

No to Imperialist Diktat in the Balkans! Down With U.S./UN/NATO Attack on Bosnian Serbs!

- For Workers Revolution to Overthrow All the Bloody Nationalist Regimes!
- For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

SEPTEMBER 5—The massive NATO air attacks directed by Washington against the Bosnian Serbs mark a major escalation in the four-year-long Balkan wars. With over 500 bombing sorties thus far, this is the highest military action ever undertaken by the Western imperialist alliance. This is not an isolated raid having little effect on the war but a move to change the balance of forces in favor of the U.S. and German clients in the region, Croatia and the Bosnian Muslims. After a four-day pause during the latest round of negotiations, the bombing is now continuing. As one

senior NATO commander declared at the outset: "Our total strategy is to take away their military capability."

U.S. intervention to destroy or cripple the Bosnian Serb forces is emboldening the American ruling class in the belief that it can terrorize the peoples of the world at will, from colonial-type occupations as in Somalia and Haiti to the bombing of Third World capitals from Libya to Iraq, to imposing economic blockades on countries which refuse to bow to Washington's dictates. When the Bosnian Serbs shoot down NATO warplanes, they are not only justly defending themselves and their homeland but are acting in the

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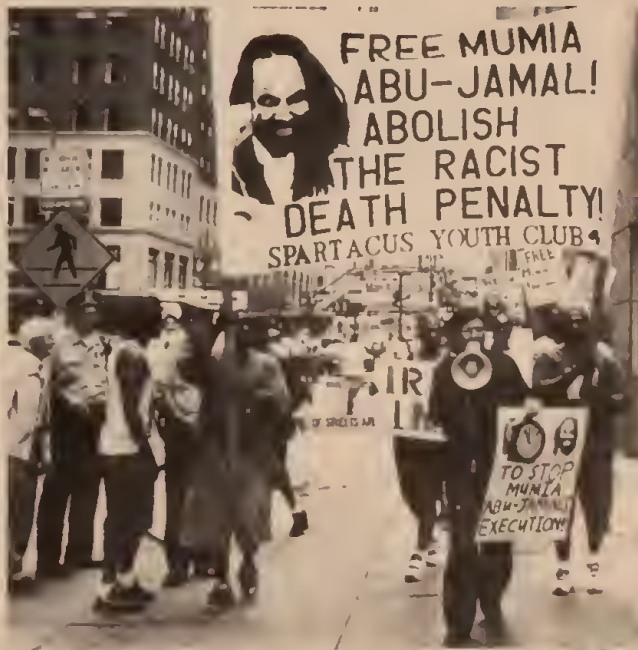
Balkan war escalates as U.S. imperialists unleash NATO terror bombing of Bosnian Serbs.

Since 1980: 1 Million Jobs Lost, 1 Million More Prisoners

Bloody State Repression



Cole/L.A. Times



WV Photo

Left: L.A. cops' machinery of terror in action. As U.S. rulers speed up executions, campaign to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is galvanizing opposition. Right: demonstration in Chicago last month.

Three years ago, the videotaped beating of black motorist Rodney King by a mob of kill-crazy cops, followed by the cops' acquittal by a racist jury, produced a social explosion in Los Angeles and sent shock waves through the country. Now the Mark Fuhrman tapes, in which the notorious LAPD detective spews out

racist epithets and boasts about brutalizing and torturing black people, persecuting interracial couples and routinely manufacturing evidence, have riveted national attention on the whole system of racist cop terror in capitalist America.

For years, both capitalist parties have been pounding away with their "war on crime," which has produced a mush-

rooming prison population, overwhelmingly black and Hispanic, and escalating police-state repression in the ghettos and barrios. In this context, the Fuhrman exposures have hit a raw nerve in this society, which is already massively distrustful of the government. What's necessary is to translate widespread outrage against the criminals in blue uniforms

into effective social struggle.

The fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, the former Black Panther framed up by the Philadelphia police on charges of killing a cop in December 1981 and now facing execution, has become a major political battleground. Mumia's case has come to symbolize the barbaric death

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Free Mumia! Abolish the Death Penalty!

Brutal Anti-Immigrant Repression in L.A.

Killer Cops and Sweatshop Slavery

LOS ANGELES—A wave of killings of Latinos by L.A. cops and county sheriffs, coupled with the recent exposé of the virtual enslavement of Thai women garment workers here, have underlined that the entire working class must take up the fight for immigrant rights. The passage last November of anti-immigrant Proposition 187, currently tied up in the courts, has given the cops a green light to step up their attacks on all minorities in L.A. By denying basic rights to immigrants, Prop. 187 has also reinforced their brutal exploitation by the sweatshop bosses. Meanwhile, as a racist frenzy against affirmative action sweeps the state, the playing of tapes of the vile ex-detective Mark Fuhrman has

exposed, once again, the whole system of racist police terror in L.A.—and indeed throughout the country.

Latinos were already fuming over the cops' killings of Santiago López García in April and Jesus Vargas in early July when, on July 29, 14-year-old José Antonio Gutiérrez of Lincoln Heights on L.A.'s east side was shot down by police as he was doing an errand for his mother. The shooting immediately sparked angry protests, which the cops met with a two-day virtual state of siege, arresting over 25 and beating people at will. Then on August 15 in the town of Torrance, south of Los Angeles, 18-year-old Richard Chacón was shot and killed by police who claimed he was a "gang member."



Cops arrest Latino youth protesting LAPD killing of 14-year-old José Gutiérrez in Lincoln Heights.

José Gutiérrez was similarly victimized by an "anti-gang" patrol called the "Community Resources Against Street Hoodlums" (CRASH). He was shot four times by CRASH cop Michael Falvo and then handcuffed as he lay dying. The cops even beat José's mother as she ran to his side. The coroner's report on the shooting showed that Gutiérrez was shot three times in the back and once in the side. His killing demonstrates the workings of American "law and order," where all black and Latino youth are "gang members" subject to summary execution by the cops.

The police followed this killing with a series of brazen provocations against neighborhood residents. On the second day of protests following the shooting, the LAPD shut down a fund-raising car wash organized by friends of the Gutiérrez family, cursing and handcuffing participants while outraged onlookers gathered. Several days later, people leaving a rosary service were harassed and searched. At an August 12 protest march, the cops continually walked through the crowd, videotaping and attempting to incite the protesters, hoping to set up a bloodbath.

Police have taken their cue from local politicians like Democratic city councilman Mike Hernandez, who initially called the shooting "justified," and Mayor Richard Riordan, who lashed out at groups "like the Brown Berets, the Communist Party and others" who "have only one motive in mind—that is to rile up the people." Feeling the heat of anger among Latinos, in July Mexico's consul general in Los Angeles felt compelled to protest to the sheriffs' department on behalf of the estimated 4.3 million Mexican nationals in Southern California.

Through its brutal repression of immigrants and minorities, the racist ruling class seeks to keep L.A. a low-wage haven for capitalist profit, with the trade unions weak and the workers divided by race and nationality. The true-life horror stories of slave labor in El Monte, 15 miles east of Los Angeles, give an idea of the kind of environment the bosses want to create for working people as a whole. Here young women who fled dire poverty in Thailand were forcibly kept inside an apartment complex-turned-sweatshop surrounded by barbed wire. They regularly toiled seven days a week from 7 a.m. until midnight—and sometimes longer—for \$1.60 an hour, making clothes for tony retail stores, and also chains like Montgomery Ward. Some were held there for as long as seven years, subject to beatings by guards if they tried to escape.

Seventy-two workers were found when the California Labor Commission raided the El Monte factory on August 2. They were then shackled by Immigration agents and hauled off to jail. As a lawyer with the Asian Pacific-American Legal Center bitterly complained, "They were imprisoned at work and then by

the INS." The Thai women are being given temporary work permits allowing them to stay in the U.S. long enough to testify against their slave drivers. But they are threatened with deportation after that, and have now become a political football as the Republicans and Democrats compete for votes by scapegoating immigrants for the falling wages and unemployment produced by decaying American capitalism.

All-purpose bigot Pete Wilson, who was re-elected California governor last fall under the banner of Prop. 187 and is now running for the Republican presidential nomination on his racist credentials against immigrants and affirmative action, ordered the August 2 raid and later denounced the Clinton administration for not cracking down on it earlier. (In fact, the El Monte sweatshop operated unhindered despite the knowledge of the federal government going back to Bush's term.) But Wilson hit a sore spot in Washington, prompting the feds to raid three separate L.A. garment factories on August 23, seizing dozens of Asian and Central American immigrants.

Superexploitation of immigrant labor has thrived whenever the capitalists have needed it, and is burgeoning today. From California fields and orchards to garment factories in New York's Chinatown. For decades, the flag-waving, pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy has turned its back on immigrants, saying they threatened "American jobs." This garbage only benefits the bosses, who relish pitting workers against each other in order to crush unions and drive down wages. Lately, garment, hotel and other unions have successfully organized some of the tens of thousands of immigrant workers in the L.A. region. For the labor movement to get off its knees requires actively fighting to defend immigrant workers and all of the oppressed. For starters, the unions must demand unconditional release of the imprisoned garment workers, no deportations and full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

It is precisely to sap the strength of the integrated unions that the government persecutes the foreign-born and unleashes its uniformed thugs on all minorities. After the shooting of José Gutiérrez, it was revealed that killer cop Falvo was one of 44 "problem officers" identified by the Christopher Commission in the wake of the police beating of Rodney King. Now, with the playing of the Fuhrman tapes, the revelation about Falvo has the local bourgeoisie terrified of the spectre of another multi-racial social explosion like the one that rocked L.A. after the acquittal of the cop tormentors of Rodney King.

The only difference between Michael Falvo and Mark Fuhrman and the rest of the LAPD is that a few of the incidents in which they terrorized "suspects" have come to light. Now some activists around the Gutiérrez case have demanded "community control" of the police and called

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Racist Enforcers of Capitalist Rule

From the brutal attacks on Detroit newspaper strikers to the frame-up of death row prisoner and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal to terrorizing blacks and Latinos in Los Angeles, the police are—as Marxists have always held—the armed fist of capital. The misnamed "justice" system is in reality a web of racist injustice enforcing the interests of the bourgeoisie. The workers and oppressed must organize their own forces to



TROTSKY

defend themselves against the bosses and their uniformed thugs. The strike picket line is the embryo of the workers militia, to disperse the strikebreakers and fascist gangs. In their introduction to the basic principles of communism, Nikolai Bukharin and Evgeny Preobrazhensky explained the role of the cops and courts under capitalism.

The police and the gendarmes. In addition to the regular army, the capitalist State has an army of picked ruffians, and of specially trained troops, peculiarly adapted for the struggle with the workers. These institutions (the police, for instance) have, indeed, the function of combating theft and of "protecting the persons and property of citizens"; but at the same time the police are maintained for the arrest, prosecution, and punishment, of discontented workers. In Russia, the police have been the most trustworthy protectors of the landlords and the tsar. Especially brutal, in all capitalist countries, have been the members of the secret police and of the corps of gendarmes—in Russia the secret police force or "political police" was known as the *okhrana* (protection). Large numbers of detectives, provocative agents, spies, strikebreakers, etc., work in cooperation with the official police.

Interesting, in this connexion, are the methods of the American secret police. They are in league with a vast number of private and semi-official "detective bureaux." The notorious adventures of Nat Pinkerton were really a campaign against the workers. The detectives palmed off bombs on the workers' leaders, incited them to kill the capitalists, and so forth. Such "detectives" likewise recruit vast numbers of strikebreakers (known in the United States as "scabs"), and troops of armed ruffians who murder strikers when opportunity arises. There is no villainy too black for these assassins, who are employed by the "democratic" State of the American capitalists!

The administration of justice in the bourgeois State is a means of self-defence for the bourgeois class. Above all, it is employed to settle with those who infringe the rights of capitalist property or interfere with the capitalist system. Bourgeois justice sent Liebknecht to prison, but acquitted Liebknecht's murderer. The State prison service settles accounts quite as effectively as does the executioner of the bourgeois State. Its shafts are directed, not against the rich, but against the poor.

