

NAFTA/IMF Front Men Shaken by Guerrilla Insurgents

Military Crackdown in Mexico

In the last few months, Mexico has been subjected to a virtual state of siege. On September 15, Mexico's Independence Day, 30,000 troops and over 1,000 armored personnel carriers, tanks and artillery pieces roared through Mexico City during the traditional parade. Two weeks earlier, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) government of President Ernesto Zedillo deployed more than 80,000 military and police personnel in the capital, along major highways, and around dams, refineries and electrical and communications towers. In June, the army took over direct responsibility for policing Mexico City. In the impoverished southeastern part of the country, radical peasant organizations have been besieged by the army and many of their leaders arrested or killed. Tens of thousands of troops and police armed with helicopter gunships have fanned out through villages and peasant areas in at least seven states, as the Mexican president vows to hunt down and crush guerrilla "terrorists" with the "full weight of the state."

Zedillo seized on the appearance in late June of a hitherto unknown group calling itself the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR) to ratchet up this draconian military crackdown on peasants, workers and radical organizations. Days after masked EPR guerrillas showed up at a June 28 commemoration of the police massacre a year ago of peasants in the southwestern state of Guerrero, the government mobilized 12 infantry battalions backed with tanks and helicopter gunships to descend on impoverished villages in the region. Meanwhile other divisions of the 180,000-strong Mexican armed forces were sent to terrorize poverty-stricken areas in the states of Oaxaca, Chiapas, Puebla, Hidalgo, Veracruz, Morelos and San Luis Potosí. The search for guerrilla sympathizers is now a blanket justification for brutally barging into people's homes and detaining any "suspect."

In late August, the EPR carried out actions in several different southern and central Mexican states, reportedly staging raids on police offices, military outposts and radio stations. However, the government's escalating repression is aimed at a far broader target than a handful of isolated guerrilla actions. Since the imposition of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994 and the peso crash engineered by Wall Street, at least 22 million people have been pushed to the brink of starvation. In Guerrero, 40 percent earn less than the abysmal minimum wage and have no running water. In Oaxaca, fully one-third of the population lives off meager garden plots. Meanwhile, sales of Mercedes have skyrocketed and new Gucci boutiques spring up in swank



Lopez Mills/AP



AP

Brutal repression unleashed by Mexican president Zedillo (above, center) against EPR guerrillas targets all workers' and peasants' organizations. Top: Police attack demonstration of striking teachers last May in Mexico City.

parts of Mexico City. In a country of 100 million, 1,000 families own 25 percent of all the wealth, and NAFTA boosted several dozen of these to the status of billionaires.

U.S. Rulers Demand "Law and Order" in Mexico

The U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie, which virtually took control of the Mexican economy with its "bailout" following

the collapse of the peso, is alarmed at the spectre of widespread revolt in Mexico. A recent article in the *New York Times* (20 July), headlined "Income Gap in Mexico Grows, and So Do Protests," invoked scenes of the 1910 Mexican Revolution as it described peasant seizures of *haciendas* and of freight trains carrying corn. The article expressed concern about "a loss of respect for the rule of law and a frightening lack of Government control."

Spokesmen for Wall Street have not minced words about what they expect from their lackeys in Mexico City. An editorial in *Business Week* (2 September) is headlined: "A Growing Mexico Needs Law and Order."

Especially since the Zapatista peasant uprising in Chiapas in 1994 and the imposition of NAFTA, the Mexican military has been rapidly upgrading with the Pentagon's help. With the *Bolsa* (stock market) up 22 percent this year and industrial production beginning to revive, the PRI regime wants to reassure the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Wall Street and other imperialist investors. In the past year military spending shot up by 16 percent. The PRI government recently purchased over 70 U.S. helicopters and 250 French tanks, and has agreed to have Mexican soldiers trained at American military bases.

Military torturers from other Latin American countries have for decades been trained at such infamous facilities as the "School of the Americas" (more aptly known as the "School of the Assassins") at Fort Benning, Georgia. But the new U.S. training pact with Mexico is unprecedented, flying in the face of intense national feeling against Yanqui imperialism going back to the 1836 Texas war, the Mexican-American War of 1846-48, U.S. support for the Porfirio Díaz dictatorship which was swept away by the 1910 Revolution, and the endless looting of Mexican mineral wealth by American corporations.

The peasant revolts and working-class unrest in Mexico are accompanied by a wave of workers' struggle throughout Latin America against the starvation policies imposed by the IMF. From Argentina and Chile to Uruguay, Brazil, Columbia and Venezuela, there have been sharp class battles in recent months. Advised by Washington, Latin American governments recently held a summit in Cochabamba, Bolivia to agree on plans for economic and military cooperation to confront the threat of heightened class struggle. Indeed, Zedillo's current "war on terrorism" looks ominously like the bloody start of many other Pentagon "pacification" programs elsewhere in Latin America. In the last three decades, U.S.-supported military regimes and death squads have killed or "disappeared" hundreds of thousands and produced a million refugees in Central America alone.

For a Leninist Party!

Nearly all of those detained and "disappeared" since the military mobilization against the EPR began are members of peasant groups—the Organization of Towns and Neighborhoods of Guerrero, the Council of Popular Defense and the Peasant Organization of the Southern Sierra (OCSS)—whose "crime" is to demand credit, tractors, seed and a piece of land. The "free trade" rape of Mexico

continued on page 8

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Immigration and Racist "Fortress Europe"

SEE PAGE 6



U.S. Official Admits: They Lied About KAL 007

When the Baghdad regime of Saddam Hussein supposedly fired a handful of surface-to-air missiles into thin air in the U.S.-dictated "no fly" zone over southern Iraq in mid-September, Washington responded as though it was about to start World War III. The U.S. sent yet another aircraft carrier group and thousands more troops into the region, as Defense Secretary William Perry threatened a "disproportionate" response—on top of the dozens of cruise missiles which had already been fired at Iraq two weeks earlier. While Clinton has yet to order a new attack, the Pentagon's propaganda mills now have a ready-made pretense for another imperialist slaughter in the

Persian Gulf.

Thirteen years ago this month, Washington and its media machine whipped up a similar war fever against the Soviet Union when Korean Air Lines (KAL) Flight 007 was brought down while flying over sensitive military installations deep inside Soviet airspace. Then president Ronald Reagan railed about an "act of barbarism" by the Soviet "evil empire." In a world broadcast, his ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, presented to a special session of the Security Council a supposedly damning tape recording of the Soviet pilot proclaiming, "The target is destroyed." The tape was crucial in bolstering U.S. claims that the

Soviets knowingly downed an innocent civilian passenger plane without warning. But as the front-page headline of *Workers Vanguard* (No. 337, 9 September 1983) declared at the time, "Reagan's Story Stinks!"

Now, 13 years later, the U.S. Information Agency propaganda official who put together the tape admits it was a lie. Alvin A. Snyder, who was then director of worldwide television for the USIA, excuses himself in a *Washington Post* (1 September) article by claiming that "I was given only selective information—some of the pilots' words and none of the comments of the ground controllers. Those full conversations reveal that the Russians believed the intruder aircraft was an American [Air Force] RC-135 reconnaissance plane." He admits that "the tapes show that" the Soviet pilot "could not identify the plane, and that he fired warning cannons and tipped his wings, an international signal to force the plane to land." But no matter that it was a lie. As one former State Department official told Snyder, "Although untrue and unfair, it intimidated the Russians"—and that's what they wanted. So don't expect any apologies from Jeane Kirkpatrick or the U.S. government.

Indeed, to this day the U.S. still proclaims that the plane "accidentally" strayed into Soviet airspace, citing the "black boxes" produced by Yeltsin four years ago as the supposed final evidence. But analysis of the black box data does not jibe with the available radar tracks of KAL 007. The only really professional analysis of this radar data, by aviation expert Robert Allardyce, appears in a recent book, *Desired Track* (1995), by Allardyce and James Gollin. We published details of the Allardyce/Gollin analyses three years ago in "KAL 007 Cover-Up Continues" (WV No. 583, 10 September 1993). They conclude that KAL 007's curving flight path could not have been an "accident," but must have been "preplanned" to take the plane into Soviet airspace, and that U.S. authorities must have had "real time knowledge" of the deviation. In short, the plane was part of a U.S. intelligence mission to probe Soviet defenses.

The U.S. is now spending millions of dollars to recover every last bit of TWA Flight 800 lying under 120 feet of water

off Long Island. But there is no such effort to salvage the wreckage of KAL 007, even though the U.S. and Yeltsin's Russia claim to know exactly where it is. Mysteriously, no bodies were ever recovered from the wreckage and no pictures of it released. The U.S. Navy's "after action" report on its 1983 search claimed to have found nothing when it was finally released after being strangely "classified" for ten years. In fact, there would be no technical obstacles to a recovery. According to Yeltsin's government, the KAL 007 wreckage is only 570



You read it here first! *Workers Vanguard* denounced Reagan's KAL 007 Big Lie from the outset.

feet undersea. U.S. deep-diving experts explored the *Titanic* in 1985 at a depth of more than 10,000 feet, and U.S. Navy subs can recover wreckage from such depths. But criminals don't go searching for evidence of their crimes.

As we wrote at the time, the KAL 007 spy mission was a bloody imperialist war provocation, at a cost of more than 200 innocent lives. The capitalist rulers are past masters at manufacturing provocations when they need an excuse to go to war. In 1964, there was the Tonkin Gulf incident, when Democratic president Lyndon B. Johnson used a supposed North Vietnamese attack on an American ship—which was later acknowledged to have been a fabrication—to launch a massive troop invasion and carpetbombing of Indochina. In 1939, Hitler dressed up some German

continued on page 4

The 1971 Attica Massacre— We Will Not Forget!

Twenty-five years ago, on 13 September 1971, then New York governor Nelson Rockefeller ordered prison authorities to drown in blood a revolt at the Attica penitentiary, killing 32 inmates and 11 of the prison guards being held as hostages. The multiracial Attica rebellion reflected the radicalization taking place outside its walls under the impact of the Vietnam War and the U.S. ghetto revolts, expressed as well in the



TROTSKY



LENIN

prison letters of Black Panther supporter George Jackson, who had been gunned down by San Quentin guards several weeks earlier. The Attica bloodbath, like the subsequent massacres of the Philadelphia MOVE organization in 1985 and the Branch Davidian commune outside Waco, Texas in 1993, was a bloody warning by the "democratic" capitalist state that it will tolerate no challenge to its order. We reprint below excerpts from the front-page article denouncing this heinous massacre in the first issue of *Workers Vanguard*.

The brutal, bloody murderers of Attica are none other than the ruling class of this society. The direct executioners were Rockefeller, State Commissioner of Correction Oswald and their man in the field—Capt. Williams. Nixon immediately proclaimed his public support for this cold-blooded and calculated act.

Rockefeller cut down the Attica prisoners in the manner of his father and grandfather before him—ruthlessly and to protect the system from which his profits spring. From the murder of the Ludlow miners to the present, this family has carried the policies of the armed fist over the entire globe....

The class responsible for Attica is responsible for My Lai, for Vietnam, for Hiroshima, for all the other massacres over which it had "no choice"—no choice if American capitalism was to be preserved.

Prisons represent, in concentrated form, the repressive power of the state. Parliaments rest on the prisons; the prisons do not rest upon parliaments. In this sense, a prison rebellion challenges part of the foundation of the capitalists' power and must accordingly be crushed.

