

Key Battle for American Labor

Teamsters: Spread the Strike!

APRIL 12—In the most important national strike in years, at midnight, April 6, some 75,000 members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) struck 22 trucking companies across the U.S. The strikers are in a battle to defend the IBT against an onslaught by the employers which, if successful, would decimate the union at its core in the trucking industry. But a hard-fought union victory here, which requires *spreading the strike*, could set the stage for an *organizing drive* to once again make the Teamsters the powerhouse of labor.

The trucking bosses are out to massively cut Teamster jobs covered by the Master Freight Agreement (MFA). It was the struggle to create a uniform contract in the trucking industry over 30 years ago which spurred the government's vendetta against the Teamsters under the guise of fighting "organized crime." Now the union is fighting for its life, as it faces government intervention, the explosive growth of non-union operations, and company demands for givebacks.

In the last several days, the trucking bosses have upped the ante using the uniformed gun thugs of the capitalist state in brutal attacks to smash picket lines. From Boston to Chicago to Riverside County, California, Teamster strikers are being clubbed, gassed and having police dogs set on them. Little of this is being reported in the bosses' press, which is designed to keep strikers in the dark about what is really going on.

In North Reading, Massachusetts, a union picket line outside the Roadway terminal was hit by a paramilitary police



Port Newark, New Jersey, April 6—first day of national Teamsters strike. Strike all Master Freight carriers, pull out UPS, shut down non-union subsidiaries!

SWAT team—50 cops, black uniforms, no badges, with dogs—put together by the Northeast Massachusetts Law Enforcement Council.

What this means is that despite the companies' public posture, the strike is

beginning to hurt and they need to move freight. Teamsters went out expecting a tough fight, and now the bosses are answering with strikebreaking injunctions, ordered by their courts and enforced by their cops.

This strike will not be won playing by the bosses' rules. Every union tactic that is needed to wage this battle means going up against some law that the capitalist government has enacted in order

continued on page 10

Bloody U.S. Imperialism Strikes Again—Defend Serbia!

All U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out of the Balkans Now!

APRIL 11—For the second time in two days, American warplanes under NATO command bombed Bosnian Serb positions around the town of Gorazde. This bloody provocation by the Clinton administration marks a dramatic and

dangerous escalation in imperialist intervention in the Balkan war. From the outset we have called on the working people to defend Serbia against imperialist attack, while opposing *all sides* in the fratricidal civil war between Serbs, Croats and Muslims. The nationalist atrocities carried out by all sides in the former Yugoslavia pale in comparison to the crimes of nuclear-armed U.S. imperialism around the globe. Recall that during the Vietnam War, U.S. Air Force commander Gen-

eral Curtis LeMay threatened to bomb that country "back into the Stone Age."

Washington has been itching to teach the Serbs a bloody lesson in obedience to its imperialist *diktat*. In late February, American jets shot down four planes over central Bosnia. U.S. plans to bomb ground positions around Sarajevo were aborted when Yeltsin's Russia agreed to a German-brokered deal to get the Serbs to pull artillery back from their siege positions.

continued on page 7



New York, April 12: Spartacists protest bombing of Bosnian Serbs.



0 74470 81030 8

15

Boston SWAT Cops Kill Elderly Black Minister

BOSTON—Reverend Accelynne Williams, a 75-year-old retired black Methodist minister from the Caribbean island of Antigua, had moved to Boston's Dorchester neighborhood to be near his daughter. Occasionally, he would give guest lectures at area churches. On March 25, the front door to his apartment was violently torn from its hinges. At least 13 heavily armed intruders wearing helmets and ski masks busted down his bedroom door. The shotgun-wielding intruders threw the minister to the ground, wrapping his wrists in plastic

handcuffs. Face down on the floor, Rev. Williams began to vomit and quickly went into cardiac arrest. He died of congestive heart failure.

The elderly minister probably never knew that the perpetrators were veteran members of the Drug Control Unit of the Boston Police Department. The stormtrooper cops were executing a no-knock warrant in the racist, state-sponsored terrorist operation called the "war on drugs." Their victim had for decades ministered to thousands of people throughout the Caribbean. Rev. Wil-

liams, who read Greek and Hebrew, was one of the first black ministers appointed in the 1920s when the islands were under British colonial rule. In Boston, he reportedly seldom left home. "He believed he was quite safe in his apartment," said a friend, Paula Aymer. But he wasn't safe from the cops.

Responsible for the death of an obviously innocent man, Mayor Thomas Menino and Police Commissioner Paul Evans issued an unctuous and carefully worded apology. They tried to whitewash the outrageous police killing as a tragic misunderstanding, a mix-up in which the cops "hit" the wrong apartment. But the police had previously applied for three warrants in that Whitfield Street building. In fact, the very cop who swore out the warrant pointed to Reverend Williams' second-floor apartment. The *Boston Globe* claimed that the cowboy cops had been told the aging minister was a suspected lookout for a supposed Jamaican drug "posse" in a third-floor apartment.

Of course, no "drug den" was found. And a 1988 investigation revealed that cops in the Drug Control Unit routinely fabricate "informers" to obtain search warrants (*New York Times*, 28 March). The media have now uncovered more than a half dozen examples of drug squad terror aimed against residents of Roxbury, Dorchester and Mattapan. In the



Rev. Accelynne Williams

eyes of the racist police marauders, all black people are suspects.

It's a testimony to how completely local black *misleaders* have bought the racist "war on drugs" that there has been little protest of this latest atrocity. The local lieutenant of the Nation of Islam's Louis Farrakhan, Minister Don Mohammed, quickly came to the cops' defense, saying "I cannot criticize them at this point." He only wants to verify the "mistake" was "honest." Rev. Bruce Wall, who was part of a "community" panel that recommended Evans as top cop, railed against anyone who would even verbally protest this grotesque cop brutality. "I don't want the community to have the negative backlash that a man has died at the hands of the police department" (*Boston Globe*, 26 March).

continued on page 5



TROTSKY

Trotskyist Leadership in the Teamsters

The foundation of the Teamsters' power as an industrial union was laid in a series of militant strikes in Minneapolis in 1934 which at their high point effectively shut down the city. The victory in Minneapolis was a launching pad for organizing over-the-road truckers throughout the Midwest. Key was the revolutionary leadership provided by Trotskyist militants, particularly their Marxist understanding that the capi-

talist state, its cops, courts and "mediators," as well as its politicians—whether Democrat or Republican—are the representatives of the class enemy and not neutral arbiters or "friends of labor." This lesson, underscored here by James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, is no less central to winning labor battles today, as the Teamsters, weakened by years of debilitating government intervention, fight the employers' union-busting offensive.

I think I can say without the slightest exaggeration, without fear of any contradiction, that the July-August strike of the Minneapolis truck drivers and helpers has entered into the annals of the history of the American labor movement as one of its greatest, most heroic and best organized struggles. Moreover: the strike and the union forged in its fires are identified forever in the labor movement, not only here but all over the world, with Trotskyism in action in the mass movement of the workers. Trotskyism made a number of specific contributions to this strike which made all the difference between the Minneapolis strike and a hundred others of the period, some of which involved more workers in more socially important localities and industries. Trotskyism made the contribution of organization and preparations down to the last detail. That is something new, that is something specifically Trotskyist. Second, Trotskyism introduced into all the plans and preparations of the union and the strike, from beginning to end, the class line of militancy; not as a subjective reaction—that is seen in every strike—but as a deliberate policy based on the theory of the class struggle, that you can't win anything from the bosses unless you have the will to fight for it and the strength to take it.

The third contribution of Trotskyism to the Minneapolis strike—the most interesting and perhaps the most decisive—was that we met the government mediators on their own ground. I tell you, one of the most pathetic things observable in that period was to see how in one strike after another the workers were outmaneuvered and cut to pieces, and their strike broken by the "friends of labor" in the guise of federal mediators....

We despised them and all their wily artifices and tricks, and their hypocritical pretenses of good fellowship and friendship for the strikers. They were nothing but the agents of the government in Washington, which in turn is the agent of the employing class as a whole. That was perfectly clear to a Marxist....

In Minneapolis we saw the native militancy of the workers fused with a politically conscious leadership. Minneapolis showed how great can be the role of such leadership. It gave great promise for the party founded on correct political principles and fused and united with the mass of American workers. In that combination one can see the power that will conquer the whole world.

—James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)



LENIN

Partisan Defense Committee Forum

Former Black Panther Leader Fights Government's Racist Frame-Up Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)!



Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), America's foremost class-war prisoner, has endured twenty-three years of California prison hell for a murder the state knows he didn't commit. A former leader of the Black Panther Party, Geronimo is a victim of the FBI's vicious COINTELPRO campaign to destroy the Panthers. Despite overwhelming proof of his innocence, the racist rulers of American capitalism keep him locked away because, as the DA's representative to Geronimo's 1987 parole hearing said, "he's still a revolutionary." The fight for Geronimo's freedom is an important part of the struggle for black liberation through a working-class revolution.

VIDEO SHOWING 7-7:30 p.m.

FOX TV ran a three-part series exposing the frame-up of Pratt by LAPD and FBI fink Julius Butler. The videos also identified the likely actual killers.

SPEAKERS AND DISCUSSION 7:30 p.m.

Paul Cooperstein, Partisan Defense Committee
Helene Brosius, Spartacist League
Central Committee
Chris Silvera, Secretary-Treasurer,
Teamsters Local 808*
Breeze Barrow, Editorial Board member,
Black Panther Newspaper Committee*

*Organization listed for identification purposes only.

Thursday, April 21, 7:00 p.m.
Borough of Manhattan Community College
Room N 402, 199 Chambers Street

Join the Fight to Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)!

For more information: (212) 406-4252 or write to: PDC, Box 99, Canal St. Sta., NY, NY 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: George Foster

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Valdez

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson,

Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg

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

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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

The closing date for news in this issue is April 12.

No. 598

15 April 1994

International Demonstrations Called

Protest Germany's Anti-Kurdish Repression!

**New York:
Demonstrate at
German Consulate
Thursday, April 14,
5 p.m.**

As the Turkish army steps up its genocidal war against the Kurdish people, the German government is now calling for mass deportation of hundreds of Kurds for the "crime" of engaging in protests against this mass murder. Turkish prime minister Tansu Ciller has now declared this year "the final solution of the Kurdish question." Anyone expelled from Germany faces the prospect of hideous torture and in many cases death at the hands of the Turkish regime.

The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and its fraternal class-struggle defense organization KfsV have prominently and repeatedly denounced the Fourth Reich's attacks on Kurdish organizations, participating in mass protests and calling upon the labor movement to take decisive action to halt the repression. Now, in an international campaign of protest, the Partisan Defense Committee is calling for an emergency demonstration against Germany's anti-Kurdish repression.

The protesters are demanding: Down with Germany's ban of the PKK (Kurdish Workers Party) and all Kurdish organizations! Down with the ban on the Turkish left group Devrimci Sol! Stop the deportations! Drawing the parallel to Germany's actions, demonstration organizers in New York also denounced the Clinton administration's returning Haitian refugees to death at the hands of the bloody military junta, and the U.S.' starvation blockade of Haiti and Iraq.

In New York City, the demonstration will take place at 5 p.m., Thursday, April 14, outside the German consulate at 460 Park Avenue, between 57th and 58th Streets. Other protests have been called for London, Paris, Toronto and Sydney, Australia.

Successive Turkish governments have waged total war against the Kurdish



Kassel, Germany, December 1993: Banner of class-struggle defense organization KfsV reads "Down with the Ban on the PKK and All Kurdish Groups!"

minority of 15 million people. More than 1.7 million Kurds have been forced into exile. For decades the chauvinist regime in Ankara has sought to extirpate any manifestation of the national existence of the Kurdish people, even banning Kurdish music and the Kurdish language; the very mention of the existence of Kurds as a distinct people was outlawed. While denouncing the outlawed PKK as "terrorists," the Turkish government is waging a war of terror against the entire Kurdish people.