Such are the institutions of the capitalist State, institutions which effect the direct and brutal oppression of the working class.

—N. Bukharin and E. Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism* (1922)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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8 September 1995

Cross-Burnings and Anti-Union Terror

ATLANTA—Called "Freedom Summer '95," it was to be a substantial union organizing drive across the South, undertaken by the Laborers International (LIUNA) and United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) unions. Evoking the civil rights movement's Freedom Summer of over 30 years ago, the campaign was aimed at bringing unionization to poultry workers at plants from Mississippi to North Carolina. That the largely minority workers face many of the same enemies today, and that unionization of the South is inseparable from the fight for black equality, was dramatically driven home by a KKK-style cross-burning outside of an Alabama processing plant on the eve of a union recognition vote in June.

The conditions faced by tens of thousands of workers in these plants were exposed to the world four years ago, when 25 workers, mostly women and blacks, were the victims of industrial murder in an inferno at a chicken processing plant in Hamlet, North Carolina. Infernal conditions are still the rule in these hellholes, where temperatures reach 110 degrees and chemicals like chlorine burn skin and scar the lungs. The rapid and repetitious work exhausts the body and cripples the limbs of the heavily black, and today increasingly immigrant workforce.

The fight, with strikes, protests and marches, to win even the most elemental union defense for these brutally exploited workers has run smack into the whole apparatus of 1990s union-busting—backed to the hilt by the forces of the capitalists' government and the extralegal racist terror of the KKK. On the Eastern Shore of Maryland, in rural North Carolina and the Mississippi Delta, the courageous efforts of these workers to win unions underscore the necessity to forge a class-struggle leadership in the labor movement. It is vital to link the struggle to organize the South to the fight for black equality and immigrant rights against the racism and exploitation that are integral to capitalism.

Perdue and the KKK

The "Freedom Summer '95" campaign came to Dothan, Alabama, where workers at the Perdue chicken plant were scheduled to vote for a union on June 15. The night before, white plant supervisors burned a cross on company property to intimidate 1,100 mainly black poultry workers. Hung from the cross was a "Vote Yes" T-shirt. Preceding this provocation were burnings of Laborers union literature and of videotapes featuring Jesse Jackson appealing for unionization. A union loyalist was told he would be "carried out in a body bag," while others were physically attacked in the plant the day of the vote. Some of the same supervisors who burned the cross "visited" workers in their homes. These acts of race-terror are the stock in trade of the Klan. In this climate of blatant intimidation, the unionization effort went down to defeat.

Fight Klan Terror! Unionize the South!

May 1995:
Striking Case
Farms poultry
workers in
North Carolina
face down scab
truck. Workers,
mostly Latin
American
immigrants,
later won union
recognition.



Later that month, at another Perdue plant in Lewiston, North Carolina, the UFCW narrowly lost a union drive. On July 12, poultry processing workers at a Perdue plant in Robersonville, NC lost a union vote. In this instance Perdue threatened to close the plant (which is hugely profitable) while the local police chief in concert with company security harassed union activists daily. But the organizing drive has not just produced defeats. Also on July 12, some 500 mainly Guatemalan and Mexican workers at a Case Farms poultry plant in Morganton, North Carolina won union representation with the Laborers after a bitter fight.

Meanwhile, federal immigration cops are increasingly being used to intimidate workers. In July, Clinton's Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) went to work for the poultry bosses, sweeping down on poultry processing workers in Salisbury, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. "Six agents set up a roadblock a few hundreds yards outside the factory entrance and stopped every foreign-looking worker" entering Showell Farms, another Perdue plant (*Washington Post*, 23 July). Korean-born workers with papers were summarily handcuffed. Another 27 Mexican and Central American workers were deported, some within hours.

The hated INS (*la migra*) is carrying out a dragnet centered on the Southeast, called "Operation South PAW," which as of July 4 had seized 2,078 workers. This racist campaign stands for "Protect American Workers" and stems from the criminal call of Atlanta union tops for raids against undocumented workers laboring in numerous projects for the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta. The vile program of the labor traitors is a knife against all workers—black, Hispanic and white. In fact, in numerous struggles across the country, immigrant workers have breathed new life into unions crippled by the betrayals of the labor bureaucracy. A revolutionary leadership would unite the multiracial working class in the U.S. and across North and Central America by demanding full citizenship rights for anyone who has come to this country, and forging genuine solidarity in action to aid workers' struggle across the borders.

The recent surge of union organizing, particularly in the South, has drawn the attention of the *Wall Street Journal* (1 September) which headlined, "Some Unions Step Up Organizing Campaigns and Get New Members." This mouthpiece for big business cited a "major shift in strategy" by labor in turning attention to low-paid workers. The *Journal* highlighted the victory of Morganton's poultry workers as an example that "it can be done." But the immigrant workers at Case Farms had organized even before LIUNA arrived, showing their power by striking the company rather than relying

on the bosses' government, as the hide-bound bureaucracy does.

Many of the Guatemalan workers at Case Farms had been hounded from their homeland by U.S.-backed death squads. They were brought up from Florida to Morganton, where wages were a paltry \$6.35 an hour. Out of this, workers had to pay for their own safety supplies and were limited to one bathroom break a day. In May, 300 workers staged a sit-down strike, refusing to leave the plant, and then walked out for four days. The company promised concessions on working conditions, but in the end only installed two microwaves. The outraged workers approached the Laborers, and in July the union won an NLRB election by a 238-183 vote. After the victory, workers were greeted by placards in Spanish declaring "First Triumph for Workers in Morganton" and "Long Live Your Union."

Integrated unions will play a decisive role in the fight against resurgent Klan terror and the heritage of Jim Crow segregation across the South. It is no accident that in February of this year 100 black newly organized textile workers in Union Point, Georgia formed the core of a protest march against that city's racist ban of 21 local black youth from entering downtown businesses. In the small towns where the large capitalist corporations build their plants, wages for blacks are wretched—but abysmal for whites as well. Racism and racial oppression are a mechanism for social control used to keep white labor bigoted, backward and unorganized. The bosses want a docile workforce to keep the South a bastion of the runaway, low-wage, non-union "open shop." The racist terror of the Klan is the ultimate defense of racist exploiters.

When the KKK staged a provocation in Atlanta in January 1989 under the protection of thousands of cops and National Guardsmen, the Partisan De-

fense Committee initiated a counter-demonstration that brought out 3,000 anti-Klan protesters, calling to "Mobilize the Power of Organized Labor and Minorities Against KKK/Nazi Killers!" This is what a fighting workers party would do. But the subservience of the union tops to Clinton and the Democratic Party stands as a roadblock to the sharp class struggle that is necessary. Who believes that the AFL-CIO bureaucracy will lift a finger against the cruel exploitation of workers by poultry king Don Tyson, Clinton's chief bankroller and Arkansas crony? Jesse Jackson's picket line appearances are a downpayment for the Democratic Party—brushing up his credentials so that he'll be better able to rope workers and blacks back into the voting booth for Clinton next year.

Poultry workers themselves have little economic clout, but a concerted union organizing drive can and must extend to the huge industrial belt that is springing up along the I-85 corridor, particularly auto and related industries, and elsewhere in the South. By 1990, North and South Carolina had more manufacturing production workers than any state except California. Pointing to this development, the document of the Spartacist League's Ninth National Conference (1994) noted:

"A unionization drive could generate an embryonic workers party which would also become the political expression of the black community. 'Organize the South' and the call for integrated labor action to defend black rights are key slogans for Southern work today."

—Spartacist No. 51,
Autumn 1994

The social struggle to unionize the South and rid it of Klan terror requires a revolutionary leadership of the labor movement that will build a *multiracial workers party*, leading a fight against racial oppression and Klan terror and the capitalist system which spawns it. ■

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Young Spartacus

— Defend Affirmative Action and More: —

Fight for Open Admissions!

The University of California Berkeley campus opened the semester with big and very integrated demonstrations against the axing of affirmative action programs in university admissions and hiring. The Regents of the University of California system voted July 20 to kill affirmative action, one of the last by-products of the civil rights movement. On August 28, the UC Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club joined a multiracial protest of some 700 students and workers at Sproul Plaza. The Spartacus Youth Clubs defend affirmative action in university admissions because this has meant gains, however minimal, against the inherent race and class bias in higher education under capitalism. But such gains are at best limited and easily reversible, as the Regents' vote has clearly shown.

The SYC leaflet handed out at the August 28 demonstration argued sharply against the reformist "politics of the possible" which counsel reliance on the class enemy represented by the Regents, the administration and the Democratic Party. In capitalist America, even a basic democratic right like equal access to education requires a revolutionary fight. As our leaflet stated:

"Having eliminated millions of manufacturing jobs, effected genocidal cuts in welfare and gutted the public health care system, the ruling class now wants to declare that they never have to hire a black person again. And they want to turn even the public universities into bastions of race and class privilege ...

"We need to fight for education to be the right of everyone—not a privilege for the wealthy and chosen few. The only way to cut through the 'savage inequalities' of education in racist America is to fight for OPEN ADMISSIONS—with no tuition and a state stipend for all who want to go to school. Nationalize the private universities—no more class privilege in education! Massively expand remedial programs so that students deprived of the right to an education in inner-city holding pens misnamed 'schools' can catch up with those who had the advantage of well-funded suburban and private schooling. Abolish the Board of Regents and the administration! For student/teacher/worker control of the university!

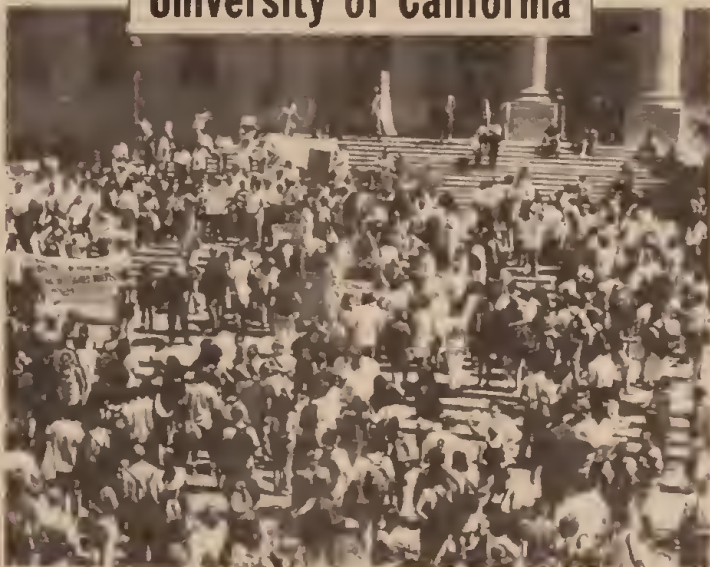
"The elimination of affirmative action in hiring means students already have powerful allies in the workforce at every UC campus and beyond... We need to appeal to these workers to join us in our struggle. We also need to appeal directly to the ghettos and barrios throughout the Bay Area. We can do that if we make our fight at Cal their fight—for an education and future for every child. The workers in the UC system can appeal to the unemployed if they make their fight the fight for 'Jobs for All'—a shorter workweek at no loss in pay! Take control of hiring away from the racist capitalists—for union hiring halls and special recruitment and training programs for minorities! The strategy necessary to win this struggle against the racist assault is one which seeks to build student/worker/teacher/parent/neighborhood/communities minority mobilizations for open admissions and jobs for all."

There is supposed to be free public education in this country from kindergarten through 12th grade. Expand it! The SYC leaflet continued:

"The concept of education as a right instead of a privilege challenges the class



University of California



Students rally to defend affirmative action outside UC Regents meeting in San Francisco (top) and at Berkeley campus (bottom). Democrats, Republicans join in racist purge of higher education.

character of education in capitalist America where class and race are dividing lines. Therefore, for universities to really become public institutions of learning open to all requires a revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system itself. The Spartacus Youth Club is dedicated to building the revolutionary party, based on the multiracial working class, which is necessary to lead that struggle to victory in a socialist revolution.

