

Mobilize Labor to Defend Immigrants!

Smash Nazi Pogroms in Germany!

BERLIN, August 31—Horror scenes of racist terror from the northern seaport and shipbuilding center of Rostock have shocked the world. Culminating nights of pogrom assaults, the fascist killers set the immigrant dormitory in the working-class satellite city of Lichtenhagen aflame. Some 115 Vietnamese workers and their families barely escaped death by clambering onto the roof. As in the 1938 Kristallnacht pogrom against Jews, the Nazis wanted to burn the immigrants alive. Earlier, hundreds of rampaging fascist skinheads had beset the building housing refugees seeking asylum, particularly targeting Roma and Cinti (Gypsies). Several thousand local residents cheered them on, many yelling "Foreigners out!" and some chanting "Sieg Heil!" and giving the stiff-arm Hitler salute.

In the aftermath of the capitalist reunification of Germany which destroyed the DDR deformed workers state, mass unemployment has surpassed that of the depths of the Great Depression. With almost half of the workforce—more than four million people—thrown out of work, the climate of desperation has created a fertile breeding ground for fascism. Immigrant workers are being used as scapegoats not just by the Nazis but by the rulers of the Fourth Reich. Bitterness which could and should be turned against the masters of German imperialism instead fuels the flames of fascism, as all the major parties push anti-immigrant hysteria and racism. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) have called and fought to mobilize the

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Murderous Nazi mobs torch Vietnamese workers' hostel in Rostock as anti-immigrant terror spreads through German cities. AP

Bush Election Ploy: Bombing for Votes

U.S. Targets Iraq, Again

Lee/AP



Trying to outgun Democrats, Bush revels in mass murder of Iraqis. Hundreds of women and children were wantonly killed by U.S. bombing of Amiriya air raid shelter in Baghdad, February 1991.

Estrade/AFP



With his presidential campaign foundering on reefs of economic bad news, George Bush is looking for an instant replay of the slaughter unleashed last year against the Iraqi people in "Operation Desert Storm." After a high-level leak to the *New York Times* spiked a White House plan to pulverize Saddam Hussein's defense ministries during the Republican convention in Houston, now U.S. fighter jets armed with air-to-air missiles are streaking over Iraq looking to shoot down anything that pops up in their cross hairs, whether from the air or ground.

This is hyped as establishing a "no-fly zone"—meaning the Iraqis can't fly in their own country, but the Americans can. This time around, the U.S. isn't even bothering about claiming "UN" endorsement—which was always just a cover to salve liberal consciences. The "no-fly" provocation is brought to you directly by something alternately called the "coalition" or the "allies," code word for U.S., British and French imperialism. As fighter planes launched from Navy aircraft carriers strut their high-tech hardware, and 2,400 U.S. troops carry out "training exercises" in Kuwait, we Marxists denounce this criminal imperialist aggression.

George Bush wants to remind people of what he views as his greatest triumph, the Persian Gulf War. We don't forget—and the Iraqi people certainly won't—"Operation Desert Slaughter," that horrendous massacre that led to the destruction of a country, as

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Pennsylvania Gears Up Death Machine Mobilize Now to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

As Bush and Clinton fight for the title of death penalty president, Pennsylvania's Democratic governor Robert Casey is gearing up that state's murder machine. Two weeks ago the *Philadelphia Daily News* reported that the District Attorney's office is pressuring Casey to put an end to the state's 30-year moratorium on execution. Casey, the "pro-life" signatory of the draconian anti-abortion law upheld by the Supreme Court last June, has made no secret of his lust to preside over Pennsylvania's next "legal" lynching.

Foremost among those in the government's sights is death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, supporter of

the Philadelphia MOVE organization and acclaimed journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," Jamal has been on death row for ten years, framed on charges of killing a Philly cop in 1981. For his political activities, Jamal had been a target of Philly mayor Frank Rizzo's racist cops for more than a decade. In the early morning hours of 9 December 1981 they put a bullet in Jamal's chest and then railroaded him in a classic Southern-style racist frame-up.

It was Mumia Abu-Jamal's political beliefs that were on trial in that Philadelphia courtroom, and exhibits A to Z for the prosecution were his Panther Party background, Philadelphia's notorious hanging judge Sabo, personally



Philadelphia, August 8: Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!

WV Photo

responsible for nearly 20 percent of Pennsylvania's death row population, permitted the prosecutor to repeatedly question Jamal about a newspaper interview in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* he had given 12 years earlier, at the age of 16. In the interview Jamal was quoted as saying, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." The assistant D.A. successfully argued to the jury that this Panther history proved Jamal must be a "cop killer."

The racist death penalty is a centerpiece of this depraved ruling class' apparatus of state terror. The U.S. leads all industrialized countries in executing its own citizens. As the urban centers become increasingly deindustrialized, throwing hundreds of thousands out on the streets, the government's bloodlust grows ever greater. In the 1987 *McCleskey* case the U.S. Supreme Court gave its seal of approval to the racist application of the death penalty. The high court of American capitalism is on a crusade to eliminate the age-old right of *habeas corpus* challenges to state court death sentences. In April, the Reagan-Rehnquist court ordered California to kill Robert Alton Harris, and stayed up all night to make sure the Ninth Circuit Court didn't block the gas chamber. This was the first execution in the "Golden State" in 25 years, sending a signal to open the floodgates of execution around the country.

The rush to execute is bipartisan. In January, Bill Clinton left the campaign trail to personally supervise the execution of Rickey Ray Rector, a 40-year-old brain-damaged black man. Governor Clinton has already set execution dates for 24 others on Arkansas' death row. And in May, black Democratic governor Douglas Wilder refused to stop the state murder of Roger Coleman. Court after court refused to hear evidence of Coleman's innocence because his attorneys initially filed his appeal *one day late*. Today, in Texas, Leonel Herrera awaits death on charges of killing two police officers in 1981, having presented evidence of his innocence. Herrera's appeal is before the Supreme Court, which is expected to endorse the state's argument that Herrera's innocence is not constitutionally "relevant."

To the rulers of this country guilt or innocence doesn't matter when the victim of state murder is poor, black or Hispanic, like most of the 2,500 men and women on death row. And when the "condemned" is an anti-racist fighter like Mumia Abu-Jamal, they will stop at nothing to make sure he dies. It is for those militant fighters against state repression like Jamal—the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs—that the American ruling class maintains this ultimate form of state terror.

The Partisan Defense Committee has played a leading role in the campaign to save Jamal—from organizing protests in cities around the world to distributing

tens of thousands of pieces of literature publicizing his fight against this racist legal lynching. Nearly 40,000 people have signed petitions, and labor organizations representing millions of workers worldwide—longshoremen, auto workers, hospital workers, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and many more—have already taken a stand for Jamal. We cannot wait for an execution warrant to be signed. *We must mobilize now!* It will take mass struggle to stop the killing machine, and it will take a workers revolution to put it out of business once and for all. Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!

An Injury to One Is an Injury to All

Election year USA: the Republican Party's ultraright platform and the Democrats' appeal to recapture the white racist vote. No matter who wins, the next four years promise no letup from the wholesale attacks on labor, minorities and fundamental rights. Speedup on death row, escalating cop terror, anti-labor repression and "drug war" terrorization of the ghettos and workplaces—this is the face of America's creeping "democratic" police state.

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian, legal and social defense organization affiliated with the Spartacist League. From our labor/black mobilizations to stop KKK terror, to defense of imprisoned fighters against racist capitalist state repression, the PDC is guided by the old Industrial Workers of the World principle that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

Six years ago the PDC revived a lost tradition of the Communist Party's International Labor Defense of sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners. Currently we send stipends to 18 imprisoned victims of capitalist state repression—including Mumia Abu-Jamal, former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), Ravenswood striker Robert Buck and members of the Philadelphia MOVE organization.

Robert Buck, 27 years old, a popular member of Steelworkers Local 5668 at Ravenswood, West Virginia, has been in prison since last January, railroaded by the federal government for defending his union and job from the scabs and thugs brought in by Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation. He was arrested for refusing to become a rat for the feds. Arrested on charges of possessing an explosive device, after the feds alleged that he and another USWA member threw a small homemade black powder charge outside the home of a scab, Buck was threatened with imprisonment unless he agreed to wear a wire and spy on his brothers at union headquarters. Buck refused and was slapped with a prison stretch of 33 months, sent far away from home and

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How to Save the Unions



TROTSKY

Labor unions and union gains won through decades of struggle have been ripped up in recent years as the bureaucrats prove once again that they are truly the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." Fearing real class struggle like the plague, they counsel anything but—from impotent "corporate campaigns" and consumer boycotts to racist protectionism. The industrial unions were built through sharp class battles in the 1930s—including sit-down strikes and mass

pickets—after the racist AFL tops had demonstrated through repeated defeats the bankruptcy of narrow craft unionism. Speaking in 1920 of the reliance on church groups and other supposed "friends of labor" by the New York union bureaucrats, James P. Cannon, a former IWW activist, early leader of the American Communist Party and founder of American Trotskyism, emphasized that key to defending the unions was a revolutionary program to sweep away capitalism.

Civic bodies, church forums, "non-labor organizations"—the elements who go to make up such groupings are poor props for the unions to seek to lean upon. They may "feel" for organized labor, but the organized workers never feel it in the shape of substantial support in their fight.

The "open shop" campaign is one of the manifestations of a state of war that exists in society between two opposing classes: the producers and the parasites. This war cuts through the whole population like a great dividing sword; it creates two hostile camps and puts every man in his place in one or the other. Those to whom the New York unions would turn for aid are beneficiaries of the present system of labor exploitation. Their interests lie with the system and, as a general rule, people do not allow their sympathies to interfere seriously with their interests. They live in the camp of the enemy. Their material welfare is bound up with those who aim to destroy the unions....

Let the labor unions put aside their illusions; let them face the issue squarely and fight it out on the basis of the class struggle. Instead of seeking peace when there is no peace, and "understanding" with those who do not want to understand, let them declare war on the whole capitalist regime. That is the way to save the unions and to make them grow in the face of adversity and become powerful war engines for the destruction of capitalism and the reorganization of society on the foundation of working class control in industry and government.

—James P. Cannon, "Who Can Save the Unions?" (May 1921)



LENIN

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Saddam and Gomorrah

Woody Allen Crucified on "Family Values"

If the Iraqi strongman doesn't cut it as Bush's bogeyman, maybe Woody will. There's something about the American ruling class that periodically requires an "enemy within"—some resurgence perhaps of ancient Puritan witchhunting instincts on the 300th anniversary of the Salem witch trials. Why Woody Allen? The angst-ridden, bespectacled filmmaker is being sacrificed on the altar of reactionary "family values," targeted by the Republicans as part of the "cultural elite," the quintessential New York Jewish intellectual. As *Times* critic Walter Goodman wrote, in an article headlined "Woody Allen as Metaphor in Campaign for President," as it played in Houston "the Manhattan story is a morality tale on the paths of godlessness."