Last year alone, Ankara reportedly spent \$7 billion on its murderous repression against Kurds in southeastern Turkey. Equipped with U.S. Phantom jets and German tanks, the Turkish army destroyed 874 Kurdish villages, driving the population out and imprisoning them behind barbed wire. As local elections were held under martial law in March, the headquarters of the "legal" Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) were bombed and its seven members of parliament jailed. A military force of 300,000 troops was mobilized to terrorize the Kurdish region.

Since the bloody U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 1991, the Turkish government has carried its anti-Kurdish terror into the UN's starvation camps for Kurdish refugees in northern Iraq. And since last year, Ankara's NATO patrons have

taken this war to the large Kurdish immigrant populations of West Europe. Last November, the Balladur government of France seized over 100 Kurdish militants "suspected" of belonging to the PKK. A week later, Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic government in Germany, supported by the "opposition" Social Democrats (SPD), banned the PKK and 35 other Kurdish organizations, whose supporters number in the tens of thousands. This comes atop a ban imposed years ago against the Turkish leftist group Devrimci Sol.

A pogromist climate was unleashed against Kurds throughout West Europe. In early September, more than 1,500 Kurds traveling from Paris to a PKK festival in Frankfurt were stopped at the German border and held for hours in their buses. In the notorious tradition of the Gestapo, during the pre-dawn hours of November 26 German police raided and devastated 160 Kurdish institutions and clubs as well as a number of private apartments. In mid-December, the police again stopped buses going to a PKK event in Frankfurt; as hundreds of Kurds blocked the Autobahn at Kassel in protest, the KfsV raised a banner calling for "Down with the Ban on the PKK and All Kurdish Organizations!"

Last month, the Kurdish Newroz (New Year's) festivities in many German

cities were banned as "illegal political activity." Hundreds of Kurds stopped by police roadblocks were beaten and arrested. In utter desperation, three Kurds burned themselves to death in protest. Two were women whose families had been murdered in Kurdistan by the Turkish military and death squads. A funeral march for them in Mannheim on March 27 was also banned—just like in racist South Africa—with a massive deployment of the paramilitary *Bundesgrenzsicherung* (border police). Nevertheless 10,000 marched through Mannheim, indicting the German Fourth Reich as the continuator of the Nazi regime with the chant: "Yesterday the Jews, today the Kurds."

When Kurdish protesters dared to block the Autobahns (built by Hitler), newspapers like the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (24 March) hysterically railed that this was worse than mass terror. The government has charged 500 of the protesters—389 alone in the SPD-ruled state of Nordrhein-Westfalen—and threatened them with mass deportation. The SPD asks only for a "fair trial" as a prelude to deportation. A year ago, these "socialists" also voted for Kohl's gutting of Germany's constitutional right of asylum, instigating and rewarding fascist terror against "foreigners."

There are today more than 500,000 Kurdish immigrants in Germany, many having lived there for decades while denied citizenship rights. Kurdish and Turkish workers are a strategic and militant component of the German trade-union movement. But, driven to the wall by the genocidal attacks of the Turkish regime, Kurdish nationalists have desperately lashed out against anything Turkish, including vile indiscriminate terror against Turkish restaurants, cultural centers and travel agencies.

The attacks on Kurds take place in the climate of resurgent German nationalism unleashed by capitalist reunification, which has fueled murderous Nazi terror from the 1992 Rostock pogrom to the racist murder of Turkish families in Mölln and Solingen a few months later, and the firebombing of a synagogue in Lübeck in late March. This is all part of the bourgeoisie's anti-working-class offensive to divide the workers movement and make it pay the bill for *Anschluss* (annexation) of the former East German workers state.

The international workers movement must raise an urgent cry of outrage against the Fourth Reich's racist persecution of Kurds and its threat to deport them to the torture chambers and firing squads of its NATO ally in Ankara. Join the Partisan Defense Committee on April 14 in demanding: *Down with Germany's ban of the PKK and all Kurdish organizations! Down with the ban on the Turkish left group Devrimci Sol! Stop the deportations!*

7 April 1994

For more information, contact the Partisan Defense Committee at (212) 406-4252, or write to: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■



Protesting Turkey's genocidal war against the Kurds (left), desperate Kurdish protesters in Germany set themselves on fire.

Workers, Blacks, Students, Catholics, Gays Must Unite to Stop KKK/Nazis!



Boston's Government Center, October 1982: Spartacist contingent (left) in militant mass protest which drove out hooded Klansmen. UPI

Fascists Threaten Provocation in Boston

The fascist "Nationalist Movement's" intent to march through the streets of Boston is a deadly threat to working people, leftists, minorities—to all opponents and potential victims of the KKK/Nazis. The Mississippi-based racist Nationalist Movement applied for a permit for a rally on the steps of South Boston High School on May 7, under the slogan "Neighborhood, Home, Family and Country: Go, Southie, Go." On April 6 the fascists' request for the South Boston site was denied but their leader, Richard Barrett, is vowing to take the city to federal court and sue for their coveted venue on the steps of "Southie High"—a site made infamous by the violent racist backlash against black schoolchildren and busing for school desegregation in Boston.

The fascists hope to cash in on Boston's history of anti-black racism and the recent storm of anti-gay bigotry around South Boston's St. Patrick's Day parade. This year parade organizers opted to cancel the event rather than obey a court order requiring that the Irish American Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Group

of Boston (GLIB) be allowed to march. South Boston's Irish Catholic population better know that if they are not first on the fascists' hit list, they rank mighty high. The first fascist organization in America was the "Know-Nothing Party," which recruited to a virulently anti-Irish Catholic program. The "Nationalist Movement" is explicit in its vile calls to expel "non-American elements" back to "ancestral homelands."

Even in a deeply class- and race- and ethnically divided city like Boston, sectors of the organized labor movement represent a potentially powerful weapon for *united class-struggle action* against the fascist scum. This is particularly true in the context of the current Teamsters strike, a key battle for labor nationwide. The fascists are the cutting edge of the capitalist system's scheme to "divide and conquer" the working people, the better to exploit labor for the profit of the owners. This fascist provocation in Boston should be spiked by a massive labor/minorities/student outpouring of outrage which unites all the fascists' intended

victims to defeat their common enemy.

The Nationalist Movement has a dirty trail of racist provocations. A few years ago they staged a "victory" rally in Vidor, Texas after driving the only black residents out of an all-white public housing project. While the whole country was rocked by justified outrage against the police beating of black motorist Rodney King, the Nationalist Movement rallied in lily-white Simi Valley to cheer on the cops who savagely beat him. In 1988 they interrupted a Gay Pride rally in New Orleans with calls to "Quarantine AIDS Now." The Nationalist Movement has staged numerous provocations against Martin Luther King Day, the only national holiday commemorating a black American. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the Spartacist League organized massive opposition to these scumbags in January 1989 in Atlanta, Georgia where a 3,500-strong labor/black protest countered the Nationalist Movement's "celebration" of the murder of Martin Luther King Jr.

Anti-Busing Bigotry in South Boston

The fascists have made a symbolic choice in requesting South Boston High School as their preferred rally site. Boston is the city that became synonymous with the racist anti-busing backlash of the '70s and "Southie High" was one of the most violent focal points of the ultimately successful efforts to beat back busing as a means of school desegregation. South Boston at that time came to be personified by segregationist City Council president Louise Day Hicks, who threw her body in front of buses with a "Stop" sign, and former Boston mayor Ray Flynn, the cofounder of what was to become "ROAR" (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the reactionary umbrella group that organized the racist mobs throughout the city. James Kelly, now the president of the Boston City Council, was at that time the leader of the South Boston Information Center, a front for the paramilitary South Boston Marshals.

South Boston bigots have never needed the intervention of KKK/Nazi scum to maintain racist "ethnic purity." Indeed, the irony of the Nationalist Movement's

pretensions to "honor Saint Patrick rather than insult him" is savage. Although two-bit *Führer* Richard Barrett and his fascist vermin claim that their belated St. Patrick's march is at the specific request of an unnamed representative of the "good people" of South Boston, whenever the KKK/Nazis have attempted to set up shop in Southie, they have been run out—hard and fast. In racist tribute to the violence directed at black schoolchildren, in the '70s various fascist outfits struck down their membership bar against Catholics and tried to encroach on Boston. The Nazi party tried to set up a bookstore in a storefront on Broadway in South Boston and was met by an angry picket line of residents who sent them packing overnight. During the first week of busing in 1974, KKK fascist David Duke tried to set up shop but was met with indifference and rebuke. And in 1982, when a bunch of hooded Klansmen tried to march with heavy police escort past Government Center, some 1,500 Bostonians, including a good number of Irish Catholics from South Boston and Dorchester, blacks from Roxbury, students and leftists *ran them out*.

South Boston is a predominantly white pocket of poverty which rivals the destitute conditions of black ghettos like Roxbury. The busing plans of the '70s, initiated and later abandoned by Kennedy-style "limousine liberals," were *calculated* to pit the urban poor against themselves. J. Anthony Lukas, whose book *Common Ground* chronicles the liberals' failure in Boston school desegregation, has noted: "The federal court orders of 1974 and 1975...assured that the burden of integration would fall disproportionately on the poor of both races." The Spartacist League was unique in linking our forthright defense of busing—for labor/black defense guards to protect the buses and clear the streets of Southie, Charlestown and Hyde Park of marauding racist bands—with the demand to *extend busing* to the toney suburbs like Weston and Lexington where the upper middle class raises and schools their children.

The failure of the labor movement to take up this necessary fight for integration left the field to the racist mobs

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office:

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

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302
(404) 521-9338

Boston

Box 390840,
Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101

Los Angeles

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

New York

Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

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

San Francisco

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

Washington, D.C.

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

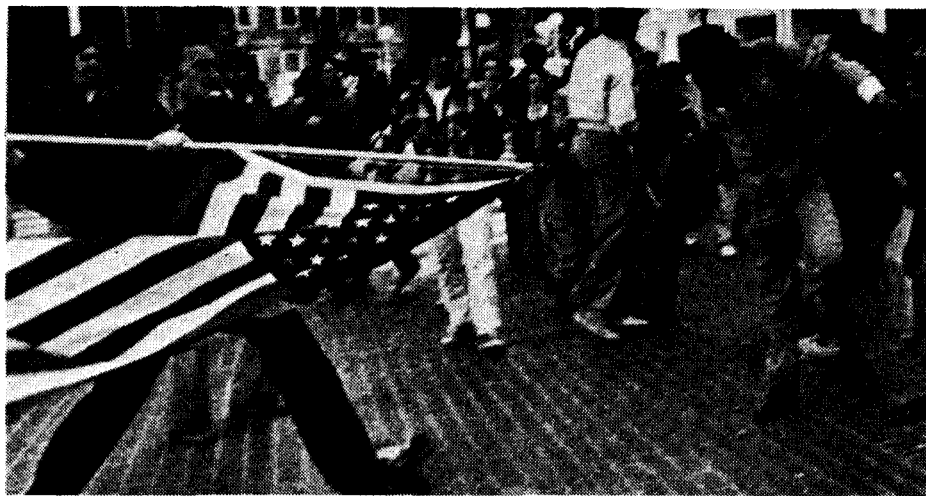
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Montréal

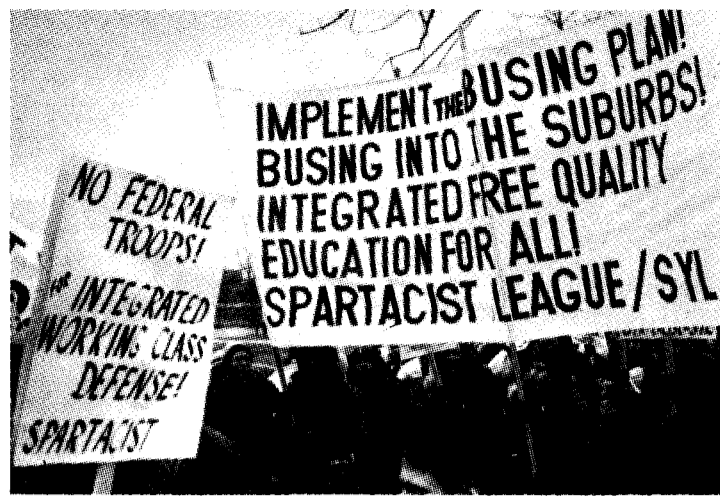
C.P. Les Atriums
B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver

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



Forman/Boston Herald American



WV Photo

Left: Flag-wielding racist thugs brutally attack black businessman at anti-busing rally in downtown Boston in 1976. Right: Spartacist contingent at 1974 pro-busing march.

and pusillanimous liberals. Now a recent Harvard study on school integration nationwide concludes that there has been a "historic reversal," noting that segregation in education has returned to the level that existed prior to the Supreme Court's first busing decision in 1971. Today the urban Northeast is the nation's most segregated region when it comes to education. Massive white flight to the suburbs and to private schools has so gutted Boston's rump busing program that today it integrates virtually nothing. Racist politicians from Boston mayor Menino to South Boston's James Kelly want to officially sanction this drive for resegregation by championing a call to return to "neighborhood schools."