The ferocity of the attack is simply a magnification of the daily workings of prison life, as "Soledad Brother" George Jackson's prison letters so eloquently show. The prisons in turn are an extension of the normal functioning of the capitalist system. Every clash between the owners of industry and those who have nothing but their ability to work, every strike, every work stoppage, contains in embryo all the ingredients of Attica....

We support the most militant struggle against the state. We only seek to give that struggle the strategic perspectives that will lead to the workers conquering state power....

The heroic Attica martyrs and George Jackson will long be remembered for their courageous stand against overwhelming odds. It is not the crimes (real or alleged) for which the prisoners were jailed, but the stand they took—rising far above capitalist-imposed ignorance, poverty, brutality and frame-up—for justice and against oppression, that the world's working people will remember.

—"Massacre at Attica," WV No. 1 (October 1971)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: George Foster

EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Carla Wilson

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Shauna Blythe

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

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

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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

The closing date for news in this issue is September 24.

No. 652

27 September 1996

Spartacist Forums

Down With Racist War on Immigrants and Blacks!

BOSTON

Thursday, September 26, 7 p.m.

Boston University
College of Arts and Sciences, Rm. 214
725 Commonwealth Avenue

For more information: (617) 666-9453

VANCOUVER

Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Friday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.

Britannia Community Centre, Room L4
1661 Napier Street (at Commercial)

For more information: (604) 687-0353

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Saturday, September 28, 2 p.m.

University of Maryland, College Park
Reckord Armory Building, Rm. 0116

For more information: (202) 872-8240

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, October 12, 4 p.m.

Hollywood United Methodist Church
6817 Franklin Avenue
(Highland exit off 101 Frwy)

For more information: (213) 380-8239

KKK Terrorists Trounced in Chicago!

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Smash Racist Terror!

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Thursday, October 3, 7 p.m.

UC Santa Cruz, Third World Lounge

UCSC Student Center

SANTA CRUZ, CA For more information: (510) 839-0851 or (415) 777-9367

Squirming Away from Leninism

On the Norden Group

In "A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism" (WV No. 648, 5 July) and "Pabloites of the Second Mobilization" (WV No. 651, 13 September), we detailed the politics behind the defection from our organization of Norden, Stamberg and Negrete. We publish below two of the letters we have received on this question. The first was sent to us by comrades Judith and Jean, former longtime members and now sympathizers of the International Communist League in Paris, and was written by them in reply to a letter they received from Negrete. The second letter is from Pat M. Robertson, a hitherto unobtrusive sympathizer. Our reply to his letter is drawn heavily from a letter of September 13 to him by our comrade Jim Robertson.

The reference to Socorro concerns a heavily policed May Day march in Mexico City where she had been assigned by our Mexican section to be a photographer. Socorro's behavior there was so undisciplined as to endanger both herself and other comrades. She also had her partner Negrete, who was then on leave from any political activity, attend, supposedly to bring camera equipment she had forgotten. After an internal party trial was held to adjudicate the facts of the situation disputed by Socorro and Negrete, she then claimed that rapists found "more justice" in the bourgeois courts than comrades did in our revolutionary party. For this grotesque statement crossing the class line, she was expelled by a unanimous vote of our Central Committee, including the votes of her current bloc partners Norden and Stamberg.

Paris, France
30 August 1996

Negrete,

We received your packet on the 23rd of August.

Whatever our common militant past has been with you and Norden and Stamberg, after having read the ICL documentation and your bulletin we do not see a single reason to give your group any financial support.

Why did you three not call for a tendency or a faction? Your three times 20 or so years in the party hadn't prepared you for that? External faction is bullshit.

Why did Norden and Stamberg refuse to hand in their phone bills? Stamberg on this is just obfuscating. If they had intended to fight inside, or eventually to prove their case outside more fully, they

would have done so. Why didn't they show up for their trial?

You try to hook us into dismissing the trial of Socorro by sort of winking: you know how it is easy to lose your sales team in a mass demo in Mexico. Well, yes we know. And that is why one assures more than adequate preparation for any assignment. In the case of the photographer: film and lenses. And why the quotation marks around your "leave." It was voted by the GEM and the IS.

And finally why the insistence on how half of WV No. 648 is devoted to this affair? Well, yes. It is an important affair. (Would Norden have liked another article in its place?)

Should you send us further mail do not expect an answer. We already had the



DDR prime minister Hans Modrow with West German chancellor Helmut Kohl in February 1990, on eve of capitalist Anschluss. East German Stalinist SED/PDS rulers sold out DDR deformed workers state.

impulse not to reply but that would have been impolite.

Obviously a copy of your letter and ours is being sent to the International Secretariat of the ICL.

No abrazo!

Judith, Jean

Berkeley, CA
2 September 1996

Comrades:

I have long been a sympathizer of the SL/U.S. and the ICL. I have read a good deal of your archived material in English and Spanish and consider some of it to be on a par with the best Marxist analysis existent anywhere. I must now vocifer-

ously protest your unjust, ideological expulsions of Norden, Stamberg and Negrete and your cowardly abandonment, in the heat of battle, of the LQB/LM [Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil/Luta Metalúrgica] in Brazil.

The root cause of this unhinged behavior is the fact that your recognized leader, Jim Robertson, has gone into semi-retirement and decided to eliminate Norden as a possible successor to himself. Robertson's fear of Norden as the possible ultimate leader of the ICL is based on his view that Norden is impressionistic, his associate, Stamberg, has "rad-lib" appetites that the both of them, in this reactionary environment, would embark on an eclectic search for a different path to revolution which would turn the ICL into a version of USec [United Secretariat]. Granting for the sake of argument that Norden's creative impulses might lead to impressionism or that Stamberg can function in rad-lib milieux (which

Swedish style paradise. When they did not there was a classic case of a crisis of rising expectations dashed by material reality and an opening for hard class conflict—an opening which Norden tried to intersect.

And what is one to make of Seymour's letter to Norden? Can one imagine anyone telling Lenin, in 1910, that he has not changed much, the party has not changed much but the times, they are a changing and for the worse and we need to wait for "better times"? As Norden remarked, this letter is reflective of the "new ICL", one animated by deLeonism.

Your abandonment of the Brazilian LQB/LM in the middle of a battle you had yourselves initiated against cops in their union is the most sordid act of this rotten process because it could in fact lead to the murder of these heroic comrades. I have lived and worked in Mexico City and Guatemala and have been held against my will by the Mexican Army, and the Guatemalan National and Military Police. Such risks come with the territory. Do you intend to limit your activity to North America, Western Europe, Australia and N.Z. where the veneer of capitalist democracy is thicker and there is an abundant supply of rad-lib lawyers to defend you? I can think of several taunts your enemies will throw at you: "When the going gets tough, the ICL gets going." Or: "When the running dogs of imperialism bark, the ICL runs." Get used to it, you will hear more.

Finally I will address the sick behavior of one Richard G. who verbally abused and threatened Socorro and Stamberg outside a public meeting in N.Y.C. Your cadre are becoming unraveled from top to bottom. This is caused by your circling the wagons ever tighter around yourselves and becoming a narrow sect. You need the wider "radical public" to extend your influence beyond your slim numbers. These expulsions and the deviant behavior of some of your members will only isolate you. If you do not radically reverse your course it can easily be predicted that in a few years you will be led by a Jack Barnes type and will pass from the scene as an orthodox Marxist party. And a few historians of the Marxist movement will wonder why Jim Robertson, arguably one of the finest Marxists native to the USA, destroyed his life's work in the twilight of his career.

Very truly,

Pat M. Robertson

cc: Norden's group

WV replies: In an earlier letter dated July 7, Pat M. Robertson expressed concurrence with us regarding the Norden group. Since then, he has moved to very strong and even fulsome support to the Norden group's views. Presumably he has read both the ICL's International Bulletin "Norden's 'Group': Shamefaced Defectors from Trotskyism" and Norden's "From a Drift Toward Abandonment to Desertion from the Class Struggle" (reprinted as *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* No. 9).

There is one particular and crucial point in his latest letter which must be taken up, concerning the ICL's intervention into the incipient political revolution in the DDR (East German) deformed workers state in 1989-90. He writes: "The SED/PDS tops were routed in battle and in full retreat before West German capitalists and their agents, the SPD; they did not lead the counter-revolution, they were semi-willing victims of it." This could not be more wrong. "Routed in battle"? The ICL's German section did pull the SED, the ruling Stalinist party, into the giant

continued on page 3



Street children in suburb of Rio de Janeiro murdered by Brazilian police death squad.

Free Ride for Klan in Chicago—Why?

Twenty Klansmen, half of them wearing the hoods and robes of nightriding terror, rallied in Chicago's Daley Plaza on September 21. Two months ago, when a gang of KKK thugs tried to stage a similar provocation in Daley Plaza they were trounced by anti-fascist protesters who had responded to the Partisan Defense Committee's call to mobilize against the racist killers. This time the Klan was unopposed. Why? Because those who purport to be the leaders of labor and of the black masses are desperate to keep the union ranks and minorities off the streets for fear of damaging Clinton's re-election bid. So they leave the streets clear for Klan terror!

While the AFL-CIO bureaucrats peddle their red-white-and-blue "Vote Clinton/Gore" decals, Jesse Jackson (whose "Operation PUSH" is based in Chicago) and other black Democrats want blacks to ride on the back of Clinton's bus with them. Farrakhan, who plays himself up as the black leader who is "in the face" of the white racist rulers, also calls for getting out the vote in November. Two months earlier, when the PDC put out an urgent call on 24 hours' notice to dozens of unions and black organizations to mobilize to stop the Klan on June 29, the response was *only* from individual leftists and trade unionists. The labor tops didn't lift a finger, while many black radio stations in Chicago—who buy into Farrakhan's message that the black ghetto masses should "atone" for their own oppression—refused to even broadcast appeals to turn out in force against the Klan.

Some 100 people did respond on June 29—mainly youth, anarchists, leftists and individual trade-union members. These determined anti-fascist militants gave the Klan a well-deserved lesson. But in a union town like Chicago, with its huge black and Hispanic population, there should have been thousands on the street that day to stop the Klan.

Since the June 29 protest the Chicago city authorities and the notorious Chicago police force have continued working hand in hand with the Klan, waging a legal vendetta against eight of the anti-fascist protesters who were arrested and face up to a year behind bars. At a court hearing on September 9, a Klansman gloated, "See what happens when you mess with us." Later a plainclothes cop "casually" told a lawyer for some of the anti-Klan defendants that the KKK was planning another rally for September 21.

We smelled a real set-up here, manufactured by the cops and the Klan, where the cops would be mobilized in force to beat up and arrest anti-Klan protesters only two days before the next court hearing for the anti-Klan defendants. Reports

from the site of the September 21 Klan rally certainly bore out that assessment. About 35 Chicago cops—headed by police commander McNulty, who led the vicious assault on anti-Klan protesters on June 29—were visible at Daley Plaza itself. In an adjacent walled-in construction site, there were an estimated 30 unmarked police cars with four uniformed cops in each car. There were also two horse trailers and three police wagons on the north side of the plaza. Thugs wearing black T-shirts with "Security" lettered in white on them, standing across the street from Daley Plaza, later put on hoods and sheets to join the Klan rally.

To have prevailed against this deadly cop/KKK alliance would have taken a powerful, integrated, labor-centered mobilization bringing out thousands of trade unionists together with black and

borhood in downtown Oakland, California, a meeting featuring Hitler apologist David Irving was *defended* by goons from Farrakhan's Nation of Islam. Suit-and-tie Klansman David Duke has been invited by liberal student bureaucrats to "debate" affirmative action at Cal State Northridge on September 25. And in Chicago on September 21, the Klan got away with rallying under the protection of a massive cop mobilization. This was a state-sponsored provocation against—and a trap intended for—the left.