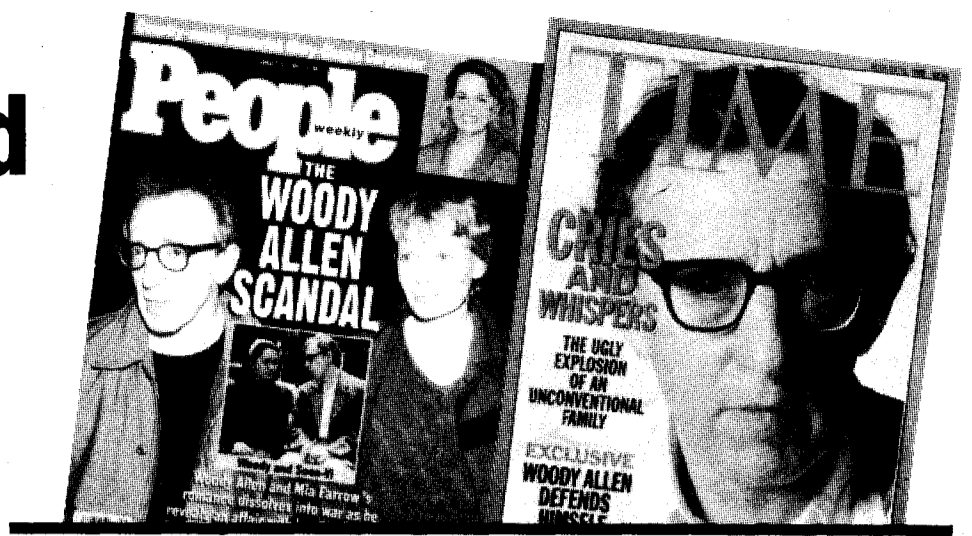
The Republicans have seized with fiendish glee on the celebrated film director as symbolizing all that's wrong with the USA. Fresh from their eerie, hateful "family values" convention at the Astrodome, they grabbed what would have been just another NYC summer sex scandal and slammed the Democrats for having a "Woody Allen platform." Republican Newt Gingrich told a Bush campaign rally that Allen is "a perfect model of Bill Clinton's Democratic values" and that "Woody Allen having non-incest with a non-daughter to whom he is a non-father because they were a non-family fits the Democratic platform perfectly" (*Daily News*, 26 August). So if he really understood "family values" he'd have had real incest with a real daughter, the good old-fashioned American way?

In fact, as Allen said at a rare press conference, "In the end, the one thing I have been guilty of is falling in love with Mia Farrow's adult daughter at the end of our years together." Woody's new love is Farrow's adopted daughter Soon-

Yi, a college sophomore. At his press conference, he issued a hard, outraged denial of Farrow's charges (made after she found out about the affair) that he molested their adopted daughter Dylan, 7, in an attic in her Connecticut home. As he told *Newsweek*, "First of all, I couldn't find the attic in Mia's house.... I'm a famous claustrophobic; wild horses couldn't get me into an attic." He denounced the dirty frame-up: "this, my lawyers tell me, is a currently popular though heinous card played in all too many...child-custody fights" (*People*, 31 August).

In NYC, the split-up inspired the usual tabloid feeding frenzy, temporarily obscuring even Fergie the Duchess of York's bare-breasted frolics with a bald-headed Texas billionaire. Vicious quotes from the famous were breathlessly retailed, like Mia's mom Maureen O'Sullivan's statement, "Maybe Soon-Yi was charmed by an old man of fame...who is old enough to be her grandfather. I'm revolted." How soon they forget; the London *Independent* (22 August) recalled that when Mia married Frank Sinatra, "She was 20, he was 50, an age difference that did not upset O'Sullivan at the time." Her next hubby, conductor André Previn, "was 16 years her senior. Previn's wife, Dory, inspired by Farrow's role in the courtship, wrote a song called 'Beware of Young Girls'."

The scandal has been fed by bourgeois feminists who buy into "family values" reaction, taking up cudgels in defense of the "compulsive adopter," earth mother Mia. *Village Voice* columnist Cynthia Heimel let loose a keen of betrayal in her hysterical "Woody, We Hardly Knew Ye" column. "Our hero has destroyed himself in front of our horror-stricken eyes," she moans. Woody turns out to



be, she says, "yet another man...who discards his mate for someone one-third his age." They do do that, don't they? But so long as sexual relations are genuinely consensual, it's nobody's business but those involved.

We'll Take Manhattan

So what is all this sordid froth to the Republicans? At this year's fear and loathing extravaganza in Houston, cops and goons roughed up gays and "media elite" reporters. Even conservatives dubbed Bush's bully boys the "Hitler youth." Religious bigots target openly gay lifestyles, women having abortions and anything they see as a "threat" to the monogamous bourgeois family, a key conservatizing force and the bedrock social institution of capitalist society. With Bush and Quayle looking like losers in the polls, running against two Southern Baptists—with Arkansas governor Clinton a proven death-penalty racist and Al Gore's wife Tipper a die-hard anti-rock censor—the Republicans are trying to whip up Bible Belt prejudices in order to win the Southern white vote from the Southern Democratic ticket.

The "media elite" and "cultural elite," as Dan Quayle calls them, are simply racist code words for what they used to call "Jew York." To the extent America actually has a genuine cultural elite, Woody Allen is certainly a charter member, along with Gore Vidal and a few other suspect characters. The *Wall Street Journal* (28 August), in an editorial titled

"Woody's World," vituperated against the "do-whatever-makes-you-feel-good ethos.... Woody Allen comes to us as the perfect exemplar of this school of morality. It is also the principle that has helped bring about our current uncontrolled explosion of sleaze and pornography, and the toleration of amorality on a grand scale unequaled in modern history." Well, they ought to know.

These WASPs and their sleazy front men have been stung in the past by some of Woody Allen's better efforts, like the Wisconsin family dinner table scene in *Annie Hall* ("Nice ham, mom," as granny's beady blue eyes zero in on Woody as Lubavitcher). Or the line: "I hear *Dissent* and *Commentary* merged—they're calling it *Dysentery*." Or *Sleeper*, where he awakes in the future after a war: "We think a man named Al Shanker got hold of a nuclear bomb." Or the devastating and simply decent movie *The Front*, which creamed the '50s McCarthyite (and Ronald Reagan Hollywood) witch-hunt of Communist Party members.

Even that master of the horror genre Stephen King found the Astrodome scene too much: As he wrote in a *New York Times* (23 August) op-ed piece, "No one should have to listen to 60 fresh scrubbed Republicans in tan real estate blazers singing 'Come-A-Ti-Yi-Yippee-Yippee-Yo' at 11 A.M.... It was like watching several thousand Amway salesmen and saleswomen on a mission from God." As for us, we'll take Woody Allen's *Manhattan* any day. ■

Drop the Charges Against Brownie Mary! Stop the Drug Witchhunt!

SAN FRANCISCO—On July 19, agents of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration and Sonoma County deputies arrested a 70-year-old volunteer AIDS worker for giving away marijuana brownies to AIDS patients. "Brownie" Mary Rathbun is charged with two felonies for marijuana distribution and if convicted, faces up to seven years in state prison. But this could backfire, because "Brownie Mary" and her cause are widely popular.

Spirited and defiant, Rathbun appeared in court on August 4 sporting cannabis-leaf jewelry and other symbols. She later declared: "If I have to be the cause celebre for medicinal marijuana, then that's good" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 25 August). The San Francisco Board of Supervisors passed resolutions proclaiming August 25 "Brownie Mary Day" and calling for non-prosecution of medical marijuana users. Rathbun is a hero to the AIDS patients she calls "her kids" at San Francisco General Hospital's AIDS ward.

Marijuana is widely recognized by medical experts, including the California Medical Association (not exactly an organization of fuzzy potheads), as the drug of choice to curtail pain and nausea from AIDS, cancer chemotherapy and

other deadly conditions. A 1988 federal court ruling by administrative law judge Francis Young found that marijuana has a far higher therapeutic ratio than aspirin, and stated, "It would be unreasonable, arbitrary and capricious for the DEA to continue to stand between those sufferers and the benefits of this substance."

But this case isn't about medicine and the relief of suffering. And AIDS patients are simply spat upon by a state which defines compassion as giving death row inmates a "choice" between dying by cyanide gas or lethal injection. The arrest of Mary Rathbun is a government display of its get-tough credentials in the "war on drugs."

Increasingly, states are using "mandatory minimum" laws to put first-time drug "offenders" away for decades, or worse. In Michigan, the "650 Lifer" law makes it a felony to "conspire" to sell drugs, and mandates *life sentences without parole* for delivery of over 650 grams of cocaine. Where state laws don't go "far enough," the feds are brought in, as in Oakland mayor Elihu Harris' drug raids in black neighborhoods, where motorists snared by the FBI/cop sting operation have their vehicles confiscated for breaking fed-

eral laws against "transporting drugs."

According to *Rolling Stone* (3 September), 56 percent of all federal prisoners now are "drug offenders," a proportion predicted to come close to 70 percent by 1995. With a prison population now well over one million, the U.S. incarcerates people at a rate which dwarfs that of all other countries including South Africa. The "war on drugs" is centrally a government war on minority communities. As we have noted:

"The illegalization of drugs likewise ensures big bucks for the Mob (and cops on the take) and violent crime by desperate addicts. Laws against so-called 'crimes without victims'—drugs, gambling, prostitution, sodomy and homosexuality—threaten the privacy and rights of everyone and should be abolished."

—"Down with Meese's Drug Witchhunt!" *WV* No. 400, 28 March 1986

As the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in a letter to the Sonoma County D.A. demanding charges against Mary Rathbun be dropped, "Prisons in California and across the U.S. are filled to overflowing with minority youth on drug charges; the bonapartist cops act in ghettos like an occupying army—in L.A. they literally are." Drop the charges against Mary Rathbun and her



Sommerdorf/S.F. Chronicle
Mary Rathbun, with her homemade cookies.

codefendant Steven Rider!

Mary Rathbun is scheduled for a preliminary hearing on October 9. Letters of protest can be sent to Sonoma County District Attorney Gene Tunney, 600 Administration Drive, Room 212J, Santa Rosa, CA 95403. Donations to Mary Rathbun's defense can be mailed to: Mary Rathbun, c/o California NORML, 2215-R Market Street #278, San Francisco, CA 94114. ■

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

American bombs left tens of thousands dead (not to mention the deadly toll from the rampant devastation in its wake). Many youth in this country who marched in protest haven't forgotten their first bitter taste of bloody U.S. imperialism. And the whole business may backfire on Bush. Washington's erstwhile Arab "allies," including the Syrians and Egyptians and even the Gulf emirates, are worried that slicing up Iraq would hand the predominantly Shi'ite southern third of the country to the Iranian ayatollahs.

Round Two of Washington's war on Iraq again highlights the criminal role of the Democratic Party. Presidential candidate Bill Clinton approved military action against Iraq in advance, saying, "Even during an election campaign, Americans are united on this issue" (*Los Angeles Times*, 24 July). Clinton and his jogging mate Gore have been criticizing Bush for ending the Persian Gulf War *too soon*. The Democrats' big shtick is "Saddam-gate": attempting to nail the Bush administration for conciliating Hussein prior to August 1990. With this hawkish stance, the Democrats give George Bush carte blanche for any provocation.

Bald or What?

All summer the Bush administration waged low-intensity warfare over "UN inspectors" Hussein was preventing from entering the Agricultural Ministry building in Baghdad. UN personnel spent 17 days camped in front of the ministry, insisting that Security Council Resolution 687, dictated by the United States after "Desert Storm," gave them the right to peek into every nook and cranny in the country. Meanwhile, Bush sent three aircraft carrier groups and a ship armed with cruise missiles toward the area. But on July 26, Saddam agreed to an inspection of the building by a team excluding representatives of countries that had sent troops in last year's military rape of Iraq.

The Agricultural Ministry confrontation was a provocation from start to finish. For over a year, the imperialists, who in the words of one UN report had bombed Iraq "to a pre-industrial age," combed the country for "weapons of mass destruction." One member of the inspection squad admits "there probably was never any weapons material there." In fact the inspectors knew the Iraqi government would object to the search. One Bush adviser quipped (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 29 July): "We want to reduce it down to where the Presidential Palace is the only place Saddam has sovereignty"—and then no doubt blow it to bits.

Breathtakingly bald-faced, the plan to



"Mile of death" north of Kuwait City, February 1991, as U.S. planes bombed fleeing Iraqis for 18 hellish hours.

bomb Baghdad during Republican convention prime time was blown out of the water by the *New York Times* (16 August) the day before the confab opened. Based on a high-level leak and confirmed by White House fury and non-denial denials, the front-page story by Patrick Tyler explicitly stated the plan to "provoke a confrontation" was done with "timing [that] appeared calculated to give President Bush a boost during the Republican National Convention."

