialist masters. Already "enjoying" some of the lowest industrial wages in the world, the Mexican capitalists and their government are determined to enforce labor peace with a whip in order to attract foreign investment. Meanwhile, state-owned companies—airlines, telephone, steel, mines—are being sold off at bargain basement prices. Tens of thousands of jobs are being eliminated in the name

of "modernization" and "productivity," while hunger and disease multiply.

What the VW strike dramatically showed was the bankruptcy of the program of trade-union "autonomy." As Leon Trotsky wrote in 1940, "the independence of the trade unions in the class sense, in their relations to the bourgeois state, can, in the present conditions, be assured only by a completely revolutionary leadership, that is, the leadership of the Fourth International." The "independent" unions, with their program of autonomous syndicalism, have proved unable to stand up to concerted government union-busting, from the liquidation of Aeroméxico in 1988 to Volkswagen today. Politically, they demonstrated that they had not broken with bourgeois populism by collapsing into the 1988 election campaign of former PRI leader Cárdenas. The *cardenista* popular front derailed class struggle in Mexico so that

Salinas has been able to complete negotiations for the "free trade" agreement with no real opposition from the Mexican workers.

The various petty-bourgeois leftist groups who push one or another variant of popular-frontism were conspicuously absent from the Volkswagen strike. They have understood for years that part of the tacit deal with the PRI/government is that they are tolerated so long as they stay away from the organized working class, and particularly its key sectors. The Grupo Espartaquista de México is seeking to cohere a nucleus of a proletarian vanguard party based on a revolutionary internationalist program that can unite the powerful and class-conscious Mexican working class with its class brothers and sisters beyond the borders. For the construction of a Mexican Trotskyist party, in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International! ■



# Hurricane...

(continued from page 16)

of cholera. (The government's Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta pooh-poohed this warning.) Organized groups of volunteer doctors were screaming for MASH units. The inept response was consistent with government handling of the 1989 Bay Area earthquake and Hurricane Hugo. Logistics and distribution were so bad that huge mountains of donated clothing rotted in the rain and were burned.

After all, the government and the politicians are the front men for America's ruling class, and their interests were not at risk here. Indeed they saw another opportunity to line their pockets.

A 1926 hurricane wiped out Miami Beach and Miami. Hurricane Andrew, however, devastated the poorer residents of the county and spared the condominiums, banks and hotels. The exiled

is home to former Eastern Airlines workers. Many have refused to abandon damaged homes and move into one of the tent cities set up by the military. In one instance two tenants prevented their landlord at gunpoint from bulldozing their still-livable cottage. (Landlords are charging exorbitant rents as the market is swollen by the new homeless.)

Bush moved as mounting condemnation of governmental inaction eroded his remaining popularity nine weeks before the election. Florida has 25 electoral votes he needs. His two choreographed "I care" visits were viewed with contempt. Said one survivor, "He didn't care about low-income people to begin with, so why start now?" (*New York Times*, 2 September). Moreover the visits disrupted relief efforts as clogged streets were blocked off for security reasons. In a cynical election year display of "crisis management," he has said the federal government will pay 100 percent of all eligible disaster costs and that the obliterated Homestead AFB would be completely rebuilt.

This is not just pork-barrel politics. This South Atlantic base had F-4 and F-16 fighter jets and would be a key staging area for imperialist military action against Cuba. (A training camp for *gusano* invaders was set up at Homestead to prepare for the Bay of Pigs.) As Vice President Quayle remarked, "The Homestead Air Force Base is critical to us. When you look at Latin America, look at Cuba." Republicans are also touting it as a key base for the "war on drugs." Democratic candidate Bill Clinton tried to exploit this tragedy as well. His campaign slashed at Bush for being "inore skilled at addressing foreign crises than domestic." Clinton, who enthusiastically hacked the Persian Gulf "Desert Slaughter," also vows to bring counterrevolution to Castro's Cuba.

Well over 60,000 homes were destroyed or suffered major damage due to Andrew. This is the result of fraud and shoddy construction. Hurricane straps used to secure the roof to the frame were not used or not nailed down properly. The Florida Building Code is the most stringent in the country, but only honored in the breach. Carl Hjaassen (Miami-based author of *Double Whammy* and *Skin Tight*) pointed out that "newer subdivisions exploded into match sticks.... The people who should have been listening were too busy counting campaign contributions from big developers" (*Miami Herald*, 27 August). Homes nearby, built to code by the non-profit Habitat for Humanity, were substantially intact.