The ruling class has its priorities: building prisons and shutting down schools, factories and hospitals. The values of this decayed capitalist society are revealed in one blunt statistic: by 1999 there will be more prisoners in California than UC undergraduates and graduates combined. One Democratic Party Senator in California has even proposed a state commission to compile a list of which campuses to shut down in order to pay for the costs of more jails and more cops.

There should be no illusions in pressuring the Regents and Democratic Party politicians for redress. Their whole system of class exploitation is based on denying the working people, who produce the wealth, the fruits of their labor. The political domination of the capitalist class is achieved largely by keeping the working class divided along race and ethnic lines. Thus affirmative action has become a major lightning rod to deflect domestic discontent as the ruling class politicians overtly play the race card in the upcoming presidential elections.

The Regents' vote to end affirmative action is expected to cause a slide in black enrollment to less than 2 percent at UC Berkeley. It's a racist purge. The millionaire Regents, headed by Governor Pete Wilson who led the nation's racist drive against immigrants last year

with California's vicious Proposition 187, are today sending a message to minorities that they are not to be seen in the hallowed halls of the ruling class' universities. At UC Berkeley, minority graduate students got a taste of this when David Saunders, who is black, Armando Vargas, a Latino, and two Native American women were denied entrance to an official reception for graduate students because some of them were carrying flyers defending affirmative action. Only after Saunders protested repeatedly, displaying his ID and relinquishing his flyers, were he and the others let in... via the back door!

Racist Rollback of Affirmative Action—"Mainstreaming" a Fascist Hobbyhorse

The rantings against affirmative action come straight from the racist pseudo-scientific tract *The Bell Curve*, which maintains that blacks are genetically "inferior" to white people (see "The 'Bell Curve' and Genocide U.S.A.," in the Spartacist publication *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12). Minorities and women are under siege for supposedly having taken the place of "more qualified" white males. This lie is just the cover for a virulently racist rollback of everything won through the battles of the civil rights movement. Four decades after *Brown v. Board of Education* formally ended Jim Crow segregation in the public schools, Northern schools are more segregated than in the Deep South, with blacks attending inner-city public schools that resemble holding pens. Public schools have been left with no funding and no books; in the last few years many school districts have ended classes months early because there is no money left—at least for the poor.

School integration through busing has long been off the agenda. Programs like Head Start, which successfully gave youth from impoverished backgrounds a chance to survive in this racist society, have been gutted or dismantled altogether. Newt Gingrich vows to take poor children away from their mothers and put them into orphanages. Meanwhile, the Republicans' "Contract With America" would cut 50 percent in the capital gains tax for the rich. The growing gap between rich and poor is pushing the United States in the direction of many Latin American countries, with an impoverished mass at the bottom and a tiny layer of the super-wealthy at the top. In racist America, the income gap is also the color line. Make no mistake about it: dropping affirmative action in government-funded projects will mean that no black contractor in California will ever get a job again.

From the outset, the ruling class introduced affirmative action programs in a conscious effort to pit oppressed sectors of the working class against their better-off brothers and sisters. Affirmative action plans in hiring (initiated by President Richard Nixon (!) in the "Philadelphia Plan") were a pretext to bust unions

and destroy hard-won union gains such as seniority. At best, they represented tokenist measures which accepted racist discrimination as a given, now and for the future. As we wrote in "Defeat Racist Assault on Affirmative Action!" (WV No. 620, 7 April):

"Affirmative action programs were set up as a sop to defuse social struggle and in order to create and co-opt a layer of black middle-class professionals. But these paltry, tokenistic efforts never made a dent in the deep-seated oppression of the black ghetto masses, whose condition has continued to deteriorate over the past few decades."

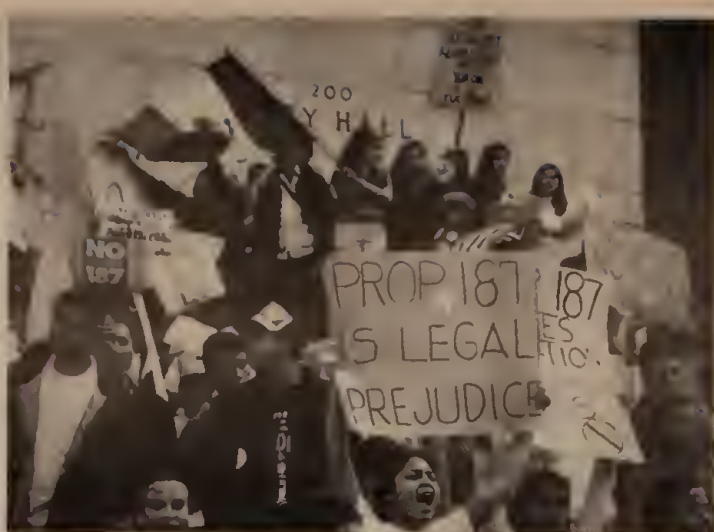
As one black student from Los Angeles recently put it, "For me, getting into Berkeley was like climbing Mount Everest with flip-flops and no rope." Affirmative action *accepts* that Berkeley will remain a distant dream for most black and Latino youth—black undergraduate enrollment was only 5.5 percent last year, Latino only 13.8 percent. Last year Proposition 187 passed despite widespread student and worker opposition. A fight for open admissions that challenges the racial oppression which is the foundation of American capitalism poses the possibility of social struggle *outside* the framework of capitalist pressure politics.

The grotesquely misnamed "California Civil Rights Initiative," endorsed by Governor Wilson, would not only end affirmative action, but would also slash special programs for minority youth, counseling programs for minorities and women in colleges and high schools, attack financial aid and abolish remedial programs on college campuses. For his attack on affirmative action Wilson was praised by "Aryan Nations," which opened its annual convention in Idaho by hailing the California governor for "beginning to wake up" to white-supremacist views.

Crusading against affirmative action has always been a fixation of the fascists, but the latest assault is a significant sign that part of the fascist program is embraced by a wing of the American ruling class, which now openly borrows their language. At the "Good Ol' Boys Roundup" in Tennessee, an annual camp-out for cops and feds, one longtime supporter of David Duke, the "former" Ku Klux Klansman turned Louisiana Republican, was prevented from handing out "white power" literature. In his defense, the man remarked that "all of the issues he was discussing were called racist" but two of Duke's key proposals—ending welfare and affirmative action—are now part of mainstream political agendas (*New York Times*, 27 August)! With this sweeping attack on social gains, the society we live in looks increasingly like one that could have emerged from a Confederate victory in the American Civil War.

Asian Americans Caught in Cynical "Divide and Rule" Scheme

Ultimately, *quotas* have been used to *restrict* rather than advance minority admissions, as in the case of Asian Americans today. Asian students are often told that affirmative action doesn't apply to them, as an ethnic group that allegedly does not experience racial discrimination. This is a particularly obscene assertion in California, which beginning in the 1880s passed the most vicious exclusionist laws against Chinese and other Asian immigrants and their children, and during World War II threw Japanese Americans into concentration camps. Particularly since the passage of Prop. 187 last fall, hate crimes against Asians in the U.S. were reported to be up 35 percent, with the vast majority of these attacks taking place in California. As for the notion that Asians are losing their places on campuses because "less qualified" blacks and Latinos are supposedly taking their place—this breathtaking lie overlooks the reality: Asian enrollment has always been curtailed by administrators anxious that



Los Angeles, November 1994: Students join garment workers protesting Prop. 187 immigrant-bashing campaign spearheaded by Governor Pete Wilson, who then targeted affirmative action in state jobs and education.

their campus not be "flooded" by Asians at the expense of whites.

The racist opponents of affirmative action particularly try to use the Asian population to go after blacks and Latinos in a cynical game of "divide and rule." Just about every article in the capitalist media dealing with affirmative action has gone out of its way to quote an Asian opposed to it. However, many Asian students have been involved in protesting the assault on affirmative action, recognizing that in a racist wave whipped up against blacks and Latinos, the bigots will necessarily target them as well. Asian student activism was key to exposing and protesting the hideous slave-like conditions of immigrant garment workers, mainly Asian women, working in the sweatshops of Jessica McClintock, the fifth-largest clothing manufacturer in the Bay Area (see related article, page 2).

Jesse Jackson, UC Administration Reel in Fake Left

As the Democrats vie with the Republicans for the racist law-and-order vote, Jesse Jackson has come to play a key and insidious role in the battle over affirmative action. His job is to win back to the fold the large numbers of blacks and Latinos who have deserted the Democratic Party in disgust. Jackson in past years egged on the racist "war on drugs," preaching that blacks have only themselves to blame for the miserable conditions they are trapped in. Speaking out of one side of his mouth, he coyly hints at an "independent bid" in the 1996 elections and can be found marching against the "prison industrial complex" in Chicago. Out of the other side of his mouth, he boasts of his registering millions of Democratic voters as "instrumental" in putting Bill Clinton in the White House.

Perhaps to curtail the threat of a Jackson candidacy, or simply to retain the allegiance of women voters, on the eve of the Regents' vote Clinton paid lip service to the principles of affirmative action, proposing to "mend, don't end" it. The lukewarm endorsement of the racist yuppie in the White House has been met by liberal defenders of affirmative action as a victory allegedly proving that there is some inherent difference between the Democrats and Republicans.

When they're not consumed in fighting each other, two coalitions at UC Berkeley—the "Diversity in Action" group brokered by the Stalinist-derived Committees of Correspondence, and the "Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action by Any Means Necessary" spawned by the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League—are working overtime to derail student protest into the dead end of illusions in Jesse Jackson, the Democratic Party and the university administration which strikes a pose as "soft cop" to the Regents' "hard cop" stance.

When Berkeley chancellor Chan-Lin Tien called for the formation of a new task force to study how to "preserve and enhance the diversity that is essential to our campus," Harlem Bazin, leader of the Diversity in Action (DIA) coalition, responded, "If the intent of the committee is to seek to maintain and expand diversity, then we are all for it." Perhaps the DIA coalition should change its name to "DOA"—Dead on Arrival. It has embraced the enemy before the battle has even really been engaged.

The rhetorical posturing of the RWL's "Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action by Any Means Necessary" simply covers for a program that in no way differs from that of the DIA. Explicit reliance on the administration is the thrust of the first two planks of this coalition's "program": "1. Regents rescind the vote to destroy affirmative action. 2. Chancellors, administrators, and faculty, maintain current affirmative action policies." In a leaflet handed out at the July Regents' meeting, the RWL's National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC) gushed that it "supports Jesse Jackson joining this critical fight to save affirmative action." The NWROC leaflet devotes fully half its space to hailing Jackson and telling him what he can do to build the "movement." Nowhere does their leaflet even mention Jackson's role as a shill for the Democrats, let alone pose the necessity for a fight against the capitalist system as a whole.

Vying for bureaucratic political control of the burgeoning student protests at Cal, the two coalitions call their own separate actions where they exclude each other or "unite" to duel each other in ridiculous "battles of the bullhorn." Now the Committees of Correspondence has

taken their sectarian exclusionism into cyberspace, appealing on the Internet for other socialist groups to condemn the RWL and write them out of the left. Students who want to fight the racist assault on affirmative action have been left scratching their heads at the antics of both groups.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club have a very simple proposal: for *united-front action*, in which no participant is censored, of all fighters against the racist rollback of affirmative action. Let the competing strategies and political views be debated and tested in action through the broadest possible united-front protests! It is a sick irony that in protests for "diversity," fake leftists are the attack dogs for censorship and political conformity—which only undercuts the struggle against the racist rollback!

Break with the Democrats! Build a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

In Oakland on August 3, the SYC helped mobilize contingents of hospital workers, longshoremen and others in a powerful labor/black demonstration to stop the threatened execution of death row political prisoner and anti-racist fighter Mumia Abu-Jamal. Some of these same workers—and hundreds more who work in the UC system of universities and hospitals—can be mobilized to fight the racist assault on affirmative action. To unleash the social power of the working class requires a sharp political struggle against the pro-capitalist leaders of the union movement. As the SYC's leaflet states:

"Bowing before government prohibitions of the militant tactics that built the union movement in the 1930s, the current labor bureaucracy echoes the racist and chauvinist poison of the ruling class. Their solution to every problem is to vote Democrat—as if there were any real difference between the twin parties of the capitalist class. It is this prostration of the American labor movement which allows the capitalists to so boldly attack the remaining gains of the civil rights movement."