The fascist nightriders must be stopped! But, unlike organizations like Progressive Labor, we do not seek to substitute our own small forces for the necessary social power of the multiracial working class. When we heard that the Klan was planning to rally again on September 21—a plan that was "leaked" by

advise them that we considered this to be a police trap which we weren't about to walk into.

This decision was based on the bitter recognition that the kind of class-struggle mobilization that was desperately needed for the working people and black masses to prevail was blocked by the misleaders who would sell their mother to get Clinton re-elected. They have presided over the decimation of organized labor. They have allowed, and even encouraged, the racist rulers' war on desperate immigrants. They did nothing when the Democrats and Republicans axed welfare.

This devastation—the product of a profit-crazed system based on the exploitation of the many by the few—nourishes the Klan in its quest for a "racially pure" America, one in which there would be no trade unions. Now

Despite massive cop protection, Nazi provocation against Chicago Gay Pride Day in 1982 was met by 3,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by Spartacist League.



other minority organizations. In 1982, a gang of Nazi would-be stormtroopers were protected by hundreds of cops in their bid to stage a provocation against Gay Pride Day in Chicago. They were met with a 3,000-strong mobilization of unionists, blacks, Jews, gays, leftists and others which was initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S.

In 1994, a determined demonstration of 500 people—representing the hard core of the Chicago-area union movement—came out in Springfield, Illinois to take on a Klan race-hate rally against Martin Luther King Day. Frightened that the union ranks might be mobilized in some actual struggle against racist terror, the AFL-CIO bureaucrats came down hard in trying to knife any union support. Now, with the labor and black misleaders keeping their heads down for Clinton, the fascists are seizing the opportunity to organize for their program of genocide.

On September 10 in a black neigh-

borhood and otherwise not publicized—we knew it smelled of a police/Klan trap designed to set up the most effective fighters against fascist terror. We considered it our responsibility to call other organizations in the Chicago area to inform them of what we had heard and

these kill-crazed racists are feeling their oats, having gotten away with staging a provocation in the heart of labor/black Chicago unopposed. Here is the bitter fruit of shackling labor and the oppressed to their exploiters in its Democratic Party face. ■

KAL 007...

(continued from page 2)

soldiers in Polish army uniforms to declare war in the face of a supposed Polish "invasion" of Germany.

As we noted in our first article on KAL 007, another example was the Spanish-American War of 1898, which was launched under the war cry "Remember the Maine!" With the U.S. determined to seize Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines from Spain, the Hearst press concocted a story that the United States warship, the *Maine*, had been blown up by the Spanish in Havana harbor. Subsequent inquiries showed there was no conclusive evidence of what happened. However, the explosion came from within—i.e., one of its own magazines blew up and out rather than from without, which would have been typical of a mine detonated against the outside of the ship's hull. And when German chancellor Bismarck wanted to wage war against France in 1870, he sought out a "pretext...that would cast France in the least favourable light," releasing the inflammatory "Ems Telegram" which provoked France to declare war (Alistair Horne, *The Fall of Paris* [1965]).

Returning to KAL 007, we note that Alvin Snyder ends his article by lamely vowing that "the press must be ever more vigilant." That's what Oscar Wilde was talking about when he defined hypocrisy as the homage vice pays to virtue—once their dirty Big Lies have done the job,

the imperialists occasionally offer a cynical paean to "truth." Where was the press all these years when a number of books came out exposing the government's lies? For instance, there was David Pearson's *KAL 007: The Cover-Up* (1987), and R.W. Johnson's *Shoot-down* (1986). And from the beginning, *Workers Vanguard* has detailed the truth behind Washington's KAL 007 Cold War provocation with more than a dozen articles over the years. The capitalist media has all along served their imperialist masters by abetting the cover-up.

And you won't find the imperialist press going back to review and correct their massive 13-year-old lies in this incident. After all, they don't want to undermine their "credibility" for future missions, from Iraq to Bosnia. ■

Drop the Charges Against All Chicago Anti-Klan Defendants!

SEPTEMBER 23—At a hearing in Cook County Circuit Court today, charges were dropped against five of the eight anti-Klan protesters arrested on June 29 at Daley Plaza. But the D.A.'s office and Chicago cops continue their vendetta against three defendants who still face up to a year in jail on trumped-up charges of assaulting police during the June 29 anti-Klan protest. The labor movement and all opponents of racist terror must rally to the defense of the Chicago anti-Klan fighters.

A new hearing has been scheduled for September 30 for the three re-

maining defendants. Fill the courtroom in their support! Send protest statements to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Send copies of statements and urgently needed donations for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to the Partisan Defense Committee. For further information, contact the PDC in Chicago at Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252.

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

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

Chicago

Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 454-4930

New York City

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

Key Witness Ready to Testify to Police Coercion

New Hearing Before "Hanging Judge" Sabo

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

On September 18, the case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal was back in the Philadelphia court of Judge Albert Sabo—the same "hanging judge" who presided over Jamal's 1982 "trial." The case was remanded (sent back) to Sabo's court on the order of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in response to a sworn statement by Veronica Jones. Jones was an eyewitness to the 1981 shooting of police officer Daniel Faulkner for which Jamal was falsely convicted and sentenced to death. Now she has provided powerful new evidence of police coercion of witnesses and fabrication of evidence.

In her statement, Jones revealed that days before she took the stand at Jamal's 1982 trial, Philadelphia police detectives visited her in jail—where she faced major felony armed robbery charges—and coerced her into repudiating her eyewitness account of seeing two men flee the scene of the shooting. Yet when Jones appeared in court on September 18, Sabo rejected defense arguments that she be allowed to testify, setting October 1 as the date for a hearing.

Veronica Jones' statement of police coercion, which was filed by Jamal's defense last May, underscores the depths to which this racist capitalist government, its cops and prosecutors have gone to have an innocent man sent to death row. With the Democrats and Republicans locked in a competition over who best represents the politics of punishment and death, the fight to free Jamal takes on renewed urgency. A measure of Clinton's "law and order" bloodlust is his recent endorsement by the national Fraternal Order of Police, the cop "union" which has been in the forefront of the deadly vendetta aimed at silencing Mumia and intimidating his supporters.

Leonard Weinglass, Mumia's lead

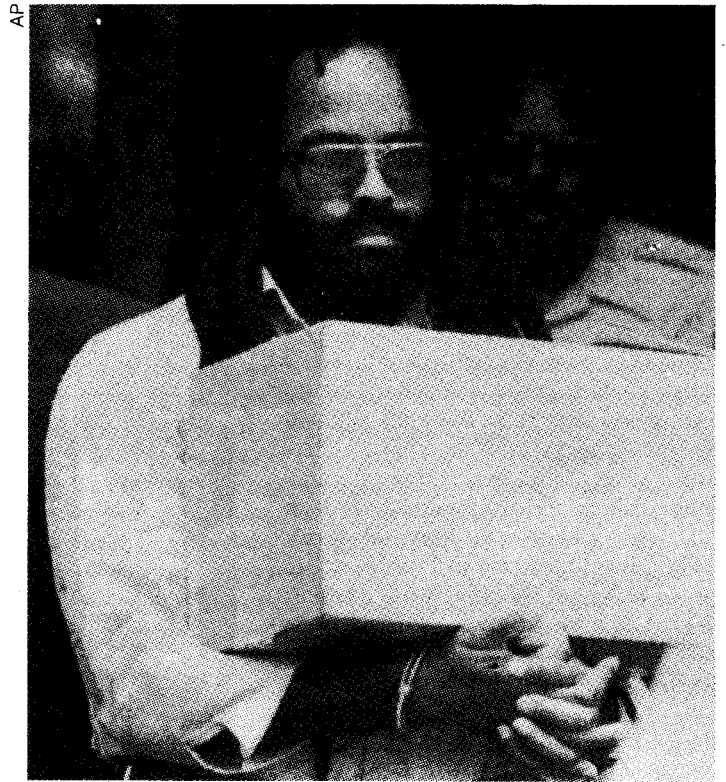
counsel, underlined the importance of Jones' testimony:

"Veronica Jones opens the door to what actually happened in 1982. The prosecution's theory is that Mr. Jamal had to be the shooter because only he and his brother and officer Faulkner were there. Veronica Jones gives the lie to that theory—that two others ran away from the shooting. That is what she told the police within a week after the event and that's what she denied on the stand [at the 1982 trial]."

Given the obvious importance of Jones' statement that she was threatened by the cops to change her original testimony, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court granted Jamal's request for a remand. Outrageously, however, the court ignored the defense request that the case be re-assigned to a judge other than Sabo. Known by even former prosecutors as a "prosecutor in robes," Sabo's utter contempt for Jamal, his defense team and constitutional rights was manifestly demonstrated both in Jamal's original trial and at his 1995 post-conviction relief hearing.

In court on September 18, Sabo refused a defense demand that he remove himself from the case, sneering, "Who knows this case better than I do?" While feigning confusion over the order for a further hearing based on Jones' statement, Sabo indicated his evident contempt for the Supreme Court's order, declaring that he would have ruled differently. Meanwhile, the D.A. demanded that Sabo quash a defense subpoena for all of the prosecution's files in the Jamal case. While withholding files that contain evidence of the intimidation and coercion of various witnesses in the Jamal case, the prosecution tried to claim that the defense team has not shown "due diligence" in pursuing evidence and witnesses like Jones!

At the same time, the D.A. haughtily



Mumia Abu-Jamal in handcuffs outside Sabo's court, July 1995.

declared that Jones' testimony was more "suspect" than any "supposed" allegations of police misconduct. Supposed?! The Philadelphia Police Department is notorious for routinely fabricating evidence, coercing and terrorizing witnesses and manufacturing frame-up convictions. In the past year, the city has been rocked yet again by exposures of this legal-lynching machine. Betty Patterson, a 54-year-old black grandmother who was jailed for three years on charges brought by cops who had planted drugs in her house in an attempt to frame up her sons, recently won a million-dollar lawsuit against the city.