Now real estate speculators and local governments see an opportunity to rid the community of "unsightly" dwellings. A spokesman for the Florida Homebuilders Association said a "whole class of people" will be priced "right out of the market" (*Los Angeles*



Bruneau/AP

Migrant workers in devastated Florida City scramble for food aid.

*Times*, 2 September).

The rich agricultural lands of south Dade have been ravaged. For now the plant nurseries, lime groves and avocado fields are gone. These lands were worked by migrant labor, mainly Mexican and Haitian. The labor camps, which were spartan to begin with, were virtually eradicated. They were at the very end of the "relief line." Workers report that ambulances pulled up, surveyed the wreckage and sped away. To top off the racist treatment, the camps were visited by the INS immigration cops, ostensibly to distribute food. Many workers fled. The Everglades camp had almost 4,000 workers; now there are only a few dozen. In these camps workers claim to have seen storm victims placed in plastic bags and removed without their names ever appearing on any list. Clearly, foreign-born workers without citizenship rights are not about to seek aid from government agencies for fear of retribution.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), created in 1979 by President Carter, is charged with overseeing disaster relief. FEMA grants for uninsured households are a paltry \$11,500. Many victims of the 1989 San Francisco Bay Area earthquake and Hurricane Hugo have still not been declared "eligible" for money due them. In south Florida it is not uncommon for people to stand in a FEMA line for seven hours only to get an appointment a month away to fill out paperwork! Democrats have attacked FEMA as a "political dumping ground" for Bush loyalists. But this does not begin to explain the bungling.

Reagan transformed FEMA into an apparatus to put down urban insurrection. A top-secret master plan, Rex 84, called for the detention of up to 100,000 political dissidents and immigrants in several concentration camps in the event of "social unrest." FEMA has authorization for contingency plans that suspend

the Bill of Rights, allow for the seizure of personal property, freeze wages and outlaw strikes. Implementation would be by an anonymous shadow government. During the Iran/Contra hearings there was bipartisan agreement that Oliver North would not be questioned about his role in plans for a secret government. FEMA is part of the capitalist state's apparatus for the suppression of the population. Assisting victims of natural disaster is decidedly not a priority.

The survivors of Hurricane Andrew are being gouged by the "magic of the marketplace," as Ronald Reagan used to call it, and shafted by a capitalist government that doesn't give a damn about the poor, minority and working people. But it doesn't have to be that way. Bush crows over the "death of Communism," but even the lead-ass Kremlin bureaucracy did a far better job of dealing with major disaster than the Beltway crowd. In April of 1986 the Soviet Union experienced a near meltdown at the Chernobyl nuclear plant near Kiev in the Ukraine. Confronted with a major technical problem—putting out a graphite fire that was spewing massive amounts of deadly radiation—with concentrated action, innovation and heroism, the Soviets came up with a solution: dumping wet sand on it from helicopters. Tens of thousands of people were evacuated to other areas of the country, and provided with housing and jobs.

In the case of Hurricane Andrew, the government was tracking the tropical storm for two weeks as it moved from Africa to the Atlantic through the Caribbean. It was known for days to be heading for south Florida with its four million inhabitants. There was plenty of lead time to marshal resources. Yet the capitalist government's response was...to send in the National Guard and army to protect the bosses' property. They know what their "priorities" are. ■



Slarr/SABA

Under Code of Hammurabi, mankind's first legal code, those who killed through shoddy construction were guilty of murder.

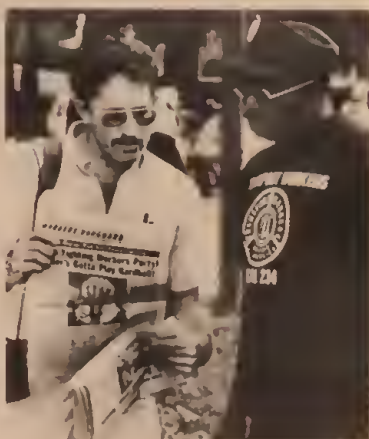
Cuban bourgeoisie in Coral Gables was hardly touched. The chichi life goes on in South Beach. For the beautiful people, Homestead and Florida City were through-points on the way to the Keys. The future, however, is especially bleak for the black, Haitian and non-Cuban Latino population who went virtually unmentioned in the initial media blitz. Liberty City is seething as the retrial starts up of the racist cop who shot and killed a black motorcyclist in 1989.