To defeat the racist assault against affirmative action and to provide an education and a future for everybody, it is necessary to break the chains binding the oppressed to the twin parties of racist American capitalism, unleashing the power of the working class, and to build a fighting workers party that will champion the interests of all the oppressed. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are organizing on campuses across the country to build that party on the road to socialist revolution. The Spartacus Youth Club is building a contingent with the Labor/Black League for Social Defense to raise class-struggle politics in the demonstration planned for the September 14 Regents' meeting at the Laurel Heights UC campus in San Francisco. Join us! ■

Spartacist Events

NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, September 14, 7:30 p.m.
Eyewitness Report: South African Unions Take Up Jamal's Fight As Their Own, Update on Jamal Case, Free Mumia! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
122 West 27th Street, 10th floor

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. September 9
Workers of the World, Unite: The Power of the Proletariat; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Spartacus Youth Club Video Showings
Monday, September 11, 7:30 p.m.:
From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal; Howard University, Undergraduate Library Lecture Room

Tuesday, September 12, 7:30 p.m.:
From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal; University of Maryland, Hornbake Library, Room 4205 (Nonprint Media), College Park, Maryland
For more information: (202) 872-8240

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forums

TORONTO

Saturday, October 21, 7:30 p.m.:
National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!; St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street W (just west of Spadina)

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Thursday, September 21, 7:30 p.m.:
Capitalism Means Racist State Terror, Battle for Mumia's Freedom; University of Toronto, International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street (north of College)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Friday, October 13, 7:30 p.m.:
National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!; Britannia Community Centre, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive), Room L4
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Behind U.S. Imperialism's Nuclear Holocaust

Capping a swell of chauvinism in the American media over the 50th anniversary of the World War II defeat of Japan, on September 2 President Clinton spoke at a Pearl Harbor celebration of "V-J Day." In a ceremony that pointedly excluded representatives of Japan, he called for "unity in America's purpose" in facing new economic challenges. Particularly coming after the administration's protectionist brinkmanship over auto parts, this was a barely veiled call for a new Pacific (trade) war against Japan. And while the White House whips up Japan-hashing for Clinton's '96 reelection campaign, a chorus of Democrats and Republicans have echoed that the U.S. "had to" drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 in order to "save lives." This decades-old refrain is a lie to cover up the nuclear apocalypse unleashed by "denocratic" American imperialism (see "Hiroshima, Nagasaki: U.S. War Crimes," WV No. 627, 25 August).

Over 200,000 human beings—men, women and children—were killed in Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August 1945, respectively, as a result of the initial blast, heat and radiation poisoning. Over the years, many thousands more died from the after-effects. Recent U.S. opinion polls have shown that less than half of those surveyed (44 percent) think it was right to drop the atomic bomb; among those under the age of 30 opposition is overwhelming. Yet while the U.S. media hypocritically lectured Japan on the need to "face up to its barbaric deeds, find suitable apologies" (*San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle*, 13 August), there will certainly be no U.S. apology forthcoming for its wanton act of racist barbarism. When Clinton was asked at the American Society of Newspaper Editors in April, "should we apologize" for the A-bombing, he said "No," and later warned against "a major reexamination of that issue."

The American bourgeoisie has been vigilant on that score. When a little bit of truth slipped into a planned exhibit by the Smithsonian Institution on the 50th anniversary of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, they got landed on with a political ton of bricks. In preparation for the exhibit—whose centerpiece was to be the actual B-29 aircraft, the *Enola Gay*, which dropped the bomb on Hiroshima—the Smithsonian had prepared a long script with photos and documents, attempting to present a "balanced" view of the events leading up to the bombing, telling about atrocities and sufferings on both sides in World War II. After they got run over by the media steamroller, the director of the museum was forced to resign and the script was scrapped. But it isn't only aging war veterans still reliving the chauvinism of World War II who refuse to see the inhuman horror: it's the capitalist ruling class which alibis its past crimes in order to prepare for future crimes.

Thus the "even-handed" *New York Times* (6 August) mildly reproved "veterans groups that strove to censor a Smithsonian exhibit about Hiroshima," while vituperating against those who "imply that Hiroshima is America's Auschwitz, that Harry Truman was somehow a war criminal...." What upset even such "responsible" spokesmen for U.S. imperialism about the Smithsonian exhibition was the prospect of officially giving the lie to the myth that "saving American lives and shortening the war" was why the bomb was dropped. Rather, the A-bomb was intended to "send a mes-



"The Atomic Dome," at center of August 1945 Hiroshima A-bomb blast, is now a memorial to victims of this heinous U.S. war crime.

sage" to the Soviet Union about the lengths to which U.S. rulers would go to assert world domination. The trashed Smithsonian script noted:

"As tensions grew in spring 1945 over the Soviet domination of Poland and other Eastern European countries, Secretary of War Stimson hoped that American possession of the atomic bomb might help make the Soviets 'play ball' in Europe and elsewhere."

The script presented hard evidence in the form of a reproduction of a page from Secretary of War Henry Stimson's diary, dated 15 May 1945, which shows that "the S-1 secret"—the still-untested atomic bomb—was already an integral part of diplomatic calculations vis-à-vis the Soviet Union as Truman approached the Potsdam meeting with Stalin. "The trouble is that the President has now promised apparently to meet Stalin and Churchill on the first of July," Stimson wrote, complaining that "it seems a terrible thing to gamble with such big stakes in diplomacy without having your master card in your hand." As it turned out, Truman delayed the Potsdam meeting until mid-July so that he could get the results of the successful test of the first atomic device at Alamogordo, New Mexico on July 16.

When Truman got word of the Hiroshima bombing, he exulted, "This is the greatest thing in history!" At first he claimed the bombs had saved "thousands of American lives," but by the end of 1945 this was embellished to say that "a quarter of a million of the flower of our

young manhood" was saved by avoiding an invasion of Japan. Later the figure was upped to "half a million" and even a million or more. When scholar Gar Alperovitz presented evidence 30 years ago (in his landmark study *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* [1965]) that the A-bombing was not about "saving lives" but rather to threaten the Soviet Union, it caused considerable controversy in the academic community. But since then memoirs have been published and government documents have been declassified which amply document this.

Today, as Alperovitz notes in his voluminous new book, *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth* (Knopf, 1995), the essential point has become "commonplace" among scholars. As J. Samuel Walker, chief historian of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, wrote in *Diplomatic History* (Winter 1990): "The consensus among scholars is that the bomb was not needed to avoid an invasion of Japan and to end the war within a relatively short time. It is clear that alternatives to the bomb existed and that Truman and his advisers knew it.... It is certain that the hoary claim that the bomb prevented one-half million American combat deaths is unsupportable." *The A-bombing of Japan was in fact the first act of the emerging Cold War aimed at destroying the Soviet degenerated workers state.*

In his new book, Alperovitz goes into great detail expanding the documentary

evidence that there was no "military necessity" to use the bomb, that Truman & Co. knew this and were actually preoccupied with giving Stalin a "demonstration." Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William D. Leahy, who wanted to strangle Japan with a sea blockade, claimed in a 1949 interview that Truman had promised to A-bomb only "military objectives." "Of course," he noted bitterly, "then they went ahead and killed as many women and children as they could which was just what they wanted all the time." Major General Curtis E. LeMay, who later became infamous for calling to bomb Vietnam "back to the stone age," stated bluntly at a September 1945 press conference: "The war would have been over in two weeks without the Russians entering and without the atomic bomb."

Indeed, the official U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey issued in 1946 concluded:

"Certainly prior to 31 December 1945, and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated."

The Japanese rulers had an overriding concern: as a result of growing war-weariness, they feared internal revolution. The Konoe Memorial, a document submitted to Emperor Hirohito, in February 1945 urged an early surrender to the Allies, citing: "More than defeat

continued on page 8



U.S. president Truman delayed July 1945 Potsdam conference with Churchill and Stalin, waiting for results of A-bomb test to strengthen his hand against Soviet Union. Right: American Communist Party obscenely lauded nuclear bombing of Hiroshima in August 1945 cartoon.



Philly Cops' Frame-Up Machine

The fight to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, condemned to death in a police conspiracy, has thrown a spotlight on the machinery of racist injustice in the city of Philadelphia. Today's "legal" murder machine has a hideous continuity with the open warfare against the city's black population under police chief and later mayor Frank Rizzo during the late 1960s and '70s, and the heinous 1985 bombing of the black MOVE commune (see "Police-State Philadelphia," WV No. 626, 28 July). These are the roots of the scandal which exploded in the Philadelphia Police Department late last spring and is escalating week by week.

Although it is generally reported as "cop corruption," what has been revealed is a system of false arrests and frame-up convictions. Reports last June said federal prosecutors were reviewing "scores" of cases; then the number jumped to "hundreds." By early August, they had 1,100 cases under investigation. And last week, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (31 August) reported that the feds "subpoenaed the logs of as many as 100,000 arrests" over the past decade from five police districts—the 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th and 26th Districts—and the elite Highway Patrol. Meanwhile, it came out that the head of the police unit that deals with "racially sensitive" and bias crimes used a racist slur directed at a black cop at the August 12 Jamal protest.

The tip of the iceberg is the 39th District—the so-called "dirty 9th"—in predominantly black areas of North Philly, where six cops have pleaded guilty in federal court to corruption charges. The cops have admitted that for years they framed people by planting drugs on them, fabricated testimony, beat their victims and stole more than \$100,000 from them. So far, nearly 50 people who were sent to prison on drug-related charges on the basis of "evidence" supplied by these cops have had their convictions overturned.

The cases show how the cops operate in Philly's black ghettos as a local Gestapo, kicking down the doors of innocent citizens, brutalizing entire families, and routinely concocting false search and arrest warrants. This is the racist system which Mumia Abu-Jamal courageously denounced and exposed. And for that, the vindictive police, prosecutors and courts railroaded Mumia to death row.

Jamal is by no means the only victim of the massive system of racist frame-ups in this "capital of capital punishment," where the district attorney seeks the death penalty more often than any-

where else in the country. Already, defense lawyers in five murder cases—three of which involve the death penalty—have requested that the cases be reviewed because evidence fabricated by the indicted cops was used in the trial.

and deserves every penny she can get.

The current scandal was set off when Pamela Jenkins, a prostitute who was a paid "street informant" for one of the cops in the 39th District, agreed to wear a wire for the feds. The FBI began investigating after a 1991 incident in which

Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer



Philadelphia Inquirer

Smale/NY Times, Winters/Philadelphia Daily News

Racist police mob screams for Mumia Abu-Jamal's blood outside hospital workers union hall in Philadelphia, July 19. At center of sinister web of Philly frame-up system, from left to right: FOP president Richard Costello, D.A. Lynne Abraham, Mayor (and former prosecutor) Ed Rendell.

In one case that has become notorious, Betty Patterson, a 54-year-old grandmother and active church member, was framed for "drug dealing." To get a search warrant in order to scour her house for evidence against her sons in a murder trial, the cops fabricated a tale of witnessing 22 drug sales at Patterson's house, paid a drug-addicted prostitute—a "piper"—to say she bought cocaine there, and planted drugs in the house. Patterson's three sons were acquitted of murder charges, but she served a three-year prison term for supposedly dealing cocaine. Betty Patterson's conviction was among those which have now been overturned. She is demanding \$7 million in damages from the city

Philly cops beat black Temple University student Arthur Colbert, held a revolver to his head and tried to frame him as a drug dealer. When the cops were fired as a result of Colbert's complaint, they hired Jenkins to testify falsely that Colbert had sold her drugs. Jenkins claims she was personally responsible for 35 arrests; she was also the sole "eyewitness" in the 1988 murder conviction of Raymond Carter, who was sentenced to life in prison.