The plan called for "United Nations inspectors" to demand access to Baghdad's Ministry of Military Industrialization. "If Iraqi officials bar inspectors from the building, as they have threatened to do to protect Iraqi national security and sovereignty, cruise missiles or American carrier-based aircraft would strike the building in short order...." The inspectors would then demand access to the Ministry of Defense, and proceed through a list of nine targets. The *Times* reported:

"Other United States officials said the Defense and Military Industrialization Ministries were selected not because American intelligence has identified specific documents hidden there, but because these buildings are so important to Mr. Hussein's overall survival that he is certain to refuse access. "One official complained that 'we are going to stage an incident' that relates less to the importance of any documents that might be found in the targeted buildings than to the conviction that the steps will provoke a confrontation that will serve as the pretext for military action and 'to help get the President re-elected.'"

Despite its front-page exposé, the *Times* editorial supported the provocation. But complaints that such an action might "damage the credibility of the UN" and the direct link to the Republican convention sank this scenario. So the "UN" inspectors were sent home and the fallback plan about the "no-fly zone" to "protect" Shi'ite Arabs below the 32nd parallel was put into play.

American Blitzkrieg

Last year's Gulf War was meant to inaugurate a "New World Order" with a show of American global military supremacy as the Soviet Union under Gorbachev, heading toward the collapse of the Stalinist regime, ceased to be a factor staying the hand of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. dragged in as reluctant "coalition" partners the Japanese, who coughed up some yen, and the Germans, who sent D-marks. In reality, the Persian Gulf massacre was waged to establish U.S. dominance *against* its rival imperialist powers.

In August 1990 Iraq had invaded and taken over the emirate of Kuwait amid festering disputes over borders, oil prices and drilling rights. The international working class had no reason to take sides in the sordid dispute between the anti-Kurd, anti-Shi'ite and anti-Communist Iraqi dictator and a nasty little oildom set up by British imperialism, where "democracy" was limited to the ruling family. But when the United States and other imperialist countries set up a blockade, a clear act of war, and dispatched a military expeditionary force to the region, working people everywhere had an urgent responsibility. While liberals hailed UN "sanctions" and the popular-front "peace movement" sought to duck the issue, the Spartacist League forthrightly declared: *Break the Blockade of Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism!*

President Bush spent five months cobbling together an international coalition to "liberate Kuwait," which united under UN auspices such longtime enemies as Israel and Syria, Greece and Turkey. Gorbachev brought the USSR on board as well, symbolizing the course toward counterrevolution in the degenerated workers state. Half a million U.S. and allied troops were sent to Saudi Arabia to "draw a line in the sand." Of the front-line U.S. troops dispatched by the racist war machine, 30 percent were black and 20 percent Hispanic. "Be All You Can Be," says the Army's pitch to minority youth—be cannon fodder.

On 16 January 1991 Bush let loose a massive bombing campaign that for the next six weeks would average over 1,000 sorties a day. Though Pentagon spokesmen bragged that their "smart bombs"

were taking out purely military targets with surgical precision, on the ground the Iraqi population was being put through hell. Nearly every bridge was destroyed, often along with the surrounding residential neighborhood. Factories were indiscriminately targeted, like the country's only baby formula plant in Baghdad. On February 13, U.S. military leaders dropped a bomb with pinpoint accuracy down an air shaft of a bomb shelter in Baghdad's Amiriya neighborhood, deliberately incinerating hundreds of women and children who were crowded there.

The ground war launched on February 23 initiated four days of unparalleled slaughter. Iraqi forces showed no will to fight: most either surrendered or ran; many were simply blown to bits or buried alive in their trenches. The United States refused to accept Hussein's offer of surrender on February 26; said one top Bush adviser later: "We were determined we would end this war when we wanted to, not a damn day sooner" (quoted in Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck, eds., *Beyond the Storm* [1991]). That night American surveillance detected a massive traffic jam just north of Kuwait City of vehicles heading toward Iraq. In a deliberate display of modern barbarism, for 18 hours U.S. planes rained incendiary explosives on the "mile of death," killing or wounding thousands of people who were fleeing for their lives.

For the Iraqi people the war didn't end when Bush finally ordered a cease-fire the next day. Led to believe they would receive U.S. backing, Shi'ite rebels in the south and Kurds in the north rose up against the Iraqi regime only to be brutally suppressed by Saddam's Republican Guards. Meanwhile the UN slapped a total trade embargo on Iraq, which is still in effect. Every major electrical generating plant in the country had been destroyed in the bombing. Water pumping stations and sewage treatment plants were deliberately targeted, and the population was forced to drink contaminated water hauled from streams and rivers. This was not "collateral damage" but a deliberate attempt to terrorize the population. And what really got Bush's goat were recent reports from Iraq that much of the country has already been rebuilt.

The "Saddam Syndrome"

"By God, we've kicked this Vietnam syndrome," crowed George Bush over his victims. In March 1991 the American president was at the height of his (short-lived) popularity, cheered by Republicans and Democrats alike. Within the United States, the central casualty of this imperialist walkover was indeed the



Spartacist League fought on revolutionary program in antiwar demonstrations.

Toronto: Protest I.S. Thug Attack on Trotskyists

We print below a leaflet by the Trotskyist League of Canada protesting a violent attack on six of our comrades by a 50-man goon squad at a "public" meeting of the International Socialists on August 14. Throwing their weight behind the I.S. goons were two leading (and just about the only) members of Socialist Challenge—the pathetic Canadian affiliate of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat."

The I.S. and their American cohorts of the International Socialist Organization are feeling their oats in the imperialist "New World Order" as they seek to trade on their longtime anti-Communist credentials. In the assorted pro-Democratic Party milieus they travel in, the watchword is "no communists allowed." The ISO whined when their "sisters" in WAC (Women's Action Coalition) in New York attempted to ban leftist literature at their meetings, while at their own meetings they impose this *diktat* in blood (and using the capitalist cops). Yet the I.S.' thug attack in Toronto—in particular their wantonly misogynist brutality against a small woman comrade of the Trotskyist League, who was slammed crotch-first against a double-door divider—isn't playing well among many people in WAC's Canadian auxiliary, several of whom have called our office to express their outrage.

A Toronto leftist who witnessed the I.S. assault has distributed his own protest letter which notes, "In their newspaper, the International Socialists regularly denounce the police, yet they quickly call on them to strongarm Marxists who do not threaten them in any substantial way. For my part, I do not attend meetings of 'Marxists' defended by capitalist police. I commend the comrades of the Trotskyist League for their actions. Someone has to keep our traditions alive."

I.S. Draws Blood Line in "Death of Communism" Frenzy

On August 14, members of the International Socialists launched a savage physical assault against comrades of the



Toronto, August 15: Trotskyist League confronts I.S. goons during protest against frenzied anti-communist attack.

Trotskyist League. The occasion was a so-called "public debate" on the subject "After Communism, What's Left for Socialism?" When Trotskyist League supporters approached the meeting room after distributing literature, I.S. members under the direction of York University Professor David McNally barred their way. Our comrades verbally protested this cowardly exclusion; when one shouted "Communism lives—I.S. lies!" they were surrounded by dozens of I.S. supporters (prominent among them U.S. ISO leader Ahmed Shawki) who quickly went berserk.

Six I.S.ers slammed a leading comrade to the floor and held him down while McNally seized him around the throat and throttled him. Our other comrades were then surrounded and grabbed, with arms twisted behind their backs, seized and choked, and dragged by their feet through a nearby exit. A small woman comrade was spread-eagled, dragged and bashed crotch-first against a divider between a double set of doors. When one

of our comrades became separated from the rest at the top of a steep flight of stairs, an apoplectic, red-faced Professor McNally screamed at his followers: "Throw him down the stairs! Throw him down the stairs!" But even his own members wouldn't heed this murderous call. Nevertheless, several I.S. thugs dragged our comrade down the stairs and threw him through the exit.

Within minutes the place was crawling with three carloads of cops, called by the I.S. to "protect" their meeting from the reds. Challenged by one of our members, McNally shouted "That's right, I'm with the cops!"

What lies behind this frenzied assault? For years the I.S. and its international co-thinkers, who now worm around the bourgeois feminist abortion-rights milieu, have acted as loyal "left" lieutenants in the imperialists' campaign to smash each and every gain of the October Revolution and prop up rotting capitalism in the West. In Afghanistan they lusted for the blood of

Soviet soldiers, supporting the CIA-backed 7th-century Muslim fanatics who skin schoolteachers alive for teaching little girls to read. They spent the last decade hailing the anti-Semitic, anti-women clerical nationalists of Polish Solidarność, beloved of Reagan, [Canadian prime minister] Mulroney and the Vatican. Last summer they cheered on Wall Street tool Boris Yeltsin's pro-capitalist coup in Moscow as "magnificent." "Communism has collapsed," they exulted in their British press, "It is a fact that should have every socialist cheering." Our comrade Martha Phillips was strangled and stabbed to death in the Yeltsinite cesspool of Moscow by person or persons unknown. Now the I.S. is out to "strangle the communists"—that is, the Trotskyists who have been the staunchest defenders of the Soviet Union and other bureaucratically deformed workers states against counterrevolution—in their bloodlust over the "death of communism."

The slander, exclusionism and thuggery employed by these anti-Soviet "socialists" may seem, ironically enough, like the very methods of Stalin. But in its vicious anti-communist "red-hunt," the I.S. really aspires to play the same role as the German social-democratic bloodhounds who after World War I worked to drown the German workers revolution in blood, murdering Communist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and hundreds of other working-class fighters.

This thuggery by Professor David McNoske, Ahmed Scheidemann and their acolytes should revolt any honest leftist who wants to resist the bourgeoisie's anti-communist, anti-working-class offensive. To keep out the Trotskyists' political views, the I.S. substitutes the fist for the brain. And seeing this vehemently anti-Soviet outfit united with the cops against the reds should tell you more about them than a thousand issues of *Socialist Worker*. We will not be silenced!

Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste
15 August 1992

American population's gut-level reluctance to go to war, a lesson "taught" by the Vietnamese workers and peasants who defeated the Pentagon and its puppets in 1975. Moreover, the American capitalist class achieved its prime objective in the Gulf War, which was not the "liberation" of Kuwait nor the "punishment" of Saddam Hussein, but reasserting global hegemony by demonstrating to its imperialist rivals Germany and Japan who has the whip hand (and its hand on the Persian Gulf oil spigot). This "victory" moved the world a big step closer to inter-imperialist war, beginning with trade war.

A year later President Bush is being held hostage by his own rhetoric. Observes *New York Times* reporter Andrew Rosenthal (27 July): "Mr. Hussein's continued defiance has turned Mr. Bush's greatest victory into a heavy burden on his re-election campaign." In her nominating speech in Houston, Secretary of Labor Martin proclaimed "an era that is truly a Pax Americana...initiated by the policies of our leader, George Bush." But as the recession lingers and the "post-convention bounce" of his poll ratings turns to a dribble, Bush is having trouble holding together his conservative constituency. One popular bumper sticker asks: "Saddam still has a job—do you?" George Bush's "Saddam syndrome" might well cost him the presidency—or drive him to a new military adventure.

Hundreds of thousands of people dem-

onstrated in January 1991 against U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf. But the leaders of these protests, reformist left organizations and pacifist groups, consciously subordinated them to the Democratic Party, imperialism's "lesser evil." Chauvinist slogans like "Support our troops—bring them home" were prominent along with red-white-and-blue bunting and yellow ribbons, and the main speakers were liberal Democrats like Jesse Jackson, who supported the economic embargo against Iraq. Pinned like a tail on the Democratic donkey, the antiwar movement collapsed when the ground war got going and the liberals took a stand four-square for "their" troops.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs organized contingents in antiwar protests on a sharp class line, demanding: "Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!" and "For Labor Strikes Against the War!" One solid longshore strike against the Gulf slaughter would have done more good than a thousand liberal "peace crawls" in Washington. But carrying out such class-struggle action requires the construction of a revolutionary party with solid roots in the working class.