Emboldened Fascist Scum Must Be Driven Back to Their Sewers

The threatened Nationalist/Klan/skinhead provocation comes at a time when no one can say this filth should be ignored. Across the country, fascist rallies are becoming alarmingly commonplace with provocations at state capitals almost every weekend, especially in the Midwest. With bourgeois triumphalism about the supposed "death of communism" and with racist anti-welfare, anti-crime rhetoric coming out of the yuppie Democratic White House, these provocateurs have the wind in their sails.

Now that the "Massachusetts miracle" has bottomed out into a nightmare of unemployment, now when unbridled cop terror is unleashed in the black communities (as in the outrageous SWAT team attack which resulted in the death

of an elderly black minister [see article page 2]), the Boston area is rife with fascist activity. Several Nazi scumbags have been exposed with huge military arsenals in their possession. Skinhead punks attacked an integrated group of teenagers last December. Swastikas have been sprayed on synagogues from Jamaica Plain to Randolph and last April three Everett teenagers desecrated a Jewish cemetery on Hitler's birthday. Boston's growing Asian community is increasingly a target for fascist attacks.

People are fed up with this—these kill-crazy fascist terrorists must be stopped. The question is how. The answer is independent mass mobilization based on the social power of the integrated labor movement. In March 1991, the PDC, Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League initiated a militant, integrated, united-front demonstration that surrounded fascist David Duke's appearance at the Old South Meeting House in downtown Boston. The corner of Washington and Milk Streets became a "free speech" pulpit for all opponents of the racist genocide organized by Duke and his ilk. Most recently, on January 16 in Springfield, Illinois, the PDC initiated a mobilization in which the hard core of labor and minorities came out in sub-zero temperatures to defy the KKK's provocation against the Martin Luther King holiday.

An anti-racist mobilization in Southie is quite another kettle of fish. Without overwhelming numbers, without deep support in the area working class and lacking a tightly disciplined security apparatus, an integrated demonstration

in South Boston could be overwhelmed by either the cops or local racists. Our aim is to stop Barrett and his fascist cohorts, not to lead anti-fascist protesters into a trap set by the enemy. The present ill-defined situation does not present to us a clear opportunity for initiating an effective mobilization. If the Klan/Nazis dare to show their faces where labor and minorities can mobilize, then what is necessary and what we seek is a disciplined, militant and democratic demonstration that *overwhelms the fascists*.

The liberal mouthpiece of the Boston bourgeoisie, the *Boston Globe*, has editorialized that everyone should stay away from the fascists and instead support a craven diversion organized by the Zionist Anti-Defamation League (ADL) the day before the fascists threaten to goose-step through Boston. According to the *Boston Herald* the ADL's demonstration has also been endorsed by...the fascist Nationalist Movement's leader Richard Barrett!

The ADL's sideshow does nothing but clear the streets of Boston for the fascists, who have nothing to do with "free speech" but are racist terrorists who threaten Jews no less than they do black people, Hispanics, labor, gays and the left. You "ignore" them at your peril. This is more of the sabotage one can expect from the ADL, whose main activity of late has been cooperating with cop agencies to spy on leftists and anti-racist militants. In Springfield they organized "Project Lemonade," soliciting contributions to the ADL's coffers for every minute the fascists rallied for genocide!

Workers World Party, in the guise of "A Job Is A Right Campaign," has announced its intention to organize "something" on May 7 to counter the fascists. Workers World's history in the anti-fascist struggle is cowardly and sectarian. In 1982 at Boston's Government Center, while the Spartacist League provided leadership to anti-fascist protesters who hung tough through a brutal police attack, Workers World cut and ran. One month later, when the SL organized a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization which stopped the KKK's intended march in the nation's capital, Workers World held hands in a liberal diversion two miles away from the fascists.

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) has issued a leaflet proclaiming "Don't let them divide us!" but then divided the anti-fascist forces themselves, excluding the Spartacists from their public meeting at Boston University on April 7. The one thing the ISO is consistent about is their "unity" with the racist police. Across the Midwest they have herded their supporters into dangerous police pens to "protest" the KKK under the auspices of the armed force of the capitalist state. Their international mentors in Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain take it a step further, with explicit appeals to welcome the racist police as part of the workers movement!

Not liberal diversions or reliance on the racist cops—what's necessary is powerful labor-centered united-front action that can sweep the fascists off the streets when and where possible. ■

SWAT Cops...

(continued from page 2)

But outrage among Boston's black residents has been hard to contain. At a March 28 meeting called by the Codman Square Neighborhood Council at Rev. Wall's Dorchester Temple Baptist Church, the mayor and his police commissioner were invited to what was supposed to be nothing but a question-and-answer session. Despite attempts to silence the audience with mumbling apologies and calculated efforts to screen out questions, the crowd erupted in rage. Betty Johnson, whose son was killed in 1989 by Boston cops, spoke bitterly:

"We're getting tired of police killing our people. Every time somebody gets killed we come and talk about it. Well, I'm sick of talking about it."

Tom Downing of the Spartacist League received encouragement from the crowd when he pointed out that "what happened to Reverend Williams is not an aberration, it is not a mistake. It is part of a policy of war against black America." He fought to be heard over the interruptions of Rev. Wall, and continued, "Why is it that we let this policy of terror against the black community go unanswered? Why was it that the Boston police were able to throw young black men up against a wall in Mission Hill, search apartments, indiscriminately terrorize the community after Charles Stuart

claimed a black man shot his wife?"

Wall and other do-nothing black preachers feared the impact of Downing's remarks on the crowd and outrageously removed him from the church. As he was led out, Downing shouted that "this is a dangerous war on blacks and it's got to be stopped!" And it can be. Black and working people have enormous social power that can beat back the assaults of the racist cops and their ruling-class masters. But we must be clear on the problem. This was not a few cops "running amok." It is the capitalist system which regularly produces such racist assaults.

The frightening murder of Rev. Williams shows the systematic terror visited by the cops on blacks, Hispanics and the poor. As if to underline the point, three

days after the death of Rev. Williams, federal narcotics agents chased a Hispanic man, Oscar Rosado, into his apartment in New Bedford, terrorizing the entire household.

The Gestapo-style raid on Rev. Williams comes at an ominous time in Boston, as the fascist Mississippi-based Nationalist Movement has announced plans to stage a race-hate provocation in South Boston. It will take a mobilization of labor and minorities to beat back the threats to workers and blacks, whether from the racists in white hoods or in blue uniforms. And it will take a revolutionary workers party to lead the integrated labor movement to smash the capitalist system which spawns the racist killers. ■



Robert Beardon

Boston police SWAT team after killing elderly black minister.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

- \$7/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
- New Renewal
- international rates:
\$25/24 issues—Airmail \$7/24 issues—Seamail
- \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard*
- \$3/3 issues of *Women and Revolution*
- \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____
Address _____
_____ Apt. # _____ Phone (____) _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

598
Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



De Luigi/Sintesi



Guardian



Der Spiegel

Election victor Silvio Berlusconi (left) with bloc partners including fascist Alessandra Mussolini and racist-populist Northern League's Umberto Bossi.

Ominous Rightist Victory in Italian Elections

MILANO—In the March 27-28 elections, Italy voted in the most right-wing government since World War II. The "Pole of Freedom"—an electoral bloc cobbled together by media magnate (and member of the sinister P2 "Masonic" Lodge) Silvio Berlusconi—won 42 percent of the vote, which under the new electoral system gave them an absolute majority of the seats. Berlusconi's allies—the racist Northern League populists of Umberto Bossi and the "neo"-fascists of the MSI, rebaptized "National Alliance," led by Gianfranco Fini—are presently squabbling over the spoils, and advocate sharply different policies: federalism vs. a unitary presidential republic. But what they all augur for the Italian working class is mass layoffs, dismantling of the "welfare state," gutting the unions in the context of the bourgeoisie's push for a "strong state."

The anti-democratic electoral reform was designed to put an end to the revolving-door cabinets and perennial parliamentary "crises" which have given Italy 52 governments since 1945. A "strong government" was also supposed to cut down on the rampant corruption which was the cornerstone of Christian Democratic rule, lately disguised as a four-party and then five-party coalition, which ran the country for almost half a century. Whether this vote ushers in a

"Second Republic" or only serves as the antechamber, sinister would-be bonapartist figures are already circling, such as former president of the republic Cossiga. As the election returns were announced, MSI blackshirts and skinheads descended on Piazza Venezia to give straight-arm victory salutes where *Il Duce* used to give his harangues. Alessandra Mussolini (his granddaughter) was elected a deputy from Naples, and for the first time since the fall of Mussolini, fascist ministers may have seats in government.

The victory of the right was simultaneously the stunning defeat of the popular-front left, the "Progressives," led by Achille Occhetto's Party of the Democratic Left (PDS), the social-democratic transmogrification of the Communist Party (PCI). Towed along behind the PDS was Rifondazione Comunista (RC), the Eurostalinist rump which refused to fore-swear the hammer and sickle for the oak tree symbol, but continues the PCI's reformist politics. The 33 percent of the vote received by the "Progressives"—including the Greens and the anti-Mafia "Rete" (Network)—while up from the last parliamentary elections (1992) was sharply down from the administrative (municipal) vote last December when candidates of the popular front won mayoralities in Rome, Naples, Milano and other major cities.

The manifest bankruptcy of the long-governing Christian Democratic (DC) regime (roughly a third of the outgoing deputies face criminal charges of corruption) presented a crisis of bourgeois government. With the collapse of the DC and its allies, notably Bettino Craxi's Socialists (PSI), in the absence of a party directly representing the big bourgeoisie both the PDS-led parliamentary "left" and the fascist MSI saw their vote shoot up in December. Occhetto & Co. presented themselves as the guarantors of stability, and expected they would finally be called to govern. The PDS leader went to London to establish his credit-worthiness with the City financiers, then on to Brussels to swear loyalty to NATO; he received the OK of the American ambassador, the blessing of the Pope and the support or tacit acceptance of key sectors of Italian capitalism.