Homestead is working-class; the average income per household is \$20,000. Its population is 23 percent black and 20 percent foreign-born. Many are from Nicaragua, El Salvador and Mexico. It

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# Latino Strikers...

(continued from page 16)

representative of the Sheriff's Department met with prominent builders to discuss a "special enforcement team" to deal with the strikers, who had been taking care of business at scab construction sites. When the strikers arrived at the jail, *migra* agents were already waiting to grill them, without an attorney present. All 153 were originally charged with "conspiracy to kidnap"! The *Orange County Register* has since revealed that the county district attorney and sheriff have received over \$100,000 in contributions from local developers in the last few years; obviously money well spent.

Three weeks after the Orange County arrests, the drywall workers found themselves up against the racist, labor-hating LAPD, emoldened after the outrageous acquittal of the baton-wielding torturers of Rodney King. In a vicious rampage, the cops drove nearly 100 strikers off a picket line and herded them down an entrance ramp onto the busy Hollywood Freeway, severely beating several workers. It is incredibly fortunate that no strikers were killed as they were forcibly "merged" into the 55 mph traffic. Then 68 strikers were arrested for "disturbing the peace"! One Latino picket was grotesquely charged with "attempted lynching" because he allegedly led fellow strikers in chanting "let him go" after one of their brothers was seized by the cops!

Ironically, prior to the cop attack, the pickets had planned to join a march of the Janitors for Justice campaign of the Service Employees Local 399, a largely immigrant union which had been the target of a cop assault at Century City two years ago. The 68 drywallers arrested in July have been sentenced to 50 hours of

"community service"—including picking up trash in a Hollywood park and putting up drywall for the city! Protesting the arrests, hundreds of strikers and their supporters demonstrated outside LAPD's Parker Center headquarters on July 28, demanding the charges be dropped. And in August, over 150 strikers, joining abortion rights demonstrators, rallied against President Bush when he campaigned in Riverside. As Latino protestors chanted "Bush go home!" the U.S. president was hustled out the back door.

## Labor: Hands Across the Border!

In the aftermath of the multiracial eruption of outrage following the Rodney King verdicts, a shaken local bourgeoisie has targeted the increasingly combative immigrant labor force in its plan to "Rebuild L.A." as a haven for sweatshops and union-free "enterprise zones." With the final closing of the GM plant in Van Nuys last month and the loss of tens of thousands of aerospace jobs, the union misleaders are busy overseeing the gutting of the industrial base of the Southland.

*Workers Vanguard* has covered the drywallers strike, and spokesmen for the Partisan Defense Committee have addressed their defense rallies. Recently the drywallers' battle has gained national attention. The *Carpenter* (July/August 1992), magazine of the carpenters union, labeled the strike "the cutting edge of unrest in the nonunion construction industry." But solidarity is more than a few bucks and a telegram. While the labor fakers and a gaggle of their reformist water hoys wax euphoric about the drywallers, what they offer to the emhatted strikers is lip service rather than the urgently needed *mass union mobilization that can win the strike*. The union tops counsel patience and trust in the bosses' courts, while selling the lie that the racist, protectionist Demo-



Tony Fathergill

**PITTSBURGH LABOR DAY**—Transit workers march bound and gagged to protest court rulings eliminating their right to strike and placing gag order on contract talks. Union tops say to beg the legislature, hut solid strike action can smash the bosses' anti-labor laws!

cratic Party will defend workers' rights.

Faced with a union-busting drive based on the 1986 immigration "reform" act which it supported, the AFL-CIO set up a California Immigrant Workers Association to assist applications for legal residency. But the workers want real unions, not a dues collection agency. Meanwhile, the labor bureaucracy launches jingoist attacks on "illegal immigration" and "exporting jobs." The U.S. capitalist rulers are seeking to build a "Fortress North America" based on the superexploitation of the Mexican proletariat and the crushing of unions on both sides of the border. The drywallers today are getting a taste of what the capitalists are dishing out to Mexican workers in the free trade zone *maquiladora* plants. We oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement not on the basis of

racist protectionism but because we fight for international workers solidarity.