Many of the corrupt police methods which have been exposed in the current scandal—manufacturing of evidence, lying by police officers, giving out favors to prostitutes in exchange for false testimony—were precisely those which

were used to railroad Mumia and sentence him to death. Thus the prosecution's "star witness" against Jamal was a prostitute, Cynthia White, who repeatedly changed her story to the cops' liking while facing prostitution charges, and who was given police protection working the streets.

In the frame-up of Jamal, a cop and a hospital security guard claimed to suddenly "remember" a supposed confession of guilt by Mumia more than two months after the fact! This kind of fabrication is standard procedure for Philly cops and prosecutors. And judges invariably accept even the most outlandish lies by the cops. One 39th District cop used exactly the same story in at least a dozen cases to justify breaking into homes without a warrant.

Commenting on the current scandal, Philadelphia D.A. Lynne Abraham moaned how "troubling" all this was "because our criminal justice system in large part puts its faith in the word of police officers." That is certainly in large part how Mumia Abu-Jamal was framed. What the death-penalty zealot Abraham finds "troubling" is not that the cops lie, but that their lies are exposed. But the D.A. and her cohorts are sticking hard to the lies concocted to get Mumia.

The pattern of systematic set-ups and frame-ups was so pervasive that everybody all the way up to the top had to know. It was a purposeful operation by a ruling class seeking to intimidate the city's black and Hispanic population. And from Rizzo's 1970 raid on Black Panther headquarters to the 1978 cop assault on MOVE's Powelton Village headquarters to the murderous 1985 bombing of MOVE's Osage Avenue home, the cops and their masters used naked terror to subjugate Philadelphia's black community.

There must be no illusions that the "Justice" Department will "clean up" the Philly cops. More than 800 pages of FBI files on Mumia, documenting its constant surveillance, harassment and frame-up attempts, are proof of the intimate collusion between the feds and the Philly cops. The racist callousness of the bourgeois rulers toward the countless lives ruined by these cop frame-ups was captured by Philadelphia mayor Edward Rendell's dismissive comment that it is "truly not an extraordinary story" because it "happens in every big city periodically." In fact, it happens all the time. Under Democrats or Republicans, administered by black or white politicians, vicious racist repression is an integral part of capitalist rule. ■

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State Repression...

(continued from page 1)

penalty, and the fight to free him is galvanizing opposition to racist oppression across the board. As thousands have marched, unions around the country and the world have taken up his case, and public figures have spoken out to save his life, the international outcry forced the authorities to grant a stay of execution last month.

Hearings on Jamal's appeal for a new trial are scheduled to resume for final arguments in the Philadelphia court on September 11. And in Pittsburgh on September 5, a hearing is opening in U.S. district court on an appeal to overturn the prison authorities' policy of sealing Munnia off from the media and from his legal advisers ever since the prison learned of his book, *Live from Death Row*. Evidence introduced at this hearing shows that privileged legal correspondence between Jamal and his legal defense team has been read, confiscated and copied by the prison authorities, and circulated to Governor Ridge's office.

The fight to free Jamal and against the racist death penalty means a struggle against the partner parties of capitalism. Democrat Clinton has kicked off his reelection campaign with TV ads screaming, "Expand the death penalty! That's how we'll protect America!" And California governor and Republican presidential hopeful Pete Wilson is using the Jamal case to appeal to racist "law and order" sentiment. Speaking to a meeting of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) during a campaign tour last week, Wilson ranted, "It may be radical



George Holliday video

Vicious cop beating of Rodney King led to multiracial upheaval in L.A. Former LAPD detective Mark Fuhrman, boasting of framing and brutalizing blacks and Latinos, personifies system of racist state terror.



AP

chic to support cop killers, but justice demands that they be held accountable" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 30 August).

Emblematic of Clinton/Gingrich's America is the return of the barbaric chain gang in Alabama, as inmates chained to each other are forced to do road work or break rocks ten hours a day in the hot sun. Currently, more than 1.5 million people are behind bars, half of them black and one in seven Hispanic, while another 3.5 million are either on probation or parole. In the past 15 years, over one million people—overwhelmingly black or Hispanic—have been added to the prison population. Accompanying the explosion of the prison population is the speedup of the assembly line of death. More than 3,100 people are now crammed into the country's death rows—again primarily black and Hispanic—more than double the number in 1982. And the sharp rise in legal

executions is dwarfed by the number of people wantonly shot down by cops.

Behind this escalation of police-state terror is the drastic decline in the living standards of wide layers of the population. In the same period that a million places were added in the prisons, a million manufacturing jobs were lost, on top of the wholesale destruction of Midwest industry in the 1970s. Meanwhile, the American labor movement has been gutted through the massive use of scabs protected by cops and private security outfits, while the union tops have refused to lift a finger. But the scabherders can be defeated by sharp class struggle.

Last weekend, striking Detroit newspaper workers and their supporters waged a pitched battle with the cops in a scene recalling the labor battles of the 1930s which built the industrial unions. This is the kind of mass picketing that is needed to win this strike, and others.

However, this was an unusual and largely spontaneous explosion of militancy. What is needed is a leadership putting forward a program for workers struggle to defeat the now-routine use of scabs to break strikes. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the *Transitional Program* (1938):

"Strike pickets are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating workers' groups for self-defense."

Fundamentally, a labor movement which does not aspire to political power will simply be viewed as another social group fighting for its own narrowly sectoral interests. To mobilize the active popular support needed to win even economic struggles, the workers movement must take the lead in combating all forms of social oppression, from police terror in the ghettos and barrios to the

A-Bomb...

(continued from page 6)

itself, what we must be most concerned about...is the communist revolution which may accompany defeat" (quoted in Joe Moore, *Japanese Workers and the Struggle for Power, 1945-1947* [1983]).

At Potsdam in July, Alperovitz documents, Truman maneuvered to delay Soviet entry into the war and continued to insist on Japan's "unconditional surrender," thereby ensuring there would be no surrender until the A-bombs were dropped. Pushing hardest for using the A-bomb was Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, who acted as a tutor to the former vice president when Truman took over as a result of Franklin D. Roosevelt's death in April 1945. As the president's personal representative on the committee which was charged with the details of the bomb's use, "Mr. Byrnes recommended, and the Committee agreed...that the bomb should be used against Japan as soon as possible; that it be used on a war plant surrounded by workers' homes; and that it be used without prior warning" (Notes of Interim Committee meeting, 1 June 1945). The

reference to a "war plant" was just for argument: the 1946 Strategic Bombing Survey noted that "all major factories in Hiroshima were on the periphery of the city—and escaped serious damage." This was deliberate mass murder of innocent civilians.

A group of Manhattan Project scientists led by Hungarian physicist Leo Szilard valiantly circulated a petition to thwart the bomb's use, but to no avail. When a delegation visited Byrnes' home in Spartanburg, South Carolina in late May, Szilard later reported that Byrnes "did not argue that it was necessary to use the bomb against the cities of Japan in order to win the war." Instead, Byrnes argued that "our possessing and demonstrating the bomb would make Russia more manageable in Europe." Byrnes was a leading "Dixiecrat" segregationist, and we have documented elsewhere the role that racism played in the decision to drop the atomic bomb on Japan (see "Racism, Anti-Sovietism and Atomic Holocaust," WV No. 459, 12 August 1988).

Yet despite the mountain of evidence, the Big Lie persists in the popular mind that dropping the atomic bomb was necessary to save hundreds of thousands

of lives. Alperovitz demonstrates that behind "the fifty-year deception" there has been a conscious, determined campaign coming from top ruling circles. This involved not only government-sponsored propaganda, but also doctoring, suppressing and destroying historical documents, particularly on the human consequences of the bomb. When the horrors of nuclear warfare became apparent to Americans after the war (particularly in John Hersey's graphic account, *Hiroshima*, published in 1946), there was a natural mass revulsion which worried the Cold Warriors who were preparing nuclear war against the Soviet Union. So a propaganda machine was geared up, capped by an article by former war secretary Stimson in *Harper's* magazine (February 1947) asserting that the A-bombing was necessary to end the war and thereby avoid "over a million casualties." This has been the official line ever since.

Meanwhile, contrary positions and evidence were suppressed with the full weight of governmental power. When Leo Szilard tried to publish his petition in *Science* magazine after the war ended in August 1945, he was threatened with the Espionage Act, and the petition was classified "secret" for many years. American and Japanese still pictures and films of Hiroshima and Nagasaki taken in September-October 1945 by civilian investigators were confiscated by U.S. military police and remained "secret" for two decades. When in 1946 the War Department prepared a "Statement of Effect of Atomic Weapons on National Security and Military Organization," a preliminary draft mentioning Japanese peace feelers was shot down by a memo sent by a general who wrote, "The implication that the atomic bombs were dropped on a people who had already sued for peace should not be included in a paper prepared for release to the public." Here again, as the old adage goes, history is written by the victors.

Today, most of the opposition to American use of nuclear weapons at Hiroshima and Nagasaki is pacifist. But

it is class questions which are decisive here, as always. World War II was an imperialist war for redivision of the world's markets and seizure of colonies—except on the Russian front, where the Soviet Red Army heroically fought to defend the bureaucratically degenerated workers state from the onslaught of Hitler's armies. As part of his "anti-Hitler coalition" with the "democratic" imperialists, Stalin criminally ordered Communist parties around the world to back the war efforts of their respective capitalist governments and suppress revolution. The American CP, for instance, enforced no-strike pledges for FDR. Today, the CPUSA proclaims, "No More Hiroshimas" (*People's Weekly World*, 5 August). But in 1945, they grotesquely applauded the A-bombing of Japan—depicting it and the Soviet declaration of war on Japan in a cartoon as "The Old One-Two" (see illustration).

Following the example of Lenin and Trotsky in the first imperialist world war, the Trotskyists opposed both imperialist camps in World War II, while defending the Soviet Union. For this courageous internationalist stance, they were persecuted by the imperialists—the European Trotskyists were decimated by Nazi repression, as well as Stalinist assassinations; in the U.S., 18 American Trotskyist leaders were jailed by FDR. While Stalin and his successors sought "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists, they were rewarded for their sellouts by decades of Cold War and U.S. nuclear threats, culminating in the implosion of the Soviet Union in 1991. Far from heralding a "New World Order," this has led to a wave of bloody nationalist slaughter, such as has wracked the former Yugoslavia, and the heating up of interimperialist rivalries, pointing to trade wars and ultimately a new imperialist world war.

As the American Trotskyists wrote on 18 August 1945 in their biting denunciation of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, "The workers must wrench the power from the hands of the blood-drenched capitalist criminals and take their destiny in their own hands." ■

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The Labor Black Leagues stand for mobilizing minorities and working people in militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist capitalist oppression. The LBLs are fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, and are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the hosses and for socialism.

— For more information write —

ATLANTA

Labor Black League
for Social Defense
Box 16921
Atlanta, GA 30321

CHICAGO

Labor Black
Struggle League
Box 6938
Chicago, IL 60680

NEW YORK

Labor Black League
for Social Defense
Box 3238, Church St. Sta
New York, NY 10008

OAKLAND

Labor Black League
for Social Defense
Box 751
Oakland, CA 94604

savage cuts in welfare and other social programs for the poor. And fighters against racist oppression must look to the racially integrated working class, which alone has the social power to sweep away the capitalist rulers and their armed enforcers.

The Fuhrman Tapes: The True Face of the Cops

The Fuhrman tapes revealed by O.J. Simpson's defense recount one nauseating incident after another in which he and his LAPD huddies brutalized and murdered black people and others. Fuhrman, who retired from the LAPD a few months ago, positively revels in racism and sadism. Speaking of an incident in the Hollenbeck district in 1978, Fuhrman gloats: "We basically tortured them. . . Their faces were just mush. . . There was blood everywhere. All the walls. All the furniture. All the floors." When the LAPD was forced by community protests to carry out an "Internal Affairs" investigation, neither Fuhrman nor any other cop got even a slap on the wrist.