And yet the "Progressives" lost big. Why? Berlusconi and his allies won the elections in part by whipping up "red

peril" hysteria and capturing the anti-Communist votes that in the past went to the Christian Democracy and its satellites. But his "Forza Italia" (Go Italy!) electoral vehicle also attracted the protest vote of thousands of workers, unemployed and the ruined petty bourgeoisie who believed in Berlusconi's fairy tale of creating a "million new jobs." In contrast, the PDS-led popular front, vowing to "responsibly" administer the affairs of the bourgeoisie, promised to continue the brutal anti-worker austerity of the Ciampi government. Moreover, RC leader Bertinotti scared the middle class, not with the spectre of red revolution but with the threat to tax indexed Treasury bonds, the petty bourgeoisie's hedge against inflation!

Offering nothing to anyone but big capital, and promising "blood, sweat and tears" to the workers, when their big moment came, the PDS/RC actually *lost* support among the workers. Sections of the working class in important industrial concentrations in the North, disillusioned by what they considered to be "their" parties, voted for Forza Italia or the racists of Bossi's Northern League. In Sesto San Giovanni (known as the "Stalingrad of Italy"), in the Mirafiori district in Torino (where Fiat's main factory is located), in Arese north of Milano (home of Alfa-Romeo), etc., the PDS, RC and trade-union bureaucracy are responsible for this shift of sections of workers toward the racists and reactionaries. RC lost more than half the votes it won in the industrial areas in the December local elections.

In a leaflet issued on the eve of the March election, our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I) called for "No vote to the bourgeois popular front! Build a Bolshevik party!" warning that "The 'Progressives' want to reinforce capitalist austerity." The statement explained:

"With the burial of the 'republic of the corrupt,' now is the hour of the second republic of 'clean hands' [anti-graft]. But the choice between left and right is one between *bourgeois* alternatives, *both* of them enemies of the workers and the oppressed....

"This *popular front* of class collaboration between bosses and reformist workers parties will not stop the fascists, and it will preserve the racist austerity regime which feeds the vermin in black shirts and demoralizes the working class. Furthermore, it chains the proletariat to its

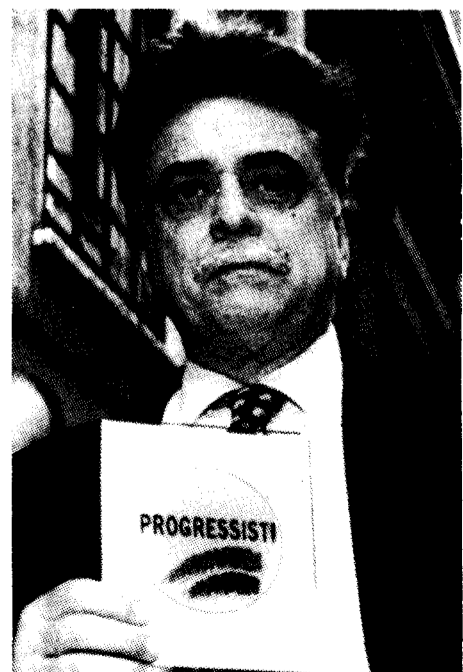
class enemies, putting forward as candidates bourgeois elements like former vice presidents of Olivetti and of the Confederation of Industry, and enjoying the support of Benetton and the sympathy of Fiat boss Agnelli and the stock exchange. With the polarization of the country, which extends to the streets; with the capitalist offensive and the rise of racist attacks, it is urgently necessary to build a revolutionary leadership to lead hard class struggle. In the elections of March 27-28, the Lega Trotskista opposes any vote for the popular front or for any party in it, including Rifondazione Comunista."

In the aftermath of the elections, we say again to the workers that what is ultimately decisive is not bourgeois elections and parliamentary reshufflings but the class struggle. A powerful working-class response is necessary, beginning with defensive struggles to beat back the vicious attacks of the right wing. And key to winning these battles is breaking with the class-collaborationist reformists who are beholden to capital, who have destroyed workers' gains such as the *scala mobile* (wage-indexing for inflation, won in 1946) and who stand in the way of mobilization against fascist/racist terror. We seek to build a genuinely Bolshevik party fighting not for ministerial seats but for working-class power.

The "New Italian Miracle": Blood, Sweat and Tears for the Workers

The electoral sweep by the right is not only the result of the downfall of the old establishment, swept away by the *Tangentopoli* (Kickback City) scandal, but also the consequence of the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and of the deformed workers states of East Europe. Instead of bringing about a "New World Order," the restoration of capitalism has produced chaos and social desperation, with mounting racist attacks and fascist pogroms against immigrant workers, Gypsies and Jews, and fratricidal nationalist wars. In the West, no longer worried about the "Communist threat," the European bourgeoisies no longer consider it necessary to make concessions to the workers. Faced with the sharpest economic crisis since 1929, the capitalists are screaming that their profits cannot support the costs of the "welfare state," which is under attack all over Europe.

Instead, the watchwords of today are



Veziò Sabatini

Achille Occhetto, leader of "Progressives" popular front.

"privatization" and the "free market"—code words for opening up the opportunities for the bosses to increase their profits through untrammelled exploitation. The new "Italian miracle" of Fininvest magnate Berlusconi means just this: freedom to carry out mass firings, to batter the unions, to lower taxes on profits, to ransack state industries (partly to pay for Fininvest's huge debt, exceeding \$2.2 billion) and to destroy pensions and the public health system so as to return to private health care. In fact, the right-wing victory heralds a brusque return to the 1950s, when it was enough to be a member of the Communist-led CGIL union federation to be kicked out of the factory. Northern League leader Bossi speaks of wage "ceilings" and, together with the former liberal Pannella, has launched a referendum to abolish unemployment pay, the only means of survival for hundreds of thousands of laid-off workers.

Unemployment in Europe already exceeds the 20 million mark (there are over 3 million officially unemployed in Italy). To implement its "blood, sweat and tears" program, facing predictable resistance from the working class, the fascist-racist-Berlusconian troika is preparing to use an iron fist. The bourgeoisie needs a *strong state* which will bring the working class to heel. Their program can and must be stopped by mobilizations of the working class and its allies, immigrants, women, pensioners and students. But in order to effectively fight reaction, the working class must free itself of its treacherous reformist misleaders. The most conscious elements of the working masses must be won away from the PDS and RC and to the fight to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party, the key to victory against capitalist oppression and exploitation.

The bourgeois anti-worker program of the "Progressives" must be opposed with a program for class struggle. Defend jobs through a sliding scale of hours: all available work must be divided among the workers, Italian and "immigrant." Defend living standards against inflation through a sliding scale of wages! For the separation of Church and state! For free abortion on demand, including for minors—For quality public health care for all! For open admissions and free higher education, with adequate stipend for students! Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families! For workers defense guards to defend picket lines against scabherding and to smash racist/fascist attacks! Such a program of transitional demands can turn the coming defensive struggles against the rightist regime into an offensive battle leading to a workers government based on workers councils.

"Unity of the Progressives"—Obstacle to Workers Struggle

As the MSI's electoral score has gone from 6 percent in 1992 to around 14 percent today, there has been an accompanying growth of fascist assaults. The PDS/RC spread the illusion that it is possible to stop the fascists at the ballot box. This paralyzes the workers movement and impedes the mobilizations of the proletariat and its allies which alone

are able to stop the fascist squads. Rifondazione Comunista, which is so eager to get "anti-fascist" votes, is almost completely absent from the militant anti-fascist demonstrations. For example, at the February 26 demonstration in Ostia outside Rome protesting a murderous skinhead attack on a Tunisian worker, RC didn't even bother to send a contingent.

A month later, the MSI capo Buontempo was elected in Ostia with 52 percent of the vote. Encouraged by the electoral results, fascist thugs stabbed three members of RC (one of whom is in serious condition in the hospital), burned down the RC local office in Primavalle and carried out another attack in Monteverde, all within a few days' time. RC's reaction was to appeal to the "forces of order"—i.e., the police. These are the same "forces of order" who accused RC member Lussurgiu of supposedly placing a bomb at the Confindustria office. It is truly suicidal to appeal to the state to defend the offices and the members of the workers movement and the victims of fascist terror.

The murderous fascists must be driven out of their holes and smashed before they smash the working class! While the RC puts its faith in the articles of the Constitution "born of the Resistance," we Trotskyists call for the formation of workers defense squads. As the 24 March LTd'I leaflet noted:

"The working class must remember its history, such as the demonstration in Genova in 1960 which stopped the MSI from holding its congress and which routed the fascist mass murderers.



Workers at Fiat subsidiary Alfa-Romeo protest layoffs, while being bound by misleaders to popular front.

"Behind parliamentary 'anti-fascism' stands the program of class collaboration. In an interview with *Corriere della Sera* (19 March), RC leader Bertinotti admitted that this 'Progressive' alliance is a 'popular front, such as that of Léon Blum in France and that of the Republicans in Spain during the '30s, or that of Allende in Chile in 1973.' The French Popular Front disarmed the working class and prevented it from taking power in June 1936. The betrayals of the Stalinists and Blum's SFIO (social democrats) led the Popular Front to the point of dissolving and handing over power to the Vichy regime, allied with the Nazis. In Spain, the People's Front opened the road to the fascist troops of Franco (supported by Hitler and Mussolini), after bloodily repressing hundreds of thousands of workers during the heroic Barcelona insurrection of 1937 and decimating the most combative sectors of the Spanish proletariat. And in Chile, one week before the coup, Allende, who was putting down strikes, appointed as head of the armed forces Pinochet, the butcher who then overthrew him and massacred tens of thousands of workers and political opponents. The popular fronts, wherever they have occurred, have opened the road to the right and disarmed anti-fascist struggles. RC militants who do not want to repeat these tragic experiences, explicitly endorsed by their party secretary, must break with the treacherous leaders and undertake the path of building an authentic Leninist party."

Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

At the recent January congress, a third of the RC delegates expressed, in various ways, their opposition to involvement in



Rifondazione Comunista, left face of the popular front.

the "Progressive Pole." These opposition currents, a bloc between ex-leaders of Democrazia Proletaria and the PCI, leaders of the COBAS (Rank and File Committees, syndicalist opposition groups in the factories) and pseudo-Trotskyists like Livio Maitan, Franco Grisolia and Marco Ferrando, are nothing but the left wing of the popular front. Grisolia and Ferrando dedicated an entire issue of their magazine (*Proposta* No. 3) to arguing how it is necessary to vote for the "Progressives." In *Liberazione* (newspaper of Rifondazione Comunista), Ferrando appeals to the supporters of "Motion 2" to not leave RC.

The workers at Alfa-Romeo, Fiat and Olivetti must have felt uncomfortable voting for a coalition with Olivetti chief

the contrary, they are very unstable, and not only because of their sharp internal squabbles (Bossi is now accusing Berlusconi of dictatorial ambitions, referring to him as "Berluskaizer" and calling his anti-party party "Farsa Italia"). The central reason the right was elected was because of the utter *political bankruptcy of the reformist left*, which sells out the workers in vain hopes of ministerial seats while the DC/PSI sold their services for bribes. The Berlusconi phenomenon appeared out of nowhere and swept to victory with lying promises of jobs. But this political adventurer cannot provide those jobs.

There is an inescapable parallel to the victory of the Gaullist right in France a year ago. After an election campaign whose hottest issue was *unemployment*, the French *right* won only because the Mitterrand popular front (in power for the last dozen years) obviously had no answers. The left was reduced to a small minority in the French parliament; Prime Minister Balladur's popularity soared. Yet within months, the Balladur government was reeling when Air France workers rose in rebellion against plans to privatize the airline and cause thousands of layoffs. Following this victory, the right-wing government backed down on its plans to aid private schools. And now French students have forced Balladur to abandon his plan to slash the minimum wage for newly hired workers (which is an explicit model for Berlusconi's heralded "new Italian miracle").