Latino labor is a key component of Southern California industry and agriculture, from the docks to the fields. As one 56-year-old striker poignantly said, "So many homes I have built, and none of them are mine." Organized labor must come to the aid of these militants. As the Rodney King verdicts and the drywallers' own experience shows, there is no justice in the capitalist courts. Labor must stop *la migra's* union-busting drive! Stop the deportations—Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! What's urgently needed is to build a class-struggle leadership that can forge a workers party with the revolutionary program to lead *common class struggle* from Mexico City to Los Angeles to Toronto! ■

# Polish Workers...

(continued from page 10)

21 demands of the OPZZ/Solidarność 80 bloc is protection of the economy from "outside capital," thus fueling Polish nationalism.

While the strike negotiation committee called for national strikes by other workers to support the copper miners, the OPZZ clearly wanted to avoid a gen-

eral strike, which it deemed "a disaster for Poland," thus showing its defeatist face as a pro-capitalist force. With the government willing to keep the mines closed, the strike collapsed in late August. The miners got a one-time payment equivalent to around \$100, no wage increase and no pay for the period on strike.

## For Proletarian Internationalism!

Workers cannot defend their living standards in the framework of the bankrupt Polish state seeking to restore capitalism without capital. The immiseration of the working masses by the counterrevolutionary Solidarność regime has gone hand in hand with the clericalist-led drive to abolish women's right to abortion and with violent attacks on Jews, Roma (Gypsies) and most recently the victims of AIDS. In July, the *Sejm* (Poland's parliament) gave initial approval to a bill to outlaw all abortions, with jail terms of two years for doctors who perform them.

Yet some of the same reactionary forces promoting racist pogroms—such as Solidarność 80 and the KPN—are seeking to place themselves in the leadership of workers' struggle against IMF-dictated "austerity." In August KPN führer Leszek Moczulski traveled to the Ukraine to participate in the commemoration of the UPA (Ukrainian People's Insurgency), the anti-Soviet fascist guerrillas founded in World War II in collusion with Hitler's Wehrmacht. Moczulski and his ilk are a deadly danger to the working people of Poland and its neighbors.

However, various ostensible leftists who treacherously supported Solidarność counterrevolution in 1981 continue to act as cheerleaders for Polish clerical nationalism. Thus the *Dalej!* group con-



Platforma Spartakusowców

**Warsaw, 15,000 march on May Day 1992** denouncing "shock treatment" dictated by world bankers' cartel.

nected with Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat calls for an anti-Communist witchhunt to "finish off the nomenclatura," and supported Solidarność 80 members in the October 1991 elections! The "socialists" of *Dalej!* also stood by at a July 21 miners' rally as the Spartacists were being physically harassed by fascist scum ranting against "Judeo-Communism."

The nascent capitalist state of Lech Walesa is fragile and can be shattered through mass workers struggles. In the current wave of strike struggles, the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski emphasizes the need for a revolutionary leadership with a program for the formation of workers councils (soviets) as organs of dual power and the basis of a new proletarian state.

We oppose all forms of national chauvinism and seek to link the struggles of Polish workers especially with neighboring workers in eastern Germany, who are

suffering the devastation of capitalist *Anschluss*, and with Soviet workers confronting Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary regime. ■



Der Spiegel

**Latest Solidarność prime minister Hanna Suchocka, would-be Polish "Iron Lady" Thatcher.**

eral strike, which it deemed "a disaster for Poland," thus showing its defeatist face as a pro-capitalist force. With the government willing to keep the mines closed, the strike collapsed in late August. The miners got a one-time payment equivalent to around \$100, no wage increase and no pay for the period on strike.