Predictably, the powers that be are scrambling to dissociate themselves from Fuhrman, denouncing him as an isolated "rogue cop." What crap! Throughout his 12 years on the LAPD, Fuhrman openly boasted of his contempt for blacks, Latinos, women and Jews—when a fellow cop married a Jewish woman, Fuhrman painted a swastika on his locker—and brutalized people with impunity. This fascist mentality reflects the cops' role as an occupying army in the ghettos. This is recognized even by black cops, such as LAPD officer Bob Grant, who remarked, "If you come down in south L.A., a lot of people describe us as an occupying force, and, in a lot of ways, we are an occupying force" (*New York Times*, 4 September).

The cops' outlook reflects their job: as Karl Marx put it, being determines consciousness. Just as slave drivers in the Old South had to despise the black slaves, so the cops in racist America today must necessarily be contemptuous of the ghetto poor—and all minorities.

And that is not specific to L.A., but characterizes cops from coast to coast, from the lowest county sheriff to the highest levels of the federal government. The same BATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) which went after the integrated Branch Davidian commune near Waco—leading to the slaughter of over 80 men, women and children—was heavily represented at a KKK-style "Good Ol' Boys Roundup" in the backwoods of Tennessee. Shocked hotel guests in Washington, D.C. this spring got a taste of the pure swinishness

of the cops as NYPD delegates to a national cop convention went on a rampage. And now the lid has been lifted on the cesspool of racism and frame-up convictions that is the Philadelphia Police Department, as investigators are reviewing as many as 100,000 arrests (see "Philly Cops' Frame-Up Machine," page 7).

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has focused international attention on the Philadelphia cops and courts. Yet in his lying response to Mumia and his supporters, published as an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (13 August) and since reprinted in major newspapers around the country, Philadelphia D.A. Lynne Abraham dismissed as "ludicrous" any notion that "the police framed [Jamal]" to silence his unpopular political views." Yet frame-ups and lies are standard operating procedure for cops and prosecutors, whether out of malice and racism or sheer laziness.

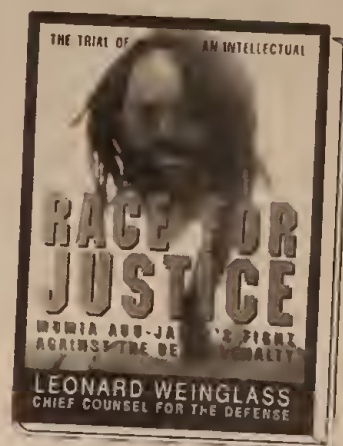
What all of this adds up to is a working description of the capitalist state, which through its cops and courts is an instrument for the suppression of the exploited and oppressed by those who exploit them. "The state of antiquity was above all the state of the slaveowners for the purpose of holding down the slaves," explained Friedrich Engels in his 1884 book, *The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, "and the modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labor by capital." In this deeply racist country, founded on black slavery, the state has always and necessarily been racist to the core. And at the pinnacle of this system of terror and repression, to this day, stands the death penalty.

Mobilize Labor/Black Power!

Following the right-wing victory in the '94 Congressional elections, while the reformist left wallowed in despair, we noted that the bourgeois rulers have been creating a mass of social tinder that would sooner or later erupt in resistance at the base. The 1992 L.A. upheaval is an example of the fragility of American capitalist stability. And a mood is developing in the labor movement that something drastic must be done to stop the bosses' determination to wipe out all union gains, if not unions themselves. The desire to struggle against the all-around capitalist offensive has been tapped by the international campaign of protest to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, which is drawing in discontented youth, minorities and working people around the world.

Our longstanding effort to save Jamal stemmed directly from our solidarity with MOVE against the government terror bombing in 1985. In contrast, much

of the left shamefully turned a blind eye to the MOVE bombing at the time, because this hack-to-nature commune was then not considered popular. Likewise, the opportunist left refused to speak out against the murderous FBI/BATF assault at Ruby Ridge, or even to protest Clinton/Reno's Waco holocaust two years ago. Typically, the



Powerful evidence exposing frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is detailed in his legal appeal to reverse 1982 trial and death sentence, now available in book published by Common Courage Press.

wretchedly social-democratic International Socialist Organization dismisses Congressional hearings into the Waco inferno as purely a "sop to the right-wing militias" under the despicable headline, "Wacko Speaks Up on Waco" (*Socialist Worker*, 1 September).

In picking and choosing which victims of capitalist state terror they will defend, the reformists demonstrate a touchling—and ultimately suicidal—faith in the bourgeois state, which is hardly so discriminating. Hand in hand with this go illusions in the cops (the ISO and others consider these professional racist strikebreakers part of the labor movement!). We call for cops out of the unions, and oppose the presence of black police spokesmen at Jamal protests. Even though they are occasionally on the receiving end of their white colleagues' bigotry, black cops are no less a part of the racist machinery of repression. The head of the black Philadelphia policemen's organization, the Guardian Civic League, made this emphatically clear when he insisted that every cop is "one of our own" as he joined the chorus calling for Mumia's execution (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 19 August).

Repeating many of the lies purveyed by the police and prosecution, an article

by Marc Kaufman in the *Washington Post* (20 August) on Jamal nevertheless observed: "To millions of people he is now America's No. 1 political prisoner." It's necessary to make the fight to free Mumia part and parcel of a struggle to take on the Democratic and Republican parties of racism and union-busting and to challenge the capitalist murder machine at its core. Key to this is the mobilization of the social power of the working class, not only to extricate Mumia from the grip of his would-be executioners but to sweep away the entire apparatus of bourgeois state terror through socialist revolution.

The labor-centered demonstrations initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee in New York and the Bay Area on August 3 point toward the strategy needed to do this. The PDC has fought from the beginning to enlist the support of the trade unions in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, and particularly over the last few months major unions and labor federations have taken up this struggle, from the U.S. West Coast to West Europe and South Africa. But more than endorsements are needed, it is necessary to bring labor into the streets—and out on strike—to free Mumia. At the August 3 NYC rally, Larry Adams, president of Mail Handlers Local 300, told the crowd of unionists: "If we allow them to hit Mumia today, they'll be back for the rest of us tomorrow." At the New York Labor Day parade a month later, the Mail Handlers carried a banner in defense of Jamal.

To mobilize labor/black power, it is necessary to wage a political struggle against those who would keep the black and working masses chained to the "lesser" evil of the Democratic Party. While Jesse Jackson speaks out for Jamal and leads marches against the "jail-industrial complex," he has been the point man for the bipartisan "war on drugs" which has filled the prisons with black youth. The devastation of the ghetto goes hand in hand with the decimation of the labor movement. Meanwhile the capitalist rulers, aided by the chauvinist union tops on one hand and black nationalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan on the other, seek to pit white against black for ever-shrinking resources.

What is needed to cut through this is a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed. The words of Karl Marx at the time of the American Civil War, reprinted on the back of membership cards for the Labor Black Leagues, affiliated to the Spartacist League, are no less true today than they were then: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

Join the Campaign!

The international campaign of protest has temporarily stayed the executioner's hand, but Mumia Abu-Jamal is still under the shadow of death. The struggle for his freedom continues. As Mumia said himself in "The Stay," Judge Sabo's August 7 ruling was an attempt "to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement. . . Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!"

1 Organize protest! Pass motions demanding Jamal's freedom in your unions, campus, community and church organizations. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicize Jamal's case in your union or organization's newsletter. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.

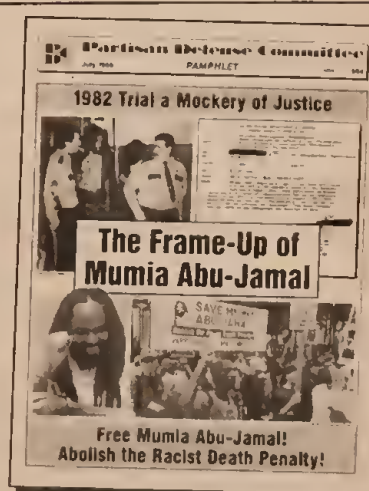
2 Spread the word! The current issue of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And the new PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party. Order bundles of the special campaign issue of *Class-Struggle*

Defense Notes and *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, 25 copies of either publication for \$10. For only \$1, buy the PDC's new button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Get your local bookstore to stock Jamal's powerful *Live from Death Row*. Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The video can be purchased for \$30 from the PDC at the address below. Contributions of \$5 or more to the PDC include a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

3 Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. Ridge changes his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal! As we go to press, the numbers are: phone (717) 789-2500, fax (717) 783-3369.

4 Funds are urgently needed! To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

5 Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.



Spread the word: order bundles of the new PDC pamphlet!

For more information: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252

Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

interests of working people and oppressed nations throughout the world.

The International Communist League has opposed the nationalist bloodletting on all sides in the ethnic civil wars in the former Yugoslavia. At the same time, we have always opposed all of the many imperialist interventions, including the UN "peacekeepers" and economic embargo of Serbia. It has been quite clear in recent months, beginning with the deployment of the so-called rapid reaction forces last spring, highlighted by the American engineered and controlled Croatian offensive in early August, and now with the mass murder bombing by the U.S. and NATO, that this has become an imperialist war against the Serbs. We call for defense of the Bosnian Serbs against U.S./NATO imperialism and its puppets of the Muslim-Croat alliance.

As the Pentagon war machine was unleashed in the Balkans, the ICL called emergency demonstrations in a number of cities, including New York, London, Berlin and Paris. At a protest against the NATO onslaught held outside the United Nations headquarters on September 1, Spartacist spokesman Len Meyers stated:

"The American government says it wants peace. When they talk about peace, we think of the mushroom clouds over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This government, this capitalist ruling class, this imperialist system cannot bring peace, because it is a system based on death and destruction, whose aim is to suck the last drop of profits and dividends out of the working people.

"Our protest here today is part of our struggle against the biggest butchers of all, the American ruling class. We fight to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party to sweep away this bloodthirsty ruling class through socialist revolution."

A Wanton Act of Imperialist Bloodlust

The capitalist counterrevolutions which swept across East Europe in 1989-91 led to the bloody breakup of Titoist Yugoslavia along national lines. The Serbs—the largest and militarily strongest nationality in the region—quickly gained the upper hand, controlling a third of Croatia and 70 percent of Bosnia. But American imperialism refused to accept a Greater Serbia established in defiance of its will, and the German Fourth Reich was pushing for a Greater Croatia.

Three years ago, the Western powers imposed a punishing economic embargo against Serbia—sanctioned by the United Nations, that den of imperialist thieves and their victims—in order to force Belgrade nationalist strongman Slobodan Milosevic to abandon his support for the Croatian and Bosnian Serbs. In recent months that is exactly what Milosevic has done. At the same time, Washington and Bonn moved to build up the military capacity of the Croatian regime and Bosnian Muslims. In early August, the Croatian dictatorship of Franjo Tudjman—which openly solidarizes with the pro-Nazi Ustashi regime of World War II—carried out a blitzkrieg against the Serbian-populated region of Krajina, an act cynically hailed by the U.S. and Germany as a step toward "peace."

As some 200,000 Croatian Serbs were driven from the land where their ancestors had lived for centuries, the Clinton gang launched a diplomatic offensive for an imperialist-imposed settlement among the contending Balkan nationalists. The Bosnian Serbs—now on the strategic defensive, with their former protector Milosevic doing the imperialists' bidding—were willing to go along. Two days before the NATO onslaught, "hard-line" Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic declared that "the American initiative takes account of the minimum interests of the Serbian side." The one party dragging its feet on the way to the negotiating table was the Sarajevo

Muslim regime, which now believes it has the military means to drive back the Serbs. While the Serbs are the direct targets and victims of the NATO attack, Washington is also sending a message to the Muslim leaders to fall into line.

The immediate pretext for the NATO onslaught was the explosion of two artillery shells in central Sarajevo, killing and wounding over 100 people. The Serbian military command disavowed responsibility for this and clearly had no interest in such an attack at this juncture. According to UN investigators, the shells were fired from an area where there are both Bosnian government and Serb troops. It would not be the first time that the Bosnian Muslim regime has shelled its own people in order to provoke the Western powers into attacking the Serbs. In any case, the NATO terror bombing is an act of sheer gratuitous bloodlust. It is simply to show the murderous big stick of American imperialism.