Bush's Persian Gulf slaughter was supposed to inaugurate the New World Order. In fact it inaugurated nothing. Yesterday's yellow ribbons lie in tatters among the mountain of pink slips, as the capitalist economy flounders on its contradictions. The Congress-

sional Nuremberg rallies for conquering war butcher Schwarzkopf and his commander in chief are forgotten. But whether or not Bush manages to set off Gulf War II in the coming months, the imperialist drive toward war continues. Workers and student youth seeking to

struggle against this murderous system must look to the program of revolutionary Trotskyism embodied in the Spartacist League. Iraq may not have been the "mother of all wars," but as Lenin taught, imperialist war is the mother of socialist revolution. ■

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Young Spartacus

Moscow—Patrice Lumumba University

African Student Murdered by Yeltsin's Cops

Capitalist Counterrevolution Unleashing Racist Terror

With the collapse of Stalinism and Boris Yeltsin's "countercoup" last August, the Soviet Union has been wracked by "all the old crap" of capitalist society surging to the surface. A storm of nationalist bloodletting has raged since Yeltsin seized the reins of power in the name of "free market" capitalism and Russian chauvinism.

At Moscow's Patrice Lumumba People's Friendship University, a 25-year-old Zimbabwean student, Gideon Chimusoro, was shot to death by a Russian policeman on the night of August 11. Militia were immediately dispatched to the campus after the murder to back up the killer. The next day, the OMON paramilitary units—a killer elite which first drew blood for the "democratic" counterrevolution at an anti-Yeltsin protest on Soviet Army Day in February—savagely attacked a student demonstration protesting the slaying of Chimusoro. Students carrying hand-lettered signs reading "We need police protection, not police murderers!" were chased, kicked in the groin and beaten with rubber truncheons. One cop yelled, "I will kill you, swine!"

The Russian press "justified" the cop murder and rampage by inventing stories of a student "riot"—lies calculated to inflame racist fear and hatred of the African, Asian and Latin American students at this university. A *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (13 August) headline screamed "Only Machine Gun Fire Could Calm Down the Wild Running." *Moskovskii Komsomlets* invented stories of blacks burning cars and kiosks, of students hurling furniture, televisions and burning mattresses out of dorm windows. A TV

Moscow, August 12:
Hundreds protest at
Patrice Lumumba
University against
police murder of
Gideon Chimusoro.



anchorman closed the August 12 nightly news story by stating that the African students "promise to shoot down all of us tomorrow." This outrageous lie was nothing but sinister incitement to a pogrom!

Upon hearing of the cop murder, comrades from the International Communist League in Moscow immediately went to Patrice Lumumba University to express their solidarity with the students. Our comrades saw with their own eyes what a pack of lies the Russian press reports were. The kiosks were all there and none were burned; the dorms were in normal condition, the rooms fully furnished. A student from Yemen, who was an eyewitness to the murder of Chimusoro and OMON's attack on the students, volunteered to tell everything to the press. He was interviewed. Shortly thereafter he was violently attacked in a predawn raid on his dorm room and remains hospitalized. A statement issued by the newly formed student Coordination Committee warned:

"We will hold [the press] responsible for anything that would happen to any African student in the future.... We will fight to the end until our rights are respected

and recognized in this country where the African students in particular are constantly offended for having committed the only crime of being Black, being different, or simply being poor."

On August 19 the Coordination Committee organized a press conference and invited comrades from the International Communist League to participate. But the university president directly intervened to cut us off as soon as our comrade drove home the point that this murderous attack on the foreign students was an example of the racism and nationalism unleashed by the counterrevolutionary Yeltsin government's drive to destroy the multinational Soviet workers state. Later the university president tried to get the militia to shut down our literature table, claiming that "political activity is forbidden at the school." The militia refused to follow his orders when we stood our ground and said, "We don't follow laws that allow racist murders and ban political activity."

Capitalist Counterrevolution Means Racism and Impoverishment

Students interviewed by our comrades at Patrice Lumumba University described the devastating plunge in their living conditions in the last year. As stipends were slashed and prices soared, many students found themselves in abject poverty. But more than anything, it is the explosion of raw racism that has turned their world upside down. Selected for study at a prestigious university founded to train cadres for the Soviet Union's Third World allies, these students were once the honored guests of Moscow. Today they are reviled for the color of their skin and fear to go out in public at all.

A Moroccan student told our comrades, "I would say the changes started in 1985 when perestroika began. Now if you are a foreigner you aren't worth anything. They think you are the reason for the crisis. And they say this in the name of 'democracy'!" A Jamaican student told us he had been dragged off public

buses, attacked on the street and in hotel lobbies. Even high-ranking diplomats have been targets of attack. Godfrey Chanetsa, a Zimbabwean diplomat, told of racial taunts and threats directed at himself and his family. He concluded, "I don't want to learn Russian, because the more you learn the more you understand what they are saying" (*Moscow Guardian*, October 1991).

Only a few years ago, racist outbursts would have been regarded with almost universal contempt. The Soviet Union was a deeply integrated society of over 100 nations. The very term "nationalism" was regarded as derogatory. The Bolshevik Revolution transformed what Lenin called the tsarist "prison house of peoples" into a multinational federation. It was only the Bolsheviks' internationalist program, asserting full and equal national rights for all peoples *in order to secure the fullest unity of the workers of all nationalities*, which made this possible.

However, the administrative apparatus of the Soviet state and the Bolshevik Party were subverted into a narrow nationalist, bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin, who usurped political power in 1923-24. Stalin did not overturn the economic basis of the new workers state but consolidated his regime by reversing many of the liberating political gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. Anti-Semitism was revived to go after Trotsky as a Jew; Great Russian chauvinism was whipped up to keep the minority republics in line; the cult of the family was restored as a means of instilling respect for authority and stifling freedoms for women and youth. The internationalist policies of the Bolshevik Revolution were undone with the "theory" of "socialism in one country"—which led to a conscious policy of thwarting revolutions abroad in order to appease imperialism.

The ultimate "appeasement" of imperialism came with the bureaucracy's self-destruction and the rush by yesterday's bureaucrats, headed by Yeltsin and his

continued on page 9



Spartacist

International Communist League intervening in struggle against capitalist counterrevolution. Sign reads: "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky! Defend the Lenin Museum!"

Village Voice Backs WAC Censorship

"Conform or Take a Hike"

Last month the SL helped win a round against anti-communist censorship. We defied a ban on socialist literature at meetings of the Women's Action Coalition (see "SL Zaps WAC Attack," *Workers Vanguard* No. 557, 7 August) and the wannabe witchhunters bit the dust. But the pen is muddier than the sword—especially when held by a scribe for the *Village Voice*. After endorsing the ban, the *Voice* failed to report its reversal, and now disingenuously claims there was never a ban in the first place (see exchange at right). We print below the full text of our original letter.

9 August 1992

To the Editor:

We are delighted to inform *Village Voice* readers of a resounding victory for free speech. A McCarthyite witchhunt and ban on socialist groups by the Women's Action Coalition (prominently covered and manifestly endorsed by the *Voice*) was overturned at WAC's August 5 meeting. First, the Spartacist League openly and irreverently defied the ban—and in spoofing the witchhunters we evidently helped self-avowed civil libertarians battle their own hypocrisy. Then from within WAC came protests, including the rather honest statement by some WAC members which likened WAC's censorship of the left to Jesse Helms and the NEA's ban on "deviant" art.

Voice reporter Kathie Silberger has words to eat. In "WAC Attacked" (*Voice*, 11 August) she denied there ever was an anti-communist purge, and then leapt to defend what she claimed never happened. She approvingly cites Chip Berlet's Bush-league threat that leftists must "conform to the group" or "take a hike." Finally, the sinister amalgam of all leftists, and even between left and

right—lumping socialists with the dubious New Alliance Party and its shadowy financing, its self-admitted FBI finks like the Rev. Al Sharpton—is an amalgam worthy of COINTELPRO.

That WAC's leading enthusiasts for the Democratic Party froth rabidly against reds is understandable, logical even, when one considers how shallow the support is out there for the party of "democratic" capitalism. Censorship is a weapon of political weaklings. The reversal of the anti-communist ban should be a lesson to WAC's Democratic Party aspirants that they can't cow everyone. Thousands of women and men have come out into the streets to defend abortion rights which are under attack by Democrats and Republicans—the twin parties of capitalism that New World Order "progressives" like the *Voice* and WAC "conform to." For our part, we openly fight to win those concerned about women's rights to the understanding that to eradicate inequality you must fight against the capitalist system that breeds it.

Alison Spencer,
for the Spartacist League



WV Photo

Defending NYC abortion clinic from Cardinal O'Connor's "right to life" bigots, June 13.

the village VOICE

Non-Conformists

The Women's Action Coalition's ban on socialist groups has been overturned, a victory for free speech and a defeat for the witchhunters and the PR agents, like *Voice* reporter Kathie Silberger ["WAC Attacked," *Streetbeat*, August 11]. Silberger approved the ban, citing Chip Berlet's McCarthyite threat that leftists "conform to the group" or "take a hike."

Silberger's lumping of socialists with the dubious New Alliance Party with the dubious New Alliance Party was a sinister amalgam worthy of COINTELPRO. WAC's leaders went after us because we oppose the Democratic Party that they "conform" to. And unlike the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which worms around in WAC, we Spartacists openly fight to win those concerned about women's rights to the understanding that to eradicate inequality you must fight against the capitalist system that breeds it.

Alison Spencer
For the Spartacist League
Manhattan

Kathie Silberger replies: WAC never attempted to "ban" or censor any political group, merely to set guidelines as to how literature should be distributed at WAC meetings. Spartacist members were encouraged to distribute their material at the same tables where WAC fliers and all other literature was available.

Spartacist Forums

**Bankrupt American Capitalism Targets Blacks, Women, Labor, Gays
Fight for a Socialist Future!**

Speaker: Amy Rath, Editor, *Women and Revolution*

Saturday, Sept. 12, 2:00 p.m.
Undergraduate Library Lecture Room
Howard University
For more information: (202) 872-8240

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturday, Sept. 19, 7:00 p.m.
Brecht Forum, 79 Leonard St.
(5 blocks so. of Canal St. bet. Church & Bway.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

**Break with the Racist Democrats—
Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!
Women's Liberation Through
Socialist Revolution!**

Speaker: Paula Daniels, Spartacist League

Monday, September 14, 12 noon
For more information: (415) 777-9367

Student Union B112
San Francisco State University

SAN FRANCISCO

**Race and Class in the "New World Order"
What Strategy for Black Liberation?
Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism**

Speaker: Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee

Saturday, September 19, 7:30 p.m.
For more information: (510) 839-0851

126 Barrows Hall
University of California, Berkeley

BERKELEY



WV Photo

**For a Class-Struggle Workers Party
to Fight for a Socialist America
Racism and Decay in
Imperialist America**

Guest Speaker: Keith Anwar, member of ATU Local 308

Thursday, Sept. 24, 7:30 p.m.
See "Today in the Union" for room
UW Madison
For more information: (312) 663-0715

Saturday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.
Regency Room, Blackstone Hotel
636 S. Michigan (at Balbo)
For more information: (312) 663-0715

MADISON

CHICAGO

Smash Nazi Pogroms...

(continued from page 1)

working class in defense of the besieged immigrant communities, as we continue to fight capitalist counterrevolution down the line, from Rostock to Moscow.

The Rostock pogrom unleashed a wave of terror against refugees around Germany. From Augsburg in Bavaria to Greifswald on the Baltic, at least 20 refugee centers have been attacked in the last week; a tent camp for asylum seekers in Leipzig was burned to the ground. In Berlin a bomb was set off at the monument for Jewish deportees. The capitalist state wants to use the outburst of Nazi terror to assault democratic rights. They are seeking to push through bonapartist measures—the use of police shock troops against demonstrators, and expedited trials to be used against leftists, immigrants and workers. And an all-party coalition in Bonn has whipped up hysteria about a “flood of foreigners,” instigating the pogromist wave, in order to gut the right of asylum.