These struggles show that working-class resistance can win. The Italian labor revolt over the sellout of the *scala mobile* in the autumn of 1992, in which militant workers hurled worthless coins and bolts at the sellout union leaders, demonstrate that the will to struggle is there. What is needed above all is a fight to break the stranglehold of the reformists, who place the working class in the straitjacket of the popular front, binding it to its class enemy. An authentic communist party must be forged that is infused with the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky, a party irreconcilably opposed to class collaboration and indissolubly wedded to the Bolshevik program of world socialist revolution. The Lega Trotskista d'Italia fights to build this party. ■

De Benedetti and the mayor of "Fiat city" (Torino), Castellani, while they are being laid off in the thousands. And now the first to get a flavor of the Second Republic were 620 Enichem workers in the southern city of Manfredonia. Within hours of the closing of the polls they received letters informing them that they were being sacked.

Today, under the shock of the right-wing electoral victory and disoriented by the popular front, some workers and youth may believe that Berlusconi & Co. are strong and cannot be resisted. On

Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

Russian "peacekeeping" forces in UN blue helmets were moved in to police the deal. The now-capitalist Russian army is acting as the shill and cat's paw for Bonn's plan to impose an imperialist partition of ex-Yugoslavia by squeezing the Serbs. This would create a German-dominated Greater Croatian federation with Bosnia, while Russia would have influence over a Serbian client state for whatever purpose. We warned that this deal would "make the Balkan wars even bloodier than they already are."

The Serb shelling of Gorazde was itself a response to an escalating Muslim military offensive. While accepting Russia's good offices to put pressure on its Orthodox "little brothers" in Serbia to

toe the line, the U.S. wants to make it utterly clear who calls the shots. Yeltsin loudly complained that he was not "consulted" over the latest bombings, but nevertheless appealed to the Serbs to pull back from Gorazde and called for UN occupation of the town. We demand: All U.S./UN/NATO forces, including the Russians, out of the Balkans now!

The Balkan war threatens to become a theater of operations for ever more dangerous imperialist and nationalist intrigues, as the trip wires are put in place for renewed interimperialist world war. Addressing a protest in Berkeley today, a Spartacus Youth Club member declared: "Students and class-conscious workers alike the world over must come to the defense of the Serbs against the attacks by the imperialists, who are the blood-drenched enemies of all mankind." *U.S. hands off Serbia!* ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

New York City

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

They were billed as "the elections of the century": on March 20, for the first time in decades, Salvadorans would get to vote for president, National Assembly and local mayors in "peace-time conditions." The elections grew out of the "peace" accords signed in January 1992, and the former guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) would be running. But after a campaign during which 38 members of the FMLN were gunned down by right-wing killers, the fascistic ARENA (National Republican Alliance) came just short of winning the presidency on the first round. Its candidate, Armando Calderón Sol, is widely known as a principal organizer of the death squads. And with a run-off scheduled for April 24, the killing has begun again. On March 27, Heriberto Galicia, a union

FMLN Buys Into "New World Order"

El Salvador: Death Squad Elections

PART ONE OF TWO

official and left-wing candidate in the parliamentary elections, was shot dead near his home in the city of San Miguel.

According to the official vote totals, ARENA's Calderón received 49 percent of the vote for president while Rubén Zamora, candidate of the leftist coalition of the FMLN and Democratic Convergence (CD), got 25 percent. The Christian Democrats were down to 16 percent. In the Assembly, ARENA took 39 seats while the FMLN/CD won 21 and the Christian Democrats 18. But almost half (47.5 percent) of the eligible voters did not cast ballots because of massive obstacles placed in their way by the rightist-controlled election board. Some 300,000 people who received voter cards were not listed on the rolls, and another 75,000 were refused registration because they could not produce birth certificates. These were overwhelmingly new voters from areas that had been held by the FMLN during the 12-year civil war (how could they get certificates from city halls which were burned down?). In addition, thousands were left standing in line when the polls closed.

The press was full of talk of the "free play of democratic forces," of exchanging bullets for ballots. Yet the tightly knit Salvadoran bourgeoisie has simply entrenched its bloody rule through the use of its military force and its electoral system. As soon as the TV cameras and international press depart and the United Nations observers' (ONUSAL) mission mandate runs out in June, the killing will begin in earnest. Not that it ever stopped—on the contrary. Coinciding with the opening of the election campaign last November, rightist commandos escalated their murderous activity, shooting down one FMLN commander after another, on a weekly, then daily, basis. Among those killed were FMLN leader Heleno Hernán Castro, and five days later Francisco Veliz, an FMLN candidate for National Assembly killed while taking his year-old daughter to a day-care center.



Cambio 16

ARENA candidate Calderón (above) organized death squads, which stepped up their terror during "free elections."



McConnico/AP

The death squads were back with a vengeance. In December, FMLN Assembly candidate José Mario López was shot down. A February assassination attempt on Nidia Díaz, member of the FMLN political commission and a candidate for National Assembly in San Vicente, failed although her chauffeur was killed as machine-gun fire strafed her car outside the University of El Salvador. Five years ago, Washington pushed for the election of coffee baron Alfredo Cristiani for president, projecting the image of a "moderate" oligarch. But this time around, ARENA's standard-bearer was a throwback to the "caveman" reactionaries, a hardline right-winger massively funded by Salvador's top businessmen. ARENA election rallies were punctuated by chants of "Death to the Communists!" while Calderón led audiences in singing the party anthem with the refrain, "El Salvador will be the tomb where the reds meet their end."

Calderón replaced the late Roberto D'Aubuisson, ARENA's founder, described by former U.S. ambassador Robert White as a "pathological killer," as godfather of the death squads. He had a statue of the deceased mass murderer erected in front of ARENA's headquarters. U.S. documents released last fall show that a 1981 plot to kidnap the president of the Salvadoran Soccer Association was hatched at Calderón's home. And, according to eleven jailed military men angry over not being freed in last year's amnesty, in 1980 he together with D'Aubuisson was part of a "Broad Nationalist Front" which planned and carried out bombings of the agricultural ministry shortly after an agrarian reform was initiated.

Not surprisingly, these supposedly "free elections" were really fear elections. *El Salvador Proceso*, published by the Jesuit-run University of Central America, reported on opinion polls where the categories were support for ARENA, Christian Democrats or FMLN/CD, "don't know" and "afraid to say." Twelve percent of those polled chose "afraid to say." The voting itself was an exercise in fraud. *Proceso* editor Guillermo Ramos commented ironically that "our elections are so democratic that even the dead vote." While the official U.S. government observers saw only a few "deficiencies," British observer David Browning cited "large scale disenfranchisement" and problems which "did not result solely from 'fumbling ineptitude'." For example, the left-wing coalition got over 34 percent of the vote in the capital, San Salvador, where observers were present, while in the former guerrilla stronghold of Morazán they got less than 16 percent.

The low vote was also ascribed to "voter apathy." Even the *New York Times* (6 March) noticed that, in the face of blood-curdling election propaganda by ARENA, "many Salvadorans are puzzled by the left's failure to fight back, which has stirred some voter apathy." A sub-

sequent (22 March) article reported that many voters said the FMLN, "straining to take on the appearance of a mainstream party and avoiding language that revived memories of the war, seemed much like any other party. These voters said that they placed little stock in the promises being made by politicians of any stripe." FMLN officials said they "decided not to confront ARENA directly so that they can promote an image of conciliation," and not alienate new supporters in "the center." What center? The so-called "center" was a counterinsurgency ploy, artificially inflated by U.S. dollars to create and finance the Christian Democrats which disintegrated as soon as U.S. aid dried up.

Beyond the abstention and "voter apathy" is widespread disillusionment among the FMLN ranks. So many comrades dead, so much suffering for the desperately poor masses in order for the FMLN tops to sip cocktails at the Camino Real and engage in political horsetrading in the National Assembly while the death squads continue to operate? FMLN commander Ana Guadalupe Martínez admitted they were having a hard time selling the new line: "All our lives we told our combatants that elections were useless and that armed struggle was the only way to change things. Now, when we go out to distribute propaganda, it seems unnecessary and useless to some of them" (*London Independent*, 19 March). Yet the fundamental issue was not "armed struggle," but what class interests the struggle served. Even as they waged guerrilla war in the hills of Morazán and Chalatenango, the FMLN opposed a military victory and sought to negotiate a "political solution" with the Salvadoran bourgeoisie.

At bottom in El Salvador there was a sharp class war, pitting the desperate, land-hungry peasants and brutally exploited workers against a rapacious bourgeoisie that would stop at nothing to squeeze the last dollar in profits from the toil of the masses. This explosive



Reuters

Democracy, Salvador-style: Thousands were left standing in line after polls closed, hundreds of thousands were left off voter rolls.

struggle was misled by petty-bourgeois nationalists, who sought to confine it to a "democratic" capitalist framework. As we wrote in an article headlined "Reagan's Junta Holds 'Elections by Death'" (WV No. 300, 5 March 1982), in this "country where 'electoral' is used only as an adjective describing fraud," "The heroic worker and peasant fighters are not shedding their blood to get more electoral farces but to break the chains of oppression that bind them.... Workers revolution will establish genuine democracy for the exploited and oppressed."

El Salvador has just come out of a decade of bloody civil war, during which 75,000 out of a population of 5 million people were killed, and a million others fled the country. No isolated "regional conflict." El Salvador was a prime hot spot of the Cold War. It was the place where Ronald Reagan after taking office in 1981 vowed to "draw the line" against "Communist subversion" in the Americas. The U.S. financed the Salvadoran army to the tune of a million dollars a day, pouring in arms and advisers, while simultaneously running the "contra" war against Sandinista Nicaragua. But the leftist guerrillas fought the Salvadoran army to a stand-off. The FMLN's November 1989 offensive brought the war to San Salvador; at the same time, their hoped-for uprising fizzled as the regime mercilessly bombed poor areas of the capital.

A couple of months later, the Sandinistas were voted out in Nicaragua as the tightening imperialist economic noose fed war-weariness. With the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in East Europe and the Soviet Union, and with Cuba cut off from Soviet aid and besieged by U.S. imperialism, the FMLN saw its international support evaporate and decided to throw in the towel. Washington, in turn, no longer seeing Central America as the front line of its global anti-Communist crusade, ordered its Salvadoran puppet regime to the negotiating table. At the time, the FMLN claimed the "peace accords" were a victory. In contrast, we wrote:

"The heralded 'New York Accords' will not bring 'peace and stability' to El Salvador.... For the Salvadoran ruling class is one of the most brutally oppressive in the Americas, indeed the world; its blood-drenched guard dogs in the military and security forces are pathological killers. No piece of paper will stop them. And the imperialist overlords in Washington, for all Bush's talk of 'international law,' launched their 'New World Order' by wantonly slaughtering over 100,000 Iraqis in the one-sided Persian Gulf 'war.'...

"And the peace accords will surely be used to cover the depredations of the notorious death squads, who target leftist political and labor leaders and activists, just as they mercilessly shot down Jesuit priests and conservative Archbishop Romero, bombed union halls and executed thousands of militants over the last decade. These hit squads are not 'rogue elements'—they act on orders from the top levels of state power. And the only 'peace' they want is the peace of the grave."

—WV No. 542, 10 January 1992

What "Peace Accords" Have Wreaked

"The right got what it wanted, a disarmed FMLN and that is all they were really interested in," said FMLN/CD presidential candidate Zamora, a former dissident Christian Democrat (*Washington Post*, 20 November 1993). Now, two years after the accords, the guerrillas have turned in their arms, but oligarchic rule is intact: while they've reduced the bloated army and shuffled some of the officer corps, ARENA's hold on the state apparatus is unchallenged. The judicial system continues to protect the military mass murderers. The replacement of the notorious National Police by the newly formed "National Civilian Police" is being dragged out, and whole units from the kill-crazy security forces are being incorporated into the new force (including the notorious DNI intelligence group which compiled the "hit lists" for the extermination of thousands of leftists, unionists and peasants).