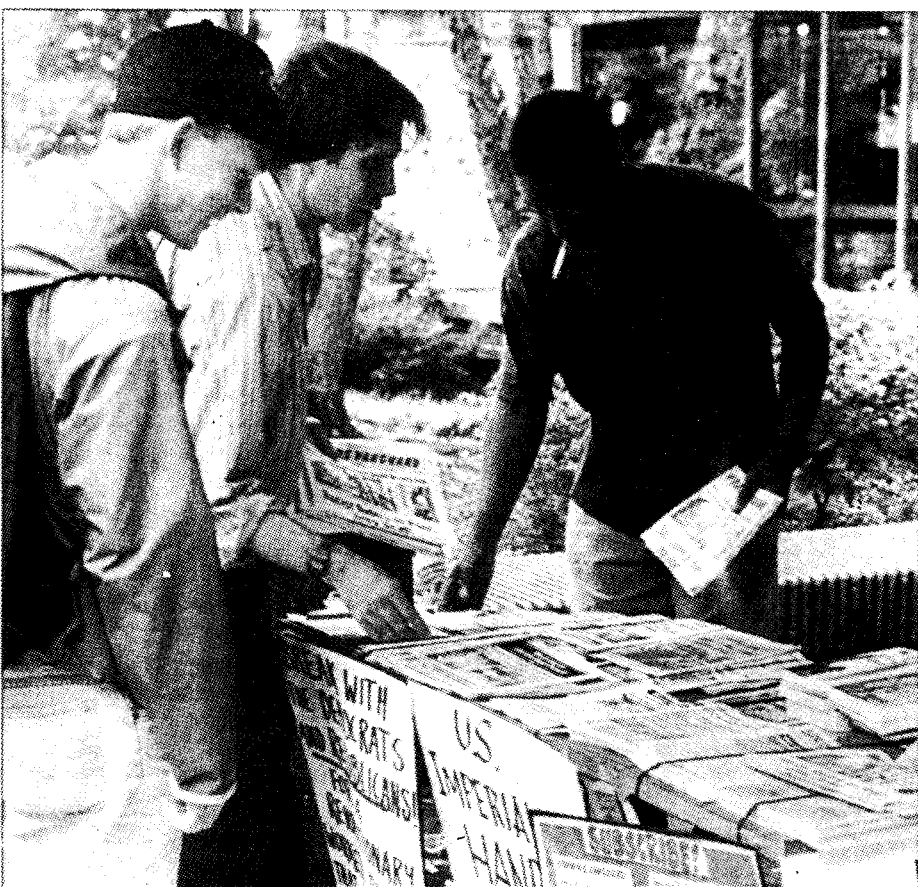
The drive by the cops and prosecutors to frame up and kill Mumia is a graphic illustration of the fact that the capitalist state—the police, prisons and court system—is an instrument of repression for keeping down minorities and working people. What stayed the hand of the executioner last summer, when Jamal

was scheduled to die, was demonstrations by thousands and protests by unions representing millions of workers around the world. That effort must be redoubled, particularly bringing to bear the power of the multiracial working class *in struggle* to save Mumia and win his freedom. *Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

* * *

Funds are urgently needed! Tax-deductible contributions for Jamal's defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. For more information on the campaign to free Jamal, contact the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252. ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive



Clark/Daily Tar Heel

August 29 to October 9

Local	Quota (In points)	Week Three	%	Local	Quota (In points)	Week Three	%
Boston	250	252½	101	San Francisco	320	129	40
Chicago	350	250	71	Washington, D.C.	175	95	54
Los Angeles	350	158½	45	At large	250	148	59
New York	825	636	77				
Oakland	480	194½	41	National Total	3,000	1,863½	62

Subscribe Now!

- \$10/22 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*, *Women and Revolution* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
International rates: \$25/22 issues—Airmail \$10/22 issues—Seamail
- \$2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
- \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____ Phone(____) _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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

Immigration and Racist "Fortress Europe"

Across Europe, racist attacks on immigrants are at the cutting edge of the capitalist rulers' assault on the living standards and union organizations of the entire working class. Most recently, on

PART ONE

September 19 the German government of Christian Democratic chancellor Helmut Kohl announced plans to expel 320,000 Bosnian refugees from the country. This comes at the same time as the German bourgeoisie is preparing to push through a massive package of austerity measures.

The same holds true in France, where the government of President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Alain Juppé is proposing \$12 billion in budget cuts affecting workers, pensioners and students, while carrying out vicious racist attacks on immigrants and residents of African and North African descent. When French riot cops last month stormed a Paris church occupied by immigrant workers seeking permits to stay in the country, it provoked unprecedented protest demonstrations in which trade-union contingents marched together with black and Maghrebin youth (see "France: Mass Protests Against Racist Deportations," WV No. 650, 30 August).

The International Communist League has consistently fought for mobilizing the power of the working class to defend immigrant rights, raising the calls for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and for worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop racist terror. Moreover, in countries like France, Germany, Italy and Britain, foreign-born workers are a central and often strategic sector of the proletariat. During last December's strike wave by public sector workers in France, our comrades insisted on the crucial need for the strikers to take up the fight against racial oppression, emphasizing that this was necessary to extend the struggle to the private and mainly industrial sector, with its strong component of workers from the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa.

We publish below, in slightly edited form, the first half of an article on the question of immigration in Europe which first appeared in *Spartacist* (French edition, No. 29, Summer 1996). This article was initially published as an introduction to a French translation of "In Defense of Revolutionary Integrationism" (*Spartacist* [English edition] No. 49-50, Winter 1993-94).

* * *

For most of modern history the United States was the only advanced capitalist country in which there existed a large oppressed minority defined by race. The famous and influential study of blacks in the U.S. by the Swedish social democrat Gunnar Myrdal in the 1940s was entitled *An American Dilemma*. European social democrats and liberals adopted an air of moral superiority toward anti-black racism and segregation in the United States as if their own societies were immune from such despicable prejudices and practices.

Today, from southern Italy to northern Germany, it has become commonplace for dark-skinned people—immigrant workers and their children, refugees from civil wars and communalist massacres in the Third World—to be killed by fascist gangs or the police. The cultural event of the year in France was the film *La Haine* which depicts 24 hours in the life of three rootless young men who hang out together, all second-generation

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!



Rebours/AP

Paris, August 21: Trade-union contingents joined mass demonstration in solidarity with immigrant protesters besieged by cops.

immigrants: an East European Jew, a North African Arab and a West African black. "An Arab in a police station doesn't last an hour," one of them remarks as a truism. It is telling that in France, the term "immigrants" is used routinely to include people who were born in France and are French citizens.

Over the past decade large fascist parties, such as Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front in France and the Austrian Freedom Party of Jörg Haider, have arisen on a platform of "ethnic cleansing"—the mass expulsion of non-Europeans living in their countries. A British Labour Party member of the European Parliament, Glyn Ford, decries "the

rising quagmire of racism and xenophobia, promoted by right-wing extremism, into which our societies run the risk of sinking." But those who bewail the trend while accepting the framework of capitalism can do nothing to resist or reverse the increasing descent of "respectable" politics into an orgy of chauvinist immigrant-bashing.

It is understandable that militants in West Europe's immigrant communities, living in ghettos under racist police occupation, now identify with American blacks, their historic struggles and especially their most radical spokesmen. The powerful personality, writings and speeches of Malcolm X—inspirer of

"revolutionary" black nationalism in the U.S. in the 1960s—are admired by young North Africans and blacks in France as well as youth of African and Caribbean descent in Britain. Groups defending immigrant rights in Europe have rallied to the international campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and radical journalist on Pennsylvania's death row as a result of a police/FBI frame-up. They see in Mumia not simply a victim of injustice but a comrade in the fight against racial oppression.

While in the past the presence of a large oppressed racial minority was regarded as unique to the United States, one now encounters an opposite tendency, a failure to recognize certain *fundamental differences* in the social character of the American black population and the recently formed non-European communities in West Europe.

The descendants of black Africans enslaved and taken in chains to the New World at the birth of the capitalist system were *integral and central* to the building of the American nation and later of the American nation-state. The American nation was formed in the era of mercantile capitalism through British colonial settlement of a region inhabited by a sparse population of aboriginal peoples with a stone-age culture who proved horribly vulnerable to Afro-Eurasian diseases. The massive importation of slaves from sub-Saharan Africa provided the labor force for the establishment of large-scale plantation agriculture in the southern tier of Britain's North American colonies. The owners of these slave plantations, who developed an aristocratic mentality akin to the European landed nobility, became a dominant component of the ruling class in the American colonies.

When the colonies achieved independence from Britain in the late 18th century, the United States of America was formed as a bourgeois democracy for white, male property owners. Within a few generations, however, male suffrage was extended to the white lower classes. Southern plantation agriculture, centrally cotton, supplied the principal exports for the early American bourgeois state, thereby providing the financial resources for the rapid growth of mercantile and industrial capitalism in the North based on "free" wage labor.

The increasing conflicts of interest between the Southern plantation owners and burgeoning Northern capital led to a full-scale civil war in the 1860s which resulted in the abolition of black chattel slavery when the North won, in part due to the recruitment of hundreds of thousands of blacks into the Union Army. After a tumultuous decade of interracial bourgeois democracy ("Radical Reconstruction"), a new form of white supremacy was established in the South. The so-called Jim Crow system of legally enforced racial segregation and totalitarian police-state control lasted three-quarters of a century, until the civil rights struggles of the late 1950s-early 1960s brought about a semblance of bourgeois democracy in the region.

American blacks have *always* shared with whites the two main determinants of a national culture: language (English) and religion (Christianity). Interestingly, when the Plains Indians—aboriginal peoples living in the central part of North America—first encountered blacks in the late 19th century, they termed them "the black white men." Blacks in the U.S. are

Ligue Trotskyste intervened in last December's strike wave with leaflets in French and Arabic, calling for elected strike committees and revolutionary leadership, emphasizing need for workers movement to defend immigrant rights and fight racist oppression.





Detroit News



Black workers played militant role in UAW strike at Detroit Chevrolet plant in mid-1940s, while Jim Crow segregation reigned in the South. The fight against black oppression is key to American workers revolution.

an oppressed race-color caste integrated into the American capitalist economy, including strategic sectors of the industrial proletariat, while at the same time largely segregated at the bottom of American bourgeois society.

There will be no social revolution in the United States without the united struggle of black and white workers led by their multiracial vanguard party, which must be the most consistent and active defender of all the specially oppressed layers of society. The revolutionary cadres will certainly be drawn heavily from black proletarians as militants are won to recognizing that there can be no other road to eliminating the special oppression of black people than the conquest of power by the American working class.

Capitalist Counterrevolution Fuels Anti-Immigrant Racism

Unlike the black color-caste in the U.S., the presence of a large non-white population in West Europe is, in historical terms, a quite recent development. It was only in the 1960s that the Caribbean islands and Indian subcontinent displaced Ireland as the main source of immigration into Britain. It was not until the 1970s that the number of Turkish *Gastarbeiter* (foreign workers) surpassed Italian *Gastarbeiter* in West Germany. And only in the past decade has the number of foreign workers, mainly North African Arabs, in Italy exceeded the number of Italians working in other European countries. We are thus seeing the recent formation of large non-European, predominantly traditionally Muslim (except in Britain) communities in long-established bourgeois nation-states.

Hence the thrust of nationalist reaction in West Europe is toward the mass expulsion of the non-white population. In last year's presidential election in France, Le Pen, who got 15 percent of the vote, campaigned to "send back home" three million non-European "immigrants." And it would not require the victory of fascism or even the entry of a fascist party into the government in France or elsewhere to forcibly expel hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of immi-

grants and refugees, especially those who do not have citizenship rights.

By way of historical analogy, during the Great Depression of the early 1930s the number of foreign workers in France—mainly Italians, Poles and Algerians—was reduced by half a million, equal to 5 percent of the total labor force. Some left because they couldn't find jobs, but many were simply rounded up and deported. Throughout the decade anti-immigrant demagoguery, directed especially at Jewish refugees from Nazi Ger-

zenship rights do not automatically end the oppression of immigrants. However, winning full citizenship rights for West Europe's foreign workers would be a great victory for proletarian internationalism."

— "West Europe's Imported Labor: A Key to Revolution" (WV No. 31, 26 October 1973)

In the present climate of political reaction—marked by mass unemployment, the drive to dismantle the social-democratic "welfare state" and the effects of the counterrevolution in East

cal workers in Germany will play an important part in a European proletarian revolution. These workers are a bridge to the workers and peasant masses of the neocolonial Third World, a living link in an international socialist perspective. To transform this perspective into reality requires above all the construction of revolutionary parties, the reorganizing of the Fourth International based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky.

Immigration and Labor in 19th-Century Britain and France

Unlike in North America, mercantile and then industrial capitalism in Europe developed on a preexisting feudal socio-economic structure based on the exploitation of the peasantry, which constituted the overwhelming majority of the population. Thus in most of Europe the industrial revolution entailed the massive emigration, so to speak, of peasant youth from the countryside to the cities rather than the importation of labor from foreign countries with radically different national cultures (e.g., language, religion). There were, however, two important exceptions, each in a very different way: Britain and France.