For months Nazis have tried to whip up hostility among the residents of Rostock/Lichtenhagen against the refugees. Since June more than 1,300 asylum seekers have been jammed into the building which has space for only a quarter of that number. Many families had to spend the night on the lawn outside for lack of beds, without even tents over their heads, forced to eat and relieve themselves there for lack of toilets and cooking facilities. It recalled conditions in the infamous Nazi concentration camp in Marzahn (Berlin) set up to hold Roma and Cinti, hundreds of thousands of whom were murdered by the Third Reich. Local, state and federal officials were squabbling over the situation, but did nothing, perhaps in a cynical attempt to stir up mass resentment. For this was a *state-authorized terrorist attack*.

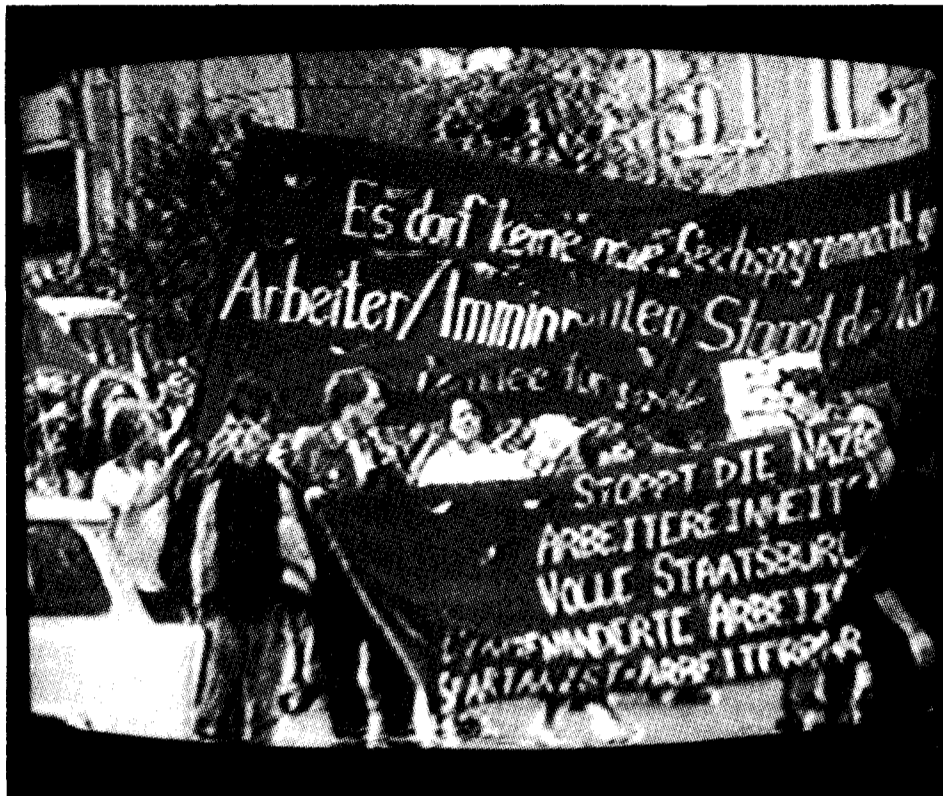
The threats to go after the refugees had been known for days, published in the local paper. Police arrived early on but just stood by and watched; they organized the removal of the asylum seekers under the supervision of federal interior minister Seiters, and then withdrew so the arsonists could carry out their deadly work (with the Vietnamese immigrant workers still inside). Chancellor Kohl grotesquely sought to blame it all on “Stasi agents,” whereas in fact fascists came in from Berlin and Hamburg, openly organizing their terror over CB radios. But the main “instigators” are the parliamentary parties who have all been pushing to “crack down” on immigration. The racist front stretches from the bourgeois Christian Democrats (CDU) and Free Democrats (FDP) to

the Social Democrats (SPD), with the Greens calling for “quotas” and the ex-Stalinist would-be social democrats of the PDS demanding more cops.

A year ago, fascist thugs staged a pogrom in the lignite mining town of Hoyerswerda. The bourgeois media (and not a few “leftists”) are portraying the entire population of the DDR, the former East German workers state, as a pack of racists. But while the Nazis have been feeding off the desperation produced by mass unemployment, the fascists are still a small minority. As the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) wrote in a 24 August

were stopped and searched on the Autobahn, and a 1,500-strong contingent from Hamburg was blocked for hours from joining the protest.

The SpAD leaflet noted, “While the pogromists were rampaging in Rostock, an SPD internal leadership meeting was giving a green light for dismantling the right to asylum.” At the same time, the SPD approved the use of Bundeswehr troops for imperialist interventions around the world, of course only in UN “blue helmets.” SPD chief Engholm is now rabidly demanding speeded-up deportations. Already the Social Demo-



Rostock, August 29: 20,000 march against anti-immigrant terror. Spartakist contingent called for mass worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop the fascists.

leaflet, “other residents expressed their outrage” to our comrades over the fascist terror against the immigrants:

“Rostock is a workers city! Only a short while ago the shipyard workers demonstrated through plant occupations their willingness to fight the scorched earth policies of the Treuhand [the state agency set up to liquidate the DDR economy]. We Spartakists say: *Energetic actions by the Rostock metal and shipyard workers and their anti-fascist allies can prevent the Nazi pogrom!*”

Thousands of copies of this leaflet were distributed in Rostock.

On Saturday, August 29, some 20,000 anti-fascists marched through the streets of the Lichtenhagen district. This in itself was an achievement, as they were surrounded and continuously harassed by a huge police mobilization for civil war. Some 28 police “centuria” (hundred-man squads) of riot cops and federal “border police” were sent in, along with hundreds of other cops and more than a dozen helicopters which menacingly buzzed the crowd. Cars and buses

crats have been pushing for “collection camps” for refugees requesting asylum, and setting them up in states the SPD governs.

The escalation of racist terror has accompanied the rise of aggressive German nationalism set off by the capitalist reunification of the Fourth Reich. In the drive to *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR workers state, the SPD was the “Trojan horse of counterrevolution,” as we Trotskyists declared. When Nazis defaced the Soviet war memorial in Trepow (East Berlin), the Spartakists initiated a united-front workers mobilization in January 1990, which was taken up by the SED/PDS and brought out 250,000 people seeking to oppose the drive to reunification and defend the DDR. But the bourgeoisie and their SPD agents upped the voltage of their destabilization campaign, pumping millions into hastily called DDR elections, and the bankrupt Stalinists took fright at the prospect of proletarian political revolution and civil war. With the strength of the West German economy, symbolized by the D-mark, the partisans of “Germany—one fatherland” won out.

Afterward came the bitter reckoning. The mass unemployment and social misery produced by the systematic destruction of East German industry has brought desperation and lumpenization. The sense of hopelessness is widespread in areas like Rostock’s Lichtenhagen, home of thousands of former workers in the shipyards which built boats primarily for the Soviet Union. Youth without any perspective of a job or any future at all are susceptible to fascist demagogues. But if the power of the working class were mobilized it would be a very different story. The public workers strike last spring dramatically showed this, spreading from West to East in wildcat action, to the consternation of the social-democratic ÖTV union bureaucrats and the Kohl regime.

As earlier in Eberswalde, where the cops stood by as the Angolan worker Amadeu Antonio was murdered by skinheads, and later beat up a memorial march, in Rostock the police prepared the way for the Nazis and then assaulted

the anti-fascists. The weeklong pogrom began on Saturday, August 22, and escalated day by day until the police carried out the racists’ demands for “foreigners out.” Several thousand bystanders in part egged on the “brown mob.” But the workers in Rostock are not a racist mass, as the anti-Communist propaganda campaign would have one believe. Decisive action by organized working people would have dispersed the couple hundred skinheads, shut up “eager onlookers” in a flash, and won the support of the many decent Rostockers.

Workers in the harbor and at the Warnow works particularly wanted to do something against the Nazis. But the SPD-led union bureaucrats, the same ones who had throttled the struggle of the waterfront workers against mass layoffs, prevented the mobilization of Rostock workers. On August 25, the local DGB union federation called for a protest that same day, but distributed a leaflet announcing it after quitting time, so that only a few hundred showed up. The DGB then refused to call for the big anti-fascist demonstration on August 29, and the IG Metall union closed their offices for two days beforehand.

The SpAD has repeatedly called for workers mobilization against the mounting Nazi/skinhead attacks. When the NPD fascists announced they would “celebrate” the Kristallnacht pogrom in Halle last November 9, the Spartakists fought for a united-front union-based action to stop the racist terrorists. We found considerable support among the workers in this concentrated industrial region. But after first endorsing, at the last minute the DGB bureaucrats withdrew and demobilized the unions. If instead of this shameful betrayal the Nazis had been stopped by a powerful workers action, they wouldn’t have been so bold in showing their bloody face in Rostock, in the traditionally “red” (socialist) north.

The August 29 demonstration was dominated by the Autonomen, many of whom participated in courageous actions to defend the Rostock immigrant dormitories. Over the course of the week, almost a hundred were arrested by the same cops who made the Nazi pogrom possible, and who then threw anti-fascists into the same cells with skinheads. The Spartakist Workers Party demands: Drop the charges—Immediately end all prosecution of anti-fascists! Rather than indecisive street fighting with Nazi/skinheads, and guerrilla (theater) “war” with the far more heavily armed cops, it is necessary to bring to bear the social power of the workers and immigrants in order to beat down fascist terror. The Autonomen who yelled “Shame on you!” at the apartment buildings in Lichtenhagen thereby equate the workers with the sellout DGB tops.

The Spartakists fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, for all who have made it into the country to have the same rights as everyone else. The liberal demand for a “right to remain,” which is also raised by Autonomen youth, means keeping immigrants and asylum seekers in a second-class status.

The Party of Democratic Socialism

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

family to the hinterlands of Hinton, Oklahoma.

For over 21 years, Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), America’s foremost class-war prisoner, has been locked away in prison hell, framed in the FBI/COINTELPRO campaign against the Black Panther Party. On August 24, Geronimo’s attorneys filed papers in the San Francisco Court of Appeal appealing from last summer’s outrageous dismissal of his 284-page petition for a new trial one day after it was filed. The appeal cites new evidence to confirm that Geronimo was 400 miles away from the Santa Monica killing for which he was framed.

Joining in the appeal is Jeanne Rook Hamilton, a juror from Geronimo’s original trial, who wrote the court: “There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that the jury never would have convicted Mr. Pratt had we known any of these facts.” Former FBI agent Wesley Swearingen,

who was in the L.A. squad assigned to neutralize BPP members, wrote a separate letter, stating: “I have information that Pratt is innocent of the crime for which he was convicted and that the FBI and LAPD have lied to the court in a massive cover-up....”

Support for Geronimo continues to grow. Recently Coretta Scott King and Amnesty International were among those sending letters of support to the appeals court. The American Postal Workers Union recently passed a resolution to lobby in his defense.

We urge all readers of *Workers Vanguard* to join our work on behalf of the class-war prisoners. For more information about our class-war prisoners program, to join the campaigns to free Geronimo and the vital work to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, contact the PDC. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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African Murdered...

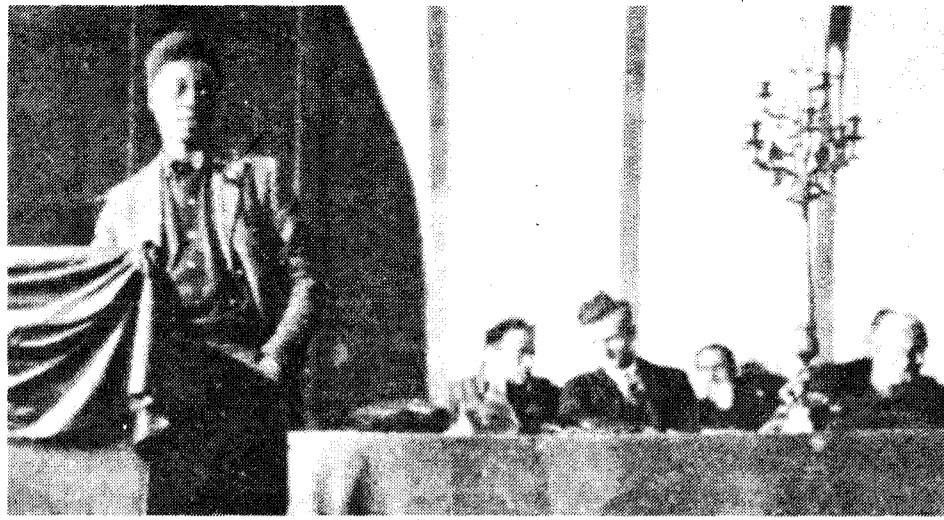
(continued from page 6)

chronies, to become part of a new capitalist ruling class. Across East Europe and the former USSR, weak counter-revolutionary governments, lacking capital, have substituted racism and nationalism as a tool to destroy the deformed workers states. "Ethnic cleansing" is the battle cry of the capitalist-restorationists, from the Serbian chauvinists and Croatian fascistic commandos who destroyed multi-ethnic Yugoslavia to neo-Nazis firebombing immigrant hostels in the former DDR.