The NATO air offensive was politically prepared by years of anti-Serb warmongering by American and European politicians and in the Western media and was echoed by much of the so-called left. The Serbs have been portrayed as bloodthirsty monsters bent on terrorizing peace-loving Croats and Bosnian Muslims. Certainly, the Serbian forces have committed terrible crimes, including gang-raping Muslim women. Yet, as in all such communalist wars, atrocities abound on all sides among people engulfed in fear, hatred and lust for vengeance.

If the scale of atrocities has been greater on the side of the Bosnian Serbs, it is only because up until now they have been militarily dominant. But that military dominance can be quickly reversed, depending mainly on the ever-shifting policies and even whims of the Western imperialists, centrally the U.S. This was clearly and dramatically demonstrated last month when the Croatian army, advised by Pentagon generals, carried out the biggest single act of "ethnic cleansing" in the four-year-long Balkan bloodbath.

The Bosnian Muslim army is now substantially larger than the Bosnian Serb forces and increasingly well armed. The UN arms "embargo" is hollow except as war propaganda. Recently retired American Air Force general Charles Boyd, a former deputy commander of the U.S. European Command, judges that "the Muslims have gained significant military parity with the Serbs while maintaining the image of hapless victims in the eyes of much of the world" (*New York Times*, 9 August). If Washington and Bonn decide to unleash the Muslim army allied with the Croats on the ground, and backed by the massive use of NATO air power, the Bosnian Serbs could suffer heavy losses. This would depend, as it did in Croatia, on agreement with Milosevic that the Serbian army not intervene.

For the moment, the Western powers and Yeltsin's Russia favor some kind of deal among the contending Balkan nationalists centering on a partition of Bosnia. But any imperialist-engineered "peace plan" will necessarily perpetuate national oppression and injustices, laying the basis for new wars when the internal and international balance of forces change. These wars will not only involve the peoples of the region but also the Western powers and Russia, whose conflicting interests have historically made the Balkans the powder keg of Europe.

The New World Disorder and the Balkan Wars

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union convinced the American ruling class that it was now the unchallenged master of a "one superpower world." During the buildup to the terror bombing of Iraq in the 1991 Gulf War, George Bush proclaimed a "New World Order." To demonstrate their stat-

ure as the only superpower, America's rulers have intervened in conflicts around the world even where they have no strategic interests. And while the U.S. still has massive military power, it no longer has the economic strength to act as global gendarme and simultaneously compete successfully with its imperialist allies/rivals, Germany and Japan.

Fear of American casualties, along with differences with the West European powers and Yeltsin's Russia, deterred Washington from direct military intervention in the Balkans. However, the seemingly interminable Balkan conflict, and particularly the defiant attitude of the Bosnian Serbs, made a mockery of the American rulers' claim to be masters of a "New World Order." Republican Congressional leaders have lambasted Clinton as a wimp for not stopping Serbian "aggression" against the Bosnian Muslims. "Arm and support the Muslims against the Serbs" has been a major campaign theme of leading Republican presidential candidate Robert Dole. A few weeks ago a top White House official admitted, "I don't think the President relishes going into the 1996 election hostage to fortune in the Balkans, with the Bosnian Serbs able to bring us deeper into a war." So NATO warplanes are now killing Bosnian Serbs in order to help Clinton get re-elected as U.S. imperialist commander in chief by giving him a suitably macho military image!

For the past few years the U.S. has postured as the great power champion of the Bosnian Muslims, in good part to strengthen Washington's neocolonial ties to "moderate" Islamic states in the Near East such as Saudi Arabia and Turkey. While the Pentagon's terror bombing of Iraq in 1991 was directly and obviously about U.S. control over the Persian Gulf oil fields, NATO's terror bombing of the Bosnian Serbs is indirectly also linked to the geopolitics of oil.

However, a key problem for U.S. imperialism in ex-Yugoslavia is that the Bosnian Muslims are not only the smallest of the contending nationalist forces but also the least capable of forming a viable nation-state. There has never been a Bosnian nation and there is no "Bosnian people." Bosnia is a region of three closely related and formerly thoroughly intermingled peoples—Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims.

With the breakup of Yugoslavia along national lines, the regional balance of power points to the partition of Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia. This has always been the policy of the German Fourth Reich and Yeltsin's Russia. And perhaps seeking to maintain a decisive role in European power politics via NATO, Washington is now moving in the same direction. This would reduce the Bosnian Muslims to a statelet around Sarajevo dominated by Croatia. As the *London Independent* (22 August) explained: "The new US peace map for the former Yugoslavia envisages a series of land swaps which attempt to carve the former Yugoslavia into new ethnically pure territories, with Croatia standing to gain." This exposes the hypocrisy of those liberals and so-called leftists who vocally support imperialist anti-Serb warmongering and military intervention in the Balkans in the name of defending a "multiethnic, secular Bosnia."

Left Face of Imperialist Warmongering

The most extreme anti-Serb warmongering in the Western imperialist countries has come not only from the right wing of the political spectrum, as one would normally expect, but also from liberals, social democrats and even the "far left." In the U.S., such radical notables as Susan Sontag and Christopher Hitchens have long called for bombing the Serbian forces in Bosnia. In Britain, Tory "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher, Labour Party grand old man Michael Foot and left groups like Cliff Slaughter's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) denounce Western governments

for appeasing Serbian "aggression."

When it comes to the Balkans, the British centrists of *Workers Power* (July/August 1995) sound like a press release by Republican presidential candidate Robert Dole: "Help multi-ethnic Bosnia to defend itself! It needs heavy artillery, tanks and aircraft. Lift the arms embargo!" And the response of the Slaughterite *Workers Press* (19 August) to the Croatian blitzkrieg and mass expulsion of the Krajina Serbs reads like a communiqué from the U.S. State Department or German foreign ministry: "There is no doubt that the military offensive of Tudjman's Croatian forces has created a more favourable military situation for the fight of Bosnia against Karadzic's forces."

The most active agency on the left for promoting imperialist military intervention against the Serbs is the "Workers Aid" campaign, dominated by Slaughter's WRP and the West European-centered United Secretariat. Under the guise of providing humanitarian aid for the "multiethnic" working class in Bosnia, Workers Aid is in reality a pressure group on the Western imperialists to attack the Serbian forces besieging the cities controlled by the Muslim regime. A banner at a Workers Aid conference in London last October demanded: "UN Must Open the Northern Route to Tuzla." Tuzla is one of the Bosnian cities designated by the UN as "safe havens."

A major pretext for the imperialist intervention in Bosnia is ensuring that food and other basic matériel can be delivered to the "safe havens." French general Bernard Janvier, the UN commander in Bosnia, declared that the NATO air offensive against the Serbs would not be stopped until they opened the roads into Sarajevo and withdrew their artillery from around the city. This is substantially the same program as that of Workers Aid. So these fake leftists are now getting what they wanted: the imperialist terror bombing of the Serbs.

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

It was the victory of Tito's Communist Partisans against the German Nazis and Croat and Serb nationalists in World War II which made possible the overthrow of capitalism and brought two generations of peace and relative ethnic harmony to the peoples of Yugoslavia. Yet only the extension of socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe could provide the economic basis for genuine national equality in the relatively impoverished Balkans.

However, the Stalinist bureaucratic deformation of Titoist Yugoslavia combined with "market socialism," which opened Yugoslavia to increasing imperialist economic penetration, reinforced and widened disparities between the various regions, fueling resurgent nationalism and eventually paving the way for capitalist counterrevolution. The resulting massacres, forced population transfers and other atrocities are inherent in the drive to form bourgeois nation-states on the ruins of what had been a multi-ethnic society made up of closely intermingled peoples. Within the framework of capitalist counterrevolution, there can be no national justice for the peoples of Bosnia and the other former Yugoslav republics.

Any imperialist-imposed settlement on the contending Balkan nationalists will not bring peace but only lay the basis for future wars. The first step toward a just and lasting peace in the region is the formation of proletarian-internationalist parties capable of winning the masses away from the reactionary demagogues on all sides—the Serbs Milosevic and Karadzic, the Croat Tudjman and Bosnian Muslim Izetbegovic—in the fight for workers revolution and a Socialist Federation of the Balkans as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

"This Isn't Just a Strike, This Is a War"

We print below an eyewitness account by a Chicago unionist who participated in the picket-line battle outside the struck Sterling Heights, Michigan newspaper printing plant on the night of September 2-3.

In the afternoon, the cops tried an initial charge on the line at the main gate at the printing plant, prior to the actual march arriving at the plant. There were over 300 strikers and about 200 cops, and the cops, who had shields and helmets, were repulsed. Twice they were driven across the street. The cops clearly wanted to try and seize control of the driveway at the main gate before the thousands of unionists that were marching toward the plant got there. They failed.

When the main demonstration marched up, the crowd at the main gate swelled to well over a thousand and stayed at 1,000-1,200 throughout most of the night. These cops who were repulsed by 300 strikers earlier had obviously no appetite to take on 1,200. There were scores of different unions represented, from throughout Detroit and from the Midwest: the striking Newspaper Council, Teamsters from other locals, many of the UAW locals in the Detroit area, AFSCME, SEIU was well represented, GCIU. There was an array of union hats and jackets, T-shirts. There were older men, many women, many young women. Many teenagers, who were probably the sons and daughters of trade unionists, were out there and were solid, right in the middle of the line and ready to repulse any attacks.

The company attempted to run a tractor-trailer out the main gate about 3:00 in the morning. First they tried a feint. They opened the gate at Gate One, and massed some Vance Security in front of a tractor-trailer, and they pulled two buses up behind it, presumably filled with Vance Security strikebreakers. It looked like they were going to try and run a truck out from there, but they were using

that to block the vision of the strikers while they ran another truck around back of the complex and tried to smash through Gate Three, which is on the north side of the facility on 16 Mile Road.

The strikers there had padlocked that gate with chains and several locks and put a huge tree trunk in the middle of the driveway just beyond the gate. The company tried to ram through that gate with a tractor-trailer. The truck did smash the gate, nearly colliding with many of the strikers who were massed on the other side. But the strikers immediately picked up the gate and shoved it back in the direction of the tractor-trailer, which was inundated with a number of projectiles, forcing it to back up. The company then brought up two other vans, fearing that the strikers were going to go in through the now-damaged gate. These vans were quickly abandoned, and the strikers quickly disabled them, totally blocking the entranceway to that gate.

Shortly after that, about 3:30 a.m., the company made an attempt to run a truck out the main gate. They lined up two tractor-trailers, drew back the electronically controlled fence and sent one truck down the driveway toward the throng of over 1,000 pickets. The driver was starting to build up a little bit of speed, but very quickly slammed on the brakes, because groups of picketers charged right at the truck. This truck, too, was greeted with a barrage of projectiles: pieces of concrete, bottles, sticks, metal poles from a cyclone fence that had been taken down near the outer gate. The driver almost took out a guard shack as he hurried to back up and protect himself from the barrage. As his windshield was taken out, his cab was filled with debris. The strikers forced the truck back behind the inner gate.

Strikers were chanting, "Union, union," "No scab paper," "No Sunday paper!" There was a whole array of different police agencies, from the Michi-

gan State Police, Sterling Heights police, Macomb County sheriffs and neighboring villages' police forces. After the strikers repulsed the semi, they immediately turned and anticipated a police charge from the other direction. The police had their shields up in front of them, they had their helmets on, their visors down and their clubs ready. There was a tense wait for the cops to charge, and as they waited, the picketers started chanting, "No scab paper! No scab paper!" heating the cadence with the resounding sound of wooden sticks on the pavement. It was almost like that scene from *F.I.S.T.* It clearly intimidated the police, who had no stomach to take on a militant picket line.