Under the economic reforms promised in the peace accords, peasants in FMLN-held areas were supposed to be able to keep the land they were occupying. But in the fine print, it said they had to pay the absentee owners, with mortgages lasting for years. Only 12 percent of the 47,000 people eligible for the land-transfer program have received land (*Houston Chronicle*, 28 January). Now with the onset of "peace," unemployment has skyrocketed as demobilized soldiers roam the cities and countryside. Marauding gangs, known as *maras*, brazenly board buses and stop private vehicles in broad daylight, demanding money and jewelry. (Ironically, these gangs were set up by Salvadorans deported from Los Angeles after the end of the war.) In San Salvador, thousands of men, women and children are in the streets selling clothes, fruit, lottery tickets, candy, anything, and still don't earn enough for a meal.

A 1993 UN report says almost two-thirds, some 63 percent, of the 5.2 million Salvadorans live under conditions of poverty, with high indices of malnutrition and lack of basic necessities. More than 2 million have no access to health care at all. This is the basis on which a coffee oligarchy of the "14 families" ruled this tiny Central American country through a succession of military-based regimes for the 60 years after the 1932 *Matanza*, the slaughter of 30,000 people in repression after the Communist-led peasant uprising. The idea that there could be a "negotiated revolution" to bring "democracy" to El Salvador, that decades of rule by this genocidal murder machine could be replaced through a "peace accord," is a suicidal illusion. Especially since the Americans, who hosted the negotiations, were the patrons of the killers in uniform and out of uniform.

Genocidal Killers Made in U.S.A.

As a sort of consolation prize to the guerrillas for turning in their arms, so they could be led like sheep to the slaughter, the peace accords agreed to set up a "Truth Commission" which would tell what really happened during the 12-year civil war. The report of the Truth Commission was released in March 1993, and in November some 12,000 pages of declassified CIA, State Department and Pentagon documents were released under the Freedom of Information Act. Although still heavily sanitized, these sources detail and amplify what was known all along—the American rulers knew all about the workings of the death squads and genocidal army massacres, because they were financed, trained and monitored by the U.S. The cover-ups of the grisly deeds were orchestrated from the CIA's MILGP (military group), based in



Reuters

FMLN supporter in March 12 demonstration against ARENA campaign terror.

the U.S. embassy in San Salvador, to the highest reaches of the White House and Congress.

Perhaps the most infamous is the massacre of the entire population of the village of El Mozote and several surrounding hamlets in Morazán province in December 1981. The army's elite Atlacatl Brigade, whose commander and most of its soldiers were trained at the U.S. Army's School of the Americas (then located in Panama and later moved to Fort Benning, Georgia), carried out the massacre. Searching for "communists" of the FMLN, the army herded the civilian population—old men, women, children, into the center of town, tortured and killed them. Excavators for the Truth Commission unearthed over 700 identifiable bodies, among them the skulls of 112 children.

The 6 December 1993 *New Yorker* published the definitive study of the El Mozote massacre, written by Mark Danner, who based his article on the Truth Commission's report and went far beyond it. Danner documents how the Reagan administration went ballistic over the fact that three American journalists, Raymond Bonner from the *New York Times*, photographer Susan Meiselas, and the *Washington Post*'s Alma Guillermoprieto made their way to El Mozote, saw the bodies, photographed them, and reported on their interview with sole survivor Rufina Amaya, who hid in the woods, left for dead by the army, as she heard the screams of her children being killed. The U.S. had no fewer than ten American advisers working with the Atlacatl Brigade at the time. As word of the massacres began to leak out, the embassy sent a team of "investigators," but they stopped a few miles outside of El Mozote and refused to go any further, so they could say they were "unable to con-

firm" what Bonner, Meiselas and Guillermoprieto saw!

Danner writes powerfully of how the army butchers went into Morazán determined to cut out the "cancer" of communism in El Salvador by killing off the people among whom such ideas took root. The Atlacatl's driving force was Lt. Col. Domingo Monterrosa, who was being specially groomed by the High Command for the job. "He had taken all the courses the Americans offered, including those for the paratroopers and the comandos." Danner describes how Monterrosa trained his men for El Mozote:

"They shot animals and smeared the blood all over their faces, they slit open the animals' bellies and drank the blood," a lieutenant in another unit told me....

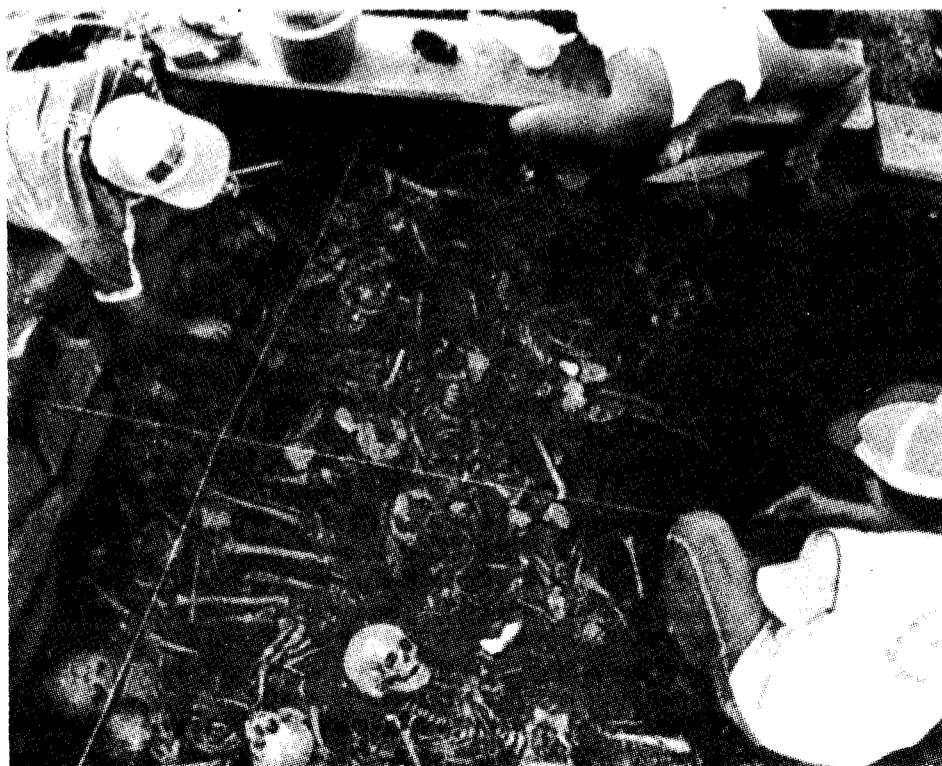
"According to one reporter, the men of the Atlacatl celebrated their graduation by collecting all the dead animals they could find off the roads—dogs, vultures, anything—boiling them together into a bloody soup, and chugging it down. Then they stood at rigid attention and sang, full-throated, the unit's theme song, 'Somos Guerreros' [We Are Warriors]."

In El Mozote, they practiced their brutality on people. Babies were thrown into the air and bayoneted. Small children were gunned down as they screamed in terror. Men and women were ordered to lie face down in the dirt for hours, and then slaughtered.

After the Truth Commission report, the *New York Times* wrote that they felt vindicated over Raymond Bonner's initial report, which was trashed by the Reaganites as FMLN propaganda. What the *Times* didn't print was how, at the first quack of protest from the White House, Bonner got a phone call in his hotel room in Managua ordering him back to the New York Metro desk. The *Times*' editorial counterrevolutionary A.M. Rosenthal later justified yanking Bonner, saying "I brought him out because he didn't know how to be a correspondent" (quoted in *Extra!* January/February 1993). Shortly after, Bonner was kicked to the financial pages and later pressured into resigning from the *Times*.

The Reagan administration was particularly embarrassed because Bonner's and Guillermoprieto's accounts of the massacre came out three days before the U.S. Congress was to vote on a Salvadoran aid bill, based on a White House "certification" that human rights were being respected in El Salvador. With Reagan ambassador Deane Hinton's "denial" of the massacre, Congress passed the bill, although everyone knew perfectly well what was going on. The *bipartisan commitment* of both capitalist parties to the anti-Soviet war drive led the Democrats to turn a blind eye to funding the death squads and mass murderers. Danner cites right-wing ideologue and Reaganite pointman Elliott Abrams: "If Congress felt so strongly about human-rights abuses, it could have simply cut off aid. But Congress didn't cut off aid, because it didn't want to risk being blamed, if the guerrillas won as a result for 'losing' El Salvador."

[TO BE CONTINUED]



Stephen Ferry

El Mozote massacre: UN excavators uncover site holding skeletons of 38 children, among hundreds gunned down by U.S.-trained killers of Atlacatl Brigade.

Teamsters...

(continued from page 1)

to stop workers from winning strikes.

Other workers respect the Teamsters and want them to win: they see this strike as *their* fight too. Wherever Teamster picket lines have gone up, they have been eagerly honored, for example, by ILA longshoremen on the East Coast and ILWU longshoremen on the West Coast. Working people across the country are fed up and want to fight back! This strike can spark that fight.

To win this strike, you have to spread it: to other Teamsters; to the ports on the East, West and Gulf Coasts; to the railroad "intermodal" facilities.

But Teamsters are being forced to fight with their hands tied behind their backs because both wings of the union leadership, both president Ron Carey and the old guard, bow down before the bosses' sacred laws. Some may think Clinton will come to the rescue. Don't hold your breath. And if he does, watch out. The Democrats are no friends of labor any more than the union-hating Republicans. These are capitalist parties.

What's needed now are roving pickets to shut down all key transport links and hubs: All Teamsters out! Organize mass pickets to shut down all terminals tight. To hell with the bosses' injunctions: Picket lines mean don't cross! Organize flying squads for trouble spots. These are the tactics that made the Teamsters a powerful nationwide industrial union. These same militant tactics must be used now to win this strike.

At the time of the last, limited national freight strike in 1979, there were 300,000 Teamsters covered by the MFA. Now there are less than 120,000. In that same period, Teamsters have seen their real wages eroded by one-quarter. The bosses' Trucking Management Inc. (TMI) is demanding huge concessions: replacing thousands of full-time workers with \$9-an-hour part-timers (with reduced benefits outside the union welfare funds), shifting huge amounts of freight to "intermodal" service, and taking away the right to strike over grievances.

As they appeal to the rest of labor, militants must wage a fight *inside* the Teamsters to mobilize the entire union. IBT president Ron Carey, who was installed in a government-run election, called out workers at only 22 companies—less than 75,000 out of the 120,000 Teamsters working under the MFA. Moreover, he is inviting smaller and regional employers in TMI to sign "meet-too" agreements and send those strikers back to work, leaving 65,000 strikers at the "Big Four": Yellow Freight, Roadway Express, CF Motor Freight and ABF.

With just 22 employers in TMI struck, the union is shutting down less than 18 percent of the nation's total freight. Chuck Mack, head of the Northern California Teamsters, announced to a meeting on the first day of the strike that "We're not trying to shut down the United States of America. That's not the goal." But shutting down *less than a fifth of freight traffic* is to condemn the strike to a slow death.

The vital task is to reverse the inroads that non-union outfits have made. But to wage that kind of organizing battle means using the weapons of class struggle that built the union—especially the secondary boycott (hot-cargoing) that the bosses outlawed under the Landrum-Griffin Act. Part-time and casual workers must be brought up to full-time and full benefits with a struggle to shorten the workweek for all at full pay—for a sliding scale of wages and hours! There must be an unlimited local right to strike over grievances, and the unqualified right to refuse to work under unsafe conditions or with unsafe equipment!