Beginning with the 16th century, the development of mercantile capitalism in England pauperized the peasantry, sharply reducing its size as peasants became agricultural laborers and artisan proletarians (e.g., weavers of woolen cloth working in their own homes). In England, the pioneer country of the industrial revolution, factories soon absorbed the indigenous surplus population despite the massive use of child labor. From the mid-19th century onward, the expansion of British capitalism required the importation of impoverished peasants from its oldest and nearest colony, Ireland.

In many important respects, especially in its political effects, the Irish immigration in late-19th-century Britain was similar to the Third World immigration in present-day West Europe. Differences in religion—Roman Catholic for the Irish, Protestant for the English—acted as a formidable barrier to intermarriage in an era when the church played a far more important role in working-class communities than it does in contemporary Europe. Furthermore, the colonial subjugation of Ireland impeded not only intermarriage but even social ties between the two main national components of the proletariat in Britain. Many English workers were deeply infected with their rulers' imperialist chauvinism toward the Irish, while Irish immigrant workers viewed all Englishmen as members of the oppressor nation.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels considered the Irish/English antagonism to be a major factor, if not the major factor, contributing to the relative political backwardness of the working class in the British Isles despite the existence of a mass trade-union movement. Addressing the 1871 London conference of the First

continued on page 8



Illustrated London News

Irish emigrants leaving home in mid-19th century. Chauvinist prejudices against Irish immigrant workers undercut development of class consciousness of British working class.

many and East Europe, fueled French fascism and other right-wing political movements, thus setting the stage for the deportation of Jews by the Vichy regime to the death camps of Nazi-occupied Europe.

Over 20 years ago, when anti-immigrant sentiment re-emerged as a major factor on the West European political scene, our tendency stated:

"The line between reformist social chauvinism and proletarian internationalism in Western Europe must be drawn on the demand that all foreign workers are entitled to immediate and full citizenship rights in the nations where they labor. As any Jamaican or Bengali 'citizen' of Britain will attest, formal citi-

Europe and the former Soviet Union—even formal citizenship is not in itself a guarantee against "ethnic cleansing" in West Europe. The immigrant communities are subject to increasing racist oppression—ghettoization, police brutality, fascists. Increasingly segregated, prey to cop and racist violence, and on the bottom of the economic "ladder," dark-skinned European citizens would recognize a lot in the conditions of American blacks.

In the United States, a central slogan of the ICL is "Finish the Civil War—Black liberation through socialist revolution." A central slogan in Europe is for "full citizenship rights" for all immigrants, reflecting the fact that the immigration question is fundamentally a democratic question, which is, however, strategic to proletarian unity. And today, democratic rights—e.g., equal rights for women, national independence of the colonies, immigrants' and minorities' rights—can be won and secured only by the proletariat fighting to take state power away from the bourgeoisie and establish a socialist economy in a society free of exploitation and all oppression.

Like black Americans, West Europe's dark-skinned proletarians are not just defenseless victims but a very important component of the forces capable of destroying the racist capitalist system. West Indian transport workers and South Asian nurses in Britain, North African Arab and Berber auto workers in France, Turkish coal miners and Kurdish chemi-



Le Bolchévik

Demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Paris, September 1995. Leftist and immigrant activists in Europe have taken up Jamal's cause as part of fight against racism.

Immigration...

(continued from page 7)

International, Marx stated:

"You will know that between the English workers and the Irish workers there has existed of old very considerable antagonism the causes of which are actually very easy to enumerate. This antagonism has its origin in the differences of language and religion; and in the competition between Irish workers and English workers over wages. In England this antagonism is the dam that holds back the flood of Revolution, hence it is skillfully exploited by the government and upper classes, who are convinced that no bond would be able to unite the English and Irish workers."

The following year Engels, speaking at the International's General Council, condemned "the belief, only too common among English workmen, that they were superior beings compared to the Irish, and as such an aristocracy as the mean whites of the [American] Slave States considered themselves to be with regard to the Negroes."

Throughout the rest of the 19th century, the English trade unions remained politically subordinate to the bourgeois Liberal Party, while Irish working people remained under the sway of petty-bourgeois nationalist movements. It was

not until the early years of this century that there emerged even a reformist party of the British working class, the Labour Party. It is perhaps not a historical accident that the Labour Party became the hegemonic party of the British working class in the early 1920s, the same time that Ireland gained its independence from Britain, albeit with the partition of the northern counties of Ulster. Nonetheless, the Irish Republic remained a relatively impoverished neocolony of Britain, exporting labor to the factories and construction sites of London and the Midlands. And to this day, the British upper classes continue to skillfully exploit antagonism between English and Irish working people to impede the forces of social revolution.

In France, the radical bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1789-93 effectively destroyed the landed aristocracy and produced a large and entrenched class of peasant smallholders. The birth rate in 19th-century France, unusually low by European standards, further reduced the supply of surplus labor necessary for the development of an industrial capitalist economy. With the beginnings of the industrial revolution under the Second Empire of Louis Napoleon (1850-70), the French ruling

class deliberately opted for the large-scale importation of foreign labor. Given their well-grounded fear of social revolution, they wanted to preserve traditional peasant villages dominated by the local parish priest as bastions of social and political conservatism.

The working class in France was therefore made up in large part of immigrants from Italy, Spain, Belgium, southern Germany and, somewhat later, Poland. In certain periods the scale of immigration exceeded even that of the United States. Many of the members and supporters of the National Front would not today be Frenchmen if Le Pen's program had been applied to their grandfathers and great-grandfathers!

Until the 1930s, the mass of these white, mainly Catholic immigrants were assimilated through widespread intermarriage with the French within a single generation. A number of factors contributed to this development, unique in the history of European industrial capitalism. First, the overwhelming majority of immigrants came from countries which, like France, were traditionally Catholic. Nor were these countries French colonies or semi-colonies. Thus there was no longstanding political antagonism between Italian immigrant workers and Frenchmen in the

late 19th century as there was between Irish immigrants and Englishmen at that time or between Algerians and Frenchmen in France today.

An assimilationist policy was also strongly promoted by the bourgeoisie. In 1889, the anniversary of the Revolution, a new law granted automatic citizenship to anyone born on French soil. While this law was certainly objectively progressive, its authors were by no means motivated by liberal democratic ideals. Faced with the new, more powerful and populous German Second Reich, the French ruling class wanted to conscript the sons of Italian and Spanish immigrant workers into its army.

Nonetheless, the cosmopolitan character of the working class in France strengthened the forces of the left. This became manifest in the Dreyfus Affair of the late 1890s, when the frame-up of a Jewish army officer by an anti-Semitic cabal in the general staff resulted in a sharp left/right polarization leading to the brink of civil war. A heroic and effective role in defense of Dreyfus was played by the famous writer Emile Zola, the son of an Italian immigrant engineer father and a French mother.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

under NAFTA has brought an avalanche of cheap products, brutal exploitation and savage austerity. Millions of impoverished *campesinos* are not seen as competitive producers or an attractive market, which means that there is no place for backward Mexican agriculture in the "New World Order." However, the current state of siege is directed against all the organizations of the working class and the oppressed. The working class in particular must mobilize its social power to stop the relentless persecution being unleashed against the EPR and all those who dare oppose capitalist misery.

The power to defeat the starvation assault of the Mexican ruling class and the U.S. imperialist overlords lies with the industrial proletariat. In the imperialist epoch, even the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—like providing land to the tiller—can only be completed if the proletariat takes state power into its own hands and fights for the international extension of socialist revolution. This requires a revolutionary party armed with the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution to lead the industrial proletariat, standing at the head of the poor peasantry and all of the oppressed and uniting with the multi-racial working class of the United States through the human bridge forged by millions of Mexican and Central American immigrants toiling in *el norte*.

The massive attack on living standards has led to a rising tide of labor combativity and a radicalization of the working class. Recent opinion polls indicate that 22 percent of Mexico City residents believe "violence is justified when there is injustice," and this figure jumps to 32



Press conference of Popular Revolutionary Army (ERP), new guerrilla organization targeted by PRI government.

percent for the country as a whole. At the same time, many workers chafe at the stranglehold of the PRI corporatist union tops of the CTM labor federation. But radical workers and leftist intellectuals should have no illusions about petty-bourgeois guerrillaism. Guerrilla struggle in the countryside—based on the atomized, parochial and petty-bourgeois peasantry—cannot lead the powerful forces of the proletariat and the oppressed who, all over the country, want to fight for a radical change. As always, the key question is program—*what class shall rule*.

The Zapatista EZLN, whose short-lived armed struggle launched them into the international political spotlight, now participates in the PRI government's "state reform" and has repeatedly allied with the bourgeois Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. The myth of the PRD as the "party of the poor peasants" was com-

pletely exposed with its open support to the Mexican army as it was shelling the insurgent Zapatistas in Chiapas in the first days of January 1994. When the PRD demanded that the EZLN publicly distance itself from the EPR, the Zapatistas quickly complied. The Zapatista struggle in Chiapas is now at a dead end. And the EPR offers at best only a more militant "armed struggle" version of the same nationalist petty-bourgeois politics.

Writing in 1963 in the wake of the Cuban Revolution, the precursor of the International Communist League, the Revolutionary Tendency in the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, noted:

"Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such

regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class."

—"Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9

The exceptional circumstances of the Cuban Revolution cannot be repeated, particularly since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Sandinista guerrillas seized power in Nicaragua in 1979, but after trying for over a decade to find a mythical "third road" between capitalism and socialism, ceded power to the U.S.-backed political heirs of the dictator Somoza. Today, 29 years after the murder of Che Guevara in the mountains of Bolivia, after the signing of "peace accords" by the Salvadoran FMLN and the Guatemalan URNG guerrillas with death squad regimes, with Cuba being pushed inexorably in the direction of capitalist restoration, it is patently clear that the "guerrilla road" offers no way forward in the struggle against capitalist and imperialist oppression.

The EPR and all fighters against the Mexican bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism must be defended against state repression. However, it is only the working class which can put an end to this capitalist system of repression and misery. It is necessary to break with all the parties of the bourgeoisie and to forge an internationalist Leninist party that acts as the tribune of the people. The Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, fights to build such a party in irreconcilable opposition to nationalism, reformism and all forms of class collaboration. ■



PRD leader Cárdenas with EZLN spokesman Marcos. Zapatistas' petty-bourgeois nationalism leads to alliance with bourgeois parties.

Espartaco

PUBLICACION DEL GRUPO ESPARTACUISTA DE MEXICO
PRIMAVERA-VERANO DE 1996 MEXICO \$2.00 U.S\$0

¡Por movilización obreras para aplastar al racismo antiinmigrante!

No. 8, Spring-Summer 1996
\$.50 (24 pages)

\$2 for 4 issues
(includes Spanish-language Spartacist)

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116, USA

¡Libertad a todas las víctimas de la represión burguesa!

Movilizar la fuerza de la clase obrera contra la rapiña del TLC

El TLC es un acuerdo de libre comercio que será firmado por el gobierno de Ernesto Zedillo y el gobierno de Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Este acuerdo permitirá a las empresas de los Estados Unidos y de otros países competir libremente en el mercado mexicano, lo que resultará en la explotación y el desempleo de los trabajadores mexicanos. El TLC es un acuerdo que beneficia a los intereses de la burguesía internacional y a los intereses de los Estados Unidos, pero que perjudica a los intereses de la clase obrera mexicana.