In Moscow, the Pamyat fascists, who Yeltsin legitimized, openly describe themselves as "the last hope of white civilization." Yeltsin's "democratic intelligentsia" is shot through with Great Russian chauvinist racism. A common reaction among these "yupskies" is that the abandonment of Afghanistan was justified because "those Asians are not worth the blood of our Russian boys." This is the racist face behind the mask of Yeltsin's "democratic" counterrevolution.

For Workers Political Revolution!

Led by the Bolsheviks, the young Soviet republic was a beacon of liberation, especially for the most oppressed



American black poet Claude McKay addresses Fourth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow, 1922.

peoples on earth. In a land that invented the word "pogrom," a Jew, Yakov Sverdlov, became the first president of the Russian Republic. Feliks Dzerzhinsky, a Pole, became chief of the secret police. Imagine comparable steps for the liberation of mankind today: a victorious American workers revolution installs a black communist as president and a Hispanic woman as chief of police to clean out the remaining nests of KKK and Nazi scum.

Claude McKay, a Jamaican-born poet who addressed the Comintern's Fourth Congress (1922) in Moscow, wrote of the incredible reception he received as

a black man in Soviet Russia:

"Never in my life did I feel prouder of being an African, a black, and no mistake about it.... From Moscow to Petrograd and from Petrograd to Moscow I went triumphantly from surprise to surprise, extravagantly fêted on every side.... I was the first Negro to arrive in Russia since the Revolution, and perhaps I was generally regarded as an omen of good luck! Yes, that was exactly what it was. I was like a black ikon."

—A Long Way From Home (1970)

Despite the degeneration led by Stalin, the planned, collectivized Soviet economy was the basis for a society where peoples of diverse races and nationalities

lived in relative equality. In 1935, Paul Robeson sent his own son off to the Soviet Union to get an education where "he would not have to undergo the discrimination his father faced in the United States."

The Bolsheviks saw the Russian Revolution as the first step of a world revolution. They looked to extend proletarian power to Germany and the rest of Europe, and also to the East. In 1921 the Communist University for the Toilers of the East was founded in Moscow as a cadre school for internationalist revolutionaries. In *Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary*, Wang Fan-hsi recalls that after the defeat of the 1927 Chinese Revolution—a defeat sealed on Stalin's orders that the Chinese Communists lay down their arms before the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang—many young exile revolutionaries in Moscow immersed themselves in the documents of the Left Opposition and went on to struggle as Trotskyist fighters for authentic communism.

Today the International Communist League is struggling to reforge a genuine Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the working class in a fight for political power to oust the counterrevolutionary Yeltsin government. The horrifying murder of a Zimbabwean comrade at Patrice Lumumba University is one more compelling example of what the triumph of counterrevolution would have in store. ■

scandalously called for "understanding" of the racists. A commentary in the PDS' *Neues Deutschland* (24 August) asked, referring to the residents who clapped and chanted "Sieg Heil": "Are they therefore extremists, even fascists, on the warpath? Nonsense, they are neighbors—nice people like the Müllers, the Meiners, the Schulzes who live next to me and you.... There was noise and filth and strange people." The Rostock PDS chairwoman expressed solidarity with the "months-long discontent and protests of the Lichtenhagen residents." Earlier, ND was pushing a racist campaign against immigrants running gambling games in shopping districts. Now they're worrying about supposed "criminal activity" by the organization of Roma and Cinti! For these arch-reformists who yearn to be "respectable" social democrats, it is the refugees who are "the problem," not the Nazi murderers.

Gregor Gysi, Hans Modrow and the entire PDS parliamentary group marched prominently in the August 29 protest. But this had the character of an alibi. Until then, there had been no organized PDS presence in the various demos against the Rostock pogroms. And on the day of the national demo they held a meeting of the "Committee for Justice," the so-called "East Committee" in which the PDS sits side by side with far-rightist Diestel, in Berlin. But quite a few PDSers have been shocked by their leadership's disgusting apologies for the racists.

The Rostock pogroms have even sent a shock wave through sections of the Social Democracy. SPD vice chairman Thierse wants to use the anti-"foreigner" uproar to push the racist demand for "lower quotas" of immigrants in East Germany, while grotesquely blaming xenophobia on the DDR's "state events for friendship of the peoples"! But at the August 26 Berlin protest, members of the Jusos (Young Socialists) carried a banner: "Rassismus auf Raten, Sozialdemokraten?" (Racism On the Installment Plan, Social Democrats?). Many listened attentively to bullhounding by the Spartakists. At Rostock on the 29th there were banners of the Jusos and the Falken (the SPD high school student group).

The SPD is trying to show itself "capable of governing" by being the main force behind the anti-Communist witch-hunt in reunified capitalist Greater Germany. Thus it is the SPD "justice" minister of Berlin who has jailed former

DDR chief of state Erich Honecker (who is now confirmed to be suffering from cancer) and former DDR security chief Erich Mielke. The SpAD has repeatedly denounced this persecution, calling for freedom for Honecker, Mielke and others, such as anti-fascist hero Gerhard Bögelein. *Der Spiegel* (31 August) printed an interview with Mielke from his cell in Moabit prison, in which, among other things, he notes that "If we were still there, there would not have been such incidents as the uproar against the asylum seekers center in Rostock."

That is certainly true. The East German deformed workers state was built upon the ruins of the Hitler-fascist regime that was smashed by the Soviet Red Army. For years, Vietnamese workers worked with and lived among their German coworkers in Lichtenhagen without fear of fascist attacks, as did DDR contract workers from Cuba, Mozambique and Poland. One survivor of the Rostock pogrom, Tinh Nguyen Do, expressed the hope "that we could again live together with the German population as we did earlier at the time of the DDR." The DDR bureaucracy made much of international solidarity, and gave praiseworthy support to Chilean refugees, ANC and SWAPO fighters from southern Africa. But because Stalinism is fundamentally a *nationalist* doctrine, claiming to build "socialism in one country" (or in the DDR, in half a country), it was unable to root out nationalist, anti-foreigner attitudes deeply inculcated by the bourgeoisie.

The stark fact is that after 45 years of Stalinist rule, German nationalism exploded in the space of a few weeks and months of counterrevolution, and has continued to escalate since. And the deadly threat is not just potential. It is close to miraculous that no one was killed in the Rostock pogrom, but already in the first eight months of 1992 at least ten people have been killed in assaults by fascist thugs and mobs in Germany. In fighting for proletarian political revolution in the DDR, the Spartakists emphasized the need for an internationalist program by publishing greetings in Vietnamese, Polish, Portuguese and Spanish to workers in East Germany, as well in Russian to Soviet troops stationed there. We also denounced the dangerous consequences of the Stalinist bureaucracy's policy of housing "foreigners" in separate areas.

The ÖTV strike showed the possibility

of common working-class struggle in Germany, East and West, as did the national mobilization to protest the pogroms in Rostock. But the decisive element is the forging of a workers vanguard party on a revolutionary program. The fascists cannot be rooted out without a fight for jobs for all, which requires a frontal assault on the capitalist system

that is ruthlessly annihilating jobs and industry in the ex-DDR, condemning older workers to the scrap heap and offering no promise to the young, except to be used as cannon fodder for the Fourth Reich. The Spartakist Workers Party, section of the International Communist League, seeks to build this revolutionary party. ■

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Labor...

(continued from page 12)

liberal Democratic governor Cuomo.

Wealth certainly didn't "trickle down" in Reagan's America. As the rich got a lot richer, the poor got poorer, including many working people. Workers' real wages have fallen by 20 percent since 1973 and real weekly earnings are now almost \$100 below the level they were two decades ago. Millions are homeless. Tens of millions have no health benefits at all, and the bourgeoisie is going after medical coverage in the next round of contracts. Blacks and other minorities have borne the brunt of the crisis with skyrocketing unemployment, lower wages and the brutal terror of the cops. The recent explosion in South-Central Los Angeles laid bare the massive anger in the ghettos and barrios, and put a spotlight on the racist edge of the immiseration of the masses. There should have been massive *strike action* to defend the besieged ghetto population of L.A., starting with the powerful longshore union.

But the labor movement, under the thumb of the pro-capitalist, job-trusting bureaucracy, has been criminally silent. Moreover, it is the black Democratic mayors who daily enforce the racist oppression of the ghettos and barrios, and chain the black masses to their oppressors. This election year the Democrats don't even bother to nod in the direction of blacks and labor, as Clinton-Gore, the first all-Confederate ticket since the Civil War, embody the Democrats' own "Southern strategy." Clinton hasn't even bothered to call Jesse Jackson, who is more than willing to ride in the back of the Democratic Party bus and shill for the segregated country club golfer and hands-on executioner from Arkansas. But this year, Jackson isn't even allowed on the bus.

There must be a fight to build a revolutionary workers party that will lead minorities and all working people in a fight to throw out these labor traitors in order to unleash the power of the working class! Such a party must be a genuine tribune of the people, championing the cause of all the oppressed: black and Hispanic minorities, women, immigrants, homosexuals. It must be an internationalist party, that opposes the crimes of U.S. imperialism from Panama to the Persian Gulf. The most elementary defense of working people, from the existence of the unions to the lives of black youth, requires the struggle for a workers government that will rip the productive wealth out the hands of the capitalists and rebuild this country on an egalitarian, socialist basis.

Bureaucrats Push Democratic Party, Protectionism

When Secretary of State James Baker took over the Republican re-election campaign, he vowed that from now on "President Bush targets America"—which sounded more like a threat than a promise. Bush presides over the dev-

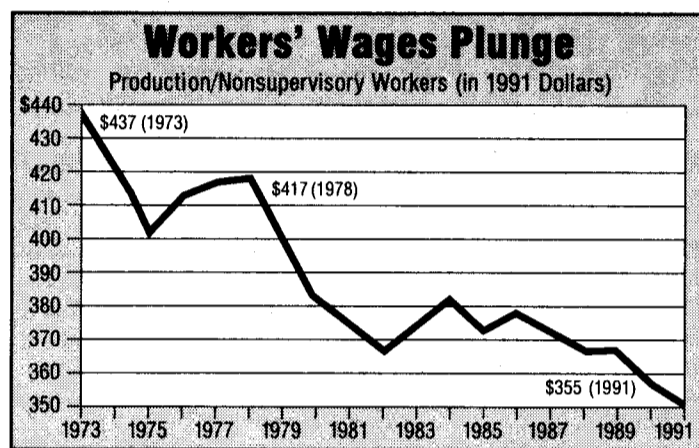


Industrial murder in Hamlet, North Carolina, September 1991: 25 workers killed in chicken factory fire, trapped by flames after bosses locked fire exits.

astation of the economy like Herbert Hoover. So little confidence in him do his fellow capitalists in the financial community have that the day after Bush's acceptance speech, the stock market fell 50 points and there was a run on the dollar. Bush is hoping that some

the 1980s, Gov. Clinton bragged about the law in state-sponsored ads in the business press. One of his development piggy banks made a loan to a firm that needed the money to build inventory to withstand a possible strike."