The venal old guard bureaucrats and the pro-government reformers alike will never take on the capitalist state. Teamsters must forge a new leadership that

Illinois Cops Assault Picket Line

CHICAGO, April 11—Escalating threats of cop violence against striking Teamster pickets at the huge Roadway trucking terminal in south suburban Sauk Village erupted into a full-scale cop siege this morning. Nearly 75 cops from at least eight nearby Indiana and Illinois towns, as well as Illinois State Police with canine units, arrived on the scene and drove the 300-strong Teamster pickets from the access road leading to the Roadway terminal. This came in the wake of the arrest and beating of six Teamster strikers after the mass picket attempted to stop a scab van.

One of the arrested strikers later returned to the picket line after being released from jail and received a hero's welcome from his comrades. He described how, when the pickets surged forward with the approach of the scab van, he was carried forward against a cop who had earlier threatened to arrest him. The striker was immediately knocked to the ground and handcuffed by two cops, when a state cop set upon him, punching and kicking him. Asked by an ABC Channel 7 reporter what he had done to deserve such a pummeling, the Teamster responded, "I was trying to stop that truck from crossing our line along with everyone else." Asked if he would take a beating to defend his job, he replied, "I would, I just did. But I

won't ever forget."

Another striker, Steve Coates, was beaten by police wielding riot batons. He was still hospitalized with head wounds at the time of this report. One striker was shocked with a high-voltage "stun gun." Strikers told *Workers Vanguard* that the arrests were no accident. The cops used the phony excuse that a brick had been hurled in the direction of the van to go after some of the more militant pickets. All six strikers were subsequently released after being charged with disorderly conduct. Drop all charges against the Sauk Village Six!

As Teamsters heard radio reports of the attack, the picket line swelled to nearly 350. With threats of National Guard deployment hanging in the air, the Teamsters were not intimidated. Several small trucks similarly intent on picking up struck cargo were turned away. The cops and the State Police turned the parking lot of the adjacent Carolina trucking firm into an armed camp. Strikers were incensed that the cops were using Carolina, which the Teamster leadership has exempted from the strike, as a staging area to attack and beat strikers.

Obviously sensing this anger, several of the union officials on the scene claimed that discussions were being held with the national Teamster leadership to

pull out the Carolina workers. Clearly, there is felt desire among Carolina workers to join their union brothers and sisters on the line. Bob Falco, Business Agent for Teamsters Local 710, told *WV* that a delegation of Teamster dock workers from Carolina visited the picket line and donated \$450 that had been collected on the Saturday night shift.

On Sunday, when a scab trucker got out of his cab to confront a picketer, a Sauk Village cop drew his gun, cocked the hammer and aimed at the striker. He later pointed the gun with the hammer still cocked, in the direction of the nearly 75 pickets on duty. A *WV* team, visiting the picket lines at Yellow Freight in southwest suburban Chicago Ridge later that same day, was told of a similar police mobilization replete with mounted cops, attack dogs and helicopters circling overhead. Channel 7 TV reported tonight that Illinois Firefighters Federation officials were outraged that unionized firefighters in Chicago Ridge were under orders to use high-pressure hoses against strikers in the event that they were called out to assist police.

Teamster strikers are getting a firsthand lesson in the role of the police as the professional armed thugs of the bosses. As one Roadway picket told *WV*, referring to the victims of this morning's attack, "This is our Rodney King." ■

will defy the strikebreaking injunctions and fight for the independence of the unions from the bosses' government. This means breaking with the partner parties of American capitalism—Democrats and Republicans—and forging a workers party based on the unions, minorities and all the oppressed to fight for a workers government!

At the big terminals in New Jersey, where hundreds of Teamsters work within a few hundred yards of one another, workers were solid for the strike, but worried how to *win it*, especially with the leadership they have. They saw Carey fold the strike against UPS' dangerous

approached a picket line in Chicago, an incensed striker said, "TDU socialists—get the f—k out!" The Teamster mistook our comrades for "Teamsters for a Democratic Union," the opposition group which worked hand in glove with the Reagan "Justice" Department in the feds' assault on the union. When pickets learned of the SL's principled opposition to the intervention of the capitalist state in the labor movement they bought copies of *Workers Vanguard*.

A whole host of counterfeit socialists have backed TDU to the hilt. One of these social-democratic outfits, the International Socialist Organization, whose

Local 63 strikers...spraying the peaceful Teamster members with pepper spray." Steward Cathy Schatz said, "they just kept spraying and swinging." The Partisan Defense Committee has protested this attack, and demanded that charges against the seven arrested pickets be dropped immediately.

In Marietta, Georgia one striker told *WV* that a UPS driver had scabbed to make a delivery. On the West Coast, strikers' morale was boosted in Long Beach when members of the ILWU and the Machinists honored their picket lines at the Sea-Land terminal. But most of the port was working, unlike last fall when heavily Latino independent truckers virtually shut down the port and appealed for aid from Teamsters Local 692. Yet these truckers were rebuffed by both the Teamsters and the ILWU, who criminally crossed their picket lines!

In the guise of opposing NAFTA, all wings of the Teamster bureaucracy have spread protectionist poison against Mexican truckers. This same line is echoed by anti-NAFTA liberals, like Jesse Jackson who intones, "American workers are not afraid to compete with Mexican workers. We can't compete with slave wages." This chauvinist crap pits U.S. workers against their brothers and sisters across the border. Labor must fight the NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico by waging common class struggle!

What the Teamsters, and millions of other American workers, face is the result of years of betrayal and sabotage of workers struggle by the nakedly pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. The AFL-CIO tops' program is the defense of profit and capital. Their "strategy" is the "selective strike," the "corporate campaign" and the impotent consumer boycott. Their advice is to bow down to Congress, and the Labor Board, to knuckle under to anti-strike injunctions.

Capitalism's war on labor takes many forms. Currently, drug and alcohol testing is blatantly used as a weapon to regiment the workforce. The Department of Transportation has announced new testing which will subject 7 million workers, including 6.5 million commercial drivers, to stringent alcohol testing. Meanwhile, unionists who defend their strikes are railroaded as criminals. Ravenswood, West Virginia Steelworker



Ron Carey after becoming Teamsters president in government-run election, flanked by TDU vice presidents. TDU aided feds' attack on union.

150-pound weight limit in just ten hours, with nothing gained. Many understand the urgent need to *extend* this freight strike to the entire industry—including UPS, Carey's base, and shutting down the "double-breasted" firms, the non-union subsidiaries of the union carriers.

The Jersey locals have seen government intervention up close. In 1982, Local 560, the largest in the state, was the test case for the government's use of the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) against labor. It was a model for the feds' later cases against other unions, and eventually the IBT International. From the feds' 40-year vendetta against the Teamsters to the Carter/Kennedy deregulation, Teamsters have a healthy hatred for the bosses' government.

As a Spartacist League sales team

longtime supporter Pete Camarata is a leader of the TDU, cynically recounts how they "decided we would back a union bureaucrat—Ron Carey" (*Socialist Worker*, July 1992). Another, *Solidarity/Labor Notes*, are virtual press agents for Carey, saying that the TDU will "be the 'shocktroops,' carrying out the new administration's overhaul of the union" (*Against the Current*, March/April 1992).

Around the country, Teamster strikers have been on the receiving end of the government forces for whom the TDU are "shock troops" and who would dearly like to "overhaul" the union. At CF's key Mira Loma sorting center in Riverside County, Southern California, IBT Local 63 in Southern California protested: "With no warning and no regard for women, more than 50 baton-swinging police in Southern California charged the

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

in Sharpeville—on the anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in which 69 blacks were murdered by the cops. Speaking on a dirty field by a foul-smelling industrial waste pond local residents call “Miami Beach,” Mandela said: “The majority of police are made up of honest people, black and white, who want to serve our country. We need them” (*Los Angeles Times*, 22 March).

Power and privilege for the current white rulers has been enshrined in the agreement under which the elections are being held. “One person, one vote” this isn’t. A “sunset clause” ensures whites a decisive say in governmental affairs for five years. Any party that wins at least 5 percent of the seats in parliament receives a cabinet place. The catch is that cabinet approval will be required on major questions and two-thirds approval on “certain issues.” Thus the Nats and the Democratic Party, the leading white capitalist parties, would have effective veto power over all major decisions.

A vote for the ANC—including its Communist Party members and affiliated trade-union leaders of COSATU—is a vote to perpetuate the racist oppression and superexploitation of the black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers in a different political form. The workers and all the oppressed must be mobilized independently of the capitalist masters.

White Fascists and Bantustan Chiefs

Powerful right-wing forces have been mobilizing against the election. Going into March, the “Freedom Alliance,” consisting of racist whites fighting for a separate Afrikaner “volksstaat” and the leaders of several of the bantustans, including KwaZulu’s Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha party, were boycotting the election, threatening to prevent it from taking place in large sections of the country. Then dramatic events in the bantustans blew the Freedom Alliance apart.

The bantustans, or tribal “homelands,” were desolate parts of the country set aside by the government under their apartheid schenle as dumping grounds for blacks. Black people were not accorded citizenship rights in South Africa. They were classified by tribal origin, then made “citizens” of one “homeland” or another. So simultaneously as capitalism detribalized society through urbanization and bringing together different peoples to work in the factories and mines, the ruling class sought to exacerbate tribal divisions and conflicts, enabling it to “divide and rule.” The bantustans were ruled by venal black quislings who were propped up financially and militarily by the apartheid regime.

Robert Buck has been in prison for three years because he refused to wear a wire for the feds and spy on his union. But while the feds claim to be “cleaning up” the Teamsters, one of the most venal IBT heavies, former president Jackie Presser, was a certified, Grade-A FBI informant.

From Robert Kennedy’s vendetta against Jimmy Hoffa to today’s RICO suit against the union, their target has always been *Teamsters power*. But both the TDU and Teamster bureaucrats bow to the bosses’ laws like the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley law. Carey says you can’t win with strikes: “Just walking up and down the street with picket signs won’t do it today” (*Wall Street Journal*, 8 March 1993). Yet Teamsters militants who study the history of their union will know that it was built on the picket lines, led by communists who understood the need for hard class struggle.

Many Teamsters look back to Hoffa’s reign as the golden years of the union. Hoffa himself said that what he knew about union organizing he learned from Farrell Dobbs, a Trotskyist Teamster

In March, the puppet ruler of one of these bantustans, Lucas Mangope in Bophuthatswana (commonly known as Bop), lost control as government workers started demonstrating against him, fearing that after the ANC came to power it would cut off funds to Bop and Mangope would plunder their salaries and pension funds. They were soon joined by others and even the bantustan cops went over to the opposition.

On March 11, on an appeal from former SADF general Constand Viljoen, a leader of the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), thousands of heavily armed white racists, including the fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), descended on the Bop capital to “defend Mangope.” For the better part of the day they terrorized the town, killing dozens of blacks. Mandela and De Klerk decided it was time to call in the SADF to “restore order”—including to suppress “looting” by the impoverished black population. The army escorted the white fascists out, but not before a carload of them was killed by Bop’s police.