Norden Group...

(continued from page 3)

Treptow Park rally in January 1990, a united-front protest over the fascist desecration of the Soviet war memorial there. But the huge turnout was for the East German Stalinists the last blow. They jumped right over the West German social-democratic SPD to make an immediate deal directly with Kohl's Christian Democrats for accelerated elections and for dissolution of the DDR. Not a battle—an eager and total panicky sellout.

Pat M. Robertson apparently shares Norden's thought that the "root cause" of his and Stenberg's departure, along with Negrete and Socorro, lies in Norden's not becoming the principal leading spokesman of our international and U.S. organizations. Norden may feel this to be true. But our central cadres have a long history together, and Norden never enjoyed the kind of confidence necessary for the role he evidently desired.

One example why that was so came in 1973, at the time of the signing of the accord leading to the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam. Norden wanted us to denounce the North Vietnamese government and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front as selling out their own side in the long, bloody revolutionary war. Since the Spartacist tendency had done some more or less unique analysis concerning the formation of "deformed workers states," we were able to draw correct political conclusions from the empirical fact that the truce agreement provided for all Vietnamese military units to remain intact and in place. *Workers Vanguard* did not denounce this provisional peace agreement as a "betrayal," and in a very few years the southern capitalist government was militarily smashed and its cadres fled to San Jose, California and elsewhere.

This misjudgment by Norden likely undermined his revolutionary political self-confidence and did his standing in the eyes of other comrades no good either. Leaping ahead to what turned out to be end game, in 1990 Norden had to be forced, kicking and screaming, to get *WV* to denounce the political atrocity of Fidel Castro's execution of the honorable and all-too-successful General Arnaldo Ochoa, who led the Cuban military in defeating the South African apartheid troops in Angola. A similar conciliation by Norden of the by then fragmented East German Stalinists can be seen following their collapse and betrayal of the East German deformed workers state.

The other reason why comrades believed Norden unsuitable for a more leading role was that he was indifferent to the needs of those whose work was controlled by him—particularly our press composition department. "Those who knew him best, loved him least."

Norden and Stenberg were nonetheless an important part of a broader leadership collective for many years. It

was only with the terminal difficulties of Stalinism that they showed a polarization away from the rest of the leading collective, albeit reluctantly—because of a happy combination (for the ICL, that is) of their lack of support in the membership and their lack of appetite for principled political struggle. Hence their "non-factional" and mealy-mouthed opposition.

This evidence of Norden's political mindset is a promise for the future for his authoritarian and disingenuous role should he find or build an organization to try to preside over.

Pat M. Robertson also has us abandoning the Brazilian LQB/LM in the middle

This loss to international communism was incalculable. The opportunity of the Chinese Opposition, both to consummate a workers revolution in China and to vastly politically strengthen the International Left Opposition, was simply lost. The Chinese Left Opposition had an enormous potential, second perhaps only to the Russian Opposition itself. The American Left Opposition was not then in the mainstream of the international labor movement. The Nazi victory destroyed the Central European Trotskyists. The French were not sufficiently serious and...the Fourth International got as leaders: Michel Pablo, Ernest Germain (Mandel) and Joe Hansen. Regard-

LM's leader Cerezo. In our letter breaking off fraternal relations, we particularly made the point that "We look forward to opportunities for common struggle." Pat M. Robertson should ponder that.

After we distanced ourselves from LM, an article appeared in the *London Review of Books* (22 August) by Martha Gellhorn titled "Mean Streets of Salvador." She writes that "One class of the citizenry is entirely apart: the police," and "as a rule civilians avoid all contact with the police." A young Brazilian comrade of ours said that this perception of the police is a commonplace truth in her country. One has to wonder about the real character of the public employees union containing policemen in a country where they are so viewed. We know that everywhere the police are the armed agents of property and of its owners. But national perceptions vary. In the United States, many white propertyless people believe that the police serve to protect them against blacks and perhaps Hispanics. In Britain, after long years of Tory rule, most ordinary people now know that the "bobby" is against *them*, not just South Asians, blacks, Irish, strikers, "wild" youth, vegetarians, etc.

So why did Cerezo sign on as adviser to this pro-police and police-inclusive "union"? And why did the ICL establish fraternal relations in the first place? For our part, because going through such an experience is *how* you learn, up close and really. That's what fraternal relations are for. Let us be clear that the ICL established fraternal relations with LM *before* Cerezo moved into the top of the municipal workers union—if LM had links with the union at that time we were not aware of it.

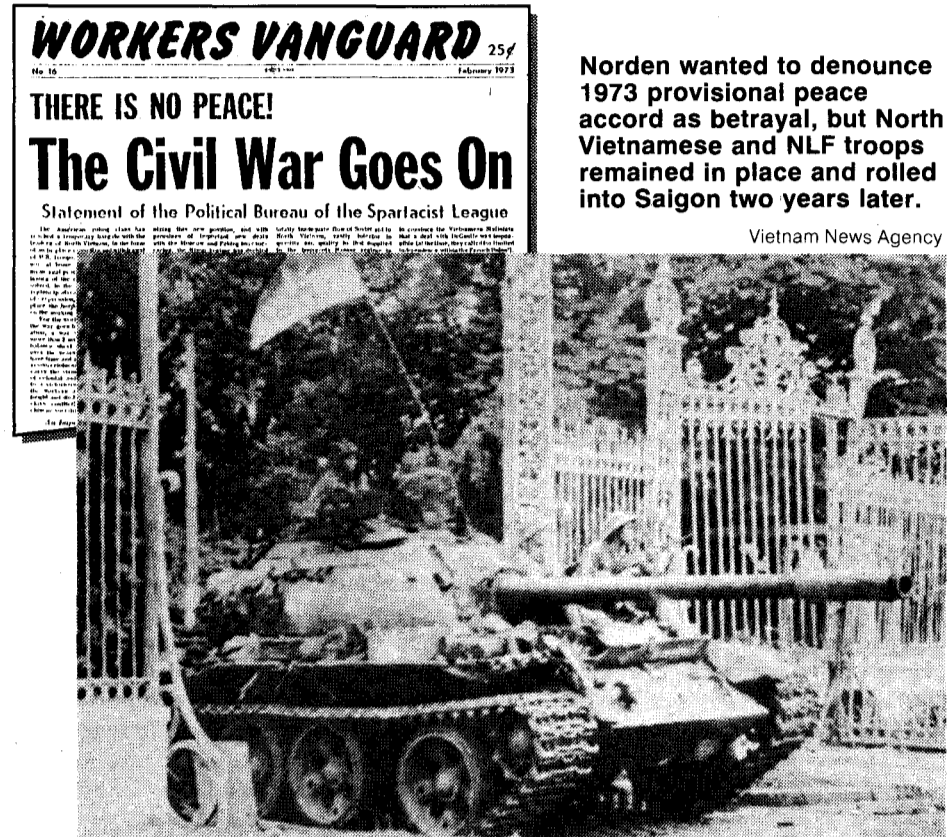
And what about the Volta Redonda municipal workers union today? The cops are still in the union, Cerezo is still tied to the union as a top-level consultant, nothing has changed. Would Pat M. Robertson want formal fraternal relations with such a figure?

The world is full of fictitious, highly mutable international lash-ups and combinations invented by nationally based centrist organizations. We counterpose to this the struggle to build national sections of a programmatically cohesive international organization, in accordance with Trotsky's injunction:

"It is false that world economy is simply a sum of national parts of one and the same type. It is false that the specific features are 'merely supplementary to the general features,' like warts on a face. In reality, the national peculiarities represent an original combination of the basic features of the world process. This originality can be of decisive significance for revolutionary strategy over a span of many years. Suffice it to recall that the proletariat of a backward country has come to power many years before the proletariat of the advanced countries."

—Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution*, "Introduction to the German Edition" (1930)

Norden's pathetic pretensions out on the left wing of this imperialist-dominated world will change nothing for the better. ■



Norden wanted to denounce 1973 provisional peace accord as betrayal, but North Vietnamese and NLF troops remained in place and rolled into Saigon two years later.

Vietnam News Agency

of a battle that we ourselves had initiated against the cops in a union. We have some experience with left-centrist formations in various spots in the colonial and semicolonial world. While perhaps not relevant in Pat M. Robertson's eyes, our biggest single difficulty in winning over all or part of such groups to revolutionary Marxism has been lack of effective common language—a direct reflection upon our partial and limited forces and meager resources. Police, hostile guerrillas, murderous fundamentalists and the like have usually run second as obstacles, although they are occasionally decisive, often at a crucial time.

On the historical plane, the destruction of the Chinese Trotskyists after 1927 was indeed overwhelming through terror—by the Guomindang (Kuomintang), the Stalinists and the Japanese military. This almost total obliteration included both founding cadres, including the principal leader Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu), as well as hundreds of newer younger militants, especially "students" returning from Moscow academies. Moreover, in East Asia at that time, there was *no* place to establish an émigré Trotskyist center and *no* material means to do it with.

ing the fate of the Chinese Trotskyists, a new book, *China's Urban Revolutionaries: Explorations in the History of Chinese Trotskyism, 1921-1952* (Humanities Press, New Jersey, 1996) by Gregor Benton, is particularly valuable.

Finally, Pat M. Robertson suggests that "our enemies," among whom he seems to number himself, consider us cowards vis-à-vis the LQB/LM. He offers "taunts" like "When the running dogs of imperialism bark, the ICL runs," telling us, "Get used to it, you will hear more." Yes, indeed, especially in Latin America—where besides "Yanqui dog" also very common among petty-bourgeois strata are "Jew!" "Heretic!" "Homosexual!" and the always flavorful "Cabrón!" Our late comrade Martha Phillips—murdered while at her post in Moscow in 1992—and her comrades thank him.

We did not abandon the LM, but after the decisive visit of two well-qualified Portuguese-speaking comrades to Volta Redonda, we deemed it politically necessary to break off "fraternal relations" with them—because we found that they were presenting us with a political "Potemkin village" which had been constructed by Norden and Negrete and entered into by

Published by the International Secretariat

International Bulletin

The Post-Soviet Period and Disintegrative Pressures on the Revolutionary Vanguard

Norden's "Group": Shamefaced Defectors From Trotskyism

Second Edition, July 1996
US\$ 6.00
\$3.95 (first run)
US\$ 1.00 (first run)
\$2.00 (first run)

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA

Special ICL Bulletin

Second Edition
(first run: sold out)

New edition includes:
"Pabloism of the Second Mobilization—A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism,"
WV No. 648, 5 July 1996

\$6 (149 pages)

The International Communist League makes available the polemics of its opponents on the left

Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League No. 9

The Norden "Group": Polymorphous Opportunism

\$5 (96 pages)

Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League

—a bulletin series of opponent material

NUMBER 9

The Norden "Group": Polymorphous Opportunism

Introductory Note

"After Spartacist League Purges Leading Cadres, ICL Flees from Class Battle in Brazil—From a Drift Toward Abstentionism to Desertion from the Class Struggle"

Published by the Norden "Group," July 1996

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA

Protest ISO Gangsterism Against the LRP!

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) and its British parent group, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party, have a long, sordid history of exclusionism and violence directed against other leftists. The Cliffites have particularly singled out supporters of the Spartacist League and International Communist League for thug attacks—from Chicago and Boston to Toronto and London—in an unsuccessful attempt to suppress our revolutionary criticism of their social-democratic politics, their groveling before imperialist anti-Communism and their embrace of the racist cops as “workers.” Recently, we learned from two other leftist groups, News & Letters (N&L) and the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP), that they were physically excluded from ISO “public” forums in Chicago in June and August.