At this point about 200 cops faced six times as many strikers. The people massed at the main gate never really dwindled until after that semi was repulsed. Then the cops demobilized and cut their force by about half. When the strikers saw that happening, they were chanting, "Go home, go home!" And they started singing that song they sing at the baseball games, "Nah, nah, nah, nah, good-bye." As the cops were pulled out, the crowd chanted, "We're still here," and felt a palpable sense of their power.

This was a war of attrition. The cops' ploy was to wait things out, hoping that when enough strikers melted away, they could run the trucks, which they eventually did when only 50 picketers were there later in the morning. The marshals and the organizers did nothing to really try and get people to stay, to get on bullhorns and say that what is going on is a war of attrition, you need to stay. There was a lot of fear on the part of the organizers; they thought that it was getting out of hand. They actively tried to hold people back from repulsing the semi. And they reassembled their main marshal contingent, the ones that were designated to do civil disobedience, and they made an announcement that if the

attack came from within the plant, then you should stand. If it came from the other side, from the local police department, then everyone should sit. This was met by a lot of derision.

That militant picketing should have been done from the beginning of the strike was on everybody's minds. Most people said it should be done every Saturday night. We said it should be done every night—there should be thousands and thousands of Midwest trade unionists surrounding that plant. Everyone knew what needs to be done. I was talking to an ex-president of a UAW local in Detroit who hadn't been there earlier on the line, but he saw the 11 o'clock news and immediately drove down, knowing that there was an emergency situation. But he was probably the exception rather than the rule. No call was put out for union reinforcements, for unionists from all over the Detroit area to flock to the plant to refresh the forces and make sure that those gates were held all the way into Sunday. That paper never should have hit the street. There was no attempt to rally the forces in the Detroit region. That clearly was what was needed.

There was a real sense on the line that it not only could be done but it had to be done. The people that were massed at those gates last night, as they braced for cop charges or faced speeding semi trucks, were willing not only to put their jobs but their very lives on the line to win that strike, knowing that if this strike isn't won, any one of us would be next. That's what has come through in all these strikes going back to PATCO and Hormel, that there's no lack of a spirit of self-sacrifice and desire by the membership and the ranks to win these battles. It's only because they're sabotaged by the pro-capitalist bureaucracy that these battles are lost. One striker said to me, "You know, this isn't just a strike, this is a war." ■

Detroit Labor...

(continued from page 12)

For seven weeks, 2,500 striking newspaper workers, members of six different union locals, have watched lowlife scabs take their jobs. Some 200 members of the Newspaper Guild—representing reporters, photographers, and copy editors—have gone back, but over half their membership is standing firm.

In the decade since the *Chicago Tribune* broke the back of its printing and mail handler unions, newspaper workers have suffered a number of major setbacks. In the 1992 *Pittsburgh Press*

strike, mass pickets backed down the cops and stopped the scabs cold, showing the whole country that scabberding can be stopped. But the union tops snatched defeat from the jaws of victory, pushing through a deal which folded the *Press* into the *Post-Gazette* and eliminated hundreds of jobs.

That sellout was brokered by the AFL-CIO's "Strategic Approaches Committee," now chaired by Mine Workers president Richard Trumka. Trumka is one of the movers behind the campaign of SEIU chief John Sweeney for the head of the AFL-CIO. There is no significant difference between the Sweeney supporters on the federation's executive council and Lane Kirkland's longtime waterboy, Tom Donahue. Trumka's program for the Detroit newspaper strike is to call a national boycott of six large retail chains if they continue to advertise in Detroit's scab paper! This will only divert attention from the fact that *hundreds of thousands of scab papers are being produced and hitting Detroit streets daily*. This is what must be stopped, by solid workers action.

Marauding Monopolists

In 1989 the Detroit newspapers signed a "Joint Operating Agreement" (JOA) that virtually eliminated competition between them. Under these near-monopoly conditions, the *Free Press* and *News* were able to crack down on the union gains won over the years, eliminating as many as 1,000 jobs. While union members toiled under the fourth year of a wage freeze, the companies last year alone raked in over \$55 million in profits—out of the \$640 million netted by their parent corporations.

The newspaper bosses came to the bargaining table this year with an offer the unions couldn't help but refuse. Report-

ers in the Newspaper Guild were targeted with a "merit pay" scheme, while Teamsters, Typographers and pressmen faced deeper job cuts designed to save the companies a cool \$50 million over three years. Meanwhile, the company set aside \$3 million for scabs and mercenaries from Vance International and Huffman Associates. On the eve of the strike, just when the unions needed cash most, the companies cut off the dues checkoff—demonstrating the folly of entrusting dues collection to the class enemy.

On August 19 outside the Sterling Heights plant, 300 strikers and strike supporters managed to stop scabs entering the plant for two hours before a phalanx of cops attacked and arrested four unionists, breaking the arm of one of them in the process. TV reports showed an off-duty cop kicking one striker as he was dragged away. Guild president Lou Mleczo whitewashed this cop violence and denounced militant strikers with a diatribe aimed at "radical groups, anarchists and Maoists, who were trying to take over the picket lines."

As one newspaper exec so candidly put it: "A lot of our success has been because the police have done their job." When it was discovered that the newspaper companies "donated" \$300,000 to Sterling Heights for the costs of extra police protection at their printing plant, union tops meekly protested the "conflict of interest." This open payout only underlines the basic Marxist truth that cops are a linchpin of the state machine organized to defend the profit system and the rule of the racist capitalist class. We say: cops out of the labor movement!

One of the cops' main jobs is to repress the black population, specially oppressed as capitalism's reserve army of labor. The auto bosses' massive job

cuts and plant closures in Detroit have created vast ghetto wastelands where black youth can't even hope to find a job worth having. And riding roughshod through these segregated hellholes are the police, routinely meting out racist violence. Detroit blacks haven't forgotten Malice Green, an unarmed black worker beaten to death in his car in November 1992 by cops who got off with just a slap on the wrist.

A class-struggle leadership in the union would have the authority to rally thousands of black youth—whose fathers and grandfathers once worked in central Detroit's now rusting auto plants—to the side of organized labor and teach the cops a lesson in proletarian justice.

The AFL-CIO tops have a program, a program of class collaboration with the bosses which spells defeat for the workers. James P. Hoffa, Ron Carey's opponent for the Teamster presidency, went to Detroit's Labor Day to announce his candidacy in the city where his legendary father got started. Hoffa is posing as an alternative to the government-installed Carey, who sold out last year's nationwide Teamster strike. But Hoffa's beef with Carey is over who controls union dues money—his "old guard" supporters wanted to buckle to the trucking bosses' demands without even a peep.

What labor needs is a class-struggle leadership that will sweep away the bureaucratic sellouts in the course of struggle. Unleashing the proletarian power that can win here in Detroit and across the U.S. means breaking with the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and forging a multiracial, class-struggle workers party. Such a party must fight for a workers government to sweep away capitalism and its bloodthirsty scabherders for good. ■

L.A....

(continued from page 2)

on the FBI and the Justice Department to investigate the killing. But who can expect even a hint of justice from Clinton and Reno, responsible for the hideous Waco massacre of 86 men, women and children in 1993? From the FBI and the Justice Department to the LAPD and county sheriffs, the bourgeois state is racist to the core and exists to repress workers, youth and minority communities in defense of the capitalist status quo.

As a Spartacist sign at the August 12 protest declared, what's necessary is to mobilize the power of labor and minorities to stop racist terror. Some of the most energetic strike actions in recent years have come from heavily immigrant construction, trucking and hotel workers unions in the L.A. region. A fighting workers party must be built to mobilize labor in defense of the ghettos and barrios and to unite workers internationally in struggle for socialist revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Picket Line Battle at Sterling Heights Plant

Detroit Labor: Shut Down the Free Press/News!



September 2: Mass pickets block Detroit newspaper printing plant in Sterling Heights. Labor's gotta play hardball to win!

WV Photo

DETROIT, September 5—The Detroit working class showed its muscle in a mass mobilization that ran from Saturday afternoon, September 2, through dawn the following morning, as striking newspaper workers and their union backers put up a hard fight to seal off the mammoth Sterling Heights plant where Detroit's two major dailies, the *Detroit News* and the *Free Press*, produce their scab paper. Determined to win this key battle for organized labor, 3,500 workers gave the eight-week-old newspaper strike its first real show of union power.

Thousands of workers assembled at the UAW Local 228 hall on Saturday afternoon, eager to march to the Detroit Newspaper Agency's printing facility one mile away on Mound Road. The labor tops had planned a day of speechifying and impotent civil disobedience to blow off steam. UPI reported today that "prior to the Saturday night demonstration, officers and unions had reached an agreement to allow trucks to come and go from the plant once an hour." But when some 3,000 workers arrived at the gates of the sprawling plant, matters took a different turn.

For hour after hour, the crowd of workers faced down the police and scabherders. When in the early hours of Sunday morning the company repeatedly tried to drive trucks through the picket lines, they were stopped cold at the gates by militant picketers who drove them back under a hail of debris (see eyewitness report, page 11). But lacking a determined leadership, most of the pickets began drifting away, and by 8:30 a.m., the scab trucks began to roll. The earlier show of union power had been allowed to dissipate.

Saturday's mobilization was drawn from unionists around the region, showing the potential for real labor solidarity in action. Monday night, the scene was repeated, although with reduced numbers, as several hundred pickets stood off cop attacks for almost four hours. Earlier in the day, as the official Labor Day march ended in front of the Detroit News building, Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions chief Al Derey called for another mobilization at Ster-

ling Heights next weekend. Militants shouted back, "No Tuesday paper!"

Bring Out Midwest Labor to Stop the Scabs!

Today the company announced they were seeking an injunction against further picketing at the Sterling Heights plant. Injunctions can and must be turned into scraps of paper by a mobilization of Detroit labor to defy them. Illegal? So was the Flint sitdown strike, without which the Motor City would never have become a labor town. But the response the local bureaucrats and AFL-CIO tops put forward today is toothless consumer boycotts, pressuring capitalist advertisers and appealing to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), an agency of the bosses' government.

There are two sharply counterposed programs here. Frank Kortsch, Teamster head negotiator in the strike, has bragged that deliveries of the scab paper have continued since day one! Like his fellow business unionists, his strike "strategy" hinges on the intervention of the Labor

Board, saying "that's one reason for our patience" (*New York Times*, 10 August). Recent NLRB rulings against the *News* and *Free Press* owners aren't worth the paper they're printed on. Caterpillar has been found "guilty" of scores of "unfair labor practices" by the NLRB, but CAT strikers in Peoria, Illinois still had their jobs grabbed by scabs over a year ago. Reliance on government intervention will bury this strike.

What's needed now is an elected strike committee, composed of the most committed militants with a program to win—mass pickets to stop delivery and production every day of the week. Delegations of strikers must be sent to appeal directly to other unionists to come out. Coming on Labor Day weekend, this class battle captured nationwide attention. From the outset of the strike against the Gannett and Knight-Ridder publishing behemoths on July 13, many workers watched to see if a union-busting crusade in Detroit would drive a knife into this city's union movement and unleash an offensive against newspaper workers

across the country. On the bosses' side, the *Wall Street Journal* (9 August) noted that "especially in the heart of Detroit, support for the union is evident at every turn." But passive support won't win the strike. The task of the hour is to shut down the scab newspaper by mobilizing continuous mass pickets!

To begin with, the UAW should empty out the Chrysler Sterling Heights Stamping Plant, barely a mile away, and march over to the *Free Press/News* plant to shut it down. Decisive labor action would unleash the discontent felt by the more than 300,000 unionists concentrated in the Detroit area, as well as the doubly oppressed black population. Unionists throughout the Midwest would gladly flock to Detroit to aid a struggle with a chance to win. Just mentioning the presence of Vance International thugs scabherding at the *Free Press/News* could bring caravans of miners from the coal fields of West Virginia, Kentucky and southern Illinois who have scores to settle with these hired goons.

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For Picket Lines That Nobody Dares Cross!



WV Photos

Scabs get taste of union power. Right: Disabled vans at gate after bosses unsuccessfully tried to crash through with semi truck.