His backers include Don Tyson, owner of the world's biggest chicken processor,



While capitalists loot America's industry, workers' wages plummet.

cruise missiles hitting Baghdad will distract the millions of unemployed and propel him into a second term. The flavor of the Republican coronation of Bush in Houston last month was nicely captured by liberal *Newsday* columnist Robert Reno:

"All this howling about family values, punctuated by a little welfare bashing and superpatriotism, begins to sound ominously like a session of collaborationist politicians meeting at Vichy, as they did in 1940, to change the motto of France from 'liberty, equality, fraternity' to 'work, family, fatherland'."

So if for workers, minorities, women, gays the prospect of "four more years" of Bush sounds about as appealing as the slave quarters on the King Ranch, what would a Clinton administration look like? The *Left Business Observer* (4 August) provided a sketch by looking at the governor's home state. They describe the Arkansas treasury as "a feeding trough for local corporations." As for labor:

"In 1976, Attorney General Clinton supported the state's right-to-work law; in

and the notoriously anti-union, \$50 billion a year Wal-Mart chain, whose board of directors includes Hillary Clinton.

Bush and Clinton both support the recently negotiated North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). This pact has nothing to do with free trade and everything to do with trade competition against U.S. imperialism's Japanese and German rivals. NAFTA will set up a "Fortress North America," with higher protectionist measures against some foreign goods (the "local content" requirement for autos was raised from 50 to 62.5 percent). And it will mean massive U.S. investment and exploitation in Mexico. After the uproar in Mexico over the Supreme Court ruling that the U.S. could kidnap "suspects" in foreign countries with impunity, in a typical display of Yankee imperialist arrogance the head of the Customs Service announced that the free trade agreement will "allow U.S. agents to enter Mexico in search of illegally labeled goods!"

But the AFL-CIO labor traitors oppose NAFTA on racist, protectionist grounds, whining that it "is not in the best interests of our nation." The UAW's Owen Bieber, whose gang has presided over the destruction of *three-quarters of a million* auto jobs, rails against "exporting jobs to Mexico." In the face of the increasing integration of Mexican plants into the U.S. economy, particularly in auto, what's needed is common class struggle to raise the wages and working conditions of Mexican, Canadian and U.S. workers. During the recent Volkswagen strike, which was brutally smashed to demonstrate the promise of "labor peace" under NAFTA, Mexican president Salinas raised the spectre of interference by "foreign labor organizations." But the crime is that German and American unions *didn't* come to the aid of the VW strikers!

Today's labor bureaucrats, bound hand and foot to the Democratic Party of American capitalism, hate internationalist class struggle like the plague. Fear-

ing for their fat posts, they go pleading to the bosses and their government for protection against the "foreign" competition. This is a prescription for continued defeats and a downward spiral in living conditions in the interests of capitalist "competitiveness." Even more ominously, it enlists labor in the drive toward interimperialist war. Already a global trade war is brewing. NAFTA is directed mainly against Japanese capital, and Tokyo complained bitterly about the new auto regulations. A class-struggle leadership of labor would break with the Democrats and join hands with fellow workers from Japan to Mexico against their common capitalist enemy.

The fact is, as long as capitalism exists, the capitalists will move jobs to where the profits are higher. It's up to the labor movement to organize, and *fight!* How about a good old-fashioned sit-down strike—seize the plants and equipment that they want to close or move! And how about defending the Mexican workers who face the onslaught of U.S. imperialism, such as the oil workers whose jobs will be slashed. Let there be a joint international strike of U.S. and Mexican workers on both sides of the border, for the raising of Mexican wages and working conditions to U.S. union standards! But this would require an anti-capitalist, communist vision, in fact a revolutionary party.

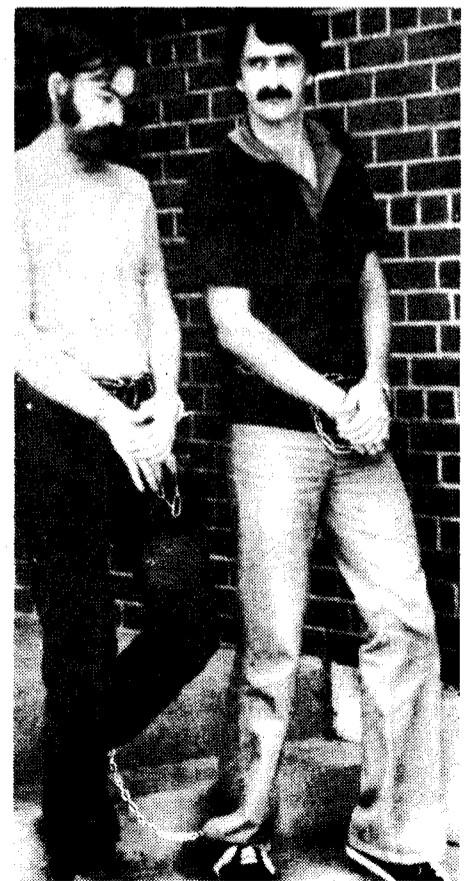
Defeat the War on Labor!

The marriage of the labor bureaucracy with the bosses' government goes back to the World War II no-strike pact and beyond. It became permanent in the Cold War witchhunt of the late '40s and '50s, which purged reds from the unions, and was sealed in law by the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act. This not only barred communists from union office but outlawed vital class-struggle tactics such as "hot-carguing" struck goods (the secondary labor boycott), and instituted presidential anti-strike injunctions, which were then used by Democrat Truman against the miners, packinghouse workers, maritime and waterfront unions. From 1917 on, the bosses have sought to destroy the Soviet workers state which grew out of the October Revolution, despite its subsequent bureaucratic degeneration under Stalinism, just as they seek the destruction of the unions at home. The "labor statesmen" of the "AFL-CIA," who have acted as Washington's agents to destroy militant unions abroad, have during the last decade and a half become the agents of the destruction of their own organizations.

Meanwhile, the government has stepped up its war on the unions. Its



After six months on picket lines, Caterpillar strikers were knifed in the back by UAW tops.



PATCO strike leaders dragged off in chains, 1981.

legal weapon of choice these days is the Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organization Act (RICO), which the feds used to literally take over the Teamsters union and engineer an election. In the guise of "cleaning up" the union, virtually the entire fake-left climbed on board the campaign by the government's hand-picked candidate, Ron Carey. Elected president last year, Carey is now whimpering that the government has taken too much control. The court responded by appointing to the review board that will run the union none other than former FBI and CIA director William Webster, who sits on the boards of Teamster employer Anheuser-Busch and the strikebreaking Pinkerton agency!

But you can fight City Hall...and the federal government. During the 110-day 1977-78 coal miners strike, miners burned the Taft-Hartley injunctions handed out by the Democratic Carter-Mondale administration. The labor movement must turn the bosses' union-busting and slave labor laws into worthless scraps of paper. Class struggle—like the mass picket that stopped

the scab *Pittsburgh Press*—is the answer to the pitiful and now (luckily) defunct AFL-CIO "anti-scabbing" bill in Congress. This would ostensibly have banned the hiring of "permanent replacement" workers by the bosses, while *surrendering the right to strike* by submitting unresolved bargaining issues to a federal "fact-finding" panel. You stop scabs by mobilizing the power of labor on the picket line, not by pleading with Congress.

A lot of hustlers for the Democratic Party will peddle their "fight the right" rhetoric again this year, in order to *strengthen* the chains that have kept workers and blacks tied to their class enemy. But the labor bureaucrats' "lesser evil" shell game of voting for "friend of labor" Democrats is wearing very thin. Today, millions of black and other working people know full well that *both* parties have nothing to offer, and that the whole system is rotten to the core. The answer is not a bourgeois "third party" or a flaccid, reformist "labor party" on the British model, but ousting the sellout bureaucrats and building a

Spartacist League calls for class-struggle workers party. Labor tops' ties to pro-business Democratic Party spell defeat for workers' struggles.



multiracial workers party that is not a parliamentary machine but the revolutionary vanguard in the class struggle to free all the oppressed.

The Spartacist League is dedicated to

forging such a party to fight for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie that has made U.S. imperialism into the greatest enemy of all mankind. ■

Workers in St. Croix, Virgin Islands are battling Yankee slave labor bosses at the giant Hess Oil refinery, one of the world's largest. The issues: *job discrimination*, with black and Puerto Rican workers from the islands excluded from better-paying positions, which are filled by white workers brought in from the States; *gross wage differentials*, as workers at Hess' mainland operations earn up to 50 percent more; and raw *racist abuse* at the hands of Southern white supervisors. Early last month this explosive mixture blew sky-high when maintenance workers were locked out by management. After bosses fingered unionists and cops beat pickets bloody, several notoriously racist supervisors took some well-deserved lumps. In a flurry of press conferences, the union has charged the company with rampant racism.

The 875 maintenance workers were locked out on August 5 after voting down the insulting contract offer by a subcontractor of the Hess Oil Virgin Islands Corp. When picket lines were thrown up in protest, the 2,000 construction workers building HOVIC's new \$800 million catalytic cracker ("catcracker") solidarized with them, whereupon they too were locked out. Most of the maintenance and construction workers, organized by United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8248, are local blacks or Puerto Ricans who have the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs, but earn less pay than white workers. According to local president Lloyd Daley, "the average stateside employee is receiving \$7 more per hour, plus benefits" (*St. Croix Avis*, 12 August).

Maintenance and construction workers are subjected to grueling 12-hour shifts (Hess is known as standing for "Holidays, Evenings, Saturdays and Sundays"). In the contract negotiations, in addition to wage increases and sick leave, the union demanded an end to the racist treatment of blacks. At a meeting of a legislative labor committee, machine operators testified that a crane supervisor called them "niggers." In another instance, a white supervisor told a heavy equipment operator, "You black people don't know what responsibility is about." Workers on the picket line charged that "Hess is bringing in white people to run the catcracker unit—no locals will work on that." In its "defense," the president of Amerada Hess admitted that four or five white supervisors had to be sent back in recent months for mistreating black employees.

On August 6 angry workers massed outside the Hess compound. HOVIC vice president Alex Moorhead was present, singling out union leaders to the cops. Local 8248 president Daley said that police "drew batons and started beating people. One guy, they stomped

Caribbean Oil Workers Battle Racist Bosses

St. Croix refinery workers demonstrate against Hess Oil union-busting during 1984 lockout.



on his face while he was on the ground" ([Virgin Islands] *Daily News*, 7 August). During the police attack, Daley and union rep Fred Joseph were arrested and charged with inciting a riot. That same day, however, a particularly loathsome racist supervisor was hospitalized with broken bones from an alleged beating by strikers. Three other cracker supervisors got a richly deserved lesson. Victims of Hess exploitation and mistreatment, driven beyond endurance, carried out an elementary act of sanitation to remove some garbage from the island. We say: Drop the charges against the USWA!

HOVIC's president fumed against worker "violence" and ordered a shutdown of construction on the catcracker. The catalytic cracker is vital to the future of Hess, as demand for residual oil is declining while the conversion of crude into more profitable gasoline depends on bringing the new facility on line. Job training for positions inside the catcracker should be run by the USWA, and hiring should be among refinery workers through a union hiring hall.

To break boss Hess, however, requires a class-struggle leadership. Every time the Hess workers play hardball, the bosses worry that there'll be another Cuba in the hemisphere. Grandstanding Island politicians like "Chucky" Hansen and Senator Lilliana Belardo de O'Neal (who interrupted her trip to the Republican convention to be with the workers) can talk out of the left side of their mouths, but it was the class-struggle

action of the workers against the racist bosses that ended the lockout. Still, the union negotiators saddled Local 8248 with essentially the same deal they had voted down originally.

The USWA International's support consisted of \$100 weekly benefits. Sentiment for joint struggle of maintenance employees and construction workers was high, yet these members of the same

local were directed to scab on each other by the union tops because they have different contracts at the same job site! Not only should all of the workers honor each other's picket lines, but it is criminal that the Hess workforce is split between two locals. During the lockouts of the maintenance and construction workers, refinery workers in Local 8526 were still working. The whole St. Croix Hess complex should have been shut down!