The FSM/Fiat auto workers demanded an increase in their wages to 10 percent of the price of the Cinquecento car

## Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

### Bay Area

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

### Chicago

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

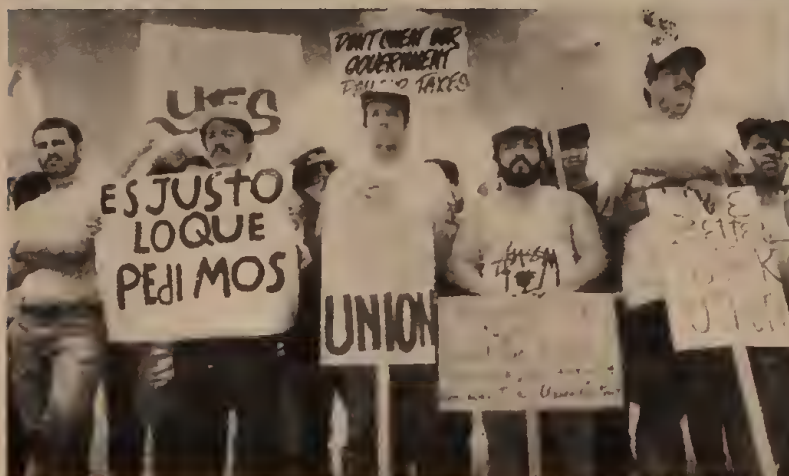
### New York City

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



# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Labor Must Defend the Drywallers!



Barrera/L.A. Times

WV Photo

4,000 immigrant construction workers in Southern California are battling cop and *migra* repression.

## L.A. Deportation Trials of Latino Strikers

LOS ANGELES—For more than four months, over 4,000 drywall construction workers in Southern California have waged a pitched battle for union recognition. The courageous strikers, overwhelmingly Latino and mostly immigrants from Mexico, have shut down construction sites from Riverside south to San Diego with militant mass picket lines. Contractors and rent-a-cops have pulled guns on the drywallers, and the politically potent builders association has marshaled naked state repres-

sion against them. Hundreds have been arrested by the cops and subjected to the racist courts and *la migra*, the hated Immigration and Naturalization Service. Already, 28 workers have been forced into "voluntary" deportations.

Another 25 strikers still face deportation, and nine of these trials are to be

held at the L.A. Federal Building on September 23 and 24. The strength and determination shown by these immigrant workers must serve as an urgent call to the integrated labor movement of Southern California—from the heavily Latino hotel and service workers of L.A. to the powerful International Longshoremen's

and Warehousemen's Union—to mobilize now to stop these deportations and win the strike! Show the arrogant INS union-busters the power of labor with a mass turnout at the trial! An injury to one is an injury to all! Victory to the *drywalleros*!

The current deportation hearing stems from a well-orchestrated mass arrest of 153 strikers on July 2 in Mission Viejo. This, the largest arrest in Orange County history, came just three days after a

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## Hurricane Andrew Relief—A Capitalist Disaster

Hurricane Andrew slammed into south Florida just before 5 a.m. August 24. Average winds were 140 miles per hour; gusts topped 200 mph near the eye. The National Hurricane Center was knocked out. There were 52 deaths reported in Florida, Louisiana and the Bahamas. Over 250,000 were homeless and south Dade County's entire electrical grid and power plants were destroyed. The sewage treatment system was demolished as raw sewage was pumped into lakes. Hardest hit were Homestead, the tenth-poorest city in the United States, and the migrant labor camps in the citrus fields.

The Bush administration's foot-dragging response to the devastation wrought by Hurricane Andrew has become a campaign issue for Democrat Clinton. It was widely commented that the Pentagon could get desalination plants to Kuwait in 48 hours for the Gulf War, but a week after the big blow residents of south Florida were still drinking rain water. Of course, Democratic governor Lawton Chiles called out 3,000 National Guard troops...to prevent

"looting" in Miami Beach and Coconut Grove. One paper reported, "Police set up perimeters in Liberty City," obviously to keep the black residents penned in.

If the hurricane was a "natural disaster," the massive suffering in its wake is a manmade disaster, the product of a capitalist economic system which produces for profit, not to satisfy human needs. And in racist America it is the poor black and Hispanic minorities who get the shaft. Cheap construction that skirted building codes meant that many workers' homes simply collapsed, while trailer homes were crushed like tin cans. Relief went first to better-off areas, and last of all to the flattened migrant workers' camps in the rural areas. And with building costs soaring, even insurance money won't build a new house.

After days of waiting, Kate Hale, the Dade County emergency director, complained to the media that relief efforts were a victim of "political games." Water contaminated with feces and pesticides caused authorities to warn of the danger

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Sladky/AP

National Guard and army were mobilized to defend bosses' property as poor went without water, food, shelter.