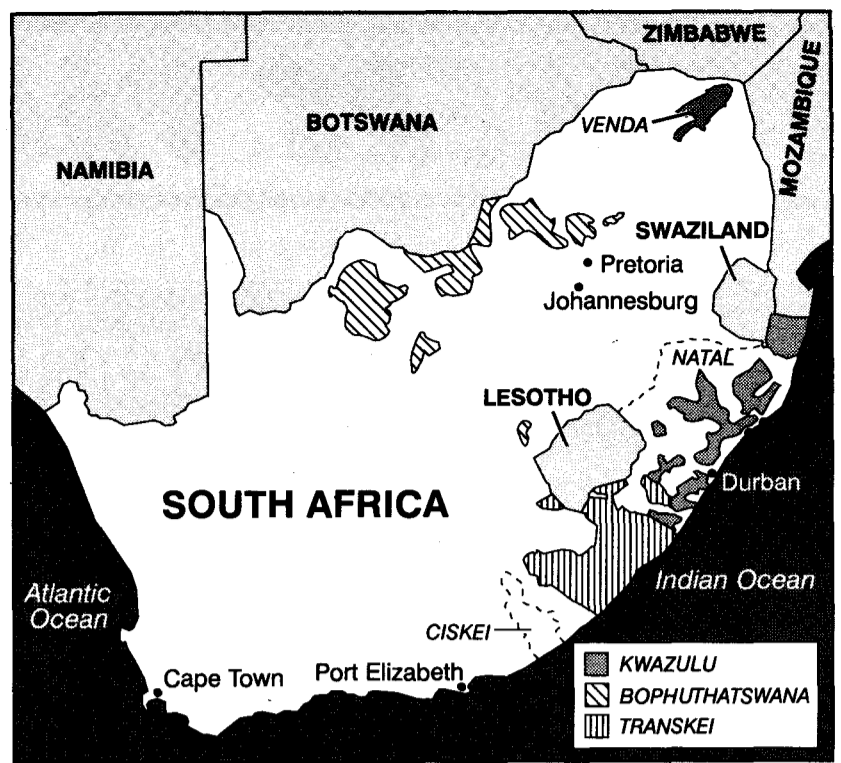
De Klerk, Mandela, the South African bourgeoisie and their Western partners all heaved a collective sigh of relief that the SADF actually went into Bop and didn’t side with the racists. They are all counting on the SADF to obey the orders of an ANC government after the elections. The ANC’s reliance on the apartheid army is deadly ominous in its implications for the workers and oppressed of South Africa. When the SADF goes into action after the elections, they’ll probably go after black unionists or township dwellers, as they always have.

The slogan of the ANC used to be “SADF out of the townships!” But given the rising expectations of the black masses that the ANC will seek to contain, *the ANC will be calling upon the SADF to defend the interests of the capitalists against the black masses*. The SADF is riddled with fascists, and indeed, the command structure of the SADF’s Rapid Deployment Force is said to be loyal to the AVF, and already has a plan to seize control of communications and “neutralize” unsympathetic generals in the event of social conflict.

The South African Police is widely viewed as even more reactionary and racist than the SADF. The police were always the first line of defense for the apartheid regime. Now they are in open rebellion against De Klerk. On March 18, Judge Richard Goldstone announced the results of an investigation into the clandestine funding, training and arming of Buthelezi’s Inkatha by a secretive “Third Force.” To no one’s surprise, the “Third Force” turned out to be the South African Police. Top police generals collaborated closely with the leaders of Inkatha, including Buthelezi, orchestrating anti-ANC “destabilizing” operations—e.g., the horrible commuter train massacres—that have resulted in tens of thou-

who was one of the leaders of the 1934 truck drivers strikes in Minneapolis. Those strikes shut down the city, faced down the National Guard, backed down the governor and made Minneapolis into a union town. Dobbs founded the Central States Drivers Council which first organized over-the-road truckers. But IBT chief Dan Tobin, with the help of the feds (and Hoffa), set him up for a purge and imprisonment (along with six other Local 544 leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party) in the early 1940s. It was the action of these “reds” that laid the basis for transforming the Teamsters from a federated craft union into a militant industrial union.

The rebirth of militant class struggle in the unions in this country must immediately take on the question of the state—the capitalist courts, cops and laws which exist to derail and defeat labor struggle. That is a key lesson that class-conscious Teamsters must draw from union history...and their own experience in this key strike for all labor. ■



sands of deaths over the last few years.

The black shock troops of the white diehards are Buthelezi’s Zulu tribalist Inkatha movement, which draws its main support from the most backward, tradition-bound villagers in rural Natal. (In the urban areas a majority of Zulus reportedly support the ANC.) Like all of the bantustan puppet leaders, Buthelezi’s fate and funds are tied to the survival of the apartheid system. He has been a darling of his apartheid masters and the Western imperialists for over a decade. Since the unbanning of the ANC four years ago, his Inkatha organization has escalated its war against the ANC both in Natal and in urban areas throughout South Africa. Mandela and De Klerk have now sent the racist army into Natal as Buthelezi wages a campaign of terror against the elections. We warn that the South African army is a *poisoned means* to ensure elections take place. Bitter experience will demonstrate anew that the armed forces of apartheid capitalism are deadly enemies of black rights.

South Africa is the one country in sub-Saharan Africa with a large urbanized black proletariat which has partly overcome tribal affiliation. Yet in mobilizing against Inkatha, the ANC/SACP has to a certain extent appealed to anti-Zulu tribalism, especially among the Xhosas (who constitute a disproportionate share of the ANC leadership). When murderous battles between Inkatha and ANC supporters first broke out in the black townships, we wrote:

“What is needed is formation of union-based workers defense guards, linking the factory to the townships, and made up of class-conscious workers including Zulus, Xhosas and members of other tribal groupings, as well as coloured, Asian and anti-racist white workers, to suppress both the right-wing terrorists and the fomenters of bloody communalist terror.”

—“South Africa and Permanent Revolution,” WV No. 515, 30 November 1990

However, the ANC/SACP leaders necessarily *oppose* the formation of such workers defense guards, since these would also become the front line of proletarian struggle against the Randlords whom Mandela & Co. now serve.

Smash Neo-Apartheid! For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

The Pan-African Congress (PAC) has long postured as the militant nationalist alternative to the ANC, while at the same time offering to collaborate with any and every force—however reactionary—opposed to the ANC/SACP. Thus the PAC’s military wing bragged about committing a heinous tavern bombing in Cape Town a few months ago that killed four whites. Meanwhile, they’re begging the bantustan parties *including Inkatha* for money to finance the PAC’s own election campaign.

A far more serious threat than the PAC to the Mandela/De Klerk “power-sharing” deal are the unionized black

workers now bound to the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance. The black head of industrial relations at the huge Anglo American mining conglomerate notes that it is crucial to address questions of economic as well as political democracy, otherwise “it’s a recipe for revolution.” His fears are well founded. The key ingredient missing is a revolutionary party to break the proletariat from the misleadership of the ANC.

In South Africa, the poorest 40 percent of the population has 4 percent of the income. There is 46 percent unemployment. Millions are homeless. The black population is mired in ignorance, disease and poverty. The privileged white population has houses tended by black maids, gardens tended by black gardeners, children tended by black nannies. But the working class is powerful, and very well organized and conscious of its power. It is the only force that can bring democracy to the toiling masses of South Africa, through proletarian revolution.

In the course of the past year, strike activity has continued at roughly the same massive levels as the previous few years. The strikes are not simply over economic issues. In March alone, 11,000 employees of the massive Kloof gold mine went on strike against a ban on political activity on company property, and black and white railway workers went on strike for equal pay between black and white workers.

The SACP says that workers should not expect too much too soon. This is just the first, “democratic” stage in their two-stage scenario, and the socialist stage is for some time in the future. Yet South Africa today expresses the quintessence of Trotsky’s program of permanent revolution, which holds that the most basic democratic demands—one person, one vote; land to the tiller; ending slave-like oppression in the mining compounds—can only be achieved when the workers come to power. Political alliances between the workers and the bourgeoisie can only lead to bloody defeat. This is the lesson of history, confirmed in the positive in the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, and in the negative in the popular-front alliances in Spain and France in the ’30s, and Allende’s Chile in the early ’70s.

Over the past few decades the heroic struggles of the nonwhite workers and plebeian masses have eroded the apartheid system. Now, the white ruling class is seeking to shore up its system of racist oppression and superexploitation by co-opting as agents the very men who claimed to be the leaders of the liberation struggles—Mandela, the SACP’s Joe Slovo and COSATU’s Cyril Ramaphosa. To truly liberate themselves, South Africa’s black African, coloured and Asian toilers must break from the nationalist and reformist misleaders. For a racially integrated Trotskyist party to fight for a black-centered workers republic! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

South Africa Elections: ANC's Deal with Apartheid Bosses



De La Mauviniere/AP



Silva/AP

Nelson Mandela and F.W. De Klerk receive "peace prize," but blood flows in South Africa. Here, corpses outside ANC headquarters in Johannesburg after Inkatha tried to storm building.

For 350 years, the white-supremacist rulers have lorded it over the black people of southern Africa. First came the Boer settlers, bringing with them forced labor in the fields, slavery and genocide for the indigenous peoples. Then came the British colonialists, who destroyed the Zulu kingdom using fire and blood and starvation, then forced their defeated subjects into gold and diamond mines to extract fantastic wealth for them. Finally, apartheid slavery was imposed, and all nonwhites, but especially blacks, were robbed of what was left of their land, their families, the fruits of their labor.

The superexploitation of black labor is the bedrock upon which South African capitalism rests, but black labor is also its Achilles' heel. Apartheid capitalism has created its own gravediggers, the black working class, which has the power, organization and self-interest to sweep away the Randlords and those who would defend them. What it needs is revolutionary leadership. There can be no end to the system of apartheid slavery short of socialist revolution. Those who labor must rule!

After years of bloody struggle, the South African masses have forced the creators of the apartheid system, the National Party (NP), to allow blacks to vote. Black South Africans believe that they are finally about to gain their basic democratic rights, opening the road to black majority rule, and in some vague sense "freedom." But these elections are carefully designed to maintain the essentials of white minority rule by putting a new layer of black front men in the exploiters' government.

The African National Congress (ANC), the sure winner in the upcoming elections, has committed itself to maintaining the capitalist order. The elections are a

South African Workers Need a Bolshevik Party

calculated gamble by South Africa's ruling class and its Western imperialist senior partners. A report by the International Commission of Jurists states: "The only thing that is keeping the country from exploding is the prospect of elections" (*Africa Report*, March-April 1994).

But what about after? There is no way South Africa can sustain a capitalist "democracy" given the vast gulf separating the desperately impoverished black toilers and the privileged white ruling caste. A coalition government between the ANC and Nats must be highly

fragile and unstable, facing both the demands of the black masses which it cannot meet and disruption by diehard and well-armed white racists.

Even now, tens of thousands of racist whites, abetted by some bantustan chiefs, are aiming to disrupt the elections. As part of the neo-apartheid deal with the ANC, the tribal bantustans—a key element of the old apartheid system—are to be dismantled. Those bantustans whose chiefs have resisted being demoted as the regime's puppets—Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu

—are occupied now by the South African army, called in at the behest of both the ANC's Nelson Mandela and the National Party's F.W. De Klerk.

Despite the hopes of millions of its supporters, the petty-bourgeois nationalist ANC will establish not a government of liberation, but a government that tries to keep the lid on an increasingly tense and volatile society. The ANC leaders and their allies in the South African Communist Party (SACP) are chaining the oppressed populations in a nationalist "popular-front" alliance with De Klerk and the "verligte" (enlightened) capitalists. Desperately needed is a Bolshevik party which can lead the oppressed masses in the factories, the townships and the bantustans in forging organs of proletarian dual power in the fight for a black-centered workers government in South Africa.

The ANC has long since abandoned any pretensions of being "liberators." Conciliating the oppressor is the order of the day for them. They have made it quite clear that after they are in power, there will be no nationalizations, as they once promised, or even land to the tiller. The workers are being told that they are going to have to help put the capitalist economy back on the road to profitability and efficiency. The ANC's program for women has been diluted—to the point of being practically meaningless—to accommodate both the backward traditional leaders in the countryside and the backward chauvinists among whites.

The ANC has promised that the South African Police and the South African Defense Force (SADF) will remain intact. In fact, Nelson Mandela went out of his way to praise the police, grotesquely,

continued on page 11



Racist South African army moves into Natal, where apartheid-fund Inkatha party wages terror campaign against elections.