Although Local 8248 workers have gone back, the fight against racism and for jobs for black and Puerto Rican workers continues. In 1984, USWA refinery workers waged a determined fight for more than ten months against HOVIC's attempt to ram through a union-busting contract. Hess oil workers in the Virgin Islands must fight their Yankee masters' attempts to divide and intimidate the workforce along racial lines. Filthy rich Hess raked in \$482.7 million in earnings in 1990 with operations from Abu Dhabi to New Jersey; the Virgin Islands complex sits in the middle as a vital processing and transshipment point for this far-flung empire.

Like an old plantation owner, ultra-reclusive Leon Hess and his overseers have nightmares about slave uprisings on their "paradise" island of tax shelters and naked exploitation. Hess Oil wants to preserve St. Croix as its own private colony, like Exxon does in Aruba. But the thousands of HOVIC workers from Trinidad, Antigua, Barbados, Puerto Rico and elsewhere in the Caribbean represent a powerful force that can have an impact far beyond St. Croix. ■

JUST OUT!

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- L.A. Racist Cops Walk—There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!
- Outrage Over Racist Acquittal of Cops in Rodney King Case
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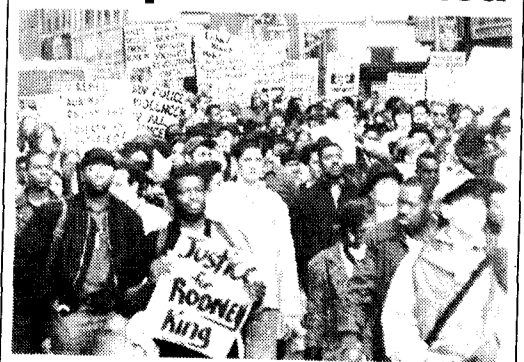
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Bush-Clinton: Pick Your Poison Elections

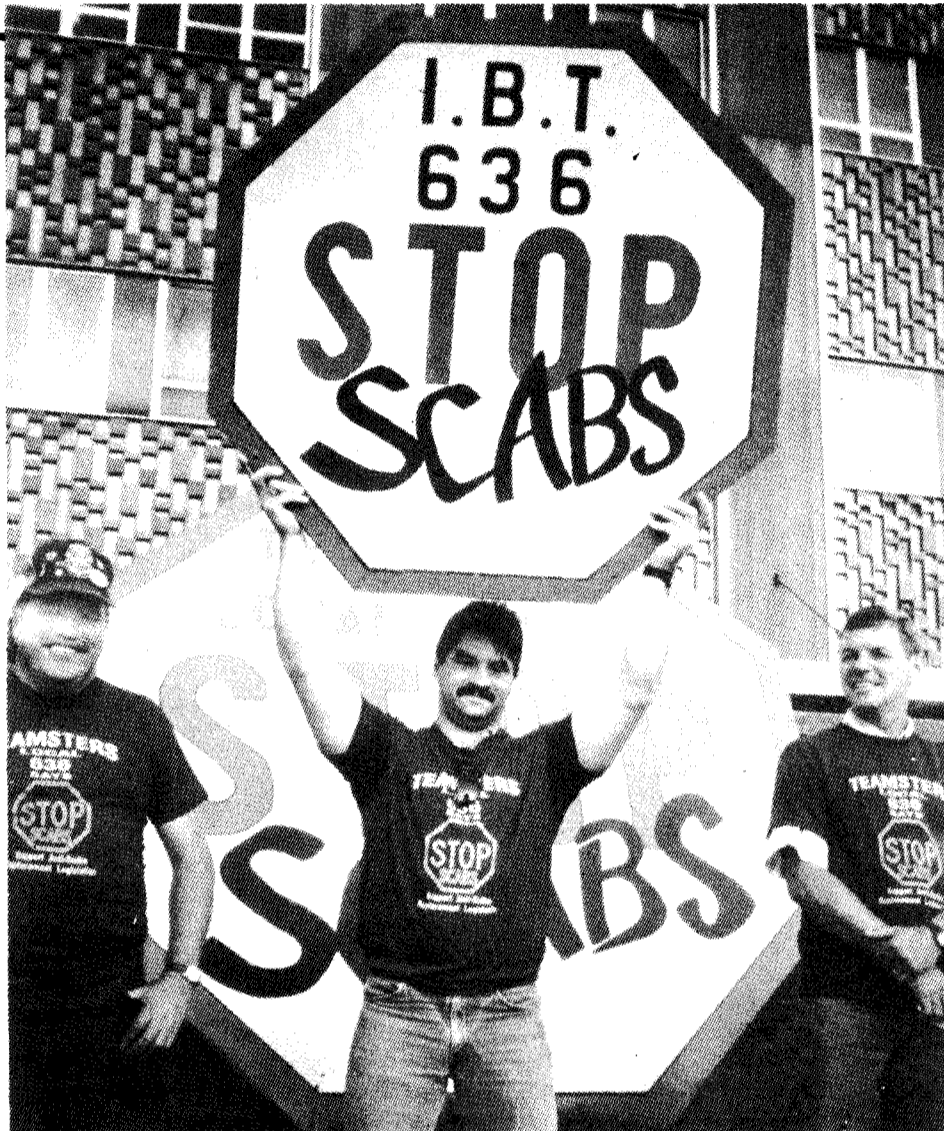
For a Fighting Workers Party! Labor's Gotta Play Hardball!

At the end of July, Teamster newspaper drivers in Pittsburgh declared, "It stops here!" With the solidarity of 5,000 union supporters on the picket line, after two months on strike they turned back the Pittsburgh Press Company's attempt to publish a scab paper in late July. They massed in the street and threw back the cops' attempt to drive a wedge through the pickets. For a change, it was the scabs and Vance Security strikebreaking thugs who lost, turning tail and leaving town. In the dozen years since Reagan smashed the PATCO air controllers, the bosses have left a string of defeated strikes and busted unions. This time, workers across the country took notice: finally someone on our side *won* a skirmish in the class war.

But the battle of Pittsburgh isn't over, and the stand taken by the Pittsburgh Press strikers is rare for American labor these days. More typical, unfortunately, is the ignominious collapse of the Caterpillar strike in April. Today, CAT plants in Peoria and central Illinois are seething, as the results of Solidarity House's betrayal are felt. With CAT's suspension of the dues checkoff, as much as two-thirds of the workforce is refusing to pay dues. One worker, furious that the UAW ordered strikers back without an amnesty for fired militants, remarked bitterly to *Workers Vanguard*: "Even a retreating army doesn't leave its wounded on the battlefield." As scabs, including union stewards, strut around the plant, workers are victimized by a company reign of terror.

The knifing of the CAT strike came less than 24 hours after the AFL-CIO International bureaucracy formally endorsed the anti-union, "right to work" Democrat Clinton for president. Around the country this Labor Day, the union tops will be trying to get out the vote for the Democratic Party. A big march is planned for Pittsburgh, ending up at the Press building. But far from building real solidarity in action, the last thing the labor fakers want to see during the election campaign is a militant strike. In the Press strike, the bureaucrats threaten to *give away* the hundreds of union jobs that the bosses couldn't destroy with their scabs and thugs.

What ought to happen on September 7 is for the marchers to go right through the doors into the Pittsburgh Press building and occupy it. With the valuable presses safely in the workers' hands, you can bet that management would be quick to settle. But such a bold assault on the sacred "rights" of private property would run head-on into the capitalist state, its cops and its courts. Thus every major labor battle today poses the need for a class-struggle leadership with a program and the determination to mobilize the power of the working class.



Pittsburgh, July 28—Strikers showed how, as thousands-strong mass picket lines stopped distribution of the scab Press.

As we wrote in the 1984 *Workers Vanguard* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win":

"No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket lines, in plant occupations. What counts is power.... The bosses are winning because the power of labor, its strength to decisively cripple the enemy, has not been brought to bear."

The responsibility for *that* lies squarely on the shoulders of the labor bureaucracy, whose highest loyalties are not to the membership but to the capitalist class, and who have therefore presided over the systematic dismantling of hard-won union gains and in many cases the destruction of the unions themselves. Union representation in the private sector is down to 12 percent of the workforce—*less than half* of what it was just 15 years ago.

While AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland chases the caboose on the Democrats' train, the capitalist depression deepens. Ten million are unemployed, according to official figures. General Motors, with sales of well over \$100 billion, is slashing its workforce by 74,000 in the next two years. There wasn't a whimper from

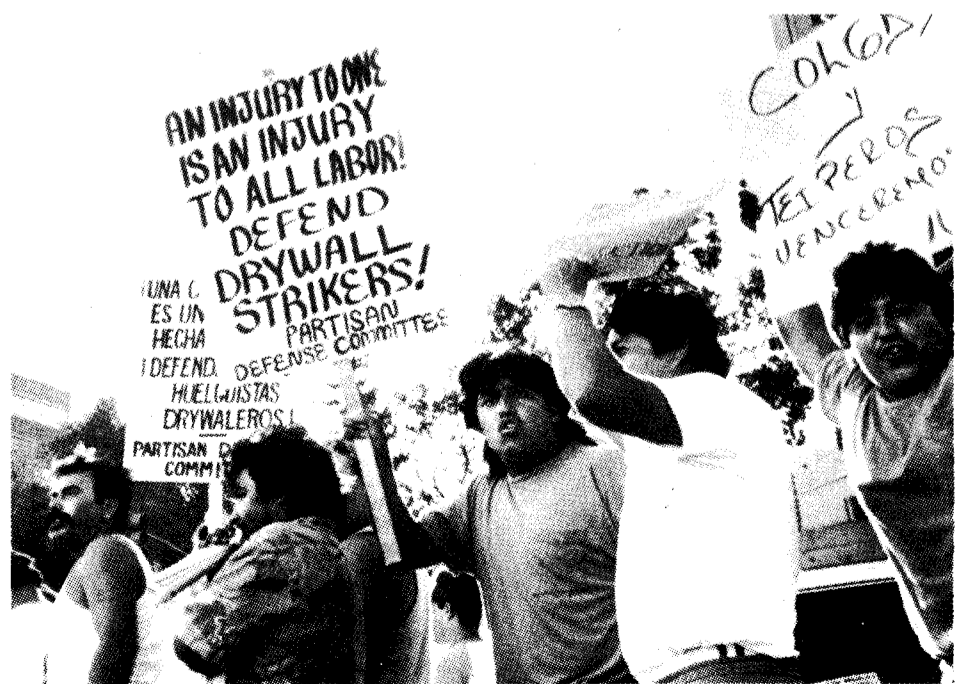
the UAW "Sacrifice House" gang when last week GM closed Van Nuys, the last auto plant in Southern California—just as the ruling class was talking of "rebuilding" the local economy in the wake of the Los Angeles riots! Over

2,600 workers, 15 percent black and almost half Latino, were thrown out of work. But the potential for powerful strike action was shown by workers at the Lordstown, Ohio stamping plant, who walked out August 27. Immediately, the Tennessee plant producing the hot-selling Saturn shut down, dependent on the "just in time" supply of parts. Within days, key GM plants from Flint, Michigan to Ramón Arizpe, Mexico will be affected.

Beginning with the UAW's 1979 multibillion-dollar Chrysler givebacks, engineered by the Democratic Carter administration, and under the hammer blows of Reagan-Bush reaction, the number of major strikes has plummeted over the last decade and a half, reaching an all-time low of 40 in 1991. But while the national union tops have put a clamp on, there are a number of local strikes and revolts against the entrenched bureaucrats.

Latino workers, from Los Angeles janitors and hotel workers and Southern California construction workers to El Paso-area agricultural workers, have fought organizing battles with some success. Heavily black city workers in Washington and now Philadelphia are going right up against black Democratic Party mayors. It was the Democratic-dominated Congress which broke a national rail strike, issuing a back-to-work order in June. And while Pittsburgh transit workers struck for a month this spring, in New York City Transport Workers Local 100, the most powerful municipal union in the country, voted down a sellout contract by two to one, only to have it shoved down their throats in a vote rigged by the pro-Democratic union tops and

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Combative Latino strikers in Southern California protest outside Parker Center against LAPD attack, July 28.