The first incident occurred on June 14, at an ISO “Midwest Summer School” held in the student center at the Chicago campus of the University of Illinois. Prior to the event, ISO goon Joe Allen prowled the area outside the building with a

walkie-talkie, announcing he was on “Spart patrol.” A phalanx of ISOers first tried to block News & Letters supporters from even entering the building, then from taking the escalator up to the meeting room, and finally from bringing literature inside. When the N&L supporters protested this censorship, ISO honcho Paul D’Amato brazenly replied, “There is no right of free speech.” The three were told to leave or the cops would be called. Soon, eight Chicago cops arrived in full riot gear and dragged the News & Letters supporters off the campus.

Two months later, the ISO forcibly removed two LRP supporters from another “public” meeting at DePaul University on August 6. Cynically attempting to trade on the revolutionary heritage of Trotskyism, the ISO titled its forum “Who Was Leon Trotsky?” But ISO goons made clear that Trotsky’s writings are *verboden*, snatching a copy of the Transitional Program away from one LRPer. At least ten ISO thugs then pushed the LRP supporters out of the meeting room, after which campus cops

arrived on the scene.

Such censorship and violence not only violate the basic tenets of workers democracy, but open up the left as a whole to police attack. The ISO’s grotesque use of the cops to police its events against other groups on the left is par for the course for this social-democratic outfit. The cops are the racist, strikebreaking fist of the capitalist state, who tear-gas leftist protesters, shoot down black youth on the streets and bust up strike picket lines. But the reformist ISO—whose bottom line is that the bosses’ state can be pressured into acting on behalf of working people and the oppressed—calls for bringing cops and prison guards into the union organizations of the working class. An article on the 1971 Attica prison rebellion in the ISO’s *Socialist Worker* (13 September) bemoans “the brutality displayed by police in putting down the uprising.” But earlier this year, the ISO’s Canadian co-thinkers were enthusing over a “strike” by Ontario prison guards, and in 1993 the British Cliffites boasted of having “a number of prison officers

who were in sympathy with our objectives” (see WV No. 642, 29 March). That says a lot about the “objectives” of the Cliffite social democrats!

Aping the bureaucratism of the pro-capitalist union misleaders and big-time reformist politicians they tail, the ISO seeks to draw a blood line to keep its members from asking too many questions. That the Cliffites’ practice of substituting the fist for the brain has now become a stock in trade is revealed by their recent attacks on News & Letters and the LRP, groups which share the ISO’s renunciation of Trotskyism. Like the ISO, these groups long ago capitulated to the capitalist rulers, refusing to defend the Soviet Union when it existed against imperialist attack and counterrevolution. But whoever on the left is targeted by ISO exclusionism, it’s a dangerous business for everyone in the workers movement, seeking to suppress the contest of political programs which is necessary to anyone interested in struggling against the oppression and exploitation of capitalist society. ■

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 12)

mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish.”

Rip Up the Sellout!

James & Co. are trying to sell the proposed contract by pointing to a purported “no layoffs” clause. But the agreement explicitly states that 500 cleaners’ jobs will be slashed through attrition. Particularly in the Stations Department, where hundreds of token booth clerk and other jobs are already threatened with elimination, management has been stepping up disciplinary actions—victimizations—aimed at driving out workers. The new deal would come down hardest on the most vulnerable sectors of the TA’s workforce, particularly women and younger black and Hispanic workers for whom cleaners’ positions are often the avenue into better-paying transit jobs. It would also place some TWU members in the position of being straw bosses over the slave-labor crews, under a contract provision creating a new union job category of “lead cleaner” at higher pay than other TWU cleaners.

We have warned that “the widespread creation of phony ‘workfare’ programs has meant a direct attack on municipal unions” (WV No. 649, 2 August). This could not be clearer than with the latest TWU deal. The effect of the contract

would be to pit the union *against* predominantly black and Hispanic welfare recipients. This would inflame racist reaction, which the capitalist rulers have long used to divide the working class in order to drive down wages and increase the rate of exploitation of all workers. *The labor movement must be mobilized on behalf of all the oppressed: union rights and black rights either march forward together or fall back separately.*

This is particularly obvious in the case of Local 100, with its heavily black and Hispanic membership. Moreover, the TWU is potentially one of the most powerful unions in the U.S. Local 100 can shut down the finance center of American capitalism by stopping the subways. This puts the union in a strategic position to fight not only for its own membership but to lead all of city labor and the millions of unorganized working people and minorities who are all being slammed by hospital closings, school cutbacks and the axing of social services.

The unions should be in the forefront of organizing mass protests against the epidemic of cop terror in the ghettos and barrios which accompanies the racist cutbacks. The racist cops who cut down black and Hispanic youth also attack Teamsters’ and other workers’ picket lines. Labor must demand full citizenship rights for immigrants, who have been at the top of the government’s hit list under the anti-welfare and “counterterrorism” laws. And it is necessary to combat any manifestations of racist backwardness within the unions. In the case of the TWU, that means fighting to put a stop to the racist ethnic-baiting on the rise inside transit workplaces, promoted by the TA’s divide-and-rule policies which pit blacks and Hispanics against Jews, South Asians against West Indians, and U.S.-born workers against immigrants. This is *poison* to the cause of labor!

Transit workers are being told to vote on the contract by mail. This is a standard procedure by the union bureaucrats to diffuse anger over the sellout which undermines the whole purpose of the union. There should be a mass meeting of the entire Local 100 membership to vote down the sellout and begin to prepare union action against TA threats of widespread layoffs and “privatization” of everything from bus maintenance to transit construction.

The decisive question is one of leadership. It is clear what Hall and James have to offer—more givebacks and concessions. Before the “workfare” deal, the Local 100 tops had already caved in on speed-up and safety conditions. Most recent was the beginning of “one person

train operation” (OPTO) on September 1 on selected subway lines—a deadly dangerous cutback in conductors’ jobs which management had sought for years.

Some TWU members look to the “New Directions” caucus in Local 100 as an opposition to the Hall/James leadership. After maintaining a stony silence on the “workfare” deal in workplace meetings last week, New Directions has now come out with a leaflet calling for a “No” vote on the contract. But then what? New Directions is itself an integral part of the Local 100 bureaucracy, controlling a significant section of the union executive board. They have consistently cringed from calling for strikes over past contract battles. Moreover, New Directions has repeatedly hauled the union into the bosses’ courts to settle what should be internal union affairs, while supporting a “job action” by sadistic Riker’s Island prison guards.

This is a violation of the most elementary principles of the labor movement. Labor must clean its own house—cops and courts out of the union movement! The cops and courts are central institutions of the racist capitalist state, which is nothing other than an apparatus of repression of the working class and the oppressed. The precondition for any real struggle by the unions against the bosses is the *complete independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state*. New Directions, like the various other reformist “oppositions” within the unions, share the same pro-capitalist outlook as the AFL-CIO tops, squabbling only over the spoils of power. To transform the unions from secondary instruments of the capitalist class for the subordination and disciplining of the workers into organizations that actually defend the interests of the working class, it is necessary to forge a *class-struggle leadership* of the labor movement.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

City and state governments around the country are watching what happens with the transit “workfare” agreement. If a powerful union like the TWU accepts it, then everyone else is fair game. Republican New York City mayor Giuliani, who has waged his own brutal war on the homeless and welfare recipients, reacted angrily to the proposal because it blew the cover off the sweetheart deal cooked up with AFSCME District Council 37 city workers chief, Stanley Hill, which pretends that union jobs will not be sacrificed to “workfare.” The truth is that more than 20,000 formerly unionized city jobs are now being done by “workfare” crews getting miserly welfare bene-

fits. Meanwhile, city hospitals are laying off thousands of nurses and other workers, and the public schools are abysmally overcrowded and in dangerous disrepair. There is plenty of seething anger among city workers, teachers and hospital workers over the state of New York City.

But particularly in this election year, the labor traitors, who are shelling out tens of millions of dollars for the reelection of welfare-basher Clinton, intend to make sure the union ranks don’t do anything which could embarrass the Democrats. Reflecting pressure from outraged union members, Stanley Hill is now pleading for a “moratorium” on “workfare.” But all the DC 37 tops can offer to back this up is a “threat” to support Giuliani’s Democratic opponent in next year’s NYC mayoral election. And the public employees unions have announced a moratorium on even their pitiful efforts to beg (“lobby”) Congress to “amend” the anti-welfare law until after November.

Labor needs a leadership that knows workers’ interests are counterposed to those of their exploiters; that the Democrats are no “friends of labor” but represent the bosses just as much as the more openly anti-union Republicans; that the government—with its arsenal of anti-labor weapons like New York State’s Taylor Law banning public workers strikes—is nothing but the executive committee of the capitalist class. The fight to mobilize unions and the oppressed in struggle needs a political expression: not a phony “Labor Party” of the sort now being touted by sections of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which acts as a shield for the Democrats, but a *revolutionary workers party*. A successful fight to defend and improve the present conditions of the working class can only be waged as part of the struggle to get rid of the entire capitalist system.

The destruction of social welfare systems is occurring not only in the U.S. but around the world, as the capitalists attempt to cut “overhead” expenses and drive down wages to sharpen their competitive edge against each other. But these policies are creating enormous pressure at the base of society: people don’t like the idea that there is no future for themselves and their kids. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program, by fighting for demands like a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and a sliding scale of wages, “the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery.” The need for socialist revolution to break the power of the corrupt, racist ruling class and rebuild this society for the benefit of all is posed ever more sharply today. ■

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1
Black History and the Class Struggle
No. 13
Fight for Black Freedom, Fight for a Socialist Future!

From the Revolutionary Black and
Brown Men March
April 1970
vs Racist Exploiters

\$1 (48 pages)

Order from:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

California...

(continued from page 12)

shot back, "We were solely following federal direction." Clinton's feigned concern for immigrants is a hypocritical grandstand play aimed at locking up minority votes. In fact, Clinton and the Democrats have led the assault on immigrants, arm in arm with Wilson, Newt Gingrich and Bob Dole.

The bourgeois politicians are engaged in a frenzied competition over who can be the most sensational persecutor of the foreign-born. The Democratic president brags that his drive for "illegal immigration enforcement has done more in three years than was done in 30 years before" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 September). Indeed, Clinton's militarization of the border has led to an unprecedented level of harassment, beating and killing of Mexican immigrants who—driven to desperation by NAFTA's devastation of the Mexican economy—cross to do the back-breaking dirty work in California fields, hotels and sweatshops.

Now a federal version of Prop. 187 is pending in Congress, with Clinton and Dole quarreling only over whether to include a clause kicking immigrant kids out of the public schools. Regardless of its legal status in the courts, Prop. 187 has already had its destructive effect, emboldening the police to carry out more attacks such as the vicious videotaped beating of immigrants in Riverside last April. In the month of March alone, five Mexicans and Mexican Americans were killed by police in the L.A. area. Meanwhile, chauvinist "English only" laws are proliferating in states and counties around the country. One such bill now making its way through the U.S. Congress is similar to a state bill Clinton signed as governor of Arkansas in 1987.

The bipartisan anti-immigrant onslaught is designed to whip up chauvinism and to regiment the population in the face of escalating inter-imperialist rivalries over who gets to exploit the rest of the world, reflected most recently in Clinton's vicious bombing of Iraq. The racist rulers scapegoat immigrants to deflect anger and divide the working class in order to drive down wages and extract more profits. The U.S. working class must be mobilized to defend the foreign-born and demand: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

In 1994, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and the Democratic Party Latino organizers channeled the fight against Prop. 187 into a "Stop Pete Wilson" campaign aimed at getting out the votes for the Democrats. Not only did this fail to defeat Prop. 187, but the anti-immigrant frenzy has intensified. In the wake of this betrayal, the assault has broadened into an open racist mobilization against blacks with the deliberately misnamed California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI) to end affirmative action on the ballot this November. Today these pro-Democratic Party forces

are carrying out the same treacherous policy to derail the fight against the CCRI—deflecting anger against this racist attack into a campaign to re-elect the same Democrats who are busy running the anti-immigrant drive in partnership with Wilson and the Republicans. The multiracial working class must break from the racist Democrats and oust the pro-capitalist labor misleaders. To defend immigrants and blacks, to turn back the general capitalist assault on the whole working class, requires a fight for an integrated, revolutionary workers party that champions all the oppressed.

What is needed to defeat the anti-immigrant offensive and the racist mobilization against affirmative action is *class struggle*. During the mass protests against Prop. 187, we called to "Mobi-

tionary mobilizations against a NAFTA provision allowing Mexican truckers to haul goods throughout the U.S. But victory for the workers lies in united international combat against their common capitalist oppressors. The power of the Mexican and U.S. workers must be mobilized on both sides of the border in joint struggle against the capitalists of Wall Street and the International Monetary Fund, whose "free trade" rape of Mexico is aimed at driving down workers' living conditions and wages throughout the continent. Immigrant workers in the U.S. are a bridge to the proletariats of Mexico and Central America, with their rich experience in the class struggle.

A key task is to organize the unorganized, including especially the immigrant workers who have been among the most

Four days after a near-unanimous strike vote, Brown's cops carried out a mass arrest of nearly 300 Local 87 members and supporters at a downtown rally. This was a pre-emptive warning to the combative janitors only hours before their contract expired, and a bitter lesson in the value of the bureaucrats' Democratic Party "friends of labor."

Tailing along behind the labor bureaucracy, a rainbow of pseudo-socialist organizations lines up in word and deed with the racist, capitalist Democrats. When the National Organization for Women staged a big Clinton re-election rally in San Francisco last April 14, most of the left—from openly pro-Democratic Party types like the Committees of Correspondence to Workers World to the International Socialist Organization and the "feminist-Trotskyist" Freedom Socialist Party—not only participated but *formally endorsed* it. Centrists like the Revolutionary Workers League tagged along, proclaiming themselves the "most militant" lobbyists of the capitalist politicians. And this came barely two weeks after the brutal Riverside beating, a direct product of Clinton's militarization of the border!

Now these fake lefts aim to do with the upcoming October 12 demonstration in Washington, D.C., called by the L.A.-based Coordinadora 96 to "defend immigrant rights," what they did with the big L.A. rallies against Prop. 187 in 1994—use them to mobilize votes for the Democratic Party "lesser evil." According to *Workers World* (8 August), the march's official demands call for "citizenship for all eligible persons." In thrall to the Democrats, these opportunists can't even bring themselves to call for the elementary democratic demand for full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants—not just for those the bosses consider "eligible," while millions are consigned to a permanent second-class status. In fact, the October 12 rally's call is a servile echo of Clinton's hypocritical promise to make citizenship "easier" and his administration's push to get tens of thousands of residents naturalized—in order to bolster the vote for Clinton in November!

It is no accident that it takes communists to defend the basic rights of the oppressed in this epoch of capitalist decay, which offers no possibility of serious reform but on the contrary seeks to liquidate all the historic gains of the working class. The politics of class collaboration—in whatever guise—are counterposed to the historic interests of the working class and to *any* effective defensive struggle against the current attacks. The capitalist state must be *smashed* by a workers revolution, sweeping away this racist profit system and creating a workers state which sets about to construct an egalitarian socialist society, here and worldwide. To lead that socialist revolution, the Spartacist League fights to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party founded on a program of internationalist class struggle. ■



80,000 march in Los Angeles against anti-immigrant Prop. 187, October 1994. Protests against racist measure were derailed by liberals into support for immigrant-bashing Democrats.

lize California Labor to Smash Anti-Immigrant Racism!" (WV No. 608, 14 October 1994). But the narrow bureaucracy that sits atop and strangles the unions in this country is chauvinist to its very core. Long ago separating itself from its working-class base, this privileged layer sees the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government, acting to ensure the subordination of the workers to the national interests of the enemy class. The labor tops embrace the predatory aims of the U.S. imperialists abroad, taking aim against workers in other countries as well as immigrant workers in the U.S. with job-trusting protectionism. Ultimately this means mobilizing the working class to die in imperialist wars to defend the profits of Wall Street.

In line with this poisonous policy, last January the Teamsters union staged reac-

combative and class-conscious workers in recent California labor struggles. But while the AFL-CIO tops spend millions to re-elect Clinton, they "support" immigrant workers by systematically sabotaging any struggle that might pose a real threat to the capitalists.

In one glaring example last July, the misleaders of the overwhelmingly immigrant membership of the SEIU Local 87 janitors union in San Francisco prevented a strike against union-busting contractors, telling their members to put their faith in black Democratic mayor Willie Brown. One bargaining update even declared: "Mayor Brown Joins Janitors Contract Campaign." But Brown was elected with the backing of the city's racist cops—the same cops who beat to death Latino Teamster Mark Garcia last spring—and the downtown financial interests who would like to break the janitors union.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office

Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Boston

Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 454-4930

Los Angeles

Box 29574
Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

New York

Box 3381
Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025

Oakland

Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851

San Francisco

Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 777-9367

Washington, D.C.

Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Montréal

C.P. Les Atriums
B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver

Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON

Saturdays, 2 p.m. Next classes,
September 28: *The Origins of Marxism:
Dialectical Materialism vs. Idealism*;
October 5: *The Marxist Program*; MIT, 77
Massachusetts Ave., Building 3, Room 343
For more information: (617) 666-9453

LOS ANGELES

Alternate Wednesdays,
6:30 p.m. Next class, October 9:
*Introduction to Revolutionary Marxism:
Marxism, the State and Imperialism*;
UCLA, Boelter, Room 5514
For more information: (213) 380-8239

SAN FRANCISCO

Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m. Next class,
October 3: *The Origins of Marxism and
the Marxist Program*; San Francisco State
Univ., Student Union, Room B116
For more information and readings:
(415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

NEW YORK CITY

Wednesdays, 1:30 p.m. Next class,
October 2: *The Fight for Revolutionary
Marxism: Genesis of Marxism*; Hunter
College, 68th St. & Lexington Ave. (IRT
No. 6 to 68th St.), Hunter West 404

Special Event:

Saturday, 2 p.m. September 28: Film
showing, "Labor's Turning Point," Class:
3 p.m.: *An Introduction to Revolutionary
Politics and the ICL: Marxism—A Guide
to Action*; Spartacist Public Office, 41
Warren Street (one block below Chambers
St., near Church St.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mondays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 7:
Introduction to Marxism; University of
Maryland-College Park; Reckord Armory
Building, Room 0101
For more information and readings:
(202) 872-8240

WORKERS VANGUARD

NYC Transit "Workfare" Deal

Enslaving the Poor, Busting the Unions

Jobs for All at Union Wages!



Romero/NY Times
"Workfare" street cleaning crew in New York City. Slave-labor program forced on welfare recipients has already replaced over 20,000 unionized city jobs.

On September 18, the New York City Transit Authority (TA) and the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 leadership announced a new contract proposal in which hundreds of unionized cleaners will be replaced by desperately poor welfare recipients forced into slave-labor "workfare." This betrayal by the Local 100 tops is not only a vicious attack on overwhelmingly minority welfare recipients but is a dagger pointed straight at the heart of the TWU—and all NYC municipal unions.

In reporting the "workfare" deal, the *New York Times* carried a front-page feature on Local 100 president Willie James, who was recently appointed by TWU International president (and former Local 100 head) Sonny Hall. The *Times* played up the fact that James is the local's first black president and that his mother had worked her way off welfare. This cynical "pull yourself up by the bootstraps" theme is constantly being hammered at the ghetto and barrio

masses by America's racist rulers as they prepare to eliminate the last shreds of any social "safety net" for the poor.

From the standpoint of the American ruling class, "communism is dead" and the unions are toothless. With the union leaders acting more like low-wage labor contractors than even labor lieutenants of capital, the capitalist rulers see no need for "New Deal" or "Great Society" entitlement programs and other "welfare state" sops to workers, blacks and other minorities. Except instead of a Reagan or Bush leading the attacks, it's the racist, cop-loving "law and order" Democrat Clinton, working hand in hand with Dole and Gingrich, who just consigned millions of babies and mothers, poor people and immigrants, to starvation, sickness, homelessness and death. And the AFL-CIO tops devote all their efforts and millions of dollars in union funds to get Clinton re-elected.

A lot of the TWU ranks understand the danger of the latest contract proposal,

and they're making that clear at angry meetings in subway barns and bus depots around the city. But they also know that they can expect nothing from the union tops. From Sonny Hall and Willie James on up to the "new voice" AFL-CIO leadership of John Sweeney and their predecessors, the labor bureaucracy has presided over and pushed through large-scale destruction of jobs, massive cuts in real wages and the decimation of the unions themselves. Now the union misleaders have also taken on the role of overseers for the capitalist rulers' union-busting slave-labor programs.

Any serious effort to beat back the all-sided attacks on workers, minorities and the poor necessarily entails a political struggle to oust the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy which "demands" only what is acceptable to the racist ruling class. What is required is a fight for *jobs for all*—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay—and full cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts. New York

needs a *massive program of public works at union wages*—for quality, integrated housing and schools, for free quality health care for all, for massive reconstruction of roads, bridges and tunnels, for everything we need for a decent life. It is necessary to demand *equal pay for equal work*. The city wants to bring in hundreds of poor people to clean the filthy subway stations? Fine. They should be hired at *union wages with full union protection!* The TWU should lead a fight to *organize the unorganized!*

Even to defend the most basic right of the working class—to a job at decent pay—leads directly to challenging the capitalist profit system. As revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program (1938) during the devastation of the Great Depression:

"The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token, of the future of

continued on page 10

Clinton Gives Green Light Wilson's War on Immigrants in California



Gropp/Sipa
INS rounds up immigrants in San Rafael, California. Now California governor Wilson has cut off social services to "illegal" immigrants.



Kennerly/Newsweek

On August 27, California governor Pete Wilson issued an executive order banning "illegal" immigrants from state-funded services, citing as justification that he was carrying out the federal "welfare reform" bill signed by Clinton less than a week earlier. This bill not only "ended welfare as we know it," condemning millions, particularly black women and children, to poverty and starvation. It singled out immigrants for special attack, barring even "legal" immigrants from most federal benefits. And the anti-welfare bill came months after the draconian "anti-terrorism" bill which allows *any non-citizen* to be deported on the flimsiest of pretexts.

Declaring that the new welfare law mandates states "both to report and to deny benefits to illegal aliens," Wilson seized the opportunity to appeal court rulings which have partially blocked the implementation of Proposition 187, the California anti-immigrant initiative passed in 1994. To underscore his vicious intent, Wilson particularly targeted pregnant immigrant women, eliminating prenatal care for some 70,000. His racist edict also cancels access for undocumented immigrants to public housing, long-term health care, child abuse programs and financial aid for higher education.

Having given Wilson the green light to push through his racist attack on immigrants, Clinton then cynically ordered California to "suspend" implementation of the welfare bill clause denying food stamps to legal immigrants. A California state official

continued